In its present form the Apocalypse of Daniel is a comparatively late Byzantine apocalypse in which earlier traditions concerning the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world are adapted to the particular historical situation of eighth-century Byzantium. Accordingly, the text may be divided into two major heterogeneous sections, the first of which (chs. 1–7) is based upon the historical events of the Byzantino-Arab wars of the eighth century and their aftermath leading up to the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome in A.D. 800, all of which the author relates in a cryptic manner and projects into the future as prophecies. The narrative leaves the historical sphere and enters the realm of apocalyptic with the beginning of the second major section (chs. 8–14) in which the author draws upon earlier traditions and sources and presents his own version of the end of the world as a direct continuation of the series of historical events described in chapters 1–7. The events of the last years of the world, which in this section also are recounted in the future tense as prophecies, are dominated by the figure of the Antichrist. Described in some detail are the origin and personal characteristics of the Antichrist as well as his rise to power as king and messiah of the Jewish nation, which has been previously restored in Judea. His brief reign—characterized by the deterioration of nature, the persecution of Christians, an unsuccessful attempt at a miracle, and confrontations first with a dragon and then with three holy men—is brought to an abrupt end by the coming of the day of judgment and the appearance of Christ.

Texts

The text of the Apocalypse of Daniel is preserved complete in each of two manuscripts and partially—and in a much freer rendering—in a third. The complete texts are found in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscript (MS M) in the School of Medicine at Montpellier, France (Nr. 405, fols. 105r–15), and in a fifteenth-century manuscript (MS B) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Codex Canonicianus Nr. 19, fols. 145–52). The partial text (MS V) is in the Bibliotheca Marciana in Venice (Marc. Grec. VII 22, fols. 14–16). The present translation is derived from photographs of manuscript B. This manuscript was published by V. Istrin in Otkrovenie Mefodie Patarskago i Apokrificheskie Vidienie Daniila (Moscow, 1897) pp. 145–50; but a reexamination of the photographs revealed numerous errors in Istrin’s edition, which reappeared recently in K. Berger’s Die griechische Daniel-Diegeses.

Manuscript B is an extremely corrupt text with misspelled words in almost every line. The
majority of these misspellings are obviously due to the confusion of the scribe over various
groups of Greek letters and diphthongs that during the course of the development of the
language have come to be pronounced identically. Most of these misspellings or itacisms
were corrected by Istrin and will receive no comment in the critical notes of the present
translation. Other misspellings, omissions of words and phrases, and mistaken transcriptions
by Istrin will be noted.

Original language

There is no apparent reason why the original language of the Apocalypse of Daniel should
be considered to be other than Greek. This assertion is supported by the use of the Greek
Septuagint text for Old Testament quotations (4:14; 5:12; 11:11; 14:12) and for Semitic
proper names (Hagar in 1:2f.; Ishmael in 1:4), as well as for the reference to the “flinty

The case for Semitic sources for parts of the apocalyptic section (chs. 8–14) would have
to be built on such slight evidence as the occurrence of the odd Semitic place-name Gouzêth⁵
(9:7), which may be contrasted with the easily identifiable Greek place-names in chapter I,
and the Semitism “sons of men’’ (14:5). This phrase, although unique in this document,
could still be explained as the influence of the Septuagint or possibly even of the New
Testament.

Of interest also within this context is the confusion of the manuscripts over the three
letters on the forehead of the Antichrist (9:25). While manuscripts M and V have readings
that are easily understandable in Greek, manuscript B has the letters A K T; the scribe is
obviously hard-pressed to explain their significance.⁶ This could suggest that this manuscript
has preserved the original letters from an earlier source. It is not inconceivable that this
source was written in a different, possibly Semitic, language, thus explaining an almost
ridiculous attempt to elucidate the meaning in Greek of three letters transliterated from such
a language as Aramaic or Syriac.⁷ However, for lack of more conclusive evidence, the most
that can be said is only that these three examples—Gouzêth in 9:7; “sons of men’’ in 14:5,
and the three letters on the forehead of the Antichrist in manuscript B (9:25)—could
conceivably be faint traces of an earlier, possibly Semitic, source or sources that underlie
the whole or parts of the apocalyptic section of the Apocalypse of Daniel.

Date

The date of the present form of our apocalypse can be determined with some precision
by identifying the last historical event to which it makes reference. This appears to be the
transfer of the kingdom from Constantinople to Rome (7:14), which may with reasonable
certainty be interpreted as an allusion to the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor in Rome
on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. This interpretation is supported by the description of the last
Byzantine ruler before this event took place as a woman (6:10f.), who corresponds to the
historical figure of the Empress Irene, sole ruler of Byzantium from 797 to 802. It may
therefore be concluded that the Apocalypse of Daniel was in all probability written between
the early months of 801, allowing time for the news of Charlemagne’s coronation to reach
Byzantium, and the end of Irene’s reign on October 31, 802.⁸

The determination of the date of any possible earlier traditions and sources of the apocalyptic
section would be extremely difficult and would have to depend on the identification of
passages of the present apocalypse with those found in known earlier works. As will be seen
below, the Apocalypse of Daniel, and especially its apocalyptic section, contains elements
parallel to such early documents as the Sibylline Oracles (books 3–5, 2nd cent. B.C. to 2nd

⁴ These itacisms indicate that the scribe who copied MS B did so while hearing the original text being read orally.
⁵ See ch. 9, n. d2.
⁶ Aram. 'khth is mentioned as a root associated with the meaning “venomous’’ or “vindictive’’ in M. Jastrow’s A
Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York, 1903) vol.
1, p. 66. In Syriac 'chth’ is a noun form meaning “wrath’’ or “lasting anger.’’ Both of these Semitic words could
apply as characteristics of the Antichrist.
⁷ Cf. Berger, Daniel-Diegeses, pp. 36f.
Furthermore, our apocalypse describes the conception of the Antichrist by a virgin who touches the head of a small fish into which the Antichrist has previously entered (ch. 9). This account resembles a cryptic Christian inscription of the late second century on the tomb of Aberkios of Hierapolis,\(^9\) which depicts Christ as a fish that has been caught by a pure virgin. This parallel, in addition to those with the early pseudepigraphical works mentioned above, could indicate that the author of the Apocalypse of Daniel was familiar with early traditions and incorporated some of them into his own work. It may be concluded, therefore, that the original date of certain elements of this apocalypse could be centuries earlier than that of the document as a whole and that some of them could fit into the apocalyptic environment that produced such works as the Sibylline Oracles, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and the Revelation of John.

