

MALHAMAT DANIEL ¹

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Abstract: "Malhamat Daniel" is the oldest malhama book in Islamic history, and it concerns knowing the future events based on studying natural phenomena. It was attributed to the Biblical Daniel, even though the book was written hundreds of years after the time of Daniel. However, the reason for such an attribution stems from the importance of this character in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic religions, and also it stems from the connection of his name with Babylon, astrology and prophecy. In this thesis, the printed copy which I called "Najaf edition"-whose manuscript is not available- is compared with three manuscripts. The comparison shows that the "Najaf edition" is the closest to the original lost text, although the other three manuscripts sometimes allow us to correct it. The original could have been translated from the Syriac or Aramaic language. And the clear difference between the Najaf edition and the three manuscripts explains the flexibility and the ability of this text for changing and adapting in accordance with the age and the environment to which it arrived. And it seems that there is a relationship of this text with the ancient Babylonian Literature, for example the phenomenon of starting the year with the month of Nisan. Because the region of Babylon played a great role in traditions about Daniel, in the process of tracing Daniel in Mesopotamia, we examine the shrines which were associated with him, most of them in the Southern Iraq. Comparing this with what the old travelers mentioned regarding his tomb, we reach a rough conjecture about the place in which the original text of the malhama could have been written. And after this examination and comparison it seems likely that the text behind the Najaf edition took its final shape in some place between Basra and Ahwaz, at the hand of a Shi'ite man who lived in the

¹ This article is a summary of the unpublished Ebrahim ALKHAFFAF's master's thesis titled "Danya'lın Melhamesi: Tenkitli Metin, Giriş ve Yorum" [Malhamat Daniel: Text Edition, Introduction and Commentary] in 2017 under the supervision of Peter STARR at Fatih Sultan Mehmet Waqf University. This article was expanded and revised edition of paper which was presented at the *First International Conference on Israel and Judaism Studies 2017* (Konya, 16-17 December 2017) and was published as an abstract having the same title.

eleventh century. This study also tries to present every piece of information about Daniel in the ancient Islamic sources, thus this thesis can be taken as an introduction for any student who wants to study Daniel in Islamic History.

Keywords: Islamic History, Malhama, Daniel, Astrology, Prophecy, Babylon, Mesopotamia,

DANYAL'İN MELHAMESİ

Öz: Danyal'ın Melhamesi, İslâm tarihindeki en eski melhame kitabıdır. Gelecekteki hâdiselerin doğa olgularının incelenmesi temelinde bilinmesiyle ilgili olan bu kitap, (gerçekte onun yaşadığı dönemden yüzlerce yıl sonra yazılmış olmasına rağmen) Eski Ahit'teki şahıslardan biri olan Danyal'e nispet edilir. Bunun sebebi, Danyal'in Yahudi-Hristiyan ve İslâm dinlerindeki önemini yanı sıra, isminin Bâbil, astroloji ve kehânetle bağlantılı olmasıdır. Bu tezde Danyal'in Melhamesi'nin (elyazmasına ulaşılmadığı için) "Necef baskısı" olarak adlandırdığımız matbû metni üç elyazması ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu karşılaştırma sonucunda Necef baskısının, incelenen diğer üç elyazmasının düzeltmeler getirmesine rağmen, Arâmîce ya da Süryânîceden tercüme edilmiş olması mümkün kayıp aslı metne en yakın nüsha olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Elyazmaları arasında tespit edilen birçok farklılık, metnin yayıldığı zaman ve bölgelere göre esnek, değiştirme ve uyarlamalara açık olduğunu göstermektedir. Görünüşe göre metin eski Bâbil literatürüyle ilişkilidir. Bu durum örneğin yılın Nisan ayıyla başlatılması olgusunda görülebilir. Bâbil'in Danyal hakkındaki geleneklerde büyük bir rol oynaması nedeniyle, Danyal'in Mezopotamya'daki izlerinin araştırılması sürecinde, ona nispet edilen ve çoğu Güney Irak'ta bulunan türbeler ele alınmış, eski gezginlerin Danyal'in mezarı hakkındaki anlatıları temelinde melhamenin asıl metninin yazılmış olabileceği bölge hakkında yaklaşık bir tahminde bulunulmuştur. Bu inceleme ve karşılaştırmadan sonra, Necef baskısının temelinde yatan metnin son şeklini milâdî 11. yüzyılda Basra ve Ahvâz arasındaki bir bölgede yaşamış bir Şii'nin elinde almış olabileceği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Çalışmada Danyal hakkında ilk İslâm kaynaklarında verilen bütün bilgilerin sunulmasına çalışılmış, böylece çalışmanın İslâm tarihinde Danyal konusunu incelemek isteyen öğrenciler için bir giriş niteliğini taşıması arzu edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslâm Tarihi, Melhame, Danyal, Astroloji, Kehânet, Bâbil, Mezopotamya,

