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Islamic tradition abounds with apocalyptic visions conveying various religious, moral, dogmatic and political messages which, by being subjected to the apocalyptic structure, were elevated to the rank of a predestined divine scheme.

A special group of such apocalypses predicts the emergence of twelve leaders among the Muslims. These apocalypses have not yet been systematically investigated, and the present article aims at elucidating their earliest versions, and at studying the changes that were introduced into them over the years. This study will shed light on some aspects of the history of the Islamic concept of authority.

The Princes of Ishmael

The earliest versions of the apocalypse of the twelve leaders seem to be those built upon a biblical model of authority. When looking for such a model in the Bible, Islamic tradition made special use of the figure of Ishmael in whom the Arabs saw their ancestor.

The earliest version of our apocalypse that uses Ishmael's model seems to have been preserved in a tradition of a Syrian provenance recorded by Nu'aym b. Hammād (d. AH 229) in his Kitāb al-fitān. The tradition has its origin in Himṣ, where numerous apocalyptic traditions were put into circulation during the Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsid period 1.

The apocalypse is attributed to Ka'b al-Ahbar (Yemeni/Himṣī d. AH 32), who usually figures in Muslim tradition as an authority on the

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text of the Bible. It was circulated by Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh (Himsī d. AH 181) on the authority of his «trustworthy masters», whom he does not mention by name. The tradition contains the response of Ka‘b 1, question posed to him by a person named Yashū‘ who is described elsewhere as a Christian hermit (raḥīb), well versed in holy scriptures, who acquired his knowledge before the emergence of the Prophet 2. In fact, there are several versions of the discourse between Yashū‘ and Ka‘b, all transmitted by Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh on the authority of his unnamed masters, and they will be discussed below. In the present version 3, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh says:

Our trustworthy masters have told us that Yashū‘ asked Ka‘b what was the number of the «kings» (mulūk) this community (umma) will have, and Ka‘b said: «I have found written in the Torah (al-tawrāt): ‘twelve rabbis (rabbi‘)».

Although the name of Ishmael is not mentioned explicitly, this tradition obviously alludes to Genesis 17:20 where God reveals to Abraham that Ishmael will beget twelve «princes», and become a great nation. This passage has inspired many Islamic traditions of announcement, in which the clause «great nation» has been interpreted as predicting the emergence of Muhammad as nabiyy ummī 4. Our present tradition is focussed on the prophecy about the twelve princes of Ishmael; in the Hebrew origin they are nesi‘im, in Aramaic [Onkelos] they are rabbebin, and in our Arabic version: «rabbis». The princes of Ishmael are identified here with the Islamic leaders, whose appearance has thus become the final stage in a divinely predestined history.

It is noteworthy that when asking Ka‘b about the Islamic leaders, the Christian Yashū‘ uses the term «kings»; this seems to be in accordance with the fact that being a non-Muslim, he is not supposed to be acquainted with the more specifically Islamic title khalīfa: «caliph». For a non-Muslim, any Islamic ruler who is not a prophet is just a «king», and this is also how rulers are usually referred to in apocalyptic texts, since the Book of Daniel 5. However, as will be seen below, the title «king» is

4 E.g. Daniel 7:17, 24.
also used in a strictly Islamic context, where it has acquired a derogatory sense, signifying an unworthy leader who is not elevated enough to be called khalifa, which is an exalted religious title.

But apart from implying that the emergence of the Islamic rulers was annunciated in the Torah, the apocalypse states something else. It predicts that the number of the leaders will be twelve no more no less. Such a prophecy can only make sense at a time when the actual number of Islamic leaders has not yet exceeded twelve. This means that our Syrian tradition was originated no later than the year AH 100. In AH 101 the ninth Umayyad ruler (Yazid II) ascended the throne, and with the four Righteous Caliphs (Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAli) he was already the 13th caliph after Muḥammad. The tradition must be understood against a background of an apocalyptic atmosphere created by the symbolic numeric significance of the approaching year AH 100, which was regarded as signifying a crucial turning point in history. Above all, the fact that in the year AH 100 the caliph who was in power (ʿUmar II) was the twelfth after the Prophet could not have been missed by the traditionists. This numeric coincidence between two such loaded numbers only increased their apocalyptic mood. Furthermore, ʿUmar II was regarded as the mahdi i.e. the long awaited redeemer (as was also his predecessor Sulaymān) and this must have heightened the eschatological alert of his contemporaries. The result was an apocalypse predicting that the number of rulers will amount to twelve, which means that after them the chaotic stage of human history will commence. The Syrian provenance of the apocalypse accords with the fact that it deals with the reign of Umayyad rulers, whose centre was indeed in Syria.

Another very similar Syrian version of the apocalypse reveals the first traces of revision. The prophet Muḥammad appears as the first of the predicted group of twelve Islamic leaders. In this version the secular

6 For the religious significance of the title khalifa see Crone and Hinds, God’s Caliph, 4-23.
7 Numbered tables of the Umayyad and ‘Abhāsid caliphs with dates of accession may be found in Hugh Kennedy, The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphate: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century (London and New York, 1994), 403-404.
8 For the increase of apocalypse expectations towards the turn of the first century see Suliman Bashear, «Muslim Apocalypses and the Hour: A Case-Study in Traditional Reinterpretation», Israel Oriental Studies 13 (1993), 90-92.
9 For the coincidence of the reign of ʿUmar II with the turn of the century cf. Crone and Hinds, God’s Caliph, 114.
10 ibid., 103, 114.
title «kings» is not used, only «rabbis», which makes it possible for the Prophet to join the group. The addition of the Prophet to the group (which entails the exclusion of ‘Umar II from it) reflects the Islamic apologetic effort to anchor the emergence of Muḥammad in biblical prophecies, for the sake of legitimation and attestation 11. The apocalyptic statement is made this time by a (Christian?) person named Sirj al-Yarmūkī who says that he found written in the Torah that this community will have twelve «rabbis», one of them is their prophet, and when that number is completed, they will oppress, behave unjustly and assault each other 12.

It is significant that Muḥammad has no distinct superiority here over the other members of the group, and this accords with the early dogmatic stage in which «Muḥammad was still a prophet with a small “p”» 13. The addition of Muḥammad is accompanied here by an explicit allusion to the eschatological tribulations which are about to begin after the twelfth leader.

THE REVISED APOCALYPSE

As the history of the Islamic umma continued to unfold during the reign of the ‘Abbāsids who emerged in Iraq, the original versions of the apocalypse of the twelve continued to draw attention. But now they were modified and expanded, so as to suit the new circumstances. Above all, the number 12 was readjusted to a new group of leaders, being deprived of its originally absolute value; it no longer stood for the entire line of Islamic leaders, whose number exceeded 12 after AH 100. The number itself which had fascinated the traditionists due to its symbolic significance, was retained, but was turned into a modular numeric framework which could be fitted to ever changing lists of specific personalities, whose identity and manner of description were determined by the political bias of the authors of these new versions. The ever changing twelve names which were added to the apocalypse consisted of a select group of leaders, not necessarily succeeding one another.

12 Nuʿaym b. Hammād, 53. See also Ibn ʿAsākir, Mukhtaṣar, IX, 214.
13 Crone and Hinds, God’s Caliph, 28.
The Ka'b-Yashū' Discourse

The apocalypse most popular with the traditionists was the one contained in the discourse between Ka'b and Yashū', and there are versions recorded by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād which clearly indicate that this apocalypse of the Umayyad period was re-worked later on according to new circumstances of the early 'Abbāsid period. The revised versions continue to be recorded on the authority of the same tradent, namely the Ḥimṣī Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh, who seems to be the one who collected all of them from his unnamed «masters». Some basic features remain unchanged in all the versions, and mainly the title «kings» by which the twelve are described, which, however, is becoming more and more derogatory. This means, of course, that the Prophet will never be included in the group thus described, but he does appear in the apocalypse, and already occupies a unique position as a prophet whom the twelve «kings» will succeed. The more archaic «rabbis» is no longer used.