**Provenance**

Berger's suggestion of a provenance in the Greek islands rather than in Byzantium itself, because of what he describes as the considerable role which the former play in the manuscripts of the apocalypse,\(^10\) does not seem to be well founded. The word \textit{nēsos} (island) occurs only twice each in manuscripts M (2:15; 5:9) and V (vss. 34, 36)\(^11\) and three times in manuscript B (5:9; 11:8 twice). Such a paucity of references to the term "island" within the document could hardly warrant the conclusion of a provenance in the Greek islands. Even these few instances could perhaps be explained more satisfactorily as an example of the dependence of the Apocalypse of Daniel on the imagery of the Revelation of John (see "Relation to Canonical Books"), in which islands are mentioned three times (Rev 1:9; 6:14; 16:20). Rather, the overwhelming concern of the apocalypse for the city of Constantinople, at least throughout the historical section, suggests that the "mother of cities" (7:11), Constantinople itself, is the place of origin.

The change in the overall character of the Apocalypse of Daniel in proceeding from the historical to the apocalyptic section is also apparent in the corresponding geographical shift from Greek Byzantium to Hebrew Judea. This probably reflects the distinctive provenance of the supposed earlier sources of the apocalyptic section, but to determine this provenance with any degree of certainty would be most difficult. Aside from the references to Judea (8:1) and Jerusalem (8:5; 9:14), the only other geographical clue is the place-name Gouzēth (9:7), which Berger explains as the transcription of Kush, the Semitic name for Ethiopia. He concludes, however, that it is more satisfactorily identified as Egypt by a literary parallel occurring in another Christian apocalyptic work.\(^12\) At any rate, on the basis of such meager information the most that can be said is that the provenance of the hypothetical sources of the apocalyptic section is perhaps in a Semitic rather than a Greek environment; Palestine and possibly Egypt are suggested by references in the text.

**Historical importance**

In its present form, the Apocalypse of Daniel has significance mainly within the context of late eighth-century Byzantine history. The author describes three Byzantine rulers, the first very favorably and the last two in a derogatory manner. The first emperor, as described in chapters 3–5, has characteristics of both Leo III (717–41) and his son Constantine V (741–75); but he is probably to be identified with the latter.\(^13\) Both Leo III and Constantine

\(^{9}\) Ibid., pp. 104–6.
\(^{10}\) Ibid., p. 9.
\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 25.
\(^{12}\) Ibid., p. 106. The place-name Gouzē is identified explicitly as the "land of the Egyptians" in the \textit{Logos tou Kyrion hēmōn Iōsou Christou peri tēs antilogias tou diabolou}, which was published by A. Vassiliev in his \textit{Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina}, Pars Prior (Moscow, 1893) p. 8. It is perhaps worthy of note that Jastrow identifies Goza as "a river or channel in Babylon" (\textit{Dictionary}, vol. 1, p. 220).

\(^{13}\) Concerning the complicated matter of the divergence of the MSS as to the succession of Byzantine emperors presented in ApDan, see Berger, \textit{Daniel-Diegese}, pp. 32–39. It seems that the number of years of rule (thirty-four for Constantine V against thirty-six in 5:13 of ApDan), the mention of the two small boys in 3:15; 4:1, 4; 5:2, 18 (see ch. 3, n. r), and the letter "K" denoting the name of the emperor in 3:12 (see ch. 3, n. m) would strongly suggest that Constantine V is indeed the savior-king of ApDan, or at least of the version contained in MS B. This is verified by the descriptions of the two rulers who succeed him in ch. 6, who in fact correspond to the two historical successors of Constantine V—Leo IV and Irene.
V are notorious in Byzantine history, the former as the initiator and the latter as the most zealous proponent of the iconoclastic movement, which literally shook Byzantium to its very foundations for over a century until it was finally defeated in A.D. 842. On the contrary, the last two rulers, who are described so unfavorably in chapter 6, correspond to Leo IV (775–80) and Irene (797–802 as sole ruler), both of whom in varying degrees opposed the iconoclasts. Irene, in fact, convened the Seventh Ecumenical Synod which met at Nicea in 787 and officially reinstated the veneration of icons and condemned iconoclasm as heresy, acts for which she was later canonized by the Orthodox Church.

The extreme favoritism of the author of the Apocalypse of Daniel toward Constantine V and his obvious dislike of Leo IV and Irene perhaps betray his own iconoclastic tendencies. These, however, he never states in this work, possibly out of fear, since he probably wrote during Irene's reign after the decision of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod. Thus, a supporter of iconoclasm, writing at a time when his party was apparently defeated by what must have seemed to him as a heretic empress, could have viewed this development in connection with the rise of a new political power under Charlemagne as the beginning of a series of events that were expected to take place at the end of the world. Accordingly, the author drew upon earlier traditions and sources dealing with the last days and composed his own version of what was supposed to follow in the near future. If this hypothesis is correct, it would explain the sudden leap in the storyline of the Apocalypse of Daniel from the Byzantine political scene in 801 to the apocalyptic narrative concerning the Antichrist and the last days of the world.

Theological importance

Since the Apocalypse of Daniel is historically and politically oriented, there is relatively little theological material contained in it. God appears mainly when he intervenes in the political or military history of nations, as for example in chapter 3, in which he determines the outcome of the Byzantino-Arab wars (cf. 6:9 and 7:11); but he is also responsible for the abundance of the fruits of the earth in peacetime (5:16). Man also is shown chiefly in political and military situations; but in the sphere of religion he is divided into two camps according to faith: the Roman Christians and the misbelievers (especially the Arabs and Jews). World history is presented as proceeding toward a final “judgment and recompense” (14:14), but exactly what is to follow is not specified beyond a single statement concerning the flowering of Christ as “Lord and king of glory” (14:16). There is only one mention of an angel in 3:7, but this verse could be dependent on the imagery contained in chapter 16 of the Revelation of John (see “Relation to Canonical Books”). As far as can be ascertained from the description of the sinful rulers in chapter 6 and from the account of liturgical degeneration in chapter 2:5–8, the ethics of the apocalypse seem to be along the traditional lines that would be expected in a medieval Christian work.