“Malhamat Daniel” is the oldest malhama (celestial divination) book in Islamic literature, and it concerns knowing the future events based on studying natural phenomena. It was attributed to the Biblical Daniel, even though the book was written hundreds of years after the time of Daniel. However, the reason for such an attribution stems from the importance of this character in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic religions, and also from the connection of his

name with astrology, prophecy and Babylon, the place associated with the occult sciences.

1. First Chapter and Related Topics

My thesis consisted of four chapters and appendixes. At the introduction of the first chapter, I started with a discussion of the different methods by the means of which people in the Near and Middle East predicted future events. Those various methods can be classified under three, sometimes overlapping groups. A brief summary of the terminology of these different methods is given. The first type is called fortune-telling which predicts the future by using many different things such as: randomly opening a book, looking at the movement of the birds, coffee grounds, dice, and entrails.

The second category, oracles, make predictions based on that person's special discernment (intuition). Some people are born with such supernatural power. Others acquire it through a hard spiritual training of cleaning the body from the earthly pleasures. For example, a visionary can claim that an earthquake will hit a specific area at a specific time without using any physical entity. That is why people believed that any person who is associated with oracles is depending on spirits or on divine creatures, as in the case of Apollonius of Tyana.

However, the third type, which is directly related with my thesis, is malhama. This kind of science predicts future based on looking at the natural circumstances, including: the movement of the Sun, Moon, and stars during day and night as well as other natural phenomena such as rain, hail, thunder, and the likes. In short, malhama deals with meteorology and the stars.

The malhama is different from fortune-telling in that its practitioner doesn't change his/her analysis based on people or incidents, because it has a written text which can be used by any person. Likewise the malhama is different from oracles because it is built on unchangeable information which can be applied under any circumstance. It doesn't need any personal characteristic or self-training. Thus, it tries to approach the exact sciences. We can illustrate this with an example of the general methods used in the malhama: "If the Sun is eclipsed in May between the first and tenth day, evil will increase among the kings, and war will be frequent in the land of east." (Fodor. *Malhamat Daniyal*, "Najaf edition", the Arabic text. 29) So, if anyone would read the text a hundred years later when he will see such natural phenomenon at the mentioned time, he will have the same results. Malhama looks at nature in order to predict the political, economic and social future of nations and countries, it doesn't care about the individual the way we have seen in fortune-telling. (Boyras 3-5) Nevertheless, the malhama sometimes comes near to oracles and fortune-telling. For example, sometimes it uses hurufism (gematria), which makes it

nearer to magic. And it is worth mentioning that some Muslims respected astro-meteorological divination so much that they didn't put it at the same category fortune-telling.

Next in the thesis, at the first topic titled "Babylonian Astrology", I talked generally about the Babylonian astrology and I dwelt on the Babylonian tradition of mixing science with religion (Lambert 59-77), which is a characteristic of the text that we are dealing with. That is to say, an anonymous-author scientific text attributed to a religious character, Daniel. It is possible to say that Arabic malhamas are part of an ancient tradition from Babylon and Assur.