The main change introduced in the revised discourse is the addition of specific names of leaders, the first of whom being usually the first three Medinan caliphs: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. The name of 'Alī —the fourth leader— is missing from the list which continues from 'Uthmān directly to Mu'āwiyah—the first Umayyad. The absence of 'Alī implies that our versions were revised by persons opposed to the 'Alīds, i.e., they did not recognize 'Alī’s position as a legitimate ruler.

In one of the revised versions of the discourse 14, Yashū' asks Ka'b whether he knows anything about the «kings» who are destined to succeed the Prophet. Ka'b does not only state that the 'Torah speaks of twelve «kings», but also provides a list of their epithets. It opens with the titles of the first three Medinan caliphs: Abū Bakr (Ṣiddīq), 'Umar (Fāriq) and 'Uthmān (Amin), and these are immediately followed by nine Umayyads, the first being Mu'āwiyah who is described as «the head of the kings» (ra's al-mulūk). The twelfth and last on the list is most probably Marwān II 15, who was actually the last Umayyad caliph, and about whom it is said here that suffering will be caused by his hands, and whose siege of Ḥimṣ is mentioned explicitly.

This tradition seems to draw a line between the Sufyānī and the Marwānī branches of the Umayyad dynasty, the end of the former

being apparently indicated by reference to «the last of the kings» (Mu'āwiya II), who is followed by the «Owner of the Mark» ('Abd al-Malik). Although the entire group is of «kings», the Sufyānīs appear more «kinglike» than the others, which certainly accentuates their unworthy status.

After the description of the last Umayyad who is twelfth on the predicted list, the tradition states that another family (ahl bayt) will take over, which refers to the rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty.

Thus, by omitting several Umayyad rulers, the group of twelve was made to span the entire period from Muhammad's death to the fall of the Umayyads, and the 'Abbāsid revolution was made to represent the beginning of the eschatological stage of human history. In terms of dates, the end of the reign of the predicted twelve was postponed from ca. AH 100 to ca. AH 132.

A similar structure was applied to the apocalypse in yet another version of the discourse between Yashū' and Ka'b 16, and this is the most expanded version of the discourse. It is again transmitted by Ismā'īl b. 'Ayyāsh. This time he states explicitly that some of his masters made additions to the tradition. Here Yashū' is made to elaborate on the virtues of Muhammad, saying that a prophet will emerge whose religion will overcome any other religion, and goes on to ask Ka'b about the «kings» of Muḥammad's community. In Ka'b's response, the list of «kings» commences as before with the first three Medinan rulers who are succeeded by nine Umayyads, the first of whom being Mu'āwiya, and the last -Marwān II. The latter concludes the group of twelve, and then the tribulations (jīma) of the 'Abbāsid revolution are described in detail. The names of al-Saffāh, al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī are mentioned explicitly, and their advent opens the eschatological stage. The events connected with them are described with such common apocalyptic themes as khasf (being swallowed up by the earth) and great battles with forces of a false prophet (here: the Sufyānī). It is clear that this version of the apocalypse gained its final form not before the accession of al-Mahdī, the third 'Abbāsid caliph, i.e. not earlier than AH 158. It is based on the notion that the advent of the 'Abbāsids opens the last eschatological stage of human history, and the fact that the ruling caliph called himself «al-Mahdī», which is the title of the Islamic saviour, may have added to the apocalyptic mood reflected in this version.

Yet another version of the same discourse 17, lacks any numeric specification, and contains just a select list of «kings» destined to rule after the Prophet: 'Umar, 'Uthmân (al-amin) and Mu‘āwiya, «head of the kings».

The Apocalypse of Natâh

The apocalypse of the twelve is also available in another Syrian tradition containing the vision of an obscure «prophet»: Natâh, or Nâthâ. His prophecy was again circulated by Himsi traditionists 18, and was recorded by Nu‘aym b. Hammâd 19. It was already studied by Michael Cook 20, who, however, has not noticed the role of the number 12, and therefore has ascribed the absence of some Umayyad leaders to a lacuna in the text 21. But there is no lacuna here. The general structure of the list is similar to that of the Himsi traditions transmitted by Ismâ’il b. ‘Ayyâsh, but the vocabulary is indeed somewhat different. The number 12 is stated explicitly, and the body of leaders is this time one of commanders (liwâ‘); they are the twelve descendants of «the banished slave girl» (al-ama al-‘tarida), i.e. Hagar. The title liwâ‘ which is not used in the other Himsi versions is quite neutral, and enables Muḥammad to join the group of twelve again. However, the Prophet allotted a special position among them, because all the others are kings again, while he is a personage with whose advent angels rejoice, and whoever believes in him is a true believer; his victory over the nations is described with explicit reference to the conquest of Persia, Africa and Syria.

Each name of the other eleven commanders succeeding Muhammad is preceded by the statement: thumma yami‘ak «then will rule...». ‘Alî is still missing. The descriptions of the first three of the eleven thumma yami‘akuu persons represent the first three Medinan caliphs, and after them Mu‘âwiya and seven more Umayyads are described, up to al-Wa-

13 Ibid, 69.
14 The šimā‘ al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi‘ (Himsi d. AH 211) • Jarāb b. Mu‘ayy (Himsi) • Aṭtâ‘ b. al-Mundhir (Himsi d. AH 163) • Nâthâ.
lid II. Major events of the life and career of each of the eleven are recounted in detail, embellished with an apocalyptic chronological framework of the length of their life. The Sufyānīs and the Marwānids are again differentiated from each other, the first of the former (Muʿāwiyya) being described as «The Head (raʾīs) of the Greater House», and the first of the latter (ʿAbd al-Malik) is the «Forehead of the House of the Second Head».

The twelfth and last of the entire predicted group is al-Walid II (b. Yazīd), who is described as al-Shābb («The Youth»). This ruler died childless and is considered the last of the Umayyads in several other traditions. After him reference is made to more leaders but the clause thummā yamāliku is not repeated concerning them, which definitely leaves them outside the twelve predicted «commanders». The first of them is Marwān II, whose emergence marks the beginning of the apocalyptic turmoil, and whose advent is described as wind blowing from the jawf. He is followed by ʿAbbāsid figures like al-Saffāh and al-Mansūr who are alluded to with cryptic descriptions, and whose advent is also described as wind blowing from various directions.

As observed by Cook, most parts of the ʿAbbāsid revolution form the eschatological stage of the vision, which concludes with the emergence of the Qaḥṭānī, the fall of Constantinople, the retrieval of the Ark of Covenant and the emergence of the Dajjāl (Antichrist). Cook quite rightly dated the composition of the apocalypse (or more accurately, its final form) to ca. AH 160, which again brings us to the days of al-Mahdī.

On the whole, despite some peculiarities of vocabulary, all parts of the tradition seem to have much more in common with the general run of the re-shaped versions of the other Ḥimṣī apocalypses than is assumed by Cook. On the other hand, Cook’s arguments for the Christian origin of this specific apocalyptic text seem quite convincing, and there are even more features in the apocalypse which point to a Christian authorship, and mainly the designation of the Muslims as sons of «the banished slave girl». This is how Christian apologists usually call the Muslims. But the Christian origin of the apocalypse only shows what

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23 Ibid., 111, 112.
25 Ibid., 28.
26 For «Sons of Hagar» as a derogatory appellation conferred on the Muslims in
is evident in so many other Christian chronicles, namely, that the Christian authors were quite familiar with basic historiographic and apocalyptic Islamic (Himṣī) models, like the apocalypses of the twelve, and they used them in their own writings.