The most important single theological aspect of the Apocalypse of Daniel—and which significantly seems to belong to the earlier underlying sources—is a relatively complex dualism centering on the figure of the Antichrist, who is the leader of the final assault by the forces of evil against the Christians. Jews (ch. 11), demons (ch. 12), and even nature itself (chs. 11:5–11; 12:9–13) take part in this great persecution, while the whole affair is summarily described as “the deception of the devil” (14:15). Given in chapter 9 are important details about the origin of the Antichrist as well as a bizarre description of his person. The “theology” of the Antichrist as presented in this apocalypse is completed by the addition, in the last two chapters, of the accounts of his unsuccessful attempt at a miracle and his confrontation with three holy men leading up to his final downfall, which coincides with the coming of the day of judgment and the appearance of Christ.

14 For a discussion of the belief that the fall of the Roman Empire, which to our author was the Byzantine Empire, would immediately precede the end of the world, see W. Bousset's *The Antichrist Legend*, pp. 123–32.

15 Concerning the Antichrist tradition see Bousset, *Legend*, and more recently H. D. Rauh's *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter* von Tyconius zum deutschen Symbolismus (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters N.F. 9; Münster, 1979); see especially pp. 145–52.
Relation to canonical books

Except for such scattered references to biblical books in 1:1 (Mk 13:7, 8, and parallels), 4:14 (Deut 32:30), 5:12 (Isa 2:4), 9:9f. (2Thes 2:3), 11:11 (Prov 11:32), 14:9 (Heb 11:38), and 14:12 (Ps 51:19), the Apocalypse of Daniel seems to be primarily dependent on the imagery and language of the Revelation of John. In fact, the overall framework of this apocalypse is reminiscent of the sixth and seventh bowls of God's wrath described in Revelation 16:12–21 and of the fall of the great harlot Babylon portrayed in chapters 17 and 18. In Revelation 16:12 we find the idea that the Euphrates River will dry up so that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared. Similarly, in the Apocalypse of Daniel 1:2 a bush that restrains the three sons of Hagar also dries up, and according to 1:3 these three figures enter Babylonia, the area around the Euphrates River. In Revelation 16:13–16 three unclean spirits go forth to gather the nations of the world to the great final battle of Armageddon. This brings to mind the three armies led by the three sons of Hagar against Byzantium, where they engage in a great war with the savior-king and his two small boys (chs. 1–4).

A significant parallel may be seen at the climax of the attack by the respective forces of evil in each of the narratives in question. In both cases very similar statements occur concerning sounds and voices from heaven and a great earthquake, which seem to signal the turning point in the battle (Rev 16:17f.; ApDan 3:7). Finally, the description of the great harlot Babylon in Revelation (chs. 16–18) is obviously the prototype of the references to Babylon in our apocalypse (7:2, 5, 11). This is verified by similarities even in details such as the seven hills of the city Babylon (Rev 17:9; ApDan 7:2, 5) and the woes pronounced upon this city (Rev 18:10, 16, 19; ApDan 7:2, 5, 11).

Aside from the possibility that the historical structure of the Apocalypse of Daniel is dependent on the succession of events described in chapters 16–18 of the Revelation of John, there also seems to have been a certain amount of borrowing of specific images. For example, Revelation 14:20 presents the image of blood as deep as the bridles of horses, and the Apocalypse of Daniel 4:8 portrays horses as being submerged and drowning in blood. According to Revelation 9:6 men will seek death and desire to die, and according to our apocalypse 12:4f. people will be calling on death and will be blessing those who have already died. The drying up of all greenery, trees, and flowers and the description of the earth as being like copper according to the Apocalypse of Daniel 12:9–11 could be a reflection of the burning of one third of the trees and green grass on the earth that is depicted in Revelation 8:7. Finally, a striking parallel image in the two documents is the description in Revelation 6:15f. of the kings of the earth and magnates, among others, hiding themselves in the caves and the rocks of the mountains and calling on the mountains and rocks to fall on them. This seems to be reproduced in the Apocalypse of Daniel at 2:15, where it is written that rulers and magnates will “flee to the glens of the mountains” and in 12:6 (MS M only), where it is said that people will entreat and beg the mountains to cover them.

Finally, there are a number of parallel phrases and terms in the two works that would support a dependence of the Apocalypse of Daniel on the Book of Revelation. The most outstanding of these are the phrases “sand of the sea” used to describe the multitudes of the enemy in our apocalypse at 12:1 (cf. Rev 20:8), and “foundation of the world” found in our apocalypse at 4:6; 5:16; and 10:1 (cf. Rev 13:8). The terms “mountains” and “islands” are used together twice in Revelation (6:14; 16:20), while appearing also together in the present apocalypse at 5:9 and separately at 1:9; 2:15, 17; 11:8; and 14:9. Also of interest are the similes of the mourners of fallen Babylon as sailors in Revelation 18:17–19 and as merchants in 18:3, 11, and 15. Sailors will lament over fallen Babylon according to the Apocalypse of Daniel 7:13, merchants will do likewise according to 7:14 (MS M only). Each of these parallel terms and phrases would seem insignificant alone. However, when viewed together and in connection with the previously discussed similarities of historical structure and imagery, they strongly indicate a dependence of the Apocalypse of Daniel on the Revelation of John.

Relation to apocryphal books

The Apocalypse of Daniel is only one of a considerable number of similar apocalypses
that are strangely reminiscent of the early Jewish pseudepigraphical works.\textsuperscript{16} That the Apocalypse of Daniel either influenced or was influenced by one or more of these contemporary documents cannot be doubted, as this is evidenced by several examples of direct dependence.\textsuperscript{17} It is beyond the scope of this introduction, however, to examine this matter in more detail. The most that will be done will be to point out some of the most significant parallels between this apocalypse and some early pseudepigrapha.