In the second topic titled "Arabic Divination", in order to trace back this kind of mystical knowledge and also in order to keep the reader reminded of the possible connection of this science at that area from very ancient time, I mentioned how the old divinatory traditions survived in that area (Arabia and more specifically Mesopotamia). Thus, I talked about the Arabic Divination before the appearing of Islam when knowledge was spread orally. Arabs used to predict future based on natural phenomena such as the time of rain falling because rain was the backbone of their life. Moreover, I brought pre-Islamic poems in which we clearly see a mixture of weather foretelling and divination (Ibn el-Âsim 94, 106, 132, 141). For example, prediction based on scapula was very famous in both pre-Islamic Arabic societies as well as in ancient Babylon. Moreover, the famous mystic and alchemist Ibn Wahshiyyah (10th century), claimed that he has found an old Babylonian manuscript containing "the secret of the moon and the sun".²

Then, in the third and fourth topics titled "Daniel and Babylon, Daniel at the Old Testament", I talked about Babylon, since Daniel has lived most of his lifetime there. Then I mentioned some biblical stories from the book of Daniel, according to both the Catholic Bible and King James Version, I chose those stories that have a connection with my topic, that is, about future foretelling and how he arrived to Babylon (Bible. Daniel, 1: 1-6), in order to show why such a text could be attributed to Daniel and not to someone else. Daniel's name is connected with Babylon in the Old Testament but it is very much connected with rain in the Islamic sources.

However, there could be many reasons for attributing such book to him, for example, it is well known among scholars that Arabs, especially in the

² Scholars take his claim seriously, because his other shocking manuscript—which still alive—described and demonstrated the translation of the hieroglyphic alphabets. And it seems that the French scientists who deciphered the Rosetta Stone were familiar with that manuscript. Not to forget that the French learned the value of the Arabic manuscripts from the time of Napoleon's project of taking a group of translators and scholars with him before invading Egypt.

Abbasside time, used to write books and then attribute them to some famous authority of the field in which the book was written in order to encourage people of reading it. That is why now we have many pseudepigraphal books attributed to Aristotle, Galen and others.

In the fifth topic titled “Daniel among Muslims”, I talked about Daniel from Muslims’ perspective. So, I tried to explain why Muslims respected Daniel so much that they even considered him as one of the Jewish prophets even though he was not mentioned in the Quran. Of course among many other reasons, his strong monotheism is not to be forgotten.

The reception of Daniel’s fame was different from people to people. It seems that Muslims liked him for his pure faith that he left all things in the hands of God. And not to forget the story of throwing him to the lions who were not able to harm him. Such a story would inspire many groups in the Islamic Sufism, who lived in a similar situation.

And the Christians liked him for his prophecy about the coming of the Savior (son of earth), while Jews didn’t consider him as a prophet, because Jews don’t accept a prophet to live with kings, and above all, they expected a prophet to live in contact with the Hebrews.

In the sixth topic (Shrines Attributed to Daniel), in order to trace back the tradition of Daniel, I talked about the shrines attributed to him, the one in Samarkand, and the one in Egypt, the one in Turkey, and the four that existed in Iraq and the one in Ahwaz. The one in Ahwaz was and is the most active and influential, so that many people strongly believe that Daniel was actually buried there.

So, if we unify all the collected stories then we can imagine Daniel as he was brought, during Nebuchadnezzar’s invasion, from Jerusalem to Babylon. He lived and educated there. Then apparently he was taken to Persia after the downfall of Babylon to die there and to be buried in Ahwaz. The remains which were said to be his were transferred from one place to another. Most Islamic sources mentioned that Muslims at the end—when they invaded Ahwaz and saw people using his remains for rain rituals—buried his remains in a place where nobody could know, so no one would be able to disturb his holy memory. (Ibn Kesîr. C. II, s. 314),³ Yet, one source claimed that when Tamburlaine invaded the area, he took Daniel’s remains to Samarkand, apparently believing that it would bring rain and good luck to his country.