The Apocalypse of Ḥudhayfa

Apart from the Syrian versions, there is also one with an Egyptian isnād in which the apocalypse of the twelve keeps dealing with a group of «kings», the last of whom being again the last Umayyad ruler. But its structure has been re-defined in accordance with a clear anti-Umayyad bias. The group consists here of Umayyads only, the first three Medinan rulers being excluded from it and gaining the more elevated title: «caliphs» (khulafa'). The tradition is recorded on the authority of the Companion Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (d. AH 36), who was probably of Jewish descent 27, and on whose authority numerous eschatological descriptions of fitan were circulated. Ḥudhayfa declares: «There will be after 'Uthmān twelve kings of the Banū Umayya.» Someone asked him: «Caliphs (khulafā')?» He said: «No, kings!» 28.

This version reflects not only an increased anti-Umayyad drive, but also an urge to legitimate the authority of the first three Medinan caliphs. This was triggered, no doubt, by the 'Alid opposition against them. Hence the present version must have been originated among Egyptian circles opposed to the Umayyads as well as to the 'Alids. The absence of 'Alī's name from the list reflects again the anti-'Alid determination to exclude him from the distinguished list of legitimate khulafa'.

The Apocalypse of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ

In other versions of the apocalypse, the last of the predicted group is no longer the last Umayyad, so that the date of the beginning of the eschatological stage in human history is postponed once again. The traditions used for this new form of the vision are attributed to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (d. AH 63), whose name is most suitable to father apocalyptic traditions, because he is said to have been well versed in the Quran as well as in the Bible (tawrāt) 29. Moreover, he is said to have read in Egypt such apocalyptic scriptures as the «book of Daniel» 30.

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr was associated with the Umayyad court, and in Šīfīn he fought with the Syrians against the Iraqis, and was later on appointed by Mu'āwiya governor of Egypt 31. It may be assumed that traditions containing apocalypses bearing his name, which had been put into circulation already during the Umayyad period, had been favourable to the Umayyads, but were eventually modified by later anti-Umayyad traditionists, and this is how they have come down to us. In all the versions of his apocalypse, the title «caliphs» (khulafā') is applied to the twelve predicted rulers, so that they are no longer «kings». The title «caliphs» may well be part of the earliest kernel of the apocalypse, but the versions which we possess seem to bear the mark of an anti-Umayyad revision; the names of the twelve «caliphs» are never given in full, and of the twelve, only the names of the first three are usually enumerated. This is the case in the following version which was circulated by Egyptian traditionists 32, and was traced back to the Prophet himself. In it the Prophet is quoted by 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr as stating that there will be twelve caliphs in the Islamic community; he then goes on to name Abū Bakr and 'Umar and addresses 'Uthmān, urging him not to give up the «gown that God has dressed you with», i.e. not to resign from the caliphate. This version implies that the Me-

29 Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal (henceforth, Ahmad), Musnad, II, 222; Rubin, The Eye of the Beholder, 33.
31 Ibn 'Asākir (Mukhtasar), XIII, 202-203.
dinan rulers are included in the twelve, but the rest of the group is left unspecified. The absence of ‘Alī as well as of the Umayyads from the list of *khulafā‘* points clearly to the anti-‘Alid as well as the anti-Umayyad tilt of the present revised version 33.

There is also a tradition of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr bearing a Basran *īs-nād* with this upper part: Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. AH 110) → Uqba b. Aws al-Sadūsī → ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr. The tradition is available in various versions which indicate that although the tradition was originally put into circulation during the Umayyad period (probably by Muḥammad b. Sīrīn), it was re-shaped by traditionists of the early ‘Abbāsid period.

One of the versions bearing this upper *īs-nād* was recorded by Ibn Abī Shayba 34. Here ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr states that there will be twelve caliphs in the Islamic community, but again mentions only Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. He says that the name of each of the three is already known to the Muslims by its correct form (*āsbatum ismahu*). ‘Umar is called *Qarn min hadīd* («iron horn»), and ‘Uthmān is *dhū l-nārāyn* («Owner of the Two Lights»); it is stated that he was killed wrongfully and was therefore «given a twofold of God’s mercy» (*ā‘īya kiflayni min rahmatih*). The Umayyads are not mentioned.

Another version 35 with the same upper *īs-nād* reveals who replaced the Umayyads in the predicted group of the re-worked apocalypse; they are the first ‘Abbāsid rulers. Their incorporation in the predicted group implies the postponement of the eschatological phase in human history till after the first ‘Abbāsids have ruled. This stands in contrast to the Syrian versions in which the ‘Abbāsids are not part of the twelve, but rather open the ensuing eschatological stage of history. Their inclusion in the group certainly improves their legitimate status.

The present version does not fix the number of the members of that group, providing only their names or epithets. The first on the list are again the three Medinan caliphs (Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān), who are immediately followed by seven figures, the last of whom being the «Commander of the Bands» (*amīr al-‘usāb* = south-Arabian saviour).

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33 Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Sunna*, nos. 1171, 1182 (cf. nos. 1152, 1169); Tahtānī, *Kahīr*, I, nos. 12, 142; idem, *Awasag* IX, no. 8744; See also *Majmu‘ al-zawā‘id*, V, 181.

34 Ibn Abī Shayba, XII, no. 12102. Here the name of the Companion is distorted, being turned into ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar. This is also the case in *Majmu‘ al-zawā‘id*, IX, 92. But see the correct text in Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, *Sunna*, no. 1154 (from Ibn Abī Shayba).

35 Cf. Qurān 57,28.

The first are the ‘Abbāsid al-Saffāh and al-Mansūr, followed by al-Mahdī, al-Amin, Sin and Salām. Six of them, it is stated, will be of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy (i.e. Quraysh), and one [= the Commander] will be of Qahtān (i.e. of Yemeni descent). The list is said to have been discovered by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr during the battle of Yarmūk, in an [ancient] book (fi ba’ḍ al-kutub). It is stated that all the persons mentioned are virtuous people, such as never seen before.

It is clear that the present version —like the above Syrian ones— acquired its final form not earlier than the days of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdī, i.e. ca. AH 160. The total omission of the Umayyads from this list of virtuous caliphs is a clear manifestation of the anti-Umayyad bias of the traditionists who tampered with it.

There is one more version 37 with the same upper isnād of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn etc., in which the ‘Abbāsids are still part of the predicted group, but the group itself is heterogeneous again, including also Umayyad «kings». The list consists of two mayor parts, containing five and six persons respectively. The five are the first three Medinan rulers, followed by Mu‘awiya and his son Yazīd. Mu‘awiya is alluded to as the «King of the Holy Land», and this again seems to be a derogatory presentation of this Sufyānī ruler who took hold of the sacred land. The three Medinan caliphs are singled out as the most virtuous on the list, and their names and apppellations are spelled out as in the former versions. Then comes a question posed to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr by the audience: «Will you not mention al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn?» He then repeats the same list (without mentioning the latter two) which is an explicit manifestation of the anti-‘Alīd as well as of the anti-Umayyad tilt of the tradition. Next, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr adds six names, the first of which being al-Saffāh, and the last is the «Commander of the Bands» (amīr al-‘uṣāb). The other four are Salām, Mansūr, Jābir, Amin. It is further stated that they (i.e. the six) will all be of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy (i.e. Quraysh), except for one (i.e. the Commander of the Bands) who will be of Qahtān 38.

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38 For the «Commander of the Bands» being an appellation of the Qahtānī, see Ma-delung, «Apocalyptic Prophecies in Himṣ», 150-54. He observes (p. 153) that «The Qahtānī thus would be miraculously chosen to unite the ‘uṣāb...». 
Ibn ‘Abbās

The numeric framework of twelve has been somewhat bent in the above versions that include the ‘Abbāsids in the predicted group, and this is also the case in some other versions aiming at including them in that group.

