

APOCALYPSE OF DANIEL

(Ninth Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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In its present form the Apocalypse of Daniel¹ 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).² 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-Diegesse*.³

Manuscript B is an extremely corrupt text with misspelled words in almost every line. The

¹ This particular apocalypse should not be confused with numerous other medieval works associated with the names of Daniel and Methodius. These are catalogued briefly by A.-M. Denis in "Les Apocalypses de Daniel," *Introduction*, pp. 309–14.

² MSS M and B were studied by photographs, V by reference to K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesse*, pp. 8–11. I would like to express my appreciation to the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the School of Medicine at Montpellier for excellent photographs of these MSS, and to the International Center for the Study of Christian Origins at Duke University for access to them.

³ Berger, *Daniel-Diegesse*, pp. 12–23.

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.⁴ 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 rock" in 13:8 (cf. Deut 8:15).

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 Gouzēth⁵ (9:7), which may be contrasted with the easily identifiable Greek place-names in chapter 1, 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—Gouzēth 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 cent. A.D.), 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and the Revelation of John (all late 1st cent. A.D.).

⁴ These itacisms indicate that the scribe who copied MS B did so while hearing the original text being read orally.

⁵ See n. 12.

⁶ See ch. 9, n. d2.

⁷ Aram. *'kth* 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.

⁸ Cf. Berger, *Daniel-Diegeese*, 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 *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 *Logos tou Kyriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou peri tēs antilogias tou diabolou*, which was published by A. Vassiliev in his *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, Paris Prior (Moscow, 1893) p. 8. It is perhaps worthy of note that Jastrow identifies *Goza* as "a river or channel in Babylon" (*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, *Daniel-Diegesis*, 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.¹⁴ 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 story line 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,¹⁵ 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.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.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 worshipping 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 *Nero redivivus* legend, which found its way repeatedly into the Sibylline Oracles (e.g. 4.119, 138f.; 5.33f., 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 10:3f. 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”¹⁸ recorded in 1 Enoch 10:19, 2 Baruch 29:5, and later by Papias through a quotation preserved in Irenaeus, *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

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

¹⁷ Aside from the aforementioned parallel in the document published by Vassiliev, *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 *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio* (Leipzig, 1866) pp. 73–76. Berger (*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.

¹⁸ *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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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. Bousset²¹ 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 Bousset²² 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

¹⁹ See ch. 13, n. j.

²⁰ Cf. 4Bar 9:30.

²¹ Bousset, *Legend*, pp. 68–72, 160.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 82f.

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 Bosphorus, 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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THE APOCALYPSE OF DANIEL^a

- (1)^b (1)^p **1** According to the God-spoken word^c which says: “When you hear^d of wars and rumors of wars,^e nation will fight against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, earthquakes, plagues and deviations^f of stars.”^g • Then the bush which restrains the sons of Hagar^h will dry up. • And three sons of Hagar will go forth into great Babylonia,ⁱ (whose) name(s) are) Ouachēs,^j and another^k Axiaphar, and the third Morphosar. • And Ishmael will come down^l the region of the land of swift passage. • And he will establish his camp in Chalcedon across from Byzantium. • And the other one^m will come to Antioch, Cilicia, and Iberian Anatolia, the Thrakysan country and Smyrnaⁿ and as far as the Seven-hilled (city).^o • And^p he will spill Roman^q blood.^r • And another^s 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.^t • And he will consume them by the sword. • And the third one^u will come down the regions of the north^v and Mesiaspolis^w and Synopolis, and Zalichos, the regions of Chrysiapetra, and the well-lit valley and Bithynia, and of Daphnousia, Chrysioupolis, and Damoulion and as far as the Seven-hilled (city).^x

Mk 13:7f.

Mt 2:16

- (3) **1** **2** And therefore all these (will) slaughter an infinite multitude of Romans from two and three years old^a and younger.^b • And they will gather together toward the

I 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 Vidientie Daniila*; the regular numerals in parentheses are K. Berger’s chapter divisions in *Daniel-Diegese*.

c. Lit. “voice.”

d. Read *akousēte* for *akousate* in B.

e. Read *polemōn* 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 hete* in B to *ho heteros* (lit. “the other”).

l. Istrin corrects the corrupt reading *kato meros* in B to *katelthē 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 aforementioned three sons of Hagar.

n. Read *Smyrnēn* for *Smirnin* in B. Istrin has *Smirnēn*.

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 *boreioun* 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 *tryetous* in Istrin’s text is his correction of an obscure reading in B.

b. Lit. “from above.”