³ I have also mentioned some hadiths about him. For example, in one of them the prophet says that Daniel has prayed God that he would be buried by Mohammed’s nation.

In the seventh topic titled “Old Stories about Daniel in the Old Islamic Sources”, I mentioned all I could collect from the stories about Daniel according to the oldest Islamic sources starting from the 8th century, which makes this topic like an introduction to any student who wants to study Daniel from Muslims’ perspective. Some of those stories might sound imaginative yet we can come out with three conclusions of all those stories as a whole: 1) Daniel was connected with bringing rain before and after his death. 2) Daniel was buried—or thought to be buried—in Ahwaz. 3) Arabs knew the books of Daniel from relatively early time.

And the first conclusion tells us that Daniel may have had some knowledge about the time of rain falling, and that can help us better comprehend the reason why would such book about weather forecasting would be attributed to him.

In the eighth topic titled “The Literature of Malhama”, I explained the Arabic meaning of the word “malhama” which has different meanings such as “flesh” or “the meeting of the fighting sides”. Then, I talked about this literary genre and I showed the overlapping of the Arabic three different literary usages of the term “malhama”:

1) The apocalyptic text, which foreshadows a big bloody war which is very similar to the Armageddon style where we see a text such as “The Wars of our Lord, Adonai” foretelling a war between Jews and Christians. At any rate, in the 8th century Muslims started developing such texts predicating wars between Sunnis and Shi’ites or between Muslims and non-Muslims. They even started to write hadiths of such political topics and attributed them to the prophet. Those hadiths are called the hadith of “Al-fitan Wa Al-malahaim”, which often considered as “Isra’iliyyat” that is, they entered to the Islamic tradition through Jewish writers.

2) The long epic poem that discusses the fate of a great hero/nation which also contains wars and battles, such as *The Epic of Gilgamesh*.

3) A text about Astro-Meteorological divination, that predicts future based on natural phenomena. That is, the text that my thesis is dealing with.

Not to forget the overlapping of these three usages of this term, that is to say, we can see the first type’s style appearing in the texts of the third type. For example, in our text we sometimes see the apocalyptic voice predicting a terrible war that would crush the whole people in a specific area.

However, some Ottoman historians have claimed that some scholars have predicated the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols based on Malhama (Taşköprüzade C. I, s. 364). But this is not clear, but what is clear is that the

genre of malhama started being popular with the spreading of books attributed to Daniel.

In the ninth topic titled "Malhamat Daniel", having given an adequate background about Daniel, the place in which he lived and died, and about the genre of malhama, I entered to the body of my thesis in which I exposed the results of my study in which I compared the copy which I called "Najaf edition", that was found as a printed text by a scholar (A. Fodor) in Najaf/Iraq, whose manuscript was not available, with Hekimoglu manuscript and with the one that I called the American manuscript, since I found it in the electronic library of Princeton University, and I also compared the Najaf edition with Sehit Ali manuscript and because the latter was very different from the others, so I examined it separately as a different recension.

Scholars, such as G. Furlani, Tawfiq Fahd and Fuat Sezgin, have referred to this genre of literature but there is one scholar, A. Fodor, who has studied Najaf edition alone and he gave an approximate conjecture about the place, time, religion of its anonymous author, which according to him was a Christian monk who lived in the 11th century in a place near to Diyar Bakr. (Fodor. 86-91) However, since I was able to work on three other manuscripts next to Najaf edition and after comparing them carefully, I came with different results. According to my study, the text has developed in the process of time in many places and it could have passed by that place mentioned by Fodor yet the text has taken its final shape in a place between Basra and Ahwaz by a Shi'ite writer who lived in the 11th century.