The following tradition actually denies that the number 12 has any significance at all, as far as the number of Islamic leaders is concerned. The tradition has a Kūfī ḫmād leading back to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. In it, his disciple Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (Kūfī d. AH 95) is said to have related that he once heard people quoting to Ibn ‘Abbās a tradition about twelve leaders who would be followed by the «Commander [of the bands]». Ibn ‘Abbās retorted: «By God, after them there will be leaders of our own family, namely, al-Saffāh, al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, and he will hand over the leadership to ‘Īsā b. Maryam» 39 This tradition plays on the significance of the title «Mahdī» which the third ‘Abbāsid caliph took for himself, and assigns to this caliph the messianic role of the Islamic saviour.

Ka‘b al-Aḥbār

But in spite of the unease with which the rigid numeric framework was met by some ‘Abbāsid circles, the ‘Abbāsid rulers figure as members of the predicted group even in a version in which the number 12 is retained. This is again a tradition of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, which this time bears a Syrian/ Başrān ḫmād 40. It speaks about twelve «managers» (qay- yīm) with whom God has blessed Ishmael (here the name of this patriarch is mentioned explicitly). The group itself is not homogeneous, the first three caliphs being singled out as the most excellent, in contrast to Mu‘āwiya who is again described as the «king» of Syria. The list is not complete, and apart from the three caliphs and Mu‘āwiya, allusion is made to Mu‘āwiya’s son (Yazīd), who is immediately followed by the

‘Abbasid Saffāh and Mansūr, and then come two cryptic messianic titles: Sin and Salām. The latter two are glossed by the statement that they stand for righteousness and alleviation, respectively (salāh wa-‘āfiya).

With the inclusion of the first two or three Abbasid caliphs in the predicted group—with or without its numeric framework—this dynasty became part of the line of pre-destined legitimate leaders, thus improving its original status of unlawful agitators whose advent had been believed to mark the beginning of the chaotic eschatological era.

THE PRINCES OF MOSES

A characteristic trend in Islamic tradition is the diminishing of biblical models in favour of genuinely Islamic ones. In the field of annunciation, biblical models appear to be replaced by Quranic ones 41, and the same applies to the apocalypse of the twelve. In contrast to the early versions in which the legitimacy of the Islamic leaders has been based on the biblical model of the twelve princes of Ishmael, there are versions in which the twelve princes of Ishmael are replaced by another group of twelve princes, a Quranic one. These are the princes of Moses. This prophet figures in the Quran as a great leader who brought a holy scripture to the Children of Israel. The Quran is also aware of other persons who shared with Moses the leadership over the Children of Israel, and they are mentioned in 5:12 (tr. Arberry):

God took compact with the Children of Israel, and We raised up from them twelve chieftains [nuqabā'].

The biblical origin of the model of the twelve nuqabā’ is most probably the twelve Israelite «princes» (nesîm) of the tribes 42. For the Muslims, however, the model of the nuqabā’ is genuinely Quranic, for the simple reason that the term occurs in the Quran.

The Quranic nuqabā’ eventually became an ideal model of delegated authority, and it was compared to various Islamic leaders to whom the authority of the Prophet Muhammad was delegated by a special appointment. This model is used, to begin with, in one of the earliest avai-

41 See Rubin, The Eye of the Beholder, 32-43.
lable biographies of the Prophet, where the title *nuqabāʾ* designates the twelve leaders of the Anṣār appointed by Muhammad during the “Aqa-
ba meetings. The latter are also compared to the [twelve] apostles (*ḥawāriyyān*) of Jesus.

The model of the *nuqabāʾ* was also applied to the twelve leaders of our apocalypse, which gained for it a wider circulation than gained for the versions employing the non-Quranic model of the princes of Ish-
mela. Unlike the princes of Ishmael who figure in Syrian versions, the Quranic *nuqabāʾ* appear in an Iraqi tradition. This is a Kūfīan version of the Companion ‘Abdallāh b. Masʿūd that has the *isnād*: Mujāhid b. Saʿīd (Amir b. Shurāhīl, d. AH 103) → Masrūq b. al-Ajda (d. AH 63) → ‘Abdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. AH 32) → Prophet. A concise version of the tradi-
tion was recorded in *Kitāb al-fitān* of Nuʿaym b. Hammād, and the full text is provided in other sources. A group of Companions is as-
sembled in Kūfa at the house of Ibn Masʿūd, and one of them asks him:

> «Have you ever asked the Prophet how many caliphs (*khaliṭa*) will rule (*yamīku*)?» Ibn Masʿūd says that he asked the Prophet the same ques-
tion, and Muḥammad’s answer was: «Twelve, as was the number of the *nuqabāʾ* of Moses.»

THE APOCALYPTIC POSITION OF QURAYSH

Kaʿb b. Luʿayy

The biblical model of Ishmael was replaced not only by a Quranic model, but also by an Arabian one. In a special group of traditions, the genealogical designation of the twelve predicted leaders is genuinely Arab. In some versions the name of their Arab ancestor is Kaʿb b. Luʿayy who appears already in the above ‘Abbāsid versions of the apo-
calypse of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr. In earlier versions attributed to the same

43 Ibn Hishām, II, 85. And see more on the circulation of the term *nuqabāʾ* in Etan
Kohlberg, «From Imāniyya to Iḥnāʾ-ʿAshāriyya», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and
44 Ibn Hishām, II, 89.
45 Nuʿaym b. Hammād, 52.
46 Abū Yaʿlā, VIII, no. 5031, IX, nos. 5322-23; Ahmad, *Musnad*, I, 398, 406; *Kashf
II, 267.
Companion, which seem to be still favourable to the Umayyads, the name Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy contains the entire group of twelve predicted leaders, not just the ‘Abbāsids.

One of these earlier versions seems to be contained in a tradition recorded by Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, in which ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Khuthaym (Meccan d. AH 132) relates that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr took the Meccan Companion Abū l-Ṭufayl (‘Āmir b. Wāthila, d. AH 110) by the hand, and said to him: «Oh ‘Āmir b. Wāthila, twelve caliphs of Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy (will rule), and then fighting and killing (will prevail)» 47.

This version retains the basic structure of the original apocalypse, except for the name of Ishmael which was replaced by the Arabian ancestor. Like the original apocalypse, this version, too, seems to allude to the twelve rulers who succeeded Muḥammad till AH 100, and the interpolation of their specific genealogical Arabian descent was designed to legitimize their authority against the opposition of various circles like Qahtānīs and Khawārij who did not acknowledge the right of the Umayyads to lead the Muslims. Of course, this version could also use the name of a more famous Arab ancestor, i.e. Quṣayy, but the fact that the name of the more remote ancestor—Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy—was preferred, is significant. Whereas Quṣayy is the ancestor of the Ḥāshimīs [Shī‘is and ‘Abbāsids] as well as of the Umayyads, Ka‘b is also the ancestor of Taym and ‘Adi, the clans of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, respectively. Thus the tradition implies the legitimacy of the rule of the Umayyads as well as of the first Medinan caliphs. The name of Quṣayy would not have served this purpose, and in fact, his name is said to have been preferred mainly by Shī‘is wishing to exclude Abū Bakr and ‘Umar from the list of legitimate Qurashi caliphs 48.

It should be noted that in another, less current, version of the statement made by ‘Abdallājī b. ‘Amr to Abū l-Ṭufayl, the ancestor’s name is somewhat different: ‘Amr b. Ka‘b, and here the prophecy is attributed to the Prophet himself who reportedly stated: «when twelve people of the sons of ‘Amr b. Ka‘b have ruled (malaka), killing and fighting will commence» 49. The genealogical designation is somewhat obscure here,

47 Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, 52. See also Fath al-bārī, XIII, 183-84.
49 Ṭabarānī, Awsaf, IV, no. 3865; Majma‘ al-zawā‘id, V, 193 (from Ṭabarānī).
because none of the ruling caliphs except Abū Bakr belonged to ‘Amr b. Ka‘b, a subgroup of the Banū Taym. 50.