3,4 sea. •And in their ships^c (will be) a myriad myriads. •And there will be other
5 infinite and innumerable multitudes. •And in that place many will deny our Lord
6 Jesus Christ and the holy gifts and will follow the apostates.^d •And every sacrifice
7,8 will cease from the churches. •And the liturgy of God will be mocked.^e •And the
9 priests will be as laymen.^f •And Ishmael will cry out with a great voice, boasting^g
10 and saying, •“Where is the God of the Romans? There is no one helping them,
(4) 11 for we have defeated them completely.” •For truly^h the three sons of Hagar will
12 roarⁱ against the Romans. •And they will cross over against the Seven-hilled (city)
13,14 toward Byzantium. •And conferring, they will say (among) themselves, •“Come
and let us make a bridge in the sea^j with boats and transport^k horses for ourselves
15 to Byzantium, the Seven-hilled (city).” •But the rulers of the Romans and the
16 magnates of the Seven-hilled (city) will flee to the glens of the mountains.^l •And
17 there will be fear and affliction. •And there will be much necessity of the moun-
18 tains.^m •And the people of the Seven-hilled (city) will be afflicted by the sword.
19,20 Woe, woe then. •How will the orthodox faith of the Christians and the invincible
power of the honorable and life-giving cross be overcome?ⁿ

Rev 6:15

(5) 1,2 **3** But hear, brethren, that because of their iniquity God forbears. •And the first
3 will set up his couch across from Byzantium. •And he will strike and they will be
4,5 stricken. •And then the rulers of the Romans blaspheme, saying, •“Woe, woe,
6 neither in^a heaven do we have a king^b nor on the earth.” •And with this word^c the
Lord will incline his mercy toward the Romans and toward their revenge and will
7 repay^d justice to his enemies. •And there will be a great sound from heaven and
8 a fearful earthquake and a voice from the angel from heaven. •And the Lord will
9 incline his head and will set his fury^e against the sons of Hagar and upon the feet^f
10 of Ishmael. •And the Lord will lift up the cowardice of the Romans and put^g (it)
into the hearts of Ishmael, and the courage of the Ishmaelites into the hearts of the
11 Romans. •And the Lord will raise up a king of the Romans, who people say is
12 dead and useful for nothing, who people think^h died many years before.ⁱ •The
13 Lord is reserving this man in the outer country^j of Persia.^k •This (is) his name: that
14,15 which (begins with) the letter K^m of the alphabet. •And this man is coming to the
Seven-hilled city toward the evening.ⁿ •And he will prepare for his enemies. •And
on Saturday^o morning, as the sun rises, he will engage in a great war with the

Rev 16:17f.

SibOr 5.1-51

c. Istrin corrects *auklais* in B to *nauklais*.

d. Istrin corrects *hypostatais* in B to *apostatais*.

e. The obscure reading *hypomōxei* in B could possibly be a corrupt form of the verbal root *mōkaō* with the preposition *hypo*. Berger corrects this word as *hypochōrei* (“to recede”).

f. Vss. 5–8 do not appear in M.

g. Read *egkauchōmenos* for *enkauchomenos* in B.

h. Istrin corrects *allēthōs* in B to *alēthōs*.

i. Read *bryxousin* for *bryzousin* in B. M supports this with *brixousin*.

j. Istrin corrects *thallassē* in B to *thalassē*.

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 *kyrieuthēsetai* in B. Vss. 19f. do not appear in M.

3 a. Istrin’s text omits the article *tō* in B.

b. Read *basilea* for *basilean* in B.

c. Lit. “voice.” In place of the present text up to this point in ch. 3, M has: “However, beloved ones, hear of the most compassionate philanthropy

of the all-merciful God. For as the son of Hagar and of godless Ishmael is roaring like wild lions against the Romans . . .”

d. Read *antapodōsei* for *antapodosei* in B.

e. Istrin’s text omits the phrase *kai thisei ton thymon autou* in B. Read *thēsei* for *thysei*.

f. M: “implacable race.”

g. Read *balei* for *ballei* in B.

h. Read *nomizousin* (“to think”) with M for *onomazousin* (“to name”) in B.

i. This verse brings to mind the *Nero redivivus* legend. See “Relation to apocryphal books.”

j. Istrin’s text has the mistaken reading *ex eōchōran* for *eis exochōran* in B.

k. M: “in the inner country of the Persian and Syrian nations.”

l. Lit. “that which (is) in the letter.”

m. The letter “K” is the reading of M and probably refers to Constantine V. B has *Ē*, which, if referring to the Emperor Heraclius, could be the original reading from a more primitive tradition. See W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, p. 78.

n. M mentions that this man’s entrance will occur on a Friday (*Paraskeuē*), which is an obvious play on the verb *paraskeuazō* (“to prepare”) in the next verse.

o. Istrin corrects *Sabatō* in B to *Sabbatō*.