The reference to the king of the Romans by the initial letter of his name (ApDan 3:12) could stem from Sibylline Oracles 5.1–51, in which most of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Marcus Aurelius are identified by the numerical value of the first Greek letter of their names. It is perhaps significant that among the names of these emperors, Caesar and Claudius begin in Greek with the letter K, which has the numerical value twenty, as is the case with the Roman king mentioned in the Apocalypse of Daniel 3:12. It should be noted that this apocalypse follows the motif of the Sibylline Oracles as opposed to that used in the Revelation of John 13:18, in which the figure represented by the second beast is identified by the number 666, the sum of the numerical values of all the letters of his name. In view of the probable dependence of this apocalypse on Revelation, as discussed in the preceding section, the method for denoting emperors could indicate that this particular element is borrowed from another source, possibly the Sibylline Oracles.

Another concept of the Sibylline Oracles worthy of note in relation to the Apocalypse of Daniel is that found in Book 3.75–77, in which a woman is described as the last ruler before the end of the world. This idea accords with 6:10f. of our apocalypse, which also presents a woman as the last ruler of the “Seven-hilled” city in an eschatological context (cf. Rev 17). The similarity between the two texts is strengthened by the appearance in both of a malevolent figure who will deceive people, especially the Jews. In Sibylline Oracles 3.63–69 the deceiver is Beliar, or Satan, and in our apocalypse the later chapters are concerned with the Antichrist, who will deceive the Jews into worshiping him as the Messiah.

A final motif of the Sibylline Oracles present also in the Apocalypse of Daniel is that expressed in 3:10 and concerns the savior-king of the Romans, “‘who people say is dead and useful for nothing, who people think died many years before.’” This is apparently a reference to the early \textit{Nero redivivus} legend, which found its way repeatedly into the Sibylline Oracles (e.g. 4.119, 138ff.; 5.33ff., 101–7, 137–54) and is implied in Revelation 13:3. The essential difference between the use of this motif in the Sibylline Oracles and Revelation on the one hand and in the Apocalypse of Daniel on the other is that in the former two works it refers to the monstrous figure of Nero as an enemy of the people of God, and in the present apocalypse it is applied to the savior-king sent by God.

Chapter 10 of the Apocalypse of Daniel contains an interesting description of the fruitfulness of the earth just prior to the rise to power of the Antichrist. The phraseology in 10:3ff. includes vine branches, grape clusters, and individual grapes; this cluster of images is strongly reminiscent of what R. H. Charles referred to as a “fragment of an old Apocalypse” recorded in 1 Enoch 10:19, 2 Baruch 29:5, and later by Papias through a quotation preserved in Irenaeus, \textit{Contra haereses} 5.33.3. Exactly which of these documents was the source of the parallel passage in our apocalypse cannot be determined with certainty. However, the occurrence of such a passage serves to demonstrate that the author of the Apocalypse of Daniel did at least take into consideration much earlier sources and in this particular case interpolated, although not without modification, early apocalyptic material into his own work.

Another possible case of the insertion of foreign material into the Apocalypse of Daniel may perhaps be seen in chapter 13, which concerns an unsuccessful attempt by the Antichrist to turn a stone into bread in the presence of his Jewish worshipers. There appear to be elements from another tradition interwoven into the fabric of this chapter. This is indicated

\textsuperscript{16} See n. 1. Berger gives an extensive list of 188 apocryphal works, both early and medieval, in pp. xi–xxiii of \textit{Daniel-Diegese}.

\textsuperscript{17} Aside from the aforementioned parallel in the document published by Vassiliev, \textit{Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina}, p. 8, there are also strong literary affinities between ApDan and the so-called “Apocalypse of John” published by C. Tischendorf in his \textit{Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Johannis, item Mariae Dormitio} (Leipzig, 1866) pp. 73–76. Berger (\textit{Daniel-Diegese}) deals extensively with the matter of parallels between ApDan and other—especially medieval—apocryphal works in his commentary on the text of the Apocalypse of Daniel.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{APOT}, vol. 2, p. 497.
by the use of two different Greek words—lithos (stone) in verses 1 and 2, and petra (rock) in verses 8 and 10—to describe the stone. Furthermore, the verses in which the term petra is located (vss. 8–13) stand apart from the rest of chapter 13 and from the apocalypse as a whole in two significant ways. First, these verses are written as a block in the present tense as opposed to the rest of the document, which, except for a very few scattered instances, is in the future tense. Secondly, verses 8–13 relate a series of events that are theologically incompatible with the Book of Revelation, which has been shown to be a major source of the imagery in our apocalypse.

Verses 8–13 describe the Antichrist commanding a “flinty rock” to become bread in order to impress the Jews. Instead, the rock becomes a dragon and reviles him as iniquitous and unjust, thus shaming him before the Jews. This picture of a dragon as an enemy of the Antichrist is contrary to the portrayal of the dragon (Satan) in Revelation 13:2, 4, 11; and 16:13 as an ally of the two bestial Antichrist figures described in Revelation 13. The linguistic evidence of the two different Greek words for the stone used in the two sections of chapter 13, the grammatical peculiarity of the second section being in the present tense, and the theological incompatibility of this section with the main source of the imagery of the apocalypse as a whole, the Book of Revelation, would indicate that verses 8–13 of chapter 13 of the Apocalypse of Daniel are based on material originating from another source. The closest parallel to the imagery presented in these verses may be found in 4 Ezra 5:5, in which a stone is also said to “utter its voice” within an eschatological context closely resembling the woeful times preceding the end of the world as presented in the last chapters of the Apocalypse of Daniel.

Finally, and of particular interest in connection with the relation of the Apocalypse of Daniel to other apocryphal works, is the suggestion made by W. Bousset concerning the existence of a now lost apocalypse dealing with the Antichrist, which was entitled, according to Bousset, the Apocalypse of Daniel. Even more interesting is the possibility raised by Bousset that this lost apocalypse was used as a source by the third-century Christian Father Hippolytus, thus bringing the date of this hypothetical document to a period approaching that of the early pseudepigrapha. An investigation of the possibility of the existence of such a document and its relation to the other medieval apocalypses would perhaps clear up many of the questions concerning the sources of the apocalyptic material preserved in the Apocalypse of Daniel.