The comparison shows that the "Najaf edition" is the closest to the original lost text, although the other three manuscripts sometimes allow us to correct it. The original could have been translated from the Syriac or Aramaic language. Next to Najaf Edition's pure and consistent language, it has a complete shape of an introduction, body and end. But this cannot be seen in the American Manuscript where it is cut out of sudden even before finishing the final paragraph in the last existing page. More things are found that explain the oldness of Najaf edition, for example, it is the only one that starts with the story which was very famous in Mesopotamia, that is, the myth of Adam's cave in which he put the tablets of knowledge. Knowing that this idea of the ancient knowledge being once revealed to humanity is also a very typical Babylonian notion. And there are more similarities, for example, the phenomenon of starting the year with the month of Nisan, the same style of omen :if z happens, c will be the result, and many other things. All this gives us a hint about the place in which the text was written which should be a place near to Babylon or at least a place in which the babylonian tradition has lived on.

However, the clear difference between the Najaf edition and the three manuscripts explains the flexibility and the ability of this text for changing and adapting in accordance with the age and the environment to which it arrived.

I have used many means in my study to support my claim about the place in which the text was written which is apparently a place where shi'ites lived at the time. Along with the comparison, I used a philological typical method which shed the light on the development of the language. And I also traced back the slang words which seem to belong to the south of Iraq accent (Fodor. *Malhamat Daniyal*, "Najaf edition", the Arabic text. 92-93). And looking deeply inside the text I found many things such as the agricultural products, plants, animals, geographical places and diseases that have their counterparts in the area of Ahwaz at that time, and of course I strengthened my evidences by what was written about Ahwaz in the old famous Islamic sources. For example, the famous historian, Yaqut al-Hamawi (12th century) gave remarkable characteristics of Ahwaz: "it is full of fevers and its people's faces are always yellow and swollen... The midwives say sometimes when they are taking the new born child from his/her mother's belly, they find it already having a fever in the very hour of his/her birth." (Yâkût C. I, s. 286) and he explained the reason behind the dominant sickness there which he connected with the place's hot weather and its contaminated air. So, I showed that it is not a coincidence when we see the repeated references to different kind of sickness in the malhama, and above all the exaggeration in referring to fevers.

And I also used the reports mentioned by old travels and archeologists. For example, I mentioned the beautiful story told by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) when he visited Ahwaz and when he talked about the good luck the remains of Daniel thought to bring about the place in which it was buried, that people were fighting to get the body buried in their place. (Benyamin 322-324)

In short, I tried to present evidences from every perspective, of course, these results and evidences were presented after destroying Fodor's thesis by showing many weak points and wrong interpretations in his argument.

I also focused on Daniel's shrine in Ahwaz where Daniel's memory was—still—very alive. For example, it is not a coincidence that the famous religious cult "Bahatism" that was emerged in the 19th century based on the prophecy of Daniel⁴, has started from Iran, specifically from a place (Shiraz) very near to

⁴ Referring to the number mentioned in his following prophecy: "many will be cleansed, made white and purged; the wicked will persist in doing wrong; the wicked will never understand; who are wise will understand. From the moment that the perpetual sacrifice is abolished and the appalling abomination set up: a thousand two hundred and ninety days..." (The sealed Prophecy

Ahwaz. Moreover, and as the famous authority historian Al-Tabari claimed, regarding the star that appeared in the sky giving the tidings of Jesus birth, by the means of which the Persian kings were able to find the place of Jesus, that they did so depending on what was written in Daniel's book. (Taberī C. I, s. 422) Not to forget other historians who mentioned that Daniel's shrine in Ahwaz was always crowded by religious scholars. (Makdisī 303) Thus, the memory of Daniel mixed with many other stories about his supernatural power played a great role in developing and attributing a text suitable to such character.

And in the next paragraph, I will mention some characteristics of Ahwaz which I used as a proof to strengthen my claim of Ahwaz as the place in which the text was written.

Susa is near to the ancient Mesopotamian cities (Uruk and Ur) where the Babylonian heritage lived on. Susa appears in the very earliest Sumerian records, described as one of the places obedient to Ananna, patron deity of Uruk, which is among the things that induced scholars to think that Susa was part of the greater Uruk culture. So, historically speaking "the material culture of Susa is a regional variation of that on the Mesopotamian plain" (Qtd. in Lawler. Volume 302 [science], P 977-978). And it is important before we continue talking about Susa to remember that many times the malhama predicts the omen regarding Persia and Babylon together. Two among many examples can be fruitful to mention in this context: "If a rainbow appears in it [First Tishrin] from the East then there will be fighting and death in the land of Persia, and the mighty ones from the people of Babel will die." (*Malhamat Daniyal*, "Najaf edition", the English text. 115 in Fodor), "...Conflict will be frequent among the kings; Kharijites will increase but the year will be good in the land of Persia and Babel.." (*Malhamat Daniyal*, "Najaf edition", the English text. 117 in Fodor) So, the future of the two places are somehow connected, what happens here can happen there, and this might suggest that the writer considered the two places as his own home, or at least it suggests the existence of some cultural mutuality.

Knowing that the divinatory texts belonging to the 2nd millennium notably those related with dream interpretation and celestial omens were found in Susa, (Rochberg 82) which had a strong historical relationships with Uruk, the earliest Mesopotamian city in which found many tablets of horoscopes. (Rochberg 99) Thus, the place in which the malhama seems to have taken its

of Daniel in the *New Jerusalem Bible*). So they believe that in that year according to the Islamic calendar the Savior has come and he will come again to save humanity.

final shape is the same place in which was found some ancient Babylonian texts of future predication.

At any rate, Susa is one of the most important cities of the Ancient Near East. It is located in western Iran, the lower Zagros Mountains about 250 km east of the Tigris River. Thus, it has a good agricultural environment next to the various highlands and lowlands that are suitable to plant. Moreover, there are many mountains near to it. That is, the ones in Shushtar. This reminds us of the low and high places mentioned in malhama, because the narrator of malhama made it necessary to draw a comparison between the crops of the mountains (jibal) and those of the plains (biqa'). Besides the many references to the rising of rivers.

As mentioned so far the text of malhama was very suitable for agricultural areas which helped the peasants to know the time of rain in a relation with the time of planting the earth. And Ahwaz is a good agricultural society with a fertile soils coming from the flowing river.

Furthermore, this city was mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, Book of Daniel, by the name 'Shushan.' And what will make the inhabitants of Susa pay attention to the apocalyptic literature specially when it is attributed to a person like Daniel is the fact that their city was attacked many times—sometimes even destroyed—by foreign invasions. The first one took place in 647 BC, By Ashurbanipal. The second in 638 AC, when Muslim army first conquered Persia. The third one at the 1218 in the brutal hands of the Mongols.

Finally, Susa had a significant Christian population during the first millennium, and was a diocese of the Church of East between the 5th and the 13th centuries. So, a text with Syriac roots can very easily find its way there.

Among other evidences that implicitly tell us about the author's religion is the fact that many of malhama manuscripts were found in Morocco, Egypt, Aleppo and south of Iraq, that is, places ruled by Shi'ites, especially under the Fatimid Caliphate at the time.

The Shi'ites were very much interested in such mystical sciences. Moreover, their interests in gnostic knowledge can be seen in their early reception and development of the hermetic sciences. Because they believed that all knowledge came down from God to the prophet Mohammad, likewise it passed to the prophet's cousin, Ali, which kept on passing through his sons and grandsons. Furthermore, they think that all the universe knowledge is hidden in Alhawza (the center of their scholars) which is only to be revealed to the chosen ones. For instance, Jabir Ibn Hayan (8th century) the famous

alchemist was a Shi'ite who claimed to take his knowledge from the descendant of Ali. That is, Ja'far al-Sadiq (the Truthful). (Jabir 154)⁵

The Shi'ites often looked at the inner meaning of the text, science, language, etc. For example, they believed that every prophet has come to give the apparent doctrines for people, but at the same time, every prophet was accompanied in his mission with another character who had the hidden meaning of those doctrines. That is, Ali in the case of the prophet, and Harun in the case of Moses, and so on so forth.

All these similarities accompanied by the many references made in the malhama to Iran (and to Ahwaz as well), give us a space to claim that the text has taken its final shape in Ahwaz.

Having presenting such full details, I showed that the text behind Najaf Edition has gone through several modifications at the hands of different writers belonging to different areas. And although there are some Syriac—as well as other origins'—influence in the text, yet that can only justify that the text was translated from a Syriac text or had some adding during its development where it took its final form near to Ahwaz. Because most of the evidences imply that such place almost correspond with what was mentioned in the malhama and about Daniel. Daniel's reputation has dramatically been connected with rain. (Se'alebī 300) In many stories, people used his body for ritual ceremonies praying for the rain, which implies that in his life as well, he was a hero to whom people come begging him to pray for the rain to fall. His strong effect has undoubtedly remained in Ahwaz in a way that can't be noticed in the other shrines attributed to him⁶. It seems that while people were near to his shrine praying for rain, they shared stories about him, which then led to the development of such text that deals with the Astro-Meteorological divination.

In the 10th topic titled “Books attributed to Daniel”, I mentioned all the manuscripts related with Daniel that I could find in the internet, Istanbul, Ankara and in other places. However, in this topic we can see the development of the malhama genre (Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman), as well as the spreading of Daniel's mysticism.

In the 11th topic titled “The Reception of the Malhama by the Persians and the Ottomans”, I talked about how the Persian version of the malhama arrived

⁵ Jabir's ideas and books are very prolific and advanced that modern critics believe that those books were written by a group of scholars.

⁶ Knowing that there is still a big family named Daniel Family in Baghdad, and this explains the living memory of Daniel.

to the Ottomans which was translated over and over again⁷. It is interesting that the great 1642 Istanbul earthquake was connected by astrologers to the kirân, the presence of Saturn and Jupiter in the same zodiac. (Târih-i Na'îma, C. II, s. 153'ten aktaran: Ayan, 1981, s. 2) Knowing that such concept is mentioned by Ibn-i Haldun as a major feature of the melhame texts. However, the existing of many Persian versions of Malhamat Daniel also strengthens my argument of Ahwaz as the place in which the text written.

In the 12th and last topic of chapter one titled "Could there be a Relationship between the Babylonian Literature and Malhamat Daniel?", I just presented a speculative idea of such relation. And according to my humble readings I could find some similarities. For example, the topic of the sun eclipses mentioned in malhamat Daniel is shockingly similar to the same topic in the Babylonian *Enuma Anu Enlil*⁸. Also the using of lucky and evil numbers in Malhama (in the paragraph of The Signs of the Sick Person during the Week Days) with the characteristics of numbers in the Babylonian literature. However, this possibility should be deeply examined and more methodically researched in order to create a stronger claim about the place of Malhamat Daniel text.

So, I leave this speculative question to another student in order to further develop this search.

2. Other Chapters

In the second chapter which also has variety of topics, I gave a speed description of the place, shape, size, the like of the main three manuscripts that I used, as well as the Najaf edition which I considered the oldest one. And I showed how and where the reader can get them. Then, I wrote about the hand writing style of the copyist and also about the style of the author, for example, regarding Najaf edition, since it has the largest number of topics (24 topics) compared with the other three manuscripts, thus its author focuses on

⁷ Knowing that some peasants in some agricultural places in modern Turkey are still depending on the text of *Malhamat Daniel* while they make their expectations regarding the needed rain for the planted crops.

⁸ *Enuma Anu Elil* is comprised seventy tablets devoted to celestial signs, that is, any visible phenomenon occurring in the sky during the day or night. Weather phenomena such as those related with the Moon, Sun, stars cloud formations were also dealt with as celestial phenomena. A remarkable attention was paid toward the moon's position with respect to the sun, as well as toward the eclipses. The result of such natural phenomena is connected with public matters such as floods, crop failure, pestilence, above all, with the rise and downfall of kings and nations. The knowledge of future predication was not built on intuitive. Those great tablets were the result of a serious hard work of watching the sky and recording its changes and then keeping an eye on the repeated things in order to find the unseen pattern behind what happened then. The style of these tablets is similar to the style of malhama. All Babylonian omens were formulated as conditionals: if x occurs (or has occurred), (then) y will occur.

giving a short paragraphs of the protases and protases⁹ of every month as a whole, while in the other manuscripts we see the distance from the original text whose oracle style is “say many things with the fewest words.” Thus, the other manuscripts sometimes divide the month and go more in details, instead of dealing with the whole month as one.

I also explained how the language of Najaf edition is nearer to the old oracle language. That is, its author often uses “if” instead of “When” and past instead of present. For example, he writes: “*if* the moon *was* eclipsed.” Whereas the author of Hekimoglu uses “*when* the moon *is* eclipsed.” Thus, in the latter example we feel that the event has occurred many times that the strange unexpectedness has disappeared and the whole event became very normal, which tells us that Hekimoglu is losing the oracle touch as a result of getting far from the original text.

Moreover, in this chapter I made a comparison between the four texts. And this comparison shows that the nearest one to the lost text is Najaf Edition. And at the second place is Hekimoglu manuscript. Then the American, where Sehit Ali is at the last place. So, I mostly focused in my written comparison on Najaf edition and Hakimoglu manuscript. And I wrote the strong points that strengthen the argument that Najaf Edition is the oldest, and I also wrote the weak points that made Hekimoglu as a second best after Najaf edition.

I also explained that every text has its own style. For example, as I mentioned of Najaf edition, its style seems older and its author seems more educated because he rarely uses slang words. Whereas the author of Hekimoglu seems to move from the general to more specific concerns, For example, sometimes when we see in Najaf edition this expression: “the land of Arabs”, the author of Hekimoglu made it: “the land of Iraq” and when we see “Iraq”, he changed it to “Baghdad” and when we see “the good people”, he used “Muslims”, and when there is a mentioning of words such as “wine” he tried not to mention them. Furthermore, he sometimes added words of praise to God. Thus, his style tells us a lot about his faith and his good grammar tells about his good level of education.

As for the American manuscript, its author’s language contains many mistakes, dittography, and haplography. And when there is a bad omen about Persia, in many cases he just avoided mentioning Persia, or sometimes he put another name instead like “china”. Elsewhere it seems that he wasn’t able to

⁹ Protases, is the condition that happens in the weather. And apodoses, is the results of the protases on earth.

recognize some countries' names like Ahwaz, Algeria, and Al-Qayrawan, thus he seems to be uneducated peasant who lived in an agricultural environment.

As for Sehit Ali, he is the only one who never used Hurufism. And regarding the handwriting of the manuscript, it is very poor and very hard to read, and I think that is the reason that no one has studied this manuscript, which is not even numbered.

In the third chapter, I talked about my own style in editing the texts, how I used the dots, comma, and how I sometimes added explanations or corrections, which I put between square brackets, so the reader will not confuse them with the original text.

In the fourth chapter, I wrote the Najaf edition, along with its text I wrote as footnotes the equivalent of every word in the Hekimoglu and in the American manuscripts. So, the reader can theoretically see those two manuscripts word by words while he/she is reading the Najaf edition.

In the fifth and last chapter, I put three appendixes:

In appendix number one, I wrote what were mentioned in Hekimoglu and the American manuscript but have no counterparts in the Najaf edited text. So, I wrote them chronologically, thus the reader will have the chance to see the whole manuscripts.

In appendix number two, I edited Sehit Ali manuscript, and since its written style is very different from the other manuscripts, I treated it as a different recension. I edited the whole text and in the footnotes I just put the equivalents of the main differences with Najaf edition. Knowing that even though the language is different but the meaning and the ideas are the same.

In appendix number three, I put the pages images of Najaf edition and Hekimoglu manuscript which as I explained in my argument are the most competitive ones. So, the reader can have a look on them.

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