16 nation^p and the sons of Hagar, both he and^q the two small boys.^r •And the rulers
17 of the Romans will gather together in Byzantium. •Then even the priests of the
Romans and the bishops and abbots who are found will bear weapons of war.

1 **4** And when he has gathered those together with (the) two small boys, that king
2 also will join^a in a mighty war with the nation of the sons of Hagar.^b •And he will
3 massacre them like the grass of a reed being burned by fire. •And from their blood
4 a three-year-old^c bull will drown.^d •And the king alone will pursue a thousand and
5 the two small boys myriads. •And Ishmael and the sons of Hagar will be butchered^e
(6) 6 to the end. •And there will be war and great bloodshed such as has not been since
7 the foundation of the world. •The blood will be mixed^f in the sea one and a half
8 miles.^g •And in the streets of the Seven-hilled (city) horses will be submerged,^h Rev 14:20
9 drowning in the blood. •And from that nation and from Ishmael there will remainⁱ
10 only three tents of men. •And (the) sons of Ishmael will serve the Romans to the
end and will serve the chief donkey drivers^j of the Seven-hilled (city for) thirty
11 years. •And the nature of Ishmael in the sword and in captivity is more bitter and
12 more grievous^k beyond that of the Romans.^l •And the Roman race will desire to
13 see^m a trace of Ishmael and will not find (it). •And then the prophetic word will
14 be fulfilled (that says): “*How will one pursue a thousand and two remove myriads* Deut 32:30LXX
unlessⁿ the Lord God rejected them and the Lord gave them over?”^o

1 **5** And the king of the Romans will subdue every enemy and adversary under his
2 feet. •And the scepter of that king will be long-lived, likewise^a (that) of the two
3,4 small boys. •And his fame will go forth from the east and the west. •And there
5 will be one empire.^b •And no one will resist him because this man has come from
6,7 God and^c he will cause all^d war to cease. •And there will be great peace. •And
8 every city and fortresses will be built. •And there will be many altars acceptable
9 to God^e in all the civilized world. •And all the islands^f and the mountains will be
10 inhabited.^g •And the bread and the wine and the olive oil and the gold and the
11 silver will increase^h in allⁱ the earth. •And that king will cause all hostility to cease Isa 2:4
12,13 upon the earth. •And they will make their weapons into scythes. •And his reign
14 will be (for) thirty-six years.^j •And the rulers of the Romans will desire^k to join

p. M: “Ishmael.”

q. Istrin’s text has this *kai* in parentheses unnecessarily, since it does occur in B.

r. Constantine V in fact did have two sons, besides Leo IV, by another wife.

4 a. Istrin corrects *sykrotēsei* in B to *sygkrotēsei*.

b. The phrase “of the sons of Hagar” is supplied from M.

c. Istrin corrects *tryotēs* in B to *trietēs*.

d. Read *pnigēsetai* for *pnigysētai* in B. Istrin has *pnigizetai*.

e. Read *sygkopēsetai* for *sygkopisētai* in B. Istrin has *sygkopēsetai*.

f. Gk. *rasthēsetai* in B could conceivably be a corrupt form of the verb *rainō* (“to sprinkle”), but more probably the words *kai rasthēsetai* taken together are a mistaken writing of *kerasthēsetai* (“to mix”). This is supported by the reading *sygkerasthēsetai* of M.

g. Lit. “twelve stades” of about one-eighth mile each.

h. Istrin’s reading of *kaphēsontai* for *baphēsontai* could be a mistake, since *b* and *k* are often written alike in B.

i. Read *mēnē* for *mynē* in B. Istrin has *menei*.

j. Gk. *archionēlatai* (“chief donkey drivers”) has been suggested by Berger for the obscure reading *archiolōtai* in B.

k. Read *pikrotera kai odynērōtera* for *pykrotera kai odynōtera* in B. Istrin has mistakenly written

pokrotera.

l. Vss. 10f. do not appear in M.

m. Read *idein* with M for *ē d’ an* in B. V also supports M.

n. The reading *eimē* (unless) of M is more in accord with the text of this LXX quotation (Deut 32:30) than is the *oimoi* (“alas”) of B.

o. Read *paredōken* with M for *eparedōken* in B.