Cultural importance

The present Apocalypse of Daniel was until very recently accessible only through the manuscripts themselves or through Istrin’s rare edition of 1897, and then only to those with a knowledge of Greek. Berger’s publication in 1976 made it available in German, while the present translation is the first appearance of this document in English. Under such circumstances the Apocalypse of Daniel can hardly be said to have exercised any significant influence on our culture. However, certain concepts embodied in this and similar Byzantine works, although originally intended for one specific period of history, have lived on through the popular beliefs and aspirations of those nations that have inherited the Byzantine spiritual tradition.

As the centuries passed, the Turks replaced the Arabs as the “sons of Hagar” and the “Ishmaelites” and became the relentless enemies of the Orthodox nations of the Balkans and eastern Europe. The Ottoman Empire eventually enveloped all these peoples, except the Russians, and took the “Seven-hilled” city of Constantinople in 1453. The subsequent decline of the Turkish Empire was paralleled by the emergence of Russia as a world power and later by the establishment of such independent and restive Balkan states as Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Romania. Thus was created a political situation reminiscent of eighth-century Byzantium, with free Orthodox nations again in conflict with the “sons of Hagar.”

A new significance was acquired by the old Byzantine apocalypses that told of a Roman
king named Constantine who would defeat the Ishmaelites and drive them away from the “Seven-hilled” city. This concept was especially tantalizing to the Russians, who considered themselves to be the inheritors of the Roman sovereignty after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The Russian rulers were called czars after the Caesars and Moscow was the Third Rome—after classical Rome and the New Rome, which was the official title of Constantinople. The centuries-long struggle of Russia to gain strategic access to the Mediterranean Sea also took on the nature of a holy war to liberate the old Byzantine imperial city of Constantinople, which happened to sit astride the Bosporus, the natural gateway from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

Catherine the Great went so far as to christen her second grandson Constantine in 1779 as part of a plan to drive the Turks out of the Balkans and Asia Minor and to reestablish the Byzantine Empire with her grandson as its ruler in Constantinople. The Romanov dynasty also pursued an aggressive foreign policy against the Turks throughout the nineteenth century. This culminated in World War I with the secret treaty of the Allies awarding Constantinople to Russia after victory. The Russian Revolution of 1917 intervened, however, and Russia withdrew from the war, thus losing by a matter of months the prize it had sought through centuries of wars and struggles. At any rate, this interest of the Russians in medieval apocalyptic traditions explains the appearance in the late nineteenth century of collections of Byzantine apocalypses in Russian editions, such as that of Istrin and the Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina of A. Vassiliev, which appeared in Moscow in 1893.

The influence of medieval apocalyptic traditions may also be seen in the case of modern Greece. The Greeks were the first of the Balkan peoples to achieve their independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1830 and have added traditional Greek territories to their state roughly every generation since that time at the expense of the ever-dwindling Turkish Empire. The old prophecies concerning a king named Constantine who would drive the Turks from Constantinople seemed to be coming true in the early 1920s when indeed King Constantine XII (twelfth in line from Constantine the Great) ruled Greece at a time when a Greek army of occupation had landed in Asia Minor and was moving eastward. Although the expedition failed and the Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor, there can be little doubt that the ancient popular traditions had played a not inconsiderable role in the formulation of the Greek war plans. Even today the belief is widespread among the Greek people, as the only remaining free Orthodox nation, that someday a Constantine will accomplish the reconquest of the “Queen of cities,” which has until now eluded their grasp. The examples of Russia and Greece serve to demonstrate how Byzantine apocalyptic traditions, if not such works themselves as the Apocalypse of Daniel, have significantly influenced major historical events throughout the centuries and continue to have the potential to do so.

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Bousset, W. *The Antichrist Legend*, trans. by A. H. Keane. London, 1896. (The usefulness of this book lies mainly in its discussion of the various elements of the Antichrist theme, which is so central to our apocalypse, as they developed from the earliest times through the medieval period.)

Istrin, V. *Otkrovenie Meofie Patarskago i Apokrificheskie Vidienie Daniila*. Moscow, 1897. (This book is valuable for the text of MS B which it contains, although it must be used with caution because of Istrin’s often heavy-handed corrections of the very corrupt MS.)
According to the God-spoken word which says: "When you heard of wars and rumors of wars, nation will fight against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, earthquakes, plagues and devastations of stars." Then the bush which restrains the sons of Hagar will dry up. And three sons of Hagar will go forth into great Babylonia, (whose) name(s) are Ouachês, and another Axiphar, and the third

And he will establish his camp in Chalcedon across from Byzantium. And the other one will come to Antioch, Cilicia, and Iberian Anatolia, the Thrakysan country and Smyrna and as far as the Seven-hilled (city). And he will spill Roman blood. And another will come to the region of Persia and (to) the Galilean country, the Armenian border, and the city of Trebizond. And he will come to the region of the land of the Meropes. And he will massacre male children from two and three years old and younger. And he will consume them by the sword.

And the third one will come down the regions of the north and Mesiaspolis and Synopolis, and Zalichos, the regions of Chrysiapetra, and the well-lit valley and Bithynia, and of Daphnouspolis, Chrysiopolis, and Damoulin and as far as the Seven-hilled (city). x

And therefore all these (will) slaughter an infinite multitude of Romans from two and three years old and younger. And they will gather together toward the

THE APOCALYPSE OF DANIEL

1 According to the God-spoken word which says: "When you heard of wars and rumors of wars, nation will fight against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, earthquakes, plagues and devastations of stars." Then the bush which restrains the sons of Hagar will dry up. And three sons of Hagar will go forth into great Babylonia, (whose) name(s) are Ouachês, and another Axiphar, and the third

And he will establish his camp in Chalcedon across from Byzantium. And the other one will come to Antioch, Cilicia, and Iberian Anatolia, the Thrakysan country and Smyrna and as far as the Seven-hilled (city). And he will spill Roman blood. And another will come to the region of Persia and (to) the Galilean country, the Armenian border, and the city of Trebizond. And he will come to the region of the land of the Meropes. And he will massacre male children from two and three years old and younger. And he will consume them by the sword.