A similar statement using the name of Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy is available on the authority of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, and it, too, was transmitted by Hijāzī authorities of the late Umayyad period 51.

Quraysh

However, in further traditions specifying the Arabian genealogical descent of the twelve leaders, a more prevalent, but at the same time more ambiguous, title is employed, i.e. «Quraysh» 52. This is not a name of a specific ancestor but rather a collective designation of a group of clans with no definite genealogical framework. These versions could suit many Islamic factions: Umayyads 53, ‘Abbāsids, as well as Shi‘is—and therefore gained a universal status and were the ones which eventually became part of the mainstream of Islamic hadīth, and gained entrance into various musannaf collections, including canonical ones. The isnāds of these versions are all Prophetic, and thus the apocalypse has become purely Islamic, emanating wholly from the prophetic power of Muhammad himself.

In most of these canonical versions, the Companion quoting the Prophet is the Kūfī Jābir b. Samura al-Suwā‘ī (d. AH 74). As indicated by his nisba, he stems from the clan of Suwa‘a who had a quarter of their own in Kūfa 54. The Suwa‘a belonged to ‘Āmir b. Sa‘a‘a, a subgroup of Mudar, to which Quraysh also belonged. It is, therefore, only natural that a Prophetic utterance legitimating the right of Quraysh to lead the Muslims should be transmitted on the authority of this Companion. The fact that Jābir is a Kūfī may indicate a certain sympathy for ‘Alī, particularly so, since his mother was the sister of Sa‘d b. Abī Waq-

50 On the members of ‘Amr b. Ka‘b see, e.g., Ibn Qudāma, Ansāb al-Qurashiyīn, 305-19.
53 Thus Mu‘awiyah is said to have adduced a statement of the Prophet asserting the right of Quraysh to rule. See Tabarānī, Awsaf, IV, no. 3152.
54 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdādī, I, 186.
qāṣ, a renowned Qurashi (Zuhri) supporter of ‘Ali 55. In this case, the term «Quraysh» which has replaced the label Ka’b b. Lu’ayy would certainly stand only for the Hashimite branch of Quraysh. Hence it may be assumed that already in the late Umayyad period—which is when our revised versions seem to have been originated— the apocalypse of the twelve was already beginning to assume a Hashimite connotation, which could suit both Shi’is and ‘Abbāsids, and this had occurred well before the definite Shi’i Twelver dogma came into existence 56. However, the fact that Jābir’s tradition was included in various Sunnī compilations of hadīth, means that the title «Quraysh» was taken by the authors of these compilations in its broader sense, which includes Umayyad as well as ‘Abbāsid caliphs.

Most versions of Jābir’s tradition preserve the basic original structure of the apocalypse of the twelve, the name Quraysh remaining a secondary element in it. This is the case in the version recorded by al-Bukhārī in his Ṣaḥīḥ, in the «book» of Aḥkām («Administration») 57. Here Jābir is quoted by the Qurashi Successor ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr (Kūfan d. AH 136), who relates that Jābir said:

I heard the Prophet say: «There will be twelve leaders (amīr).» Then he said something which I did not hear. My father said: «He [i.e. the Prophet] said that all of them will be of Quraysh.»

In this tradition, the title Quraysh has been annexed to the apocalypse of the twelve through the intervention of Jābir’s father, who thus corroborates the authenticity of this addition. The confirmatory role of the father is significant in view of the fact that Jābir himself, who died more than 60 years after the death of the Prophet, must have been very young during the Prophet’s lifetime. Therefore, the attribution of such crucial Prophetic statement to him had to be affirmed by an adult who was made part of the audience addressed by the Prophet.

The text of the tradition of Jābir as quoted by the same ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr is different in Muslim’s Ṣaḥīḥ, where it occurs in the «book»

55 For Jābir’s mother see Ibn ‘Asákir (Mukhtasār), V, 356. For Sa’d’s pro-Allād utterance see, ibid., IX, 269.
56 And see also Kohlberg’s comment on these versions in his «From Imāmiyya to Ihnāṭ-‘Ashariyya», 530: «In fact, it is not inconceivable that this tradition was originally aimed against the Umayyads, while upholding the right of Quraysh to rule».
57 Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, IX, 101 (93:51). See also Ahmad, Musnad, V, 93; Ṭabarānī, Ka-бир, II, nos. 1875, 2062; Bayhaqi, Dalā‘īl, VI, 519.
of Imāra ("Authority") 58. Instead of yakūn: "There will be (twelve leaders)", it opens with lā yazālu ("will not cease to") which does not refer to the leaders but rather to the situation expected to prevail under them. In such textual setting the focus of the apocalypse is shifted from the number of the Qurashi leaders to their status among the Muslims, being an origin of consolidation, success and victory. The number 12 is thus again deprived of its absolute significance, being taken to refer only to the leaders of this blessed period. The present Prophetic statement runs as follows:

The affair (amr) of the people will not cease to be successful (mādiyan), as long as twelve persons lead them.

This is followed by the addition of the Quraysh clause by Jābir’s father.

The interchange of yakūn and lā yazālu repeats itself in the tradition of Jābir as transmitted on his authority by other Kūfan Successors. One of them is Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Bakrī (Kūfan d. AH 123). His yakūn version is recorded by al-Tirmidhī in the section of Fītān 59, and is repeated in several other sources 60. In some of them Simāk is just one of a group of Successors quoting Jābir, and the name of Quraysh is being added to the apocalypse either by Jābir’s father, or by some unidentified persons present in the audience. Simāk’s lā yazālu version of Jābir’s tradition was recorded in the muṣannaf compilations of Muslim and Ibn Ḥibbān 2. In it the Prophet states that Islam will not cease to be strong and stable (‘uzīz) until twelve caliphs (have ruled). In this version the Prophetic statement is again completed by Jābir’s father, who tells his son that the Prophet said that all the leaders will be of Quraysh.

In the apocalypse of the twelve leaders as quoted from Jābir by al-Aswad b. Sa‘īd al-Hamdānī (Kūfan?), the name of Quraysh has become

58 Muslim, VI, 3 (33: Bāb al-nās taba’i-Quraysh). See also Ahmad, Musnad, V, 97, 97-98, 98, 101, 107; Tabarānī, Kabīr, II, no. 1876 (the clause about Quraysh is missing).
59 Tirmidhī, Tahfīz IV, 471-74 (31:48).
60 Ibn al-Ja‘d, Musnad, no. 2660 (with other Successors quoting Jābir): Ahmad, Musnad, V, 90, 92, 94, 95, 99, 108; Tabarānī, Kabīr, II, nos. 1896, 1923, 1936, 2077 (yaqūm instead of yakūn), 2044, 2063 (with other Successors quoting Jābir), 2070.
61 Muslim, VI, 3 (33: Bāb al-nās taba’i-Quraysh); Ibn Hibbān, Sahīh, XV, no. 6662. See also Ahmad, Musnad, V, 90, 100, 106; Ṭayālīsī, Musnad, no. 1278; Tabarānī, Kabīr, II, no. 1964.
part of the initial Prophetic statement, and yet another supplementary clause is added to the apocalypse; in it the eschatological message of the apocalypse is confirmed through a statement to the effect that after twelve leaders of Quraysh have ruled, the chaotic stage of history will commence. The latter statement is being added to the apocalypse by the Prophet himself. This setting of the apocalypse is again available in two versions, one beginning with yakūn, the other with lā yazālū. The yakūn version has been recorded by Ibn Ḥibbān 62, and the lā yazālū one has been recorded by Abū Dāwūd 63. In the latter version the Prophet states that the Islamic umma will not cease to be successful and victorious till twelve caliphs of Quraysh have ruled. In both versions the Prophet makes his initial prophecy, then returns home, where people of Quraysh ask him: «And then what?» The Prophet replies: «Then, there will be killing (al-harj).»