5 a. Read *estai makroēmereuon homoiōs* for *estin makro hemerebonte ho misos* in B. Istrin has mistakenly written *makron*.

b. In place of this vs., M has: “And he will thrust his broadsword in the east and his bow into the sides of the north and the bear.”

c. Read with M *apo tou theou houtōs* (correctly *houtos*) for *apo thē holos* in B. Istrin’s text omits the phrase *apo thē holos elēlythen*.

d. Read *panta* for *pasa* in B.

e. The phrase “acceptable to God” does not appear in M.

f. Istrin corrects *nisai* in B to *nēsai*.

g. For this vs. M reads: “The islands also will be inhabited.”

h. Read *plēthynthēsetai* with M for the corrupt *planthēsetai* in B.

i. Read *pasē* for *mpasē* in B.

j. This vs. does not appear in M.

k. Read *epithymōsousin* for *epithymōsousin* in B.

15 in war but will not find (it).¹ •And all the perimeter(s) of the earth^m will fear them.
 16 And that king will glorify God because in his reign God gave to him the good
 17 things of the earth which he did not give since the foundation of the world. •And
 18 the king will fall asleepⁿ in peace. •And his two small boys will be taken up^o in
 peace^p after thirty-three years.^q

- (M) (7) 1,2 **6** And after him there will arise from the north^a another king.^b •And working
 3 great impurities^c and many injustices, he will also work great iniquities. •And he
 4 will couple^d mother and son and brother and sister. •And^e he will bring the monks
 out of the holy monasteries and will join the monasteries together^f and will cause
 5,6 the nuns^g to lie with his nation. •And he will work great transgressions. •Woe,
 7,8 woe then (to) the Christian race. •Woe to those who are pregnant.^h •And the praises
 9 of God also will cease. •And the Lord God will call fire from heaven and will
 (8) 10 consume them.ⁱ •And after him a foul and alien woman^j will reign in the Seven- Sib Or 3.75-77
 11 hilled (city). •And she will settle on the southern side of the Seven-hilled (city).^k
- (9) 1,2 **7** And therefore woe (to) the Christian race. •And woe to you, Seven-hilled Rev 18:10,16,19
 3 Babylon, because the Byzantium of God will flee from you. •And your holiness
 4,5 and your temples will flee from you. •And your glory will fall. •And woe to you, Rev 17:9, 18
 6 Seven-hilled Babylon, the new Byzantium. •And woe to you, the Christian race.
 7 Again (there will be) an inroad of nations, again fear (among) the Romans, again
 8 slaughters and disturbances (for) the Roman nation.^a •Churches will be destroyed.
 9,10 The faith^b has been dissolved. •Women conceive^c the babies of misbelievers.^d
 11 And therefore woe to you, wretched^e Babylon, the mother of cities,^f because God
 12,13 will incline his wrath which emits fire. •And your^g high walls will fall. •And there Rev 18:17-19
 will remain in you only one^h pillar of Constantine the Great, so that they who sail

l. 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.

m. Lit. "all the circle of the earth."

n. Istrin mistakenly reads *synkoitēthēsetai* for *synkōimēthēsetai* in B (correct to *synkoimēthēsetai*).

o. Read *aparhōsin* for the obscure *apar(?)thōsin* in B.

p. M: "And he and his two small boys will fall asleep . . ." Istrin's text omits the whole phrase *kai ta dio autou myraki apar(?)thōsin en eirēnē* in B (correct to *kai ta dyo autou meirakia aparhōsin en eirēnē*).

q. 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).

6 a. Istrin corrects *bora* in B to *borra*.

b. 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. He ruled from 775 to 780.

c. Istrin corrects *akartasias* in B to *akarthasias*.

d. Read *syzeuxei* for *synzeuxei* in B.

e. Istrin mistakenly reads *kai* for *ek* in B.

f. Istrin's text omits the phrase *kai synzeuxei ta monastēria* in B.

g. Read *monastrias* for *monēstērias* in B.

h. In place of vs. 4–7, M has: "And the iniquity of transgression will be accomplished and of licentiousness and of incest as the people will behave licentiously by his decrees."

i. M: "he (the king) will be shaken by heavenly fire."

j. 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.

k. Instead of vs. 10f., M has: "And after him a tall alien man will arise from the sides of the south. And he will reign in the Seven-hilled (city)." 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.