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And therefore all these (will) slaughter an infinite multitude of Romans from two and three years old and younger. And they will gather together toward the

1 a. The title of MS B is: "The Discourse of Our Holy Father Bishop Methodius Concerning the Last Days and Concerning the Antichrist"; of MS M: "Narrative Concerning the Days of the Antichrist, How He Will Come to Be, and Concerning the End of Time"; and of MS V: "The First Vision of Daniel. The Vision and Apocalypse of Daniel the Prophet." Only the more significant variations among the MSS will be pointed out in the critical notes. Translations from M that will appear in the textual notes are often based upon corrupt passages.

b. In the margin the Roman numerals in parentheses denote the divisions of the text in V. Istrin's edition, Otkrovenie Mefodie Patarskago i Apokrificheskie Vidienie Danilta; the regular numerals in parentheses are K. Berger's chapter divisions in Daniel-Diegese.

c. Lit. "voice."

d. Read akousate for akousate in B.

e. Read polemôn for polemon in B. Istrin has polemou.

f. Read paratropai with M for epitropai in B.

g. The first part of this quotation is an exact rendering from Mk 13:7f., while the latter part seems to reflect the concern with heavenly signs in the parallel passage in Lk 21:10f.

h. Hagar was the maidservant of Sarah who gave birth to Ishmael by Abraham (Gen 16). Hence, the Byzantines commonly referred to the Arabs and later to the Turks, whom they thought to be the descendants of Hagar and Ishmael, as Agarenes and Ishmaelites.

i. M: "And the nations and the three sons of Hagar will go forth from great Babylonia," but it may also be translated: "And the nations of great Babylonia and the three sons of Hagar will go forth."

j. As supported by the reading of this name as Oualleis in M, this is probably a reference to the Arab Caliph Walid I who ruled early in the 8th cent. See Berger, Daniel-Diegese, pp. 47-49, for a discussion of the identities of the three sons of Hagar mentioned by name in this verse.

k. Istrin corrects the corrupt reading ho hese in B to ho heteros (lit. "the other").

l. Istrin corrects the corrupt reading kato meros in B to katê the to meros. This is supported by M.

m. The three individuals vaguely referred to in B as "the other one," "another," and "the third one" are more clearly identified in M as the afore-mentioned three sons of Hagar.

n. Read Smyrnèn for Smirnin in B. Istrin has Smirnèn.

o. The "Seven-hilled" city which will be mentioned many times in this document is Constantinople (Byzantium), the capital of the Byzantine Empire, which, like Rome, was built upon seven hills.

p. B has kai twice.

q. The Byzantines considered themselves to be the successors of the Roman Empire and therefore as a rule referred to themselves as Romans.

r. Read haima for haiman in B.

s. Lit. "the other one." Istrin omits the article ho in B. See n. m.

t. Lit. "from above."

u. See n. m.

v. Read the noun borra with M for the adjective boreiou in B.

w. This is probably, with M, the city Amasia.

x. The geographical places mentioned in this chapter correspond in general to those involved in the Arab invasions of Asia Minor in the early 8th cent.

2 a. The tryeious in Istrin's text is his correction of an obscure reading in B.

b. Lit. "from above."
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3,4 sea. • And in their ships (will be) a myriad myriads. • And there will be other infinite and innumerable multitudes. • And in that place many will deny our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy gifts and will follow the apostates. • And every sacrifice will cease from the churches. • And the liturgy of God will be mocked. • And the priests will be as laymen. • And Ishmael will cry out with a great voice, boasting and saying, • "Where is the God of the Romans? There is no one helping them, for we have defeated them completely." • For truly the three sons of Hagar will roar against the Romans. • And they will cross over against the Seven-hilled (city) toward Byzantium. • And conferring, they will say (among) themselves, • "Come and let us make a bridge in the sea with boats and transport horses for ourselves to Byzantium, the Seven-hilled (city)." • But the rulers of the Romans and the magnates of the Seven-hilled (city) will flee to the glens of the mountains. • And there will be fear and affliction. • And there will be much necessity of the mountains. • And the people of the Seven-hilled (city) will be afflicted by the sword. Woe, woe then. • How will the orthodox faith of the Christians and the invincible power of the honorable and life-giving cross be overcome?"}

5.1.2 3 But hear, brethren, that because of their iniquity God forbears. • And the first will set up his couch across from Byzantium. • And he will strike and they will be stricken. • And then the rulers of the Romans blaspheme, saying, • "Woe, woe, neither in heaven do we have a king nor on the earth." • And with this word the Lord will incline his mercy toward the Romans and toward their revenge and will repay justice to his enemies. • And there will be a great sound from heaven and a fearful earthquake and a voice from the angel from heaven. • And the Lord will incline his head and will set his fury against the sons of Hagar and upon the feet of Ishmael. • And the Lord will lift up the cowardice of the Romans and put into the hearts of Ishmael, and the courage of the Ishmaelites into the hearts of the Romans. • And the Lord will raise up a king of the Romans, who people say is dead and useful for nothing, who people think is of Persia. • This (is) his name: that sibor Lord is reserving this man in the outer country of Persia. • And this man is coming to the Seven-hilled city toward the evening." • And he will prepare for his enemies. • And on Saturday morning, as the sun rises, he will engage in a great war with the

c. Istrin corrects {aulkai} in B to {nauklai}. d. Istrin corrects {hypostatai} in B to {apostatais}. e. The obscure reading {hypomoei} in B could possibly be a corrupt form of the verbal root {mokao} with the preposition {hypo}. Berger corrects this word as {hypochorei} ("to recede"). f. Vss. 5-8 do not appear in M. g. Read {ekkauxomenos} for {ekkauchomenos} in B. h. Istrin corrects {alithos} in B to {alethos}. i. Read {bryxousin} for {bryzousin} in B. M supports this with {brixousin}. j. Istrin corrects {thallassae} in B to {thalassai}. k. Lit. "cross over" with causative meaning. l. M: "will take refuge in the islands of the sea." m. M: "of the Romans." n. Istrin’s text omits the preposition {kata} from before the verb {kyri尤theteusai} in B. Vss. 19f. do not appear in M.
And when he has gathered those together with (the) two small boys, that king will join in a mighty war with the nation of the sons of Hagar. And he will massacre them like the grass of a reed being burned by fire. And from their blood a three-year-old bull will be drowned. And the king alone will pursue a thousand and five to the end. And there will be war and great bloodshed such as has not been since the foundation of the world. The blood will be mixed in the sea one and a half miles. And in the streets of the Seven-hilled (city) horses will be submerged. Drowning in the blood. And from that nation and from Ishmael there will remain only three tents of men. And (the) sons of Ishmael will serve the Romans to the end and will serve the chief donkey drivers of the Seven-hilled (city for) thirty years. And the nature of Ishmael in the sword and in captivity is more bitter and more grievous than beyond that of the Romans. And the Roman race will desire to see a trace of Ishmael and will not find (it). And then the prophetic word will be fulfilled (that says): *"How will one pursue a thousand and two remove myriads unless the Lord God rejected them and the Lord gave them over?* 