More Kūfan versions of the tradition of Jābir appear in the canonical muṣannaf compilations, and most of them are assembled in the Šahīh of Muslim, in the «book» of Imāra («Authority»). All of them are of the lā yazālū type. One of them is quoted from Jābir by the Kūfan Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al Sulami (d. ah 136). The pattern is identical to the above lā yazālū traditions: the Prophet states that the affair (of the Muslims) will prevail until twelve caliphs have ruled, and Jābir’s father provides the complementary clause about Quraysh 64. A yakūn version with the same upper isnād (opening with the equivalent yaqūm) is also available, but did not gain entrance into the muṣannaf compilations 65.

In another lā yazālū tradition of Jābir b. Samura as recorded by Muslim 66, this Companion is quoted by al-Sha'bī. Al-Sha'bī’s transmission is widely current, appearing also in Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Hibbān 67, and more detailed versions of his, including the time and place

62 Ibn Ḥibbān, Šahīh, XV, no. 6661. See also Ibn al-Ja'u'd, Muṣnad, no. 2662; Ahmad, Muṣnad, V, 92.
63 Abū Dāwūd, II, 421 (35:1). The version here is incomplete. For the complete version, see Ṭabarānī, Kābīr, II, no. 2059; idem. Awsaf, VII, no. 6378; Bayhaqī, Dalā'il, VI, 520.
64 Muslim, VI, 3 (33: Bāb al-nās taba' li-Quraysh). See also Ṭabarānī, Kābīr, II, no. 2068.
65 Ṭabarānī, Kābīr, II, no. 2067.
66 Muslim, VI, 3, 3-4 (33: Bāb al-nās taba' li-Quraysh).
67 Abū Dāwūd, II, 421 (35:1); Ibn Hibbān, Šahīh, XV, no. 6663.
of the announcement, appear in several biographical compilations. The time is Muhammad’s farewell pilgrimage, and the place is either Minā or ‘Arafa, two well-known stations of the Meccan hajj. The pattern in all the versions remains the same (the Quraysh clause is confirmed by Jābir’s father), but sometimes it is concise, the Quraysh clause being quoted directly from the Prophet, without reference to the father’s role. In one case, the Quraysh clause is entirely missing. A yākīn version of al-Sha‘bī’s transmission is also available, but did not gain entrance into the muṣannaf compilations. It is stated here that twelve rulers (qayyim) will rule, and whoever abandons them can cause no harm to them, and then the Quraysh clause is provided by Jābir’s father.

The fact that the transmission of al-Sha‘bī is available in several versions indicates a process of re-shaping on the part of later traditionists, while the original form of the apocalypse of his transmission does not seem to have included the name of Quraysh. As seen above, al-Sha‘bī actually appears in the isnād of a version recorded on the authority of another Companion (Ibn Mas‘ūd), and in it the Quranic model of the nuqabā’ of Moses is being used, while the name of Quraysh is still absent.

Another Kūfan version of Jābir’s tradition is found in Abū Dāwūd’s Sunan. This one is quoted from Jābir by Abū Khālid al-Aḥmasī, and it is again of the lā yazālu type, the clause about Quraysh being provided by Jābir’s father. However, in a rare version of the same transmission, the clause adduced by the father does not mention Quraysh, merely the fact that all twelve caliphs will enjoy the support of the entire ummat. There is also a version in which the Successor quoting Jābir is named Abū Khālid al-Wālībī (Kūfan d. AH 100), which may be identical with the former Abū Khālid. In this version, which was not recorded in the muṣannaf compilations, the name of Quraysh is part of the initial lā yazālu statement of the Prophet, the father playing no role at all.

Apart from the numerous Kūfan versions of Jābir’s tradition, there

69 Nūraym b. Hammād, 52.
70 Tabarānī. Kabīr, II, no. 1792.
71 ibid., II, no. 1794; idem, Awsat, III, no. 2943.
72 Abū Dāwūd, II, 421 (35:1). See also Ibn Abī ‘Aṣim, Sunna, no. 1123; Bayhaqī, Dalā’il, VI, 519-20.
73 Tabarānī, Kabīr, II, no. 1849.
74 Ahmad, Musnad, V, 107; Tabarānī, Kabīr, II, no. 1852.
is also a Medinan one, which was also recorded in Muslim’s Sahih. It is quoted from Jābir by the Medinan ‘Āmir b. Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d. AH 104); being Sa’d’s son, he was a cousin of Jābir, who, as seen above, was the son of Sa’d’s sister. The eschatological impact of the apocalypse is restored in this version, which opens with a story of Sa’d. He relates that he once sent a letter to Jābir asking him to impart to him some of the traditions he had heard from the Prophet. In response Jābir wrote down for him some of these traditions, all of which eschatological, the first being the apocalypse of the twelve, which Jābir says was announced by the Prophet on a certain Friday. It is again of the ļa yazālu type, and the name of Quraysh is part of the initial statement, which is formulated in an explicit eschatological context: «The religion [of Islam] will not cease to prevail till the Hour (al-sā‘a) occurs, or till twelve caliphs have ruled over you, all of whom of Quraysh» 75.

So much for the canonical compilations. In other sources one may find some more versions of Jābir’s statement, quoted from him by some less renowned Successors. All of them are of the ļa yazālu type, and the Successors quoting them from Jābir are mostly Kūfān: ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Qibtiyya (=Ibn Abī ‘Abbād) 76, al-Musayyab b. Rāfi’ (d. AH 105) 77, Ziyād b. ‘Ilāqa (d. AH 163) 78, and Ma‘bad b. Khālid (d. AH 118) 79. In their versions Jābir’s father is not present, the clause «all of them of Quraysh» being quoted directly from the Prophet. The father reappears in the version of a certain al-Naḍr b. Šāliḥ 80, and of the Baṣhr ‘Atā’ b. Abī Maymūṣa (d. AH 131) 81 who was known as a qadarī. The latter version is of the yakūn type, and the clause «all of them of Quraysh» is confirmed to Jābir by his father as well as by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The twelve leaders are designated as confronting firmly the enmity of their foes.

Among the traditions which did not gain entrance into the canonical compilations of Ḥadīth, there is one related on the authority of a different Companion, namely, Abū Juhayfa al-Suwā‘ī (Wahb b. ‘Abdallāh, d. AH 74), a fellow tribesman of Jābir b. Samura, who was an official in

75 Muslim, VI, 43 (33: Bāb al-nās taba‘ ti-Quraysh). See also Ahmad, Musnad, V, 86.
76 Tabarānī, Kahīr, II, no. 1808, 1809.
77 Ibid., Kahīr, II, no. 1841; Ibid., Awsat, IV, no. 863.
78 Ibid., Kahīr, II, no. 1883.
79 Ibid., no. 2061.
80 Ibid., Awsat, IV, no. 3950.
81 Ibid., Kahīr, II, no. 2060.
82 Ibid., no. 2073; Majmu‘ al-zawā‘id, V, 194.
'Ali’s administration \textsuperscript{82}. His tradition \textsuperscript{83} is transmitted by his son ‘Awn, and its basic pattern is the same as that of the traditions of Jābir b. Samura. Like the latter, Abū Juḥayfa is assumed to have been underage during the Prophet’s lifetime, and the clause «all of them of Quraysh» is again confirmed to him by an adult, this time —his uncle. The apocalypse itself is of the \textit{lā yazālu} type.