7 a. Istrin's text omits the phrase *to genos tōn Rōmaiōn* in B.

b. Istrin corrects *ai poistois* in B to *hē pistis*.

c. Read *sylambanousin* for *synlambanousin* in B.

d. In place of vs. 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 hyacinth and pearl and in scarlet raiment and in purple and in silver and amber and my hand is not [In place of the obscure phrase *ouk estin hē emi cheira*, V has: "there is nothing inferior in me"], because kings will reign in me and potentates will come in and go out and great rulers will reside in me.'" Cf. Rev 18:7, 16.

e. Read *talaipōre* for *talaiopore* in B.

f. Istrin corrects *pollaiōn* in B to *poleōn*.

g. Istrin mistakenly writes a second *ta* for *sou* in B.

h. Istrin omits the *heis* in B.

14 the sea¹ may lament there. •And furthermore the kingdom will be taken up^j from him^k and will be given to Rome.¹

(10) 1,2 **8** And another great scepter will arise from Judea. •And^a his name (is) Dan.^b
 3 And then the Jews, the implacable Hebrew race, who are dispersed into cities and
 4 countries, will be gathered together. •And they will be gathered together there.^c
 5,6 And they will come into Jerusalem toward their king.^d •And they will afflict the
 7 Christian race in all^e the earth. •Woe, woe,^f good people.^g

(III) (11) 1 **9** With him^a reigning, the Antichrist will go forth from the lower regions^b and the
 2,3 chasms of Hades. •And he will come into a small garidion^c fish. •And he is coming
 4,5 in the broad sea. •And he will be caught^d by twelve fishermen. •And the fishermen
 6 will become maddened^e toward each other. •One will prevail over them, whose
 7 name (is) Judas. •And he takes that fish for his inheritance and comes into a place Mt 26:14f.
 8 named Gouzēth and there sells^f the fish for^g thirty silver pieces. •And a virgin girl
 9 will buy the fish. •Her name (is) Injustice because the son of injustice will be born^h 2Thes 2:3
 10,11 from her. •And her surnameⁱ will be Perdition. •For by touching^j the^k head of the
 12 fish she will become pregnant^l and will conceive the Antichrist himself. •And he
 13 will be born from her (after) three months. •And he will suckle (from) her (for)
 14,15 four^m months. •He comes into Jerusalemⁿ and becomes a false teacher.^o •And he Ascens 4
 16 will appear quiet and gentle^p and guileless.^q •The height of his stature (will be)
 17,18 fifteen feet.^r •And the hairs of his head^s (will reach) as far as his feet. •And he
 19,20 (will be) large and three-crested.^t •And the track^u of his feet (will be) large.^v •His
 eyes (will be) like the star which rises^w in the morning, and his right (eye will be)
 21,22 like a lion's.^x •His lower teeth^y (will be) iron and his lower jaw diamond.^z •And

i. Istrin corrects *thalasan* in B to *thalassan*.

j. Istrin mistakenly writes *aparthēsetai* for *eparthēsetai* in B.

k. M: "from you," and furthermore inserts at this point: "Your merchants will flee from you and will be lost. And every city and country will lament over you, the mother of cities. For at that time the kingdom will be lifted up from Byzantium . . ."

l. This is probably a reference to the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor in Rome on Christmas Day, 800.

8 a. Istrin omits this *kai* in B.

b. M adds at this point: "And he will reign in Jerusalem." Based upon the OT passages in Gen 49:17, Deut 33:22, and Jer 8, a tradition arose very early that associated the Antichrist with the tribe of Dan. Irenaeus attributes to this concept the omission in Rev 7:5-8 of the tribe of Dan from the list of the tribes of the sons of Israel who are sealed as servants of God (*Contra haereses* 5.30.2). For an earlier form of the tradition, see TDan 5:4-13.

c. M transposes to this point from the preceding vs. the phrase: "from every city and country."

d. Istrin corrects *basilean* in B to *basilea*.

e. Istrin corrects *mpasē* in B to *pasē*.

f. Istrin's text omits the second "woe" in B.

g. In place of this vs., M has: "And they will oppress the Romans unto death."