And the king of the Romans will subdue every enemy and adversary under his feet. And the scepter of that king will be long-lived, likewise (that) of the two small boys. And his fame will go forth from the east and the west. And there will be one empire. And no one will resist him because this man has come from God and in all the civilized world. And all the islands and the mountains will be inhabited. And the bread and the wine and the olive oil and the gold and the silver will increase in all the earth. And that king will cause all hostility to cease to God and in all' the earth. And from that nation and from Ishmael there will remain only three tents of men. And (the) sons of Ishmael will serve the Romans to the end and will serve the chief donkey drivers of the Seven-hilled (city for) thirty years. And the nature of Ishmael in the sword and in captivity is more bitter and more grievous than beyond that of the Romans. And the Roman race will desire to see a trace of Ishmael and will not find (it). And then the prophetic word will be fulfilled (that says): *"How will one pursue a thousand and two remove myriads unless the Lord God rejected them and the Lord gave them over?* 

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in war but will not find it.\textsuperscript{1} And all the perimeters of the earth\textsuperscript{m} will fear them. And that king will glorify God because in his reign God gave to him the good things of the earth which he did not give since the foundation of the world. And the king will fall asleep\textsuperscript{a} in peace. And his two small boys will be taken up\textsuperscript{a} in peace after thirty-three years.\textsuperscript{a}

(II) (7) 1,2 6 And after him there will arise from the north\textsuperscript{n} another king.\textsuperscript{b} And working great impurities\textsuperscript{c} and many injustices, he will also work great iniquities. And he will couple\textsuperscript{d} mother and son and brother and sister. And he\textsuperscript{d} will bring the monks out of the holy monasteries and will join the monasteries together\textsuperscript{d} and will cause the nuns\textsuperscript{e} to lie with his nation. And he will work great transgressions. Woe, then\textsuperscript{f} (to) the Christian race. Woe to those who are pregnant.\textsuperscript{b} And the praises of God also will cease. And the Lord God will call fire from heaven and will consume them.\textsuperscript{1} And after him a foul and alien woman\textsuperscript{j} will reign in the Seven-hilled (city). And she will settle on the southern side of the Seven-hilled (city).\textsuperscript{k}

7 And therefore woe (to) the Christian race. And woe to you, Seven-hilled Babylon, because the Byzantium of God will flee from you. And your holiness and your temples will flee from you. And your glory will fall. And woe to you, Seven-hilled Babylon, the new Byzantium. And woe to you, the Christian race. Again (there will be) an inroad of nations, again fear (among) the Romans, again slaughters and disturbances (for) the Roman nation.\textsuperscript{a} Churches will be destroyed. The faith\textsuperscript{b} has been dissolved. Women conceive the babies of misbelievers.\textsuperscript{d} And therefore woe to you, wretched Babylon, the mother of cities,\textsuperscript{l} because God will incline his wrath which emits fire. And your\textsuperscript{g} high walls will fall. And there will remain in you only one\textsuperscript{b} pillar of Constantine the Great, so that they who sail

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1. At this point M inserts: "And that king will be called by the name of a wild beast." This could be a reference to Leo III (717–41), father of Constantine V.
2. Lit. "all the circle of the earth."
3. Istrin mistakenly reads sykoimethesetai for synkymethesetai in B (correct to synkoimethesetai).
4. Read aperap\textsuperscript{h}sin for the obscure apar\textsuperscript{i})\textsuperscript{h}sin in B.
5. M: "And he and his two small boys will fall asleep . . ." Istrin’s text omits the whole phrase kai ta dio autou myraki apar\textsuperscript{h}sin en eir\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{n} in B (correct to kai ta d\textsuperscript{a} dio autou meirakia aper\textsuperscript{h}sin en eir\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{e}).
6. The thirty-three years given in this vs. for the reign of the king conflict with the thirty-six given in vs. 13. This conflict does not exist in M, which omits vs. 13. Constantine V in fact ruled for thirty-four years (741–75).
7. a. Istrin corrects bora in B to borra.
8. This king from the north corresponds to Leo IV, who was known as the "Khazar" because he was the son of Constantine V and a princess of Khazaria, a kingdom to the north of Byzantium.
9. He ruled from 775 to 780.
10. Istrin mistakenly reads synkoitethesetai for kai synzeuxi in B.
11. Instead of vss. 1-10, M has: "And therefore woe to a tall alien man who will arise from the sides of the south. And he will reign in the Seven-hilled (city)."
12. This reading upsets the chronology that has been established for B and raises the possibility of a different date, if not for the apocalypse as a whole, at least for the version of the text represented by M.
13. a. 'I am clothed in gold and in purple and in silver and amber and my hand is not boastful, you said, 'I am dressed in gold and purple.'"
14. This woman corresponds to the Empress Irene who ruled with her son Constantine VI from 780 to 797 then as sole ruler from 797 to 802.
15. "And after him a tall alien man will arise from the north, and he will reign in the Seven-hilled (city)."
16. This reading omits the phrase to genos ton Rōmaiōn in B.
17. b. Istrin corrects ai poistois in B to hé pistis.
18. c. Read sylanbanousin for sylanbanousin in B.
19. d. In place of vss. 1–10, M has: "And therefore woe to you, Seven-hilled Babylon, because your wealth and your glory will be proclaimed. For, boasting, you said, 'I am clothed in gold and in purple and in silver and amber, and my hand is not nothing inferior in me.'"
20. e. This woman corresponds to the Empress Irene who ruled with her son Constantine VI from 780 to 797 then as sole ruler from 797 to 802.
21. f. Istrin mistakenly writes a second ta for sou in B.
22. g. Istrin mistakenly writes a second ta for sou in B.
23. h. Istrin omits the heis in B.
8 And another great scepter will arise from Judea. And his name (is) Dan. Then the Jews, the implacable Hebrew race, who are dispersed into cities and countries, will be gathered together. And they will be gathered together there. And they will come into Jerusalem toward their king. And they will afflict the Christian race in all the earth. Woe, woe, good people.