To sum up the apocalypse of the twelve in its «Quraysh form», the Companions to whom it was attributed as a Prophetic utterance are of Mu ḍar (Suwa’ of Ṭabbarānī, Ša’ṣṣa’), and probably of pro-‘Alid inclinations, which means that the combination between the prophecy about the twelve leaders and the clause «all of them of Quraysh» may have had its origin in ‘Alid circles. However, the apocalypse gained wide circulation in the Sunnī sources, including canonical compilations, which means that the title «Quraysh» was taken by the compilers in its broadest sense. The two patterns of the structure of the apocalypse —\textit{yakūn} and \textit{lā yazālu}— reflect two focal points of the prophecy. In the \textit{yakūn} type it is the number of the leaders, which stems from the earliest versions of the apocalypse, and preserves its biblical origin. In the second, it is the situation prevailing under the leadership of the twelve, which implies that their number is not absolute, and therefore this structure may be regarded as a secondary elaboration on the \textit{yakūn} pattern. The \textit{lā yazālu} type is indeed the one most prevalent in the canonical compilations.

Finally, the combination of the apocalypse of the twelve and the Quraysh clause, although evidently secondary, has created a problem of interpretation with which Muslim scholars tried to cope. There is no point in going into the details of their discussions, which are all designed to provide a clear-cut historical identification of the twelve Qurāshī leaders \textsuperscript{84}.

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\textsuperscript{82} Ibn Hajar, \textit{Tahādīth}, XI, 145 (no. 281).

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Kashf al-asār}, II, no. 1584; Ţabbarānī, \textit{Ḳabīr}, XXII, no. 308; \textit{idem}, \textit{ Awsat}, VII, no. 6207; \textit{Majma’ al-zawā’id}, V, 193.

THE APOCALYPTIC POSITION OF ‘ALI

The absence of the name of ‘Ali from all the lists of specific names added to the ‘Abbāsid forms of the apocalypse of the twelve, and especially from those in which the predicted group consists of «caliphs» and not of «kings», is a clear indication of their anti-‘Alīd trend. This must have had its origin already among Umayyad circles, for whom ‘Ali was no more than a pretender 85. However, the view of Islamicists that ‘Ali came to be considered as the fourth caliph only as late as the ninth century AD 86 does not seem to be justified. In fact, there are traditions designed to counterbalance the Umayyad attitude towards ‘Ali, in which his status as a caliph is defended, and these traditions may have had their origin in Umayyad times.

To begin with, the name of ‘Ali emerges in a prophecy which in itself is just another anti-Umayyad statement discriminating between «caliphs» and «kings». ‘Ali’s name is explicitly added to the group of Righteous Caliphs, and the exclusion of his name from this group by others is denounced as a false claim of the Marwānī branch of the Umayyad dynasty. The tradition is of the Başran Sa’īd b. Jumhān (d. AH 136), which seems to indicate its late Umayyad date, or early ‘Abbāsid, at the latest. This traditionist quotes Safina, a client (mawla) of the Prophet, who heard Muḥammad say concerning the reign of the Righteous Caliphs: «The caliphate after me will last among my community 30 years.» The people who heard this from Safina made the proper chronological calculation, and realized that only with ‘Ali’s reign (AH 36-40) the pre-Syrian caliphate reached a total of 30 years [Abū Bakr: 2; ‘Umar: 10; ‘Uthmān: 12; ‘Ali: 6]. Thereupon they told Safina that some claimed that ‘Ali had not been a caliph, to which Safina responded: «Those [who claim this] are the sons of the blue-eyed woman [«a whore, i.e. Marwān’s mother 87]; this is typical of them.» The tradition was recorded by Nu‘aym b. Hammād 88, and is widely current; many of its versions contain an addition to the effect that after the thirty years of caliphate, there will be «kingdom» (mulk) 89. It is sometimes stressed that

85 Crone and Hinds, God’s Caliph, 32.
86 Ibid, following Madelung.
87 See Abū Dāwūd, II, 515. See also Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād, 72.
88 Nu‘aym b. Hammād, 57.
89 See Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, Sunna, nos. 1181, 1185; Aḥmad, Musnad, V, 220, 221; idem, Fudâ’il al-sahâba, I, nos. 789, 790, II, no. 1027; Tabarānī, Kābir, I, nos. 13, 136; VII, nos.
Mu‘āwiya is not included among the caliphs, being «the first of the kings» 90. The tradition also gained entrance into some authoritative musannaf compilations of hadith 91, which means that the consideration of ‘Alī as a caliph has become part of the mainstream of Islamic dogma.

In a less current Başrân version of the same Prophetic statement (reported on the authority of Abū Bakr), Mu‘āwiya is said to have humbly (or ironically) responded: «We are content with being kings» 92.

The statements predicting 30 years of caliphate seem to indicate that already towards the end of the Umayyad period at the latest, ‘Alī was regarded as the fourth of the Righteous Caliphs, and that those who excluded his name from that group belonged to the Marwānis, who, on their part, were also opposed to their Sufyānī relatives. In fact, the name of ‘Alī seems to have been included in the list of caliphs already ca. AH 100, when the first versions of the apocalypse of the twelve were put into circulation. Only with his name, the ruler in AH 100 could be the twelfth after the Prophet.

The apocalypse of the twelve leaders reappears indeed in one isolated version of the Sa‘îd b. Junhān < Safina tradition, recorded by Ibn Ḥibbân 93. The Prophet says here:

The caliphate will last 30 years, and the rest of (the leaders) will be kings (mulâk); the number of caliphs and kings is twelve.

The concluding gloss with the number 12 reflects the above traditions in which the apocalyptic list of twelve is divided into subgroups of caliphs and kings, and at the same time preserves the original purport of the apocalypse, which predicts the eschatological turmoil after the twelfth successor of Muḥammad ['Umar II] has ruled (ca. AH 100).

6442-44; Bayhaqi, Dalâ‘îl, VI, 341-42; Suyūtî, Khwaṣṣî’s, II, 421; Ibn Kathîr, Bidâya, VI, 198, 220, 249. And see also Tahâwî, Mushkil IV, 313. And Cf. Ignaz Goldziher, Muslim Studien (Muhammedanische Studien), Ed. and tr. by S. M. Stern, 2 Vols. (London, 1967-71), II, 41, n. 3.

90 Ṭâyâlisî, Mustânad, no. 1107.
91 Abû Dâwûd, II, 514-15 (39:8); Tirmidhî, Tuhfa, VI, 476-78 (31:48); Naṣâ‘î, Kirthâ, V, no. 8155 (76:5); Ibn Ḥibbân, Šâhîh, XV, no. 6943; Mustadrâk, III, 145, III, 71.
93 Ibn Ḥibbân, Šâhîh, XV, no. 6657.
THE APOCALYPSE OF THE TWELVE AND TWELVER SHIISM

The apocalypse of the twelve leaders retained its relevance even in later 'Abbāsid times when the Shī'īa consolidated its dogma of twelve imāms. The Shī'īs used our ancient apocalypse to provide their Twelver dogma with appropriate divine attestation. For that purpose, not much had to be changed in the original apocalypse that already contained the number 12, which was all they needed. Indeed, the earliest versions of our apocalypse were recorded intact in the Shī'ī sources in connection with the legitimation of the authority of the twelve imāms. In its Shī'ī context, the number 12 is, of course, always absolute, as is also the case in the original apocalypse.

The Princes of Ishmael

As already shown by Kohlberg, the Shī'īa used the biblical model of the twelve princes of Ishmael and identified them with the imāms 94. In fact, the Shī'ī compilers recorded some of the above earliest apocalypses, for example the one of Sirj al-Yarmūkī 95, and also the earliest version of the Ka'b—Yashū discourse 96.

But a Shī'ī re-shaping did take place here and there, especially in versions containing specific names of caliphs, like the first three Medinan ones. The traditions were reproduced in Shī'ī sources without the names. This is the case with one of the above traditions of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ which reappears in Shī'ī sources 97, but only with its first part ("There will be after me twelve successors"). However, versions with 'Abbāsid figures were not always excluded, and the above tradition of Ibn 'Abbās which mentions al-Saffāḥ, al-Mansūr and al-Mahdī as succeeding the twelve predicted caliphs, has been recorded in a Shī'ī compilation 98.

A Shī'ī revision seems also to be behind a peculiar version in which

94 Kohlberg, «From Imāmiyya to Ihnā‘-Ashariyya», 526-27.
95 Ibn Bahlūl, Khulās, 473-74 (no. 31); Ibn Tawūs, Malāḥim, 30. The name of Sirj al-Yarmūkī is distorted in these sources (‘Sarḥ al-Barmakī’).
96 Ibn Tawūs, Malāḥim, 30 (the name of Yashū is distorted).
97 Nu'mān, Ghayba, 63, 79 [some names in the isnād are distorted, and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr is printed: ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar].
98 Ibn Tawūs, Malāḥim, 30.
the apocalypse of the twelve is glossed by a statement to the effect that two of the twelve will be of the ahl al-bayt of Muhammad, one living 40 years, and the other 30. This version is attributed to a certain Abū l-Jald who is said to have been well versed in holy scripture. In another tradition the same Abū l-Jald predicts that a man of Hāshim and his son will rule (yamlikû) for 72 years. The symbolism of the number 70 suggests that at least one of the two persons is an apocalyptic figure; his affiliation to Hāshim corresponds to other traditions stating that the Mahdi will be of the same genealogical descent. In fact, it is stated that the Mahdī will remain among the people for 30 or 40 years.

In a special modified version of the apocalypse of Ka'b al-Abbār, the finality of the number 12 over an indefinite range of time is emphasised. Ka'b states here that there will be twelve successors (khalīfā), and if they are followed by a righteous generation, God will prolong their lives [till the return of the Mahdī], because a day with God is equal to a thousand earthly years. The issue of generations living prolonged life (mu'ammarān) is indeed crucial for the Shi'i writers defending their Twelver dogma.

The Princes of Moses

The Twelver Shi'is have also recorded the versions alluding to the Quranic model of the twelve nuqabā' of Moses, both those comparing them with the twelve chieftains of the 'Aqaba, as well as the apocalypse of Ibn Mas'ūd that links the model of the nuqabā' to the twelve leaders succeeding the Prophet; the tradition appears in passages dealing with the predestined number of the imāms.

In fact, the Shi'i sources contain further Prophetic traditions alluding

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100 Nu'āym b. Hammād, 124, 419.
101 Ibid., 228-34.
102 Ibn Bābūya, Khīṣâl, 474-75 (no. 35).
103 E.g. Tabarsi, A'tām al-warā, 441-45.
104 Ibn Bābūya, Khīṣâl, 491-92 (no. 70).
105 See Nu'mānī, Ghayba, 63, 74-75; Ibn Bābūya, Khīṣâl, 466-69 (nos. 6-11); Ibn Tāwūs, Malāhīm, 29.
to the twelve *nuqabāʾ* of Moses, and all of them were recorded in the same dogmatic context. In one of them, the widely current similes of the shoes and the feathers of an arrow appear, conveying the idea of symmetry between the history of the Children of Israel and that of the Muslims. In the present version, the prophet states 106:

Things will happen in my community, which are similar to what happened among the Children of Israel, as one sole of a shoe matches another, and as one feather of an arrow matches another. They (i.e. the Children of Israel) had twelve chieftains, as God said [Quran 5:12]: «and We raised up from them twelve chieftains».

The *imāms* thus emerge as renewing a divine sacred historical process which was first implemented with the leaders of the Children of Israel.

Other statements of the Prophet comparing the twelve leaders who will succeed him with the chieftains of the Children of Israel appear in the Shīʿī sources, where they are recorded on the authority of several Companions. Their context imply that they were recorded in allusion to the *imāms*. In fact, the word used for «leaders» in these versions is *aʾimma* (sing: *imām*) 107. Most explicit is a tradition in which the Prophet says to Salmān al-Fārisī that every prophet was given by God twelve *naqībs* as his successors, and then goes on to enumerate the virtues of the twelve Shīʿī *imāms*, which implies that they are his own *naqībs* 108.

Quraysh

But the Shīʿa used mainly the versions in which the name Quraysh is employed 109, and in the Shīʿī context, the name represents just the Ḥāshimite branch of this clan, as does the label Kaʿb b. Luʿayy, which also appears in the versions recorded in the Shīʿī sources 110. The Shīʿī compilers who recorded these latter versions were probably no longer

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107 Ibn Shahrašīb, I, 258.


aware of the original genealogical implication of Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy, in which Ābu Bakr and ‘Umar were also included.

Additional versions may be found in the Shi‘i sources which are missing from the Sunnī sources examined above. In one of them the tradition about Quraysh (of the la yazālu type) is quoted from the Prophet by Anas b. Mālik, whose name does not appear in the isnāds of the above versions 111.

There are also additional versions in which the genealogical affiliation of the twelve leaders remains unspecific, as is the case in two traditions—one of Makhlū (Syrian d. AH 112) 112, and the other of Wahb b. Munabbī (Yemeni d. AH 110) 113—to the effect that the Prophet stated that there would be after him twelve successors (khāliṭa).

In conclusion, the Shi‘i implementation of the apocalypse of the twelve has reverted it to its original significance, with the number 12 signifying literally twelve leaders whom will rule the Muslims in succession, from the death of the Prophet to the Day of Judgement.

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112 Ibn Bābūya, Khulul, 474 (no. 33).
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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the numerous versions of an Islamic apocalypse predicting the emergence of twelve leaders among the Muslims. It is contended that the earliest versions of this apocalypse were put into circulation during the Umayyad period, around AH 100, when the number of the caliphs was approaching 12. The numeric coincidence between the symbolic numbers 12 and 100 triggered an apocalyptic mood which brought about the circulation of the earliest versions of the apocalypse. These versions use the biblical model of the twelve princes of Ishmael who have been identified with the twelve Islamic leaders. The article goes on to examine many revised versions of the basic apocalypse, which reflect later political conditions that developed during late Umayyad and early ʿAbhāṣid period. In these revised versions the biblical model has been replaced by a Quranic model (the twelve chieftains —muqāba— of Moses), as well as by an Arabian one (Quraysh). The article also scrutinizes the function of the apocalypse in Twelver Shiʿism.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza las numerosas versiones de un Apocalipsis islámico que predice la aparición de 12 soberanos entre los musulmanes. Mantiene que
las primeras versiones de este apocalipsis fueron puestas en circulación durante el período omeya, alrededor del año 100 H, cuando el número de califas se acercaba al duodécimo. La coincidencia entre los dos números simbólicos, 12 y 100, alimentó una atmósfera apocalíptica que favoreció la circulación de las primeras versiones del apocalipsis. Estas versiones hacen uso del modelo bíblico de los doce principes de Israel que se han identificado con los doce soberanos musulmanes. El artículo continúa examinando varias versiones de este apocalipsis básico, versiones que reflejan circunstancias políticas posteriores, surgidas durante el final del periodo omeya y el comienzo del ‘abbási. En estas versiones revisadas, el modelo bíblico ha sido reemplazado por el coránico (los doce jefes –*maqābā* – de Moisés) y por un modelo árabe (Qurayš). El artículo examina también la función de este apocalipsis en el šī‘ismo Duodecíma-no.