9 a. M specifies Dan.

b. Read *katachthoniōn* for *kakochthoniōn* in B. M supports this with *katachthonion*.

c. Istrin writes *garidion* for *gabridion* in B. The original spelling was probably *gauidion* and was doubtless the name of a particular type of fish.

d. Read *halieuthēsetai* for *hallieuthēsetai* in B.

e. Read *ekmaneis* for *egymaneis* in B. Istrin has

egmaneis.

f. Read *pōlei* for *pōllei* in B.

g. Istrin's text omits the preposition *eis* in B.

h. Read *gennēthēnai* for *genēthēnai* in B.

i. Read *epōnymon* for *epōnyman* in B.

j. Istrin mistakenly writes *hepsomenē* ("to cook") for *hapsamenoi* in B (correct to *hapsamenē*, "to touch").

k. Istrin's text omits the article *tēs* in B.

l. Read *eggyos* for *eggonos* ("grandson") in B. M and V support this reading.

m. M: "five months."

n. Read *Hierosolyman* for *Hierosolyman* in B.

o. Istrin corrects *parodaskalos* in B to *paradas-kalos*. M: "teacher of children."

p. "Gentle" seems to be the general import of the obscure readings *praophylēs* (B) and *praophaleis* (M). Berger corrects this to *prophilēs* ("beloved").

q. M further describes the Antichrist as "down-cast" and "prosecuting transgressions."

r. Lit. "ten cubits" of about eighteen inches each.

s. "Head" is the reading of M. B repeats the *hēlikia* ("stature") of the preceding vs., probably by a scribal error.

t. B has the difficult reading *trikoryphos*, which may best be translated as "three-crested." M: "topped with hair." V supports B.

u. Istrin's text mistakenly has *ichnys* for *ichnos* in B.

v. M: "three cubits" (four and a half feet).

w. Istrin corrects *anatelōn* in B to *anatelōn*.

x. Istrin's text omits *kai ho dexios autou hōs leōntos* in B.

y. M and V: "the upper part of his teeth."

z. M has the correct neuter singular ending of the adjective "diamond"; B has the plural.

23 his right arm (will be) iron and his left copper. •And his right hand (will be) four
 24 and a half feet (long).^{a2} •(He will be) long-faced, long-nosed,^{b2} and disorderly.^{c2}
 25,26 And he also has upon his forehead three letters: A, K, T.^{d2} •And the A signifies:
 “I deny,” the K: “And I completely reject,” the T: “The befouled dragon.”^{e2}
 27 And the Antichrist will be teaching and being taught.^{f2}

1 **10** At that time there will be an abundance of grain and wine and olive oil such
 2 as has not been since the foundation of the world.^a •And in those times the^b ear 2Bar 29:5
 3 will pour out a half measure of grain.^c •And the vine branch^d will put out a hundred
 4 grape clusters. •And the grape cluster will bear ten thousand^e (grapes) and will pour
 5,6 out a hundred measures.^f •And the seed of the olive tree will be complete.^g •And
 7 there will be much^h fruitfulness of all kinds. •And the land will be fruitful and will
 produce her fruits a hundredfold.ⁱ

(12) 1 **11** And the Jewish nation and the Jerusalemites^a will take counsel^b saying,
 2,3 “Come, let us make this admirable man king.”^c •And they make^d him king and
 4,5 crown him (after) three days. •And he will reign (for) three years. •And in his first
 6 year^e all the grass upon the earth will fail. •And in the whole world there will not
 7 be found a half measure^f of grain or a half jar of wine nor other fruit.^g •Then there
 8 will be a mighty plague. •And those on the mainland will flee to the islands and
 9 those on the islands to the mainland. •And for a time a manner^h of disease will
 be upon the whole earth and a great plague which has never occurred until that
 10,11 era.ⁱ •And the people will be deadened. •*If^j the just man is barely saved, how will* Prov 11:31LXX
the sinner appear?

a2. M: “His left hand (will be) three cubits (long) and his right hand four cubits.”

b2. Read *makrorinos* with M for the obscure *makroradēs* in B.

c2. Istrin writes *eudiathetos* (“well-disposed”) for *adoiathetos* (correct to *adiathetos*, “disorderly”) in B.

d2. M: “A T Ch, that is, Antichrist”; V: “Denying, Ch X St.” The verb *arnoumai* (“to deny”) occurs in connection with the three letters on the forehead of the Antichrist because the numerical equivalents of the Gk. letters that make up this verb spelled as *arnoume* add up to 666, the number of the Antichrist figure in Rev 13:18. The numerical values of the Gk. letters Ch, X, and St also add up to 666. The letters A K T, however, which are preserved in B, obviously puzzled even the scribe of this MS. The A is explained adequately as representing *arnoumai*, but the K and T are presented as signifying the conjunction *kai* (“and”) and the article *ton* (“the”), which introduce the phrases: “And I completely reject” and “The befouled dragon.” This ludicrous explanation by the scribe of B indicates that he is dealing with a set of letters foreign to him—possibly from another source—for which he concocts an obviously forced interpretation. For the possibility that these letters were originally from a Semitic source, see the Introduction, n. 7.

e2. This vs. does not appear in M.

f2. In place of this vs., M has: “And when the scepter of Dan has come to an end, the Antichrist will be teaching and being taught, trying and being tried.” Cf. OdesSol 38:9f.

10 a. M inserts at this point: “For they who cultivated the good things of the world will be (for) three years.”

b. Istrin’s text omits the article *tou* in B, which has no grammatical place in the sentence.

c. Read *choinikon sitou* for *phoinikos* in B. This is supported by M. A *choinix* was a dry measure of about a quart.

d. My conjectured meaning: The reading *agkōn* (“angle” or “bend”) suggested by M is preferable to the *askos* (“wine skin”) of B, although the meaning is still obscure.

e. Lit. “will become a bearer of ten thousand.” Read *genēsetai* for *gennēsetai* in B and *myriagōgos* for *myriorygos* in B.

f. M: “two measures of wine” (*oinon metra dyo*).

g. M adds at this point: “the whole of it not containing (extraneous) matter.”

h. Istrin corrects *pollē* in B to *pollē*.

i. At this point M adds: “And there will be much elation, such as has not been from the foundation of the world until those times should come.”

11 a. Istrin corrects *hoi erosolymitai* in B to *hoi Hierosolymitai*.

b. Read *symboulion* with M for *symboulon* in B.

c. Read *basilea* for *basilean* in B.

d. Istrin corrects *poioun* in B to *poiouin*.

e. M: “first year of his reign.”

f. Read *hēmichoinikon*, as suggested by the readings of M and V. B: “a half tablet” (*hēmison pinakion*), which Istrin corrects to *hēmisy pinakion*.

g. M: “And other fruit will not be found.”

h. The phrase *kata spithamēn kai opēan* is extremely obscure.

i. In place of vs. 7–9, M has: “And there will be upon the face of the earth a great famine, such as has not been since the foundation of the world until that time. For the earth will be worn out by the plague.”

j. Istrin’s text omits *oi*, which should be read *ei* (“if”).

- 1 **12** And then the unclean spirits and the demons will go forth like the sand^a of
 2 the sea, those in the abyss^b and those in the crags and ravines.^c • And they will
 adhere to the Antichrist and they also will be^d tempting the Christians^e and killing^f
 3,4 the babies of the women. • And they themselves will suckle from them. • And then Rev 9:6
 the people will be calling upon death and digging up the tombs and saying,
 5 “Blessed and thrice blessed are you who have already died,^g because you did not
 6 reach these days.”^h • Andⁱ they who go down to the sea also (will be) saying,
 7 “May the fury of your waves swallow us also, O holy sea.”^j • And then all flesh
 8 of the Romans will lament. • And while there will be temporary^k joy^l and exultation
 of the Jews, (there will be) affliction and oppression of the Romans^m from every
 9,10 necessity of the evil demons. • And the earth will become like copper. • And all
 11 greenery will dry up. • And every tree and every flower upon the earth will fail.
 12,13 And the lakes and the rivers and the wells will dry up. • And the moistureⁿ of the
 waters will completely dry up.^o
- (13) 1,2 **13** And then the Antichrist will lift up a stone in his hands and say, • “Believe
 3 in me and I will make these stones (into) bread.” • And then (the)^a Jews will
 4 worship (him), who are saying, • “You are Christ for whom we pray and on
 5 account of you the Christian race has grieved^b us greatly.”^c • And then the Antichrist
 6,7 will boast, saying to the Jews, • “Do not be grieved thus. • A little (while and) the
 8 Christian race will see and will realize^d who I am.”^e • And the Antichrist lifts up
 9 (his) voice toward the^f flinty rock,^g saying,^h • “Become bread before the Jews.” 4Ezra 5:5
 10,11 And disobeyingⁱ him, the rock becomes a dragon. • And the dragon says to the
 12 Antichrist, • “O you who are full of every iniquity and injustice, why do you do 4Bar 9:30
 13 things which you are not able?” • And the dragon shames^j him before^k the Jews.
- (14) 1 **14** And then three men will go forth and will condemn^a him (as) a liar and a
 2 deceiver. • And these three men, two from heaven and one from the earth,^b also

12 a. Istrin corrects *amos* in B to *ammos*.

b. Istrin corrects *abēsō* in B to *abyssō*.

c. In place of “ravines,” M has: “in the lower regions, in the caves, in the lakes, in the springs, in the pools, and in the air.”

d. Istrin’s text omits *pros ton antuchruston* (correct to *antichriston*) *kai esontai* in B.

e. M: “people.”

f. Read *anairountes* for *anairountai* in B. This is supported by M.

g. Istrin’s text mistakenly has *protereutēsantes* for *proteleutēsantes* in B.

h. At this point M inserts: “final, grievous, and wholly evil (days), entreating and begging the mountains and saying, ‘Cover us, O mountains.’”

i. Istrin’s text omits *men* in B.

j. At this point M inserts: “And woe to those who suckle and are pregnant in those most evil days” (Mt 24:19; Mk 13:17; Lk 21:23).

k. Read *proskairōs* for *proikerōi* in B. Istrin’s text has *proskarē*.

l. Istrin’s text mistakenly has *kara* for *chara* in B.

m. M: “Christians.”

n. Read *iknades* for *ekmades* in B. The plural is translated here as singular.

o. At this point M inserts: “And the faces of the people will be deadened by the coming plague.”

13 a. Istrin corrects *oioudeoi* in B to *hoi loudaioi*.

b. Read *elypēsen* for *ellypēsen* in B.

c. At this point M inserts: “And the Jews will be in great joy then, speaking with the Antichrist.”

d. The text of B is extremely corrupt at this point.

e. At this point M inserts: “The day will try you and I will tempt you.”

f. Read *tēn* for *ton* in B.

g. Gk. *akrotomos petra* is the same phrase used in the LXX to describe the rock out of which Moses brought forth water miraculously in the wilderness (Deut 8:15).

h. Read *legōn* with M for *legontes* in B, which Istrin writes *legonta*. At this point M inserts: “I made heaven and earth. I say to you, the flinty rock . . .”

i. Istrin’s text mistakenly has *parakalousa* for *parakousasa* in B.

j. Istrin has the verb *kataischynō* in the future tense with the accent on the last syllable. Since the spelling of this verb is exactly the same in the present tense, except for the accent being on the next to the last syllable, it is possible to translate it here in the present. MSS B and M support this interpretation; in B the ending of this verb is in an abbreviated form showing no accent, and in M it is clearly written in the present tense. Thus, this vs. is in harmony with the preceding five vs., which seem to constitute a distinct unit (see “Relation to apocryphal books”).

k. Istrin corrects *enōpoi* in B to *enōpion*.

14 a. Istrin corrects *exelēxousin* (“to choose”) in B to *exēlegousin* (“to condemn”).

b. The two men from heaven who will confront the Antichrist were already identified from early patristic times as Enoch and Elijah, the two biblical figures who did not suffer death but were taken up to heaven still living (Irenaeus, *Contra haereses*

3 walk before the Antichrist and say,^c • “Woe to you, O worker of injustice and
 4 inheritor^d of eternal fire.” • And they will walk in all the earth, crying out^e and
 5 saying to the afflicted Christians, • “Hear,^f O sons of men, and do not worship Ascens 4
 him, because he is not the Christ nor^g a God-fearing man, but he is the Antichrist.”
 6.7 And many Christians will run to the feet of the saints and say,^h • “What shall we
 8.9 do, O saints? • Where shall we Christians hide?” • And many of the Christians will Heb 11:38
 hide in mountains and caves and in the holes of the earth (and) will be saved, so
 10 that the treacherous Samuelⁱ might not seize them. • And when the Antichrist finds
 11 these three men^j he will kill them by the sword. • Then that spoken by the prophet
 12,13 David will be fulfilled: • “*Then they will offer up bulls upon your altar.*”^k • And Ps 51:19
(50:21LXX)
 with the Antichrist reigning and with the demons persecuting, the Jews contriving
 14 vanities^l against the Christians, the great day of the Lord draws near. • And there
 15,16 will be^m judgment and recompense. • And the deception of the devil will fall. • And Jn 8:12
 the light of the world, Christ our Lordⁿ 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.

c. Lit. “and saying.”

d. Read *klêronome* for *klêrônome* in B.

e. Istrin's text mistakenly has *kraxontes* for *krazontes* in B.

f. Read *akousate* for *akousête* in B. Istrin has *akouseite*.

g. Lit. “but not.”

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 meletoutôn* for *kai namele touton* in B.

m. Read *genêsetai* for *gennêsetai* 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.”