9 With him reigning, the Antichrist will go forth from the lower regions and the chasms of Hades. And he will be caught in the broad sea. And he will be at the gates of Rome. *And by touching the earth. Woe, woe, good people. The height of his stature will be five months. *And he is coming like a lion’s head (will be) iron and his lower jaw diamond. *And the track of his feet (will be) large. *And the hairs of his head (will be) large and three-crested. *And he will be caught up from Byzantium ... And furthermore the kingdom will be taken up by twelve fishermen. *And the fishermen will buy the fish. *And her surname will be Perdition. *For by touching the earth. Woe, woe, good people. The height of his stature (will be) fifteen feet. *And the hairs of his head (will be) large and three-crested. *And the track of his feet (will be) large. *His eyes (will be) like the star which rises in the morning, and his right (eye will be) like a lion’s. *His lower teeth (will be) iron and his lower jaw diamond. *And the sea may lament there. *And furthermore the kingdom will be taken up from him and will be given to Rome.
10 At that time there will be an abundance of grain and wine and olive oil such
as has not been since the foundation of the world. • And in those times the ear
will pour out a half measure of grain. • And the vine branch d will put out a hundred
grape clusters. • And the grape cluster will bear ten thousand (grapes) and will pour
out a hundred measures. • And the seed of the olive tree will be complete. • And
there will be much fruitfulfulness of all kinds. • And the land will be fruitful and will
produce her fruits a hundredfold.

11 And the Jewish nation and the Jerusalemites will take counsel saying,
"Come, let us make this admirable man king." • And they make him king and
crown him (after) three days. • And he will reign (for) three years. • And in his first
year all the grass upon the earth will fail. • And in the whole world there will not
be found a half measure of grain or a half jar of wine nor other fruit. • Then there
will be a mighty plague. • And those on the mainland will flee to the islands and
those on the islands to the mainland. • And for a time a manner of disease will
be upon the whole earth and a great plague which has never occurred until that
era. • And the people will be deadened. If the just man is barely saved, how will
the sinner appear?
12 And then the unclean spirits and the demons will go forth like the sand of the sea, those in the abyss and those in the crags and ravines. • And they will adhere to the Antichrist and they also will be tempting the Christians and killing the babies of the women. • And they themselves will suckle from them. • And then the people will be calling upon death and digging up the tombs and saying, “Blessed and thrice blessed are you who have already died, because you did not reach these days.” • And they who go down to the sea also (will be) saying, “May the fury of your waves swallow us also, O holy sea.” • And then all flesh of the Romans will lament. • And while there will be temporary joy and exultation of the Jews, (there will be) affliction and oppression of the Romans from every necessity of the evil demons. • And the earth will become like copper. • And all greenery will dry up. • And every tree and every flower upon the earth will fail. And the lakes and the rivers and the wells will dry up. • And the moisture of the waters will completely dry up.

13 And then the Antichrist will lift up a stone in his hands and say, “Believe in me and I will make these stones (into) bread.” • And then (the) Jews will worship (him), who are saying, “You are Christ for whom we pray and on account of you the Christian race has grieved greatly.” • And then the Antichrist will boast, saying to the Jews, “Do not be grieved thus.” • And the dragon shames those in the crags and ravines, those in the pools, and in the air.” • And while there will be temporary joy and exultation of the Jews, (there will be) affliction and oppression of the Romans from every necessity of the evil demons. • And the earth will become like copper. • And all greenery will dry up. • And every tree and every flower upon the earth will fail. And the lakes and the rivers and the wells will dry up. • And the moisture of the waters will completely dry up.

14 And then three men will go forth and will condemn him (as) a liar and a deceiver. • And these three men, two from heaven and one from the earth, also
walk before the Antichrist and say, c "Woe to you, O worker of injustice and inheritor d of eternal fire." • And they will walk in all the earth, crying out e and saying to the afflicted Christians, • "Hear, f O sons of men, and do not worship him, because he is not the Christ nor a God-fearing man, but he is the Antichrist." Ascens. 4

And many Christians will run to the feet of the saints and say, b • "What shall we do, O saints? • Where shall we Christians hide?" • And many of the Christians will hide in mountains and caves and in the holes of the earth (and) will be saved, so that the treacherous Samuel g might not seize them. • And when the Antichrist finds these three men h he will kill them by the sword. • Then that spoken by the prophet David will be fulfilled: • "Then they will offer up bulls upon your altar." k • And with the Antichrist reigning and with the demons persecuting, the Jews contriving vanities l against the Christians, the great day of the Lord draws near. • And there will be m judgment and recompense. • And the deception of the devil will fall. • And the light of the world, Christ our Lord n and king of glory, will flower, to whom is due all glory and honor and dominion forever o. Amen.

5.5.1: cf. Gen 5:24; 2Kgs 2:11; Mal 4:5; Rev 11:3-13; 4Ezra 6:26. The third man from the earth, John the Evangelist, was added in later times. For a discussion of the three witnesses see Bousset's The Antichrist Legend, pp. 203–11.

b. Lit. "and saying."

c. Read klérōnome for klérōnome in B.

d. Istrin's text mistakenly has krazontes for kra-zontes in B.

e. Read akousate for akousēte in B. Istrin has akouste.

f. Lit. "but not."

g. Lit. "and saying."

h. Lit. "and saying."

i. M: "Samaël."

j. M inserts at this point: "in the midst of the altar ..."

k. This quote is from the LXX text of Ps 50:21.

l. Read kena meletoumōn for kai namele touton in B.

m. Read genēsai for gennēsai in B.

n. M: "Christ our God."

o. Lit. "unto the ages." M inserts a typical liturgical formula: "Together with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages."