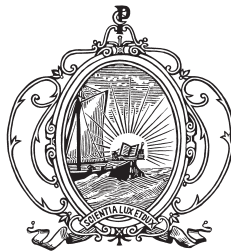


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Festschrift für Stephen Gerö
zum 65. Geburtstag

herausgegeben von
D. BUMAZHNOV, E. GRYPEOU,
T.B. SAILORS und A. TOEPEL



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‘THE ANTICHRIST IS COMING...’
THE MAKING OF AN APOCALYPTIC *TOPOS* IN ARABIC
(PS.-ATHANASIUS, VAT. AR. 158 / PAR. AR. 153/32)

Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA

לאדם לב-האדם כן לנים הנים כמים

Prov 27:19(18)

A PRELIMINARY NOTE

The Arabic version contained in MS *Vaticano arabo 158* (fols. 99v-111v) of the Apocalypse of Ps.-Athanasius¹ is part of a homily attributed to the Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373 AD) in the festivity of the archangel Michael.² This MS could probable be dated in 715 AD / 96 H.,³ within the chronological spectrum in which a series of Syriac texts of this literary genre is inscribed in the Palestinian and Mesopotamic milieu as a reaction against the Arabic-Islamic expansion.⁴

The textual tradition of the Arabic Ps.-Athanasius, against the Coptic textual tradition that has arrived to us,⁵ is varied⁶ and has given rise to several versions which have helped us to restore the fragmentary Coptic

¹ Cf. G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, (*Studi e Testi* 133), Città del Vaticano, 1947, vol. I, p. 277 [henceforth: GCAL].

² Cf. F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Washington, 1985, p. 248-274.

³ Cf. R. G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as others saw it: a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13)*, Princeton, 1997, p. 285.

⁴ Cf. H. SUERMANN, *Einige Bemerkungen zu syrischen Apokalypsen des 7. Jhds.*, in H.J.W. DRIJVERS, R. LAVENANT, C. MOLENBERG, G.J. REININK (eds), *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984. Literary Genres in Syriac Literature (Groningen – Oosterhesselen 10-12 September) (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 229)*, Roma, 1987, p. 328-329; F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *The Apocalyptic Genre in Syriac: The World of Pseudo-Methodius*, in H.J.W. DRIJVERS ET AL. (eds), *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, p. 337-352.

⁵ Cf. B. WITTE, *Die Sünden der Priester und Mönche. Koptische Eschatologie des 8. Jahrhunderts nach Kodex M 602 pp. 104-154 (ps. Athanasius) der Pierpont Morgan Library. Teil 1: Textausgabe (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 12)*, Altenberge, 2002.

⁶ Cf. G. GRAF, GCAL, I, p. 1277-1279.

text of the 9th c.⁷ Such an Arabic textual tradition, in various aspects, gives evidence of significant differences among themselves, and is also related to other apocalyptic texts. In this sense, despite the fact that some parallelisms with the monophysite work known as ‘Vision’ of Shenūte of Atripe (ca. 644 AD)⁸ — preserved in a late Arabic copy (1548 AM / 1832 AD)⁹ from a version of the 14th c. which is still waiting for being edited¹⁰ — have been noticed, we believe, rather, that it is about features consubstantial to this literary kind, the influence of which goes beyond the Christian circles.¹¹ In fact, the *topos* that focuses the attention of this paper is absent of the ‘Apocalypse of Shenūte’,¹² even when the same apocalyptic framework is noticeable in this work.¹³

The importance of this apocalypse is evident due to the supplying of facts of very varied nature offering, beside the variations included in the development of a genre that in the Coptic milieu, for centuries¹⁴, knew a very interesting literary and ideological treatment in the outline of the anti-Muslim works.¹⁵

⁷ M. N. SWANSON, *St. Shenoute in Seventeenth-Century Dress: Arabic Christian Preaching in Paris*, B.N. ar. 4761, in *Coptica* 4 (2005), p. 27.

⁸ R.G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, p. 282, 285.

⁹ G. GRAF, GCAL, I, p. 463-464 and II, p. 500; G. TROUPEAU, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. I. Manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris, 1972, vol. II, p. 87 (number 6147/5).

¹⁰ G. TROUPEAU, *De quelques apocalypses conservées dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris*, in *Parole de l’Orient* 18 (1993), p. 83-86, J. VAN LENT, *An unedited Copto-Arabic apocalypse of Shenute from the fourteenth century: prophecy and history*, in S. EMMEL – M. KRAUSE – S.G. RICHTER – S. SCHATEN (eds), *Ägypten und Nubien in spatantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses*, Münster, 20.-26. Juli 1996, Wiesbaden, 1999, Bd. II, p. 155-168, and J. VAN LENT, *The nineteen Muslim Kings in Coptic Apocalypses*, in KH.S. SAMIR (ed.), *Actes du 5^e Congrès International d’Études Arabes Chrétiennes (Lund, août 1996)*, in *Parole de l’Orient* 25 (2000), p. 645-655. On the Ethiopic edition, see A. GROHMANN, *Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute’s von Atripe. Text und Übersetzung*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67 (1913), p. 187-267.

¹¹ R. KRUK, *History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafis Justification of Mamluk Rule*, in *Der Islam* 72/2 (1995), p. 324-337.

¹² J. VAN LENT, *An unedited Copto-Arabic apocalypse of Shenute from the fourteenth century: prophecy and history*, in S. EMMEL ET AL. (eds), *Ägypten und Nubien*, Bd. II, p. 161.

¹³ Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *Monuments pour servir à l’histoire de l’Égypte chrétien aux IV^e et V^e siècles (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire IV)*, Paris, 1888, p. 341.

¹⁴ C.W. GRIGGS, *Early Egyptian Christianity: from its origins to 451 C.E. (Coptic Studies 2)*, Leiden – New York – København – Köln, 1990, p. 151-153.

¹⁵ S. RUBENSON, *Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt*, in *Medieval Encounters* 2/1 (1996), p. 7. Cf. F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt*, in W. GODLEWSKI (ed.), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20–25 August, 1984 (Centre d’archéologie méditerranéenne de*

A concrete sample of this interest can be noticed in the treatment of the Antichrist figure that the text contained in the MS *Vaticano arabo* 158 (fols. 99v-111v) carries out. This MS represents a textual tradition different from the other versions of this work that we already know.¹⁶

INTRODUCTION

Ἀντίχριστος is a nom. masc. sing. noun, a technical term typical of the epistles of John,¹⁷ where it has been used in order to appoint those apostate Christians (ἀντίχριστοι = 1Jn 2:18b) or a mysterious personality hiding behind them (ἀντίχριστος = 1Jn 2:18; 2:22; 4:3; 2Jn 7). The concept is also used in the New Testament apocryphal literature (ActPi, Greek rec. XXV), a work to which the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius also seems to be related.

In Mt 24:24 and Mk 13:22 we find a similar term, ψευδόχριστος. Paul, on his part, mentions this figure (2Thes 2:3-10) with the expression ὁ ἄνομος (“the one with no [Mosaic] law”), which is the translation of the Rabbinic formula על בלי into which the rabbies translated the term בליל: cf. Sanh 111b; SifDeut 92. However, although Paul seems to mention an eschatological-type Antichrist, his meaning does not seem to be clear enough, as he starts from Old Testament assumptions (Job 9:13; Ps 74:13; 89:10-11; Isa 51:9; Ezek 28:2; Dan 11:36). In Rev 17:7-14 the terminology is also different.

The concept of the Antichrist, in the Synoptic Gospels and in Rev, refers to a group of beings coming about opposite to the church faced with the imminent παρουσία, but it is individualized as figure in the New Testament apocryphal literature: ApEl 33:1-8; Ps.Mth A2; HistJosCar(boh) XXX:10; and the Casanatensis version of GBart IV:42.44.51, where it is synonym of Satan. In the case of the ecclesiastical authors, on their part, the figure provokes *pseudo-topoi* adapting to varied exegetic scopes, as it happens in the unedited homily of Mošē bar

l'Académie polonaise des sciences), Varsovie, 1990, p. 258-259, and J.R. ZABOROWSKI, *Egyptian Christians Implicating Chalcedonians in the Arab Takeover of Egypt: The Arabic Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn*, in *Oriens Christianus* 87 (2003), p. 100-115.

¹⁶ Cf. G. GRAF, GCAL, vol. I, p. 276-279; F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, 252-259; J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Literatura apocalíptica cristiana en árabe. Con un avance de edición del Apocalipsis árabe copto del Pseudo Atanasio*, in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 48 (1999), p. 240-242.

¹⁷ G. ABBOTT-SMITH, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, Edinburgh – New York, 2005 rep., p. 42.

Kēphā ‘On the Antichrist’, who interprets ὁ κατέχων (“he who now restrains”) of 2 Thes 2:7 as “the kingdom of the Romans”.¹⁸

In the Islamic religious literature, this figure is described as a young man with curly hair, shortish, blind in his left eye (in other variants of the right one) and with an inscription between both eyes reading *kāfir* (cf. ApDan 9:16-27). The name of his is *al-Dağğāl* very frequently, although in some *aḥādīṭ* is named *al-Masīḥ al-Dağğāl*. This one will appear before the day of the Resurrection in an apocalyptic framework announcing the end of times.

Obviously, this element of the Islamic tradition is strongly related to the New Testament figure. *Dağğāl*'s legends are classified as part of the *corpus* of *masīhiyyāt* by some traditionalist Muslim researchers¹⁹ and everything shows that the Islamic reception of the figure has been mythologized excessively by means of the ‘Book of Revelation’. The Islamic reception of the apocalyptic ideas living together in the *Oriens semiticus* was extremely important for centuries. The Muslim chroniclers, for instance, describe the battles with the Byzantines as *malāḥim* (cf. מלחמה in the Old Testament)²⁰; in the case of Constantinople, that conquest is one of the six signs of the time, assigning the end of the world preceded by the arrival of the *Dağğāl*, who will conquer the city.²¹

In fact, an important number of eschatological traditions related to this personality of the *Dağğāl* are connected with an important character in the coming of this genre of traditions to the early Islam. It is about Tamīm al-Dārī, a *laḥmī* Christian who converted to Islam and was one of the *aṣḥāb Muḥammad*.²² This could play an important role, if not a determinant one, in the entry of the concept *dağğāl* for identifying the figure of the “Antichrist” in Islam.

Despite the fact that this figure in Islam has been identified with the “Jewish Messiah, the son of David”,²³ the *topos* seems to have arrived to Islam through a Syriac source. The Pešittā, for instance, translates the

¹⁸ See F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *The Apocalyptic Genre in Syriac: The World of Pseudo-Methodius*, in H.J.W. DRIEVERS ET AL. (eds.), *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, p. 346.

¹⁹ G.H.A. JUYNBOLL, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature*, Leiden, 1969, p. 137.

²⁰ Cf. G. LISOWSKY, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, Stuttgart, 1958², s.v.

²¹ N. M. EL CHEIKH, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 36)*, Cambridge, MA, 2004, p. 67.

²² D. COOK, *Tamīm al-Dārī*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61 (1998), p. 20-28.

²³ A. GEIGER, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Osnabrück, 1971² = Leipzig, 1902, p. 33.

term ἀντίχριστος into *Daggālō* (1Jn 2:22) and into *Mšīhō daggālō* (1Jn 2:18a).

The figure, which has clear precedents in Judaism, was later adapted by Christianity and finally by Islam.²⁴ In Judaism, the identification of the Antichrist with Dan presumes a messianic hope, although the reputation of idolater, blasphemer, and murderer, among others, makes the figure change towards scopes bordering on the demonology in the apocryphal literature and rabbinical traditions. In TDan 1:4-8, when planning the death of his brother Joseph (ὁμολογῶ σήμερον ὑμῖν τέκνα μου ὅτι ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ἠδόμην περὶ τοῦ θανάτου Ἰωσήφ = “I, therefore, admit this day to you, my children, that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph”), Dan is presented as an individual possessed by one of the spirits of Beliar (καὶ ἐν τῶν πνευμάτων τοῦ Βελιάρ συνήργει μοι = “and one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me up”).²⁵

The identification Dan-Antichrist has its origin in the figure of the snake (*nāhāš*), that is already related to Dan in Gen 49:17²⁶ (cf. ApEl 5:33). So, it is reflected in the apocalyptic literature of the Old Testament, as, for example, in ApDan 8:1-2. In TarJon Num 2:25, as a consequence of Gen 49:17, the snake appears in the banner (*tēqas*) of Dan: “and upon it shall also be set forth the figure of a snake”. This information appears to be confirmed in NumR 2, as the snake, besides being the comparative element of Dan,²⁷ evokes in the Targumic production the impious king or the anti-Messiah, as in ApEl 5:33 and Ps.-Methodius, among others.²⁸

This tradition went on to Christianity²⁹, as it can be noticed in Irenaeus of Lyon (at the end of 2nd c.), who, in order to demonstrate that the Antichrist comes from Dan, quotes Jer 8:16, a rewriting of Gn 49:17, where the snake is referred to as an ancestral element symbolizing evil:

²⁴ J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Ángeles, demonios y anticristos entre los monoteísmos semitas*, in *Cuadernos del CEMyR* 11 (2003), p. 107-112.

²⁵ Cf. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Translated from the Greek text editor and edited, with introduction, notes, and indices by R.H. CHARLES, London, 1908, p. 128.

²⁶ L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1946, vol. V, p. 368, vol. VI, pp. 24 and 144.

²⁷ L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. III, pp. 234-235 and 237.

²⁸ F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 91 (Syriac text) p. 153 (English translation).

²⁹ Cf. for instance Suda's 'Lexicon': A. ADLER (ed.), *Suidae lexicon*. 4 vols, Leipzig, 1928, 1931, 1933, 1935, reimp. Stuttgart, 1971, entry 2286, l. 3.

*Ex Dan audiemus vocem velocitatis equorum eius; a voce hinnitus decursionis equorum eius commovebitur tota terra, et veniet et manducabit terram et plenitudinem eius, civitatem et qui habitant in ea*³⁰

«We shall hear the voice of his swift horses from Dan; the whole earth shall be moved by the voice of the neighing of his galloping horses: he shall also come and devour the earth, and the fullness thereof, the city also, and they that dwell therein».

In the Eastern Christian apocalyptic literature, not only in Greek and Syriac³¹ but also in Coptic,³² this figure will experience a particular development thanks to the vision of the “other” that will be shown.³³ In the Syriac works, the Arabs (*ṭayyāyē*), Muslims (*m^ehagg^erāyē*), Saracens (*sarakēnoi*) or Pagans (*ḥanpē*), according to the several names used by the Syriac authors, are members of a sect that broke away from Christianity from which the Antichrist will arise at a concrete moment. John of Damascus (d. ca. 750) in chapter 101 of ‘De haeresibus’, writes that Islam is a “heresy” (created by an “Aryan monk”, in a clear reference to the “Legend of the monk Baḥīrā”)³⁴, an element which was the forerunner to the Antichrist.³⁵

John of Damascus, for example, describes Islam as a “spiritual mistake/obscurity” (σκιῶ) and Peter, bishop of Mayūma, describes Muḥammad as a “false prophet” and “precursor of the Antichrist”, also damning publicly Islam, what made him be sentenced to death. But

³⁰ Irenaeus Theol., ‘Adversus haereses’ V, 30.2, in E.A. ROUSSEAU, L. DOUTRELEAU, C. MERCIER (eds), *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies* (Sources chrétiennes 153), Paris, 1969.

³¹ Cf. P.J. ALEXANDER, *Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques*, in id., *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1978, XV, p. 1-8a.

³² Cf. J. VAN LENT, *Les apocalypses coptes de l'époque arabe: quelques réflexions*, in M. RASSART-DEBERGH (ed.), *Études coptes 5. Sixième journées d'études, Limoges 18-20 juin 1993 et septième journée d'études, Neuchâtel 18-20 mai 1995* (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 10), Paris, 1998, p. 181-195 and H. SUERMANN, *Koptische arabische Apokalypsen*, in R. EBIED, H. TEULE (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage in Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S.I. at the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Eastern Christian Studies 5), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Mass., 2004, p. 25-44.

³³ Cf. e.g. R.G. HOYLAND, *Jacob of Edessa on Islam*, in G.J. REININK, A.C. KLUGKIST (eds), *After Bardaisan. Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers*, Louvain, 1999, espec. p. 153-159.

³⁴ S. GERO, *The Legend of the Monk Baḥīrā, the Cult of the Cross, And Iconoclasm*, in P. CANIVET, J.-P. REY-COQUAIS (eds), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe-VIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque international Lyon — Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris — Institut du Monde Arabe, 11-15 Septembre 1990* (Institut Français de Damas — Éditions d'Amérique et d'Orient A. Maisonneuve), Damas, 1992, p. 47-58, cf. p. 53.

³⁵ D.J. SAHAS, *John of Damascus on Islam. The 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'*, Leiden, 1972, p. 68-74.

Muḥammad was not the first in being described in such a way, as previously the Melkite circles made use of this figure in order to discredit those people who strayed from the orthodox faith and made the believers lose their way. Athanasius, for instance, describes the emperor Constantine as “forerunner of the Antichrist”, figure that will be developed in the Byzantine milieu.

In fact, John of Damascus devotes a whole chapter of his ‘De fide orthodoxa’ to the Antichrist with the title of “On the Antichrist”. In this work he states that the Antichrist is Satan, but the Antichrist is also a man who “does not confess that the Son of God was made of flesh, is perfect God and was made perfect man, being God at the same time”. There is no doubt on this matter that such an individual is not other than Nestorius, whom he names “the Antichrist” and “son of Satan”. The description as “precursor of the Antichrist” meant, obviously, the condemnation of every person who distorted the dogmas of the Chalcedonian Orthodox church in the matter of Christology. That was what made him describe Muḥammad and Islam as elements which were forerunners of the Antichrist. Nicetas of Byzantium will arrive and, beyond this, will describe the Qur’ān as ἀντίθεος and ἀντίχριστος at the same time.

Within the framework of polemics on polytheism and idolatry,³⁶ the Christian apologetic literature of the first Abbasid century, in Syriac and also in Greek and Arabic (as well as in Latin in the West), pass on a portrait of Muḥammad as a “possessed demon”,³⁷ an agent of the Antichrist with a perverted moral.³⁸ Even more, ‘Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (9th c.) refers that the Qur’ān comes from *al-Šayṭān*.³⁹ So, Theophanes, when describing the martyrdom of Peter of Capitolias, shows how the martyr describes Islam as the “announcer of the Antichrist”. These ideas will

³⁶ See about this B. ROGGEMA, *Muslims as crypto-idolaters — a theme in the Christian portrayal of Islam in the Near East*, in D. THOMAS (ed.), *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule. Church Life and Scholarship in ‘Abbasid Iraq (The History of Christian-Muslim Relations 1)*, Leiden – Boston, 2003, p. 1-18.

³⁷ About the figure of Muḥammad like a demon, see J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Un daimónion llamado Μαχουμέτ*, in *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 4 (2007), forthcoming.

³⁸ S.H. GRIFFITH, *The Prophet Muḥammad, his Scripture and his Message, according to the Christian Apologies in Arabic and Syriac from the first Abbasid century*, in T. FAHD (ed.), *La vie du Prophète Mahomet: Colloque de Strasbourg, 1980*, Paris, 1983, p. 131. See also N. DANIEL, *Spanish Christian sources of information about Islam (ninth-thirteenth centuries)*, in *Al-Qanṭara* XV/2 (1994), p. 365-384

³⁹ KH.S. SAMIR, *The Prophet Muḥammad as Seen by Timothy I and Some Other Arab Christian Authors*, in D. THOMAS (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam. The First Thousand Years*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2001, p. 82.

end up devoting to new powers in the 15th c., like that of the Ottomans, to which the Greeks will refer as “turcocracy”, like the kingdom of the Antichrist.⁴⁰

Among the textual precedents we find the Syriac text known as ‘Pseudo Ephrem’, a brief text in which the figure of the Antichrist is called “son of the perdition” (2 Thes 2:3-4). The elements contained in this text will mark the developments carried out by the later texts, as it happens with the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius.⁴¹

The Antichrist is not only identified with characters but also with empires. In this way, Islam is described as “the small horn”, “the abomination of the desolation”, “the fourth beast”, putting together all those elements describing the eschatological-apocalyptic profile of the last moments, the framework of which had been exposed in the apocalyptic texts of the 7th c.⁴² At the same time, Muslims are the messengers of the “son of the perdition”, the Antichrist.⁴³ Pseudo-Athanasius’ Apocalypse is clear enough in this sense, as Muḥammad is identified with the “beast” of the Apocalypse of John:

And after a brief period of time a man (*insān*) who is the author of his law (*ṣarī‘ah*) will rise up among the Arabs (*al-‘arab*), whose name (*ismu-hu*) belongs to the number 666.⁴⁴

This identification of Muḥammad with the “beast” of Rev 13:18 by means of this famous numeric procedure is known by the Byzantine authors (μαμετίος < Maḥmet)⁴⁵ as well as by the Coptic ones (ΜΑΜΕΤΙΟΣ)⁴⁶. This usage is related, likewise, to the association with

⁴⁰ A. DUCCELLIER, *Chrétiens d’orient et Islam au Moyen Âge VII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1996, pp. 24, 170, 281, 421 and 451.

⁴¹ S. BROCK, *Syriac views of emergent Islam*, in G.H.A. JUYNBOLL (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale – Edwardsville, 1982, p. 18-19, and id., *Two Apocalyptic Texts of AD 691 †*, in A. PALMER, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*. With added annotation and an historical introduction by R. HOYLAND (*Translated Texts for Historians* 15), Liverpool, 1993, pp. 239-242, 247-249.

⁴² Cf. H. SUERMANN, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalyphtik des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, 1985, p. 15-17.

⁴³ B. MCGINN, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. With a New Preface and Expanded Bibliography, New York, 1979, p. 39-76.

⁴⁴ J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Literatura apocalíptica cristiana en árabe*, in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 48 (1999), p. 250 (trans.) and 254 (Arabic text).

⁴⁵ O. MEINARDUS, *A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel*. According to the Coptic Version, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), p. 437. About the variants of the name Muḥammad among the Byzantine authors, see A. FISCHER, *Der Name Muḥammad und κύριος~κύρ bei den Byzantinern*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 99 (1945-49), p. 58-62.

⁴⁶ T. ORLANDI, *Un testo copto sulla dominazione araba in Egitto*, in T. ORLANDI,

Iblīs / Šayṭān, to whom the “fourth king” is identified according to the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius. Therefore, we find the relation Muḥammad > Antichrist < Satan: “The fourth king is a follower servant of Iblīs / Šayṭān” (*wa-l-malik al-rābi‘ yakūn mu‘aṭṭil ‘ābida[n] li-Iblīs / li-l-Šayṭān*)⁴⁷.

1. An unedited fragment on the Antichrist from the Arabic-Coptic Ps.-Athanasius

The *topos* of the Antichrist contained in Pseudo-Athanasius’ Apocalypse, without any doubt, is inserted into the heart of the Eastern apocalyptic tradition. However, as I try to demonstrate briefly in the lines following the next section, the draft text from which Ps.-Athanasius rewrites the fragment on the Antichrist is the ‘Book of Revelation’.

For the study of this *topos* I have used the version included in the MS *Vaticano Arabo 158* [= V] (showing the variants contained in the MS *Par. ar. 153/32* of the “Bibliothèque nationale de France” [= P])⁴⁸, the translation of which I offer below:

/N110^v | P468^v/ [...] Then *al-Dağğāl* will appear, will join all the Jewish and Byzantine people and will make a great army. He will make big and false signs without any limit to make all those people⁴⁹ looking at⁵⁰ and listening to him go astray, and his name will be marked⁵¹ in everybody⁵² obeying him. The length /fol. 111r/ of his stay and his reign upon the earth⁵³ will take three years and six months.⁵⁴ After that, God the Almighty will send /P469^r/ Enoch and Elijah⁵⁵ and they will attack⁵⁶ the false Mes-

F. WISSE (eds), *Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Roma 1980*, Roma, 1985, p. 229; J. VAN LENT, The nineteen Muslim Kings, in KH.S. SAMIR (ed.), *Actes du 5^e Congrès*, in *Parole de l’Orient* 25 (2000), p. 660-661.

⁴⁷ J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Literatura apocalíptica cristiana en árabe*, in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 48 (1999), pp. 248 (trad.) and 252 (texto árabe).

⁴⁸ G. TROUPEAU, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. I. Manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris, 1972, vol I, p. 127. Cf. id., *De quelques apocalypses*, in *Parole de l’Orient* 18 (1993), p. 77-79.

⁴⁹ Vat. ar. 158: *kull man*; Par. ar. 153: *kull al-nās wa-kullaman*.

⁵⁰ Vat. ar. 158: *yubširu-hu*; Par. ar. 153: *yanzuru-hu*.

⁵¹ Vat. ar. 158: *yūsam*; Par. ar. 153: *yaršam*.

⁵² Vat. ar. 158: *‘alā kull man*; Par. ar. 153: *‘alā kullaman*

⁵³ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-yakūun muddatu maqāmi-hi wa-mulki-hi ‘alā al-arḍ*; Par. ar. 153: *wa-yakūun mulku-hu ‘alā al-arḍ*.

⁵⁴ Vat. ar. 158: *ašhur*; Par. ar. 153: *šuhūr*.

⁵⁵ Vat. ar. 158: *Īliyā*; Par. ar. 153: *Īliyās al-nabī*.

⁵⁶ Vat. ar. 158: *yalğazū*; Par. ar. 153: *yuwabbihā-hu*

siah⁵⁷. They both will believe in the Messiah⁵⁸ and before him⁵⁹ there will be many witnesses whom the Jews⁶⁰ will kill.⁶¹ Everybody who is killed⁶² will come into the kingdom of heaven. Elijah⁶³ and Enoch will do many signs and wonders⁶⁴, more than they did⁶⁵ at the beginning. A great terror⁶⁶ will fall upon *al-Dağğāl*⁶⁷ and his false collaborators. Then, they will rise up against Elijah and Enoch⁶⁸ and they will slit their throats on the altar. They will spend three days mutilated on the face of the earth⁶⁹ and they will not be buried⁷⁰. *Al-Dağğāl*⁷¹ and his collaborators will be pleased with the death of both and will give present to each others⁷² because of⁷³ having annihilated their enemies. But after three days God⁷⁴ will order their spirits⁷⁵ to return to their bodies, and they will rise and stand⁷⁶, and will ascend⁷⁷ into heaven and will raise from the dead⁷⁸ [in the midst of] terror⁷⁹, tremblings and thunders⁸⁰ over Jerusalem and seven thousand souls of the mates of the false *al-Dağğāl* will die.⁸¹ God⁸² will order the chief of the angels, Michael,⁸³ to go down from the heaven and to cut⁸⁴ *al-Dağğāl* in two [parts] and the earth will be opened⁸⁵ and it will swallow him and his

⁵⁷ Vat. ar. 158: *al-Dağğāl al-kaddāb*; Par. ar. 153: *yukaddibā-hu wa-yarġi'u ġami' al-yahūd ma' Aḥnūḥ wa-Īliyās wa-xxxx al-rağul al-kaddāb*.

⁵⁸ Par. ar. 153 adds: *al-ḥaqq*.

⁵⁹ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-yakūnu yaday-hi*; Par. ar. 153: *wa-yakūnu yuqīmu 'alā yaday-hi*.

⁶⁰ Vat. ar. 158: *min al-yahūd*; Par. ar. 153: *al-yahūd*.

⁶¹ Vat. ar. 158: *yaqtulu-hum*; Par. ar. 153: *yaqtulu-hu*.

⁶² Vat. ar. 158: *yaqtulu-hu*; Par. ar. 153: *wa-anna-hu yaqtulu-hu*.

⁶³ Vat. ar. 158: *Īliyās*; Par. ar. 153: *Īliyās*.

⁶⁴ Vat. ar. 158: *āyāt wa-'ağā'ib kaṭīrah*; Par. ar. 153: *'ağā'ib kaṭīrah 'aẓimah*.

⁶⁵ Vat. ar. 158: *šana'a*; Par. ar. 153: *yašana'u*.

⁶⁶ Par. ar. 153 adds: *min Allāh*.

⁶⁷ Vat. ar. 158: *fi l-Dağğāl*; Par. ar. 153: *'alā al-rağul al-kaddāb*.

⁶⁸ Vat. ar. 158: *yaqūmū 'alā Īliyās wa-Aḥnūḥ*; Par. ar. 153: *yaqwī al-rağul 'alā Aḥnūḥ wa-Īliyās*.

⁶⁹ Par. ar. 153 ommit.: *'alā wağḥ al-arđ*.

⁷⁰ *Sic* in Par. ar. 153. Vat. ar. 158 ommit.: *aḥad*.

⁷¹ Par. ar. 153: *al-rağul*.

⁷² Vat. ar. 158: *li-ba'đi-him al-ba'đ*; Par. ar. 153: *li-ba'đi-him ba'đan*.

⁷³ Vat. ar. 158: *anna-hu*; Par. ar. 153: *li-anna*.

⁷⁴ Par. ar. 153 adds: *Ta'alā*.

⁷⁵ Vat. ar. 158: *arwāḥu-hum*; Par. ar. 153: *arwāḥu-humā*.

⁷⁶ Vat. ar. 158: *qā'imīn 'alā arġali-him*; Par. ar. 153: *qiyāman 'alā arwāḥi-himā*.

⁷⁷ Vat. ar. 158: *yaṭlu'ū*; Par. ar. 153: *yaṭlu'āni*.

⁷⁸ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-takūun qiyāmatu-hum*; Par. ar. 153: *wa-takūnu qiyāmu-humā*.

⁷⁹ Par. ar. 153 adds: *šadīd*.

⁸⁰ Vat. ar. 158: *ra'ad*; Par. ar. 153: *ra'ad 'aẓīm*.

⁸¹ Vat. ar. 158: *al-Dağğāl al-kaddāb*; Par. ar. 153: *al-rağul al-kaddāb*.

⁸² Par. ar. 153 adds: *Ta'alā*.

⁸³ Vat. ar. 158: *ra'is al-malā'ikah Mīḥā'il*; Par. ar. 153: *Mīḥā'il ra'is al-malā'ikah*.

⁸⁴ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-yašiq al-Dağğāl*; Par. ar. 153: *bi-sayf rašiq al-rağul*.

⁸⁵ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-taftatiḥu*; Par. ar. 153: *tumma taftatiḥu*.

mates.⁸⁶ God will show⁸⁷ the log of the crucifix from the East and the sun, the moon /fol. 111v/ and the stars /P469v/ will appear and their light will be like the light of the sun and the moon seven times [seen] from the East and the West. The Lord Jesus the Messiah, glory to him, will appear upon his city with his angels and Gabriel will beat the earth, which will turn around and the waters of the surface of the earth and under it will disappear. Then, the angel Gabriel will play the second horn (*al-sāfir*) too and all men will stand up taking the shape of the body of the first Adam. They will be taken to court and to judgment and each of them will receive according to what they have done [...].⁸⁸

2. A few explanations to the text

My aim is to provide below a series of brief commentaries on the text by sequences, trying to point in each case to the precise source, as well as to some interesting correspondences. It would be of interest to compare the fragment with the rich information provided by Ireneus, *Adversus Haereses* V, 25ff. The Coptic New Testament quotations are taken from the Sahidic version.

2.1. “Then *al-Dağğāl* will appear”.

It is a simple rewriting, almost literal, of ΠΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΗΥ < ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται, “Antichrist is coming” (1Jn 2:18a) or of ΠΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ [...] ΚΗΝΗΥ < ὁ ἀντίχριστος [...] ἔρχεται, “the Antichrist [...] is coming” (1 Jn 4:3, in which *ho antichristos* is in genitive). It is the *prophetia ex eventu* which “will happen in the last moment” (ΘΑΗ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΤΕ < ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν), the character of which is well-known in apocryphal literature.

2.2. “[He] will join all the Jewish and Byzantine people and will make a great army”.

Jews (*al-yahūd*) and Byzantines (*al-yūnāniyyūn*)⁸⁹ represent the two main enemies of the Monophysites: The first group, as they are responsible for the death of Jesus, and the second group, for dividing the only

⁸⁶ Vat. ar. 158: *huwa wa-aṣḥāba-hu*; Par. ar. 153: *huwa wa-ḡamī’ aṣḥāb ma’ al-arkūn*. On the loanword *arkūn* (< ἄρχων), see G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 147, Subsidia 8), Louvain, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Vat. ar. 158: *wa-yazharu*; Par. ar. 153: *tumma yazharu*.

⁸⁸ Vat. ar. 158, fols. 110v-111v.

⁸⁹ Cf. N. SERIKOFF, *Rūm and Yūnānī: Towards the Understanding of the Greek Language in the Medieval Muslim World*, in K. CIGGAAR ET AL., *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations*, Leuven, 1996, p. 169-194.

nature of Christ. ‘*Askar* (“army”) is a term which refers $\overline{\text{ΜΜΑΤΟΙ}}$ < $\delta\iota$ στρατιῶται (“the soldiers”) in Mt 27:27, cf. LXX 2 Kgs 23:8 B1⁹⁰; 2 Mac 5:12; 14:39; 3 Mac 3:12; 4 Mac 3, translating probably ܐܚܘܪܝܐ . For the Jews, cf. ApDan 11:1ff. and Ps.-Methodius.⁹¹

2.3. “He will make big and false signs”.

The feminine *pluralis sanus āyāt* (sing. *āyah*)⁹², a Qur’ānic technical term,⁹³ is a loanword of the Syriac *’ōt* (“sign; mark”; cf. Coptic $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$; Greek σημεῖον), that does not include the meaning, “miracle”, etymologically. The meaning of “signs, miracles” for *āyāt* is correct for the source used in the Ps.-Athanasius: $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ < τὰ σημεῖα (Rev 19:20), the origin of which is Mk 13:22 (cf. Mt 24:5.11). It has also a clear thematic antecedent in apocalyptic texts as ApEl 3:5-13, ApDan 13:1ff. and Ps.-Methodius.⁹⁴ In SibOr 2:167 and 3:66, it is Beliar who will perform many signs. Although some authors state that the term in the Qur’ān does not include the meaning of “miracle”, in some passages, however, the term is most likely to be interpreted as such (cf. for instance Qur’ān 29:49; 13:27-30; 54:1-2). There is no doubt, in any case, that in the *Sunnah* and in the works by the Muslim commentators, we can find some evidences of that.

2.4. “His name will be marked by everybody obeying him”.

With the non-agentive construction *yūsam ismu-hu*, the author makes reference to Rev 16:2 ($\text{ΝΕΤΕΥΝ̄ΤΟΥ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ Μ̄ΠΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ· Μ̄Ν ΝΕΤΟΥΩΨ̄Τ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ}$ < τὸς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ, “the people who had the mark of the beast and who worshiped his image”; cf. Rev 19:20), although he can also make reference in an indirect way to Gen 4:15, where the Jahwist writer says that “Yahweh appointed (ܐܘܪܝܐ) a sign (ܐܝܢܐ) for Cain” (LXX: ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημεῖον τῷ Καὶν). *Yāsem*, *qal* of $\text{ܐܝܢܐ} / \text{ܐܝܢܐ}$; is a cognated form of the Arabic *wasam*. In Ps.-Athanasius, *ism* replaces *’ōt*, perhaps having echo of an Old Testament apocalyptic tradition (cf. ApEl 3:17, but overall ApDan 9:25-26) on which an Islamic tradition depends, according to which the *Dağğāl*

⁹⁰ Cf. A. RAHLFS (ed.), *Septuaginta*. 2 vol., Stuttgart, 1979, vol. I, p. 617 apparatus.

⁹¹ F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 226 (Syriac text), p. 236 (English translation).

⁹² A. JEFFERY, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’ān*, Baroda, 1938, p. 72-73.

⁹³ Cf. *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, Leiden, 1986-2002², vol. I, p. 796-797 (A. JEFFERY).

⁹⁴ Cf. F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 91-92 (Syriac text), p. 153-154 (English translation), and also p. 225 (Syriac text), p. 236 (English translation).

has the word *kāfir* (“infidel”; cf. Rev 14:1) engraved between the eyes.⁹⁵ The innovation of Ps.-Athanasius is that the stigma will be engraved in all those people who obey him (*kull man yuṭī‘u-hu*) starting from the Rev 19:20: ΕΒΟΛ [...] ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΡΠΛΑΝΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΧΙ ΜΠΕΣΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΑΓΟΓΩΩΨΤ < τὰ σημεῖα [...] ἐν οἷς ἐπλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ, “the signs [...] by which he deceived those who had received the mark of the beast and those who worshiped his image”.

2.5. “The length of his stay and his reign upon the earth will take three years and six months”.

The sentence *talatah sinin wa-sittah ašhur* is a rewriting of ΜΝΝ̄ΣΑ ΨΟΜΝ̄Τ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΘΟΣ < καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμισυ (Rev 11:11), the required time for the eradication of the evil of the earth: ΑΥΠΝ̄Α ΝΩΝ̄Ζ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ̄ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ· ᾹΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ < πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰση̄λθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς (“breath of life from God came into them”, Rev 11:11) and so his kingdom prevails against evil.

2.6. “God the Almighty will send Enoch and Elijah and they will attack the false Messiah”.

It is about a famous Christian tradition connected with two key characters of eschatology and Jewish and Christian apocalyptic (both snatched away from the earth by God):⁹⁶ Enoch (Aḥnūḥ < Heb. אֲחִיָּהוּ)⁹⁷ and Elijah (Īliyā < Heb. אֵלִיָּהוּ)⁹⁸, who will be sent by God in order to face up to the Antichrist,⁹⁹ to be killed by him and to rise from the dead in three days, as ActPi Greek rec. XXV states (cf. GBart 17; 16-17; ApEl 4:7-14; ApDan 14:1-2): τότε δὲ μέλλομεν ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ

⁹⁵ About this theological technical term coming from the Syriac, see A. MINGANA, *Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kur'ān*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 11/1 (1927), p. 86. Cf. M.M. BRAVMANN, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam. Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts*, Leiden, 1972, p. 76-82, relating the term *kāfir* to the Hebrew *kōfēr*, without posing the mediation of the Aramaic-Syriac *kufra' / kūfrā*.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gen 5:23-24 (Enoch); 2Kgs 2:11 (Elijah).

⁹⁷ Cf. J.C. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition (Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series 16)*, Washington, 1984.

⁹⁸ Cf. A. WIENER, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism*, London – Boston 1978, and D. FRANKFURTER, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity)*, Minneapolis, 1993.

⁹⁹ Cf. HistJosCarp(ar) et boh 30:2; 31:7-10; 32:1-2. See J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Apócrifos árabes cristianos (Pliegos de Oriente)*, Madrid, 2003, p. 148-151.

Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ Ἀντιχρίστῳ καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι, the Coptic version of which circulated among the Christians of Egypt.¹⁰⁰ Mal 3:23-24 prophesied the return of the prophet Elijah to prepare the arrival of the Messiah (cf. Sir 43:110-11; also Mt 11:14; 16:14; 17:10; Mk 6:1; 8:289:11; Lk 9:8.19; Jn 1:21; cf. SibOr 2:187-188). The mission of Elijah, according to Mal 3:24, would consist of restoring peace and order upon the earth — as the Mishnah confirms ('Eduy 8:7) — where it is even required that Elijah will rise from the dead (Soṭ 9:15). All in all, it seems that this special eschatological condition of Enoch and Elijah, together with other characters of similar condition (Moses and Ezra, for instance), follows a Jewish tradition according to which both characters would have been awarded glory in heaven after their deaths (cf. 4Ezra 14:9; ApZeph 9:4). This *topos* also appears in Ps.-Methodius¹⁰¹ and in the “Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ on the invasions of the Mongols”.¹⁰² The label *al-Masīh al-kaddāb* (“the false Messiah”) is, no doubt, a semantic calque of the Syriac *Mešīhō da-gōlō*.

2.7. “Both will believe in the Messiah”.

Ps.-Athanasius makes use of the eschatological value of the two characters, going beyond the Jewish dimension of both, especially of Elijah, who is the precursor of the Messiah, in accordance with the prophecy of the Mal 3:23. It does the same with the term “Messiah”¹⁰³ (instead of using the name *Yašū'*, as it appears in 2.19) in order to use the duality that the concept offers in Jewish and Christian environments.¹⁰⁴

2.8. “And before him there will be many witnesses whom the Jews will kill”.

The word *šuhhad* is one of the plurals of the technical term *šāhid* (< Syr. *sōhdō* < μάρτυς)¹⁰⁵, that the author of Ps.-Athanasius employs,

¹⁰⁰ Cf. among others the edition of E. REVILLOUT, *Les Apocryphes coptes, II. Acta Pilati, Patrologia Orientalis* 9/2 (1913), p. 57-132.

¹⁰¹ Cf. F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Early Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 120 (Greek text), p. 201 (English translation), and also p. 226 (Syriac text), p. 237 (English translation).

¹⁰² Cf. J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Apócrifos árabes cristianos*, p. 240-241.

¹⁰³ About the Arabic *al-Masīh*, see G. GRAF, *Wie ist das Wort Al-Masīh zu übersetzen?*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 104 (1954), p. 119-123, which has been recently re-edited in G. GRAF, *Christlicher Orient und schwäbische Heimat. Kleine Schriften*. Anlässlich des 50. Todestags des Verfassers neu herausgegeben und eingeleitet von H. KAUFHOLD (*Beiruter Texte und Studien* 107a-b), Würzburg, 2005, Bd. II, p. 517-522.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. e.g., J. KLAUSNER, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, New York, 1955.

¹⁰⁵ I. GOLDZIHNER, *Muslim Studies*. Ed. by S.M. STERN. Translated by C.R. BARBER, S.M. STERN, 2 vols, London, 1971, p. 350-351. Cf. G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis*, p. 68.

making reference almost probably to Rev 17:6: $\pi\epsilon\sigma\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta\ \bar{m}\bar{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\sigma\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\ \bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ < [...] τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων [...] τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ (“the blood of the saints [...] the witnesses of Jesus”), just as the term *yahūd* seems to be a figurative reflection of $\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{o}\ \bar{\tau}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}\ \bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{c}$ < ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν, “the mother of the prostitutes” (Rev 17:5).

2.9. “Everybody who is killed will come into the kingdom of heaven”.

It is about a rewriting of Rev 21:3. *Malakūt al-samā’* is the translation of $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\ \bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{\pi}\bar{h}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}$ < ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (cf. Heb. מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם; Syr. *malakūtō š^emayō*), where the simplification in singular of *al-samā’* is due to the mediation of the Coptic $\phi\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ / $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$, against the plural $\mu\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$.¹⁰⁶ The syntagm βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, equivalent to βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, is the translation of the eschatological Jewish formula מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם.¹⁰⁷

2.10. “Elijah and Enoch will do many signs and wonders, more than they did at the beginning”.

Ps.-Athanasius refers to the activity that both are going to carry out in order to defeat the Antichrist. This is the reason why they have been sent by God, the signs of which (cf. Rev 11:3-13) will overcome the well-known ones in the Old Testament in the case of Elijah (cf. 1Kgs 17:1-19.21-22; 21:17-28; 2Kgs 1:1-2.12) and gathered in the New Testament (cf. Lk 4:25; 9:54; Jas 5:17; Rev 11:6; Rom 11:2-5).

2.11. “A great terror will fall upon *al-Dāğğāl* and his false collaborators”.

It seems to be a rewriting of Rev 11:13: $\pi\kappa\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\bar{\rho}\zeta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ < οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοὶ ἐγένοντο (“the rest were terrified”).

2.12. “They will rise up against Elijah and Enoch and they will slit their throats on the altar”.

We are talking about other rewriting realized from two different textual traditions: a Biblical one (Rev 11:7-8) and an apocryphal one (ApEl 4:13-14; HistJosCarp 31:9-10). SJosCharp(boh) 31:10 is the source used by Ps.-Athanasius for specifying the kind of death that both will

¹⁰⁶ Cf. W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Compiled with the help of many scholars, Oxford, 1990 = 1939, p. 259a.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. H.L. STRACK, P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 Bände, München, 1951-1956³, Bd. I, p. 172-184. See also G. DALMAN, *Die Worte Jesu. Mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache*, Darmstadt, 1965 = Leipzig, 1930², p. 75-119.

receive. For this, Ps-Athanasius turns to the Old Testament bleeding sacrificial type referred to by the sacrificial technical terms “they will cut the throat” (*yaḏbaḥū*)¹⁰⁸ and “altar” (*maḏbah*).¹⁰⁹

2.13. “They will spend three days mutilated on the face of the earth and they will not be buried”.

Again, this is a reformulation, in this case of Rev 11:9: ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ̄ Ν̄ΛΑΟΣ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΦΥΛΗ ΜΝ̄ Ν̄ΑΣΠΕ ΜΝ̄ Ν̄ΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΣΕΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΥ-ΖΩΤΒ̄ Ν̄ΨΟΜΝ̄Τ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΒΟΣ Ν̄ΣΕΤΜ̄ΚΑΛΥ ΕΤΜ̄Σ ΝΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΖΝ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΦΟΣ < βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἔθνῶν τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνήμα “those from the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations will look at their dead bodies for three and a half days, and will not permit their dead bodies to be laid in the tombs”, cf. Mt 24:3ff. A similar description is found in other Apocalypses.¹¹⁰ The death by sword appears in ApDan 14:11; cf. ApEl 4:13-14. For a symbolic meaning of the concept “sword”, cf. TBenj 7:1-2. The reference to the “three and a half days” of Rev 11:9 (a numerical symbol well-known in the apocalyptic literature, cf. Dan 7:25; 12:7) alludes the three and a half years (= “1260 days”) already mentioned in Rev 11:3, that corresponds to the length of the famine during the time of Elijah according to a tradition found only in Lk 4:25; Jas 4:17 and some rabbinic sources.¹¹¹ However, the “three days” (*talataḥ ayyām*) mentioned by Ps-Athanasius do not correspond to this tradition, but the expression “in the third year” (בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית) gathered in 1 Kgs 18:1 for mentioning the whole length of that famine.

2.14. “*Al-Dağğāl* and his collaborators will be pleased with the death of both and will give presents to each other because of having annihilated their enemies”.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. R. DE VAUX, *Les sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 1)*, Paris, 1964, p. 50-81, and id., *Instituciones del Antiguo Testamento*. Versión castellana de Alejandro Ros. (Sagrada Escritura 63), Barcelona, 1985³, pp. 518ff and 528ff.

¹⁰⁹ It is a word of a pre-Islamic origin identifying an altar devoted to sacrifices (*mdhbḥt*), cf. A.F.L. BEESTON, M.A. GHUL, W.W. MÜLLER, J. RYCKMANS, *Sabaic Dictionary — Dictionnaire sabéen — al-Muğ'am al-saba'i* (Publication of the University of Sanaa, YAR), Louvain-la-Neuve – Beyrouth, Éditions, 1982, p. 38.

¹¹⁰ O. MEINARDUS, *A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), p. 447.

¹¹¹ H.L. STRACK, P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Bd. III, p. 761.

It is another rewording, in this case of Rev 11:10 (ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΣΕΝΑΡΑΨΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΣΕΟΥΝΟΦ ΝΣΕΧΟΟΥ ΝΖΕΗΧΩΡΟΝ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ· ΧΕ ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ < οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται καὶ δῶρα πέμπουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφηταὶ ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, “those who dwell on the earth will rejoice over them and celebrate; and they will send gifts to one another, because these two prophets tormented those who dwell on the earth”), with two changes: ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ < οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (“those who dwell on the earth”) into *al-Dağğāl wa-aṣḥābu-hu* (“the Anticrist and his companions”) and ΧΕ ΠΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ < ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφηταὶ ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (“because these two prophets tormented those who dwell on the earth”) into *anna-hu qad hallaka a’dā’a-hum* (“because they have destroyed their enemies”).

- 2.15. “But after three days God will order their spirits to return to their bodies, and they will rise and stand, and will ascend into heaven and will raise from the dead [in the midst of] terror and trembling. It will thunder in Jerusalem and seven thousand souls of the companions of the false *al-Dağğāl* will die”.

It is about a rephrasal of Rev 11:11-13 (ΜΝΝ̄Ν̄ΣΑ ΨΟΜ̄Ν̄Τ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ ΟῩΘΟΣ ΑΥΠ̄Ν̄Α Ν̄ΩΝ̄Ζ̄ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Μ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ᾹΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ᾹΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΧ̄Ν ΝΕΥΕΡΗΤΕ· ᾹΥΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΖΟΤΕ ΖΕ ΕΧ̄Ν ΝΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΑΙΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΥΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΣΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΠΕ ΕΣΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ· ΧΕ ΑΜΗΙΤ̄Ν̄ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ· ᾹΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟῩΚΛΟΟΛΕ· ΕῩΔΩΨ̄Τ̄ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙΝΕΥΧΑΧΕ· Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΥΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄Κ̄Μ̄ΤΟ ΨΩΠΕ· ᾹΥΩ ΠΟῩΝ̄Μ̄ΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΖΕ· ᾹΥΩ ΑΥΜΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΚ̄Μ̄ΤΟ Ν̄ΒΙΣΑΨ̄Ϊ Ν̄ΨΟ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ· ᾹΥΩ ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΑῩΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ· ΑῩΤ̄ΕΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄ΤΠΕ < καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμισυ πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς. καὶ ἤκουσαν φωνῆς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λεγούσης αὐτοῖς, Ἄνάβατε ὧδε. καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ ἐθεώρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, “But after the three and a

half days, the breath of life from God came into them, and they stood on their feet; and great fear fell upon those who were watching them. I heard a loud voice from heaven saying to them, ‘Come up here.’ Then they went up into heaven in the cloud, and their enemies watched them. And in that day there was a great earthquake, and a tenth of the city fell; seven thousand people were killed in the earthquake, and the rest were terrified and gave glory to the God of heaven”) with the following interesting changes:

2.15.1. $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}} \text{ } \Psi\text{O}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}} \text{ } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \text{ } \text{O}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{B}}\text{O}\bar{\text{C}} < \text{kai } \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \text{ t}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ t}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \text{ } \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma \text{ kai } \eta\mu\iota\varsigma\upsilon$ (“but after the three and a half days”) is replaced by *wa-ba'da talatah ayyām* (“but after three days”). On this numerical change, see above 2.13.

2.15.2. $\text{A}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}} \text{ } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{I}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{B}}\text{O}\bar{\text{L}} \text{ } \text{Z}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}} \text{ } \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{O}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}. \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{K}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{P}}\text{R}\text{O}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} < \text{πνεϋμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς}$ (“the breath of life from God came into them”) is replaced by *ya'muru Allāh an ta'ūda arwāha-hum li-aḡsādi-him* (“God will command their spirits to return to their bodies”). *Qā'imīn 'alā arḡali-him* (“they will rise and stand”, lit.: “they will rise on their feet”) is a well-known Semitism, very common in the apocalyptic visions. Cf., for instance, ApZeph 6,11.

2.15.3. The addition of *wa-yakūnu qiyāmatu-hum* (“and they will rise”; lit.: “and there will be their resurrection”) is not found in Rev 11:11.

2.15.4. Harmonization of $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{B}} \text{ } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}} \text{ } \text{Z}\bar{\text{E}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{N}} \text{ } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{P}}\text{R}\text{O}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} < \text{kai } \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma \text{ m}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma \text{ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτοὺς}$ (“and great fear fell upon those who were watching them”) and $\text{Z}\bar{\text{M}} \text{ } \bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \text{ } \text{E}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}} \text{ } \bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{B}} \text{ } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{T}}\text{O} \text{ } \Psi\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} < \text{ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας}$ (“in that day there was a great earthquake”) in *hawf wa-zalzalāh wa-ra'd* (“[in the midst of] terror, trembling” [lit.: “the earthquake”]), together with the addition: *wa-ra'd fī l-Quds* (“and thunders over Jerusalem”), which is not in Rev. Earthquakes, thunder and lightning are the usual natural phenomena preceding the end in the eschatological texts (SibOr 2:6-7; Cf. 1En 102:1-3. Thunder is a well-known Old Testament figure for the syntagm “the voice of Yahweh” (לְהַשְׁמֵר אֶת הַקּוֹל, cf. Ps 18:14; Job 37:1-5) that metaphorizes the terrifying nature of God, as it occurs in the Ugaritic literature with the god Ba'lu's voice.¹¹²

¹¹² Cf. C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome, 1967 = 1965, p. 171 [51.V.70]. Cf. G. DEL OLMO LETE, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit*, Madrid, 1981, p. 209 [1.4 VII, 29-32]; M. DAHOOD, *Psalms 1-50. Introduction, translation, and notes*, Garden City, NY, 1966, vol. I, p. 176-177; M. H. POPE, *Job. Introduction, translation, and notes*, Garden City, NY, p. 240-241.

2.15.5. The *reductio* of $\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omega\ \alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\bar{\mu}\ \pi\kappa\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\varsigma\alpha\psi\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\omicron}\ \bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ < $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu\ \chi\iota\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (“and seven thousand people were killed in the earthquake”) in *wa-yamūtu fī dalik al-yawm sab‘at alf nasamah* (“and seven thousand souls will die in that day”) adapts $\bar{\nu}\rho\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\iota$ (< $\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$) in *nasamah* (cf. Heb. $\eta\mu\psi$, “breath”), together with the addition of *min aṣḥāb al-Dağğāl al-kaddāb* (“of the false *Dağğāl*’s companions”) which is a descriptive complement to the word *nasamah* not found in Rev. The symbolism of the number seven in this passage must be interpreted as a quantitative intensification of the dead in that day,¹¹³ but in reference to the figure of 7.000 of 1 Kgs 19:18 ([...] $\text{וְעַתָּה\ אֶפְשָׁר\ לִי\ בְּיַדְּךָ\ יְיָ\ לְהַרְחִיק\ מִן־יִשְׂרָאֵל\ שִׁבְעַת\ אֲלָפִים\ אִישׁ}$ = “Yet, I will leave in Israel seven thousand [...]”) for the remnant of the seven thousand Israelites who did not worship the Canaanite god Ba‘al. Paul talks about these 7.000 Israelites like οἱ λοιποί, “the remnant” (Rom 11:7-8). On the use of the syntagm οἱ λοιποί, cf. above 2.11.

2.16. “God will order the chief of the angels, Michael, to go down the heaven and to cut *al-Dağğāl* in two [parts] and the earth will be opened and it will swallow him and his companions”.

It is a rephrasal of $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\gamma\omega\psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\omicron\gamma\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \tau\pi\epsilon\cdot\ \bar{\mu}\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\mu\iota\psi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\nu\cdot\ \bar{\alpha}\gamma\omega\ \pi\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\nu\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\mu\iota\psi\epsilon\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{\delta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\delta}\omicron\bar{\mu}\cdot\ \bar{\omicron}\gamma\delta\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\omicron\gamma\bar{\delta}\bar{\mu}\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \tau\pi\epsilon\cdot\ \bar{\alpha}\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\nu\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\delta}\cdot\ \bar{\pi}\zeta\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\cdot\ \bar{\pi}\epsilon\tau\pi\lambda\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\eta\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\varsigma}\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\eta\omicron\chi\bar{\omega}\ \epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\mu}\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\alpha\gamma\ [\dots]\ \alpha\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \omicron\gamma\omega\nu\ \bar{\nu}\rho\omega\gamma\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\omega\mu\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\nu\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\pi\rho\ < $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\cdot\ \acute{\omicron}\ \bar{\mu}\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\cdot\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\cdot\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\cdot\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\theta\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma\cdot\ \acute{\omicron}\ \delta\omicron\phi\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\cdot\ \acute{\omicron}\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\Delta}\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \bar{\Sigma}\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\cdot\ \acute{\omicron}\ \pi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\nu\cdot\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\theta\eta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu\cdot\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau’\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ [\dots]\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\eta\nu\omicron\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \eta\ \gamma\eta\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\cdot$ “and there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels waged war with the dragon. The dragon and his angels waged war, and they were not strong enough, and there was no$

¹¹³ On the number seven, see for instance Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 122-127.

longer a place found for them in heaven. And the great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent who is called the devil and Satan, who deceives the whole world; he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him [...] and the earth opened its mouth and drank up the river which the dragon poured out of his mouth” (Rev 12:7-9.16), by adding a descriptive-introductory sentence: *ya'muru Allāh ra'īs l-malā'ikah Mīhā'il yanzulu min al-samā' wa-yuṣīqu al-Dağğāl bayna iṭṭayni* (“God will command the archangel Michael descending to the earth and tie *al-Dağğāl* between two”), and using the term *al-Dağğāl* instead of *Ṣayṭān* (< ΝCΑΤΑΝΑC < ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC < ΠΡΟQ ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC < ΔΡΑΚΩΝ / < ὁ Σατανᾶς < Διάβολος < ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος < δράκων) as well as *aṣḥābu-hu* (“his companions”) for ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟC < οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ (“his angels”) not to employ in this last case the word *malā'ikah* (“angels”). Cf., however, ApEl 5:32-35. Michael is one of the four archangels and one of the very few angels mentioned by name in early Judaism, and more concretely in eschatological contexts (cf. Dn 10:13.21; 12:1). He is the protector and advocate of Israel and Satan’s main adversary¹¹⁴. On the importance of Michael the archangel in eschatological contexts, cf. TAb and TIsaac, *passim*.

2.17. “God will show the log of the crucifix (*ṣalīb al-ṣalabūt*) from the East”.

It is also certainly a reformulation of ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΒΡΗΘΕ ΕΨΑ-
 CΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΜΜΑ ΝΨΑ ΝCΡΟΓΟΕΙΝ ΨΑ ΜΜΑ ΝΖΩΤΠ. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ
 ΘΕ ΕΤCΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟC ΝΒΙΠΑΠΟΓCΙΑ ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ
 < ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνεται
 ἕως δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, “for
 just as the lightning comes from the east and flashes even to the west, so
 will the coming of the Son of Man be” (Mt 24:27), and ΤΟΤΕ QΝΑΟ-
 ΓΩΗΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙΠΜΑΕΙΝ ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ
 < καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν
 οὐρανῷ, “and then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in the sky”
 (Mt 24:30). The same *topos* is found in Ps.-Methodius.¹¹⁵ The “log of

¹¹⁴ On this major angelic figure, see for instance W. LUEKEN, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*, Göttingen, 1898; J.P. ROHLAND, *Der Erzengel Michael: Arzt und Feldherr. Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes*, Leiden, 1977. See also B. OTZEN, *Michael and Gabriel: Angelological Problems in the Book of Daniel*, in F. GARCÍA-MARTÍNEZ ET AL. (eds), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls*, Leiden, 1992, p. 114-124.

¹¹⁵ F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 90 (Syriac text), p. 152 (English translation).

the crucifix” in Ps-Athanasius is obviously a Christological metaphor for the Semitism “the Son of Man” of Mt 24:27.30, which reminds us of the Aramaic formula בֶּרַךְ שְׁמַיָּא of Dan 7:13.¹¹⁶ Mt 24:30, perhaps in accordance with the figure of the סֵּנִי (“standard; ensign”) gathered by some Old Testament (Isa 18:3 [LXX σημεῖον, “sign”]; 49:22 [LXX σύσσημον, “sign”]; Jer 4:21 [LXX φεύγοντας, “fugitives”]) and Qumranic texts (1QM 4:17), considers the appearing of the sign of the Son of Man as an eschatological event that will alert the whole world to the parousia of Christ. Even so, this sign was identified by the early church as the cross, cf. ApPeter 1 and EpAp 16.

2.18. “And the sun, the moon and the stars will appear and their light will be like the light of the sun and the moon seven times [seen] from the East and the West”.

In spite of the relation that may have to Rev 21:11.23-24; 22:5 (cf. 18:23) ο de 22:16: $\text{ΑΝΟΚ [...] ΑΓΩ ΠCΙΟC ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ} < \text{ἐγώ [...] ὁ ἄστῆρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωῖνός, “I am [...] the bright morning star”}$, as the framework of the arrival of Christ, we think that it is about a rewriting *cum inversione* of Mt 24:29: $\text{ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΝΝCΑ ΤΕΘΛΙΨΙC ΝΝΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΠΡΗ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ. ΑΓΩ ΠΟΥΖ ΝΑΨ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΝ. ΝCΙΟΥ CΕΝΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ. ΑΓΩ ΝΒΟΜ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ CΕΝΑΝΟΕΙΝ} < \text{εὐθέως δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται, “but immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will fall from the sky, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken”}$ (cf. Jub 3:4). Apoc.Paul V,22:17-30 seems to depict a similar numeric comparison, although it is focused exclusively on the sun ($\text{[ΝΕC]Ε ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΠΡΗ Ν [CΑΩ]Ϊ ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΠ[.] ΑΦΟΥ} = \text{“[was] brighter than the sun by [seven] times”}$), and Ps.-Methodius gathers “a light will shine forth from the East, greater than the light of the sun. And our Lord Jesus Christ will come as lightning”.¹¹⁷ However, a possible precedent is 1En 91:16: “a new heaven will appear, but all the powers of the heaven will shine forever seven times more”. Cf. ApDan 14:16. “From the east and the west” is a syntagmatic metaphor meaning “spatial totality”, as in Mt

¹¹⁶ On this semitism, see G. VERMES, *The use of בֶּרַךְ שְׁמַיָּא in Jewish Aramaic*, in M. BLACK (ed.), *An Aramaic approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford, 1971³, p. 310-331.

¹¹⁷ F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 152, cf. p. 227 (Syriac text).

24:30 and ApZeph B,2; cf. ApZeph 10:2. Christ's coming description like lightning remains as a possible echo of the description of the king in terms of the sun and its light, that is fairly frequent in ancient Near East literature, especially in Egypt.¹¹⁸

2.19. "The Lord Jesus the Messiah, glory to him, will appear above his city with his angels".

This may be a reformulation of Mat 24:30b or Rev 19:11ff., 21:9ff.¹¹⁹ It is really interesting that Ps.-Athanasius now refers to Jesus in a much more complete way (*al-Rabb Yasū' al-Masīh*, than occurs in other apocalyptic texts)¹²⁰ against 2.7 where he only uses the ambivalent *al-Masīh*. Cf. 1En 90:37-38, AsMos 10:1-10, and 4Ezra 7:26. The coming of the Messiah as victor over the impious powers before the celebration of the Last Judgement is a *topos* of the rabbinical literature: Cf., for instance, SibOr 3:652-656, ApEl 5:5, and PssSol 17:24.26.27.31.38.39.41. The prepositional syntagm *'alā madīnati-hi* ("upon his city") must be identified, obviously, with the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:2ff.; 3:12.21-22; Gal 4:26; Heb 12:22, cf. 4Ezra 9:8 with reference to Ezek 40-48; Isa 54:11-17; 60; Hag 2:7-9, Zech 2:6:17. Cf also ApZeph 5:1-6.

2.20. "And Gabriel will beat the earth, which will turn around and the waters of the surface of the earth and under it will disappear".

The appearance of the character of the archangel Gabriel (גַּבְרִיאֵל, "man of 'Ēl", i.e. "man of God") would seem to be based on Dan 8:16-26.¹²¹ In this passage Gabriel is the *angelus interpres* that explains Daniel the vision of the ram (גַּבְרִיאֵל = LXX τὸ κριός) and the shaggy goat (הַצִּפּוֹרִים הַשְּׂעִירִים = LXX ὁ τράγος), as well as the prophecy of the seventy weeks of Dan 9:21-27.¹²² Nevertheless, Gabriel (and Michael) are two

¹¹⁸ Cf. I. ENGNELL, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, 1967, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ On the celestial Jerusalem, see G. BIGUZZI, «*Il tempo è vicino*»: *l'echatologia nell'Apocalisse*, in *Liber Annuus* 54 (2004), p. 108-117.

¹²⁰ Cf. J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Apócrifos árabes cristianos*, p. 241.

¹²¹ Cf. S. KRAUSS, *Some Remarks on Daniel 8. 5ff.* in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 15 (1940), p. 305-311.

¹²² On the archangel Gabriel, see B. OTZEN, *Michael and Gabriel*, in F. García-Martínez et al. (eds), *The Scriptures*, pp. 114-124. About the relations between the 'Book of Daniel' and the 'Book of Revelation', see C.A. AUBERLEN, *Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis*, Basel, 1854², and more recently the studies of T.S. KEPLER, *Dreams of the Future: Daniel and Revelation*, London – Nashville, 1963 and J.M. EFIRD, *Daniel and Revelation*, Valley Forge, 1978.

angelic characters that play an important role in the “visions” of the apocalyptic texts, cf. VisEzra 56. The appearance of Gabriel is also noticed in a fragmentary text of the Ps.-Methodius.¹²³ About the figurative meaning of this passage, cf. PssSol 17:35: “He [God] will strike the earth with the word of his mouth forever”. About this topic, cf. 1En 54:7-10. For a similar description referred to ’Urī’ēl, cf. SibOr 2:227-229. Gabriel is the prince over the sixth heavenly host according to 3En 17:3. On Gabriel’s strength and holiness, cf. SibOr 8:459. As it occurs in Dan 8:16-26 and 9:21-27, Ps.-Athanasius makes use of the etymology of the proper noun גַּבְרִיאֵל like an appropriate name for God’s celestial servant in the eschatological contexts.

2.21. “Then, the angel Gabriel will play the second horn too and all men will stand up taking the shape of the body of the first Adam. They will be taken to court and to judgment (condemned) and each of them will receive according to what he has done”.

Sāfūr is a loanword from Hebrew שׁוֹפָר through Syriac *šifūrō*.¹²⁴ The instrument is a ram’s horn blown properly on ceremonial occasions in Judaism.¹²⁵ Perhaps with *al-sāfūr* the Ps.-Athanasius is translating the verbal form σαλπίζω (“sound a trumpet”), which occurs mostly in the ‘Book of Revelation’ as a eschatological element that corresponds to those in the Old Testament and Judaism. The whole sentence seems to be a rephrasal of Rev 20:11ff., because the bodily resurrection stated by Ps.-Athanasius (*fa-taqūmu ġamī’ banī ādam yataġassadīn [sic] šibh ġasad Ādam al-awwal*) is no different than the one described in Rev 20:11-15. Cf. also the *šifūrō* of Ps.-Methodius.¹²⁶ Gabriel is one of the usual angels that precedes the Judgement (cf. SibOr 2:214-219). A soul’s judgement (ΨΥΧΟΘΕ [...] ΕΠΕΚΡΙΟΙΟ < ψυχή [...] χρίσις) is included in Apoc.Paul V,22:10. Cf. also 1En 90:28-30; 4Ezra 7:33-35.36-43.84.95-98; 2/5Bar 30:1-5; ApDan 14:15. With *Ādam al-awwal* Ps.-Athanasius refers to the first human being, that who was free of sin (cf. 1Cor 15:45-47), a *topos* related to the myth of the ‘Primeval Man’, which is a Kabbalistic concept known in the post-Biblical Jewish literature as הַקְדָּמוֹן הַדָּם. On the other hand, Christian Gnosticism inferred

¹²³ Cf. F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 227 (Syriac text), p. 237 (English translation).

¹²⁴ G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis*, p. 56.

¹²⁵ On the *šōfār*, see S.B. FINESINGER, *The Shofar*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 8-9 (1931-32), p. 193-228.

¹²⁶ F.J. MARTÍNEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic*, p. 227 (Syriac text), p. 238 (English translation).

from Gn 1:26 that 'Ādām was created in the image of a spiritual entity also called 'ādām. With ḡamī' banī ādam, Ps.-Athanasius is obviously referring to the whole humankind.¹²⁷ On the resurrection of the dead, cf. SibOr 2:221-226. The sentence *wa-yaḥḍurū li-l-daynūnah wa-l-ḥukm wa-yuḡārī kull naḥs bi-mā 'amalāt* is a reformulation of Rev 20:12-15 and/or Rev 22:12. The event of the Day of the Resurrection and the Last Judgement starts with the sound of the divine horns and trumpets (cf. 4Ezra 6:23; ApZeph 9:1-5; 10:1; SibOr 4:174; Mt 24:311 Col 15:52; 1Thes 4:16).¹²⁸ On the judgement of men's acts according to a "common law", cf. SibOr 3:757-759. For a descriptive account of events in the Day of the Resurrection and the Last Judgement, cf. SibOr 4:179-192. The new physical condition of the raised persons has been dealt *in extenso* in 3Bar 50:1-51:6; cf. 4Ezra 7:97.

ABBREVIATIONS USED¹²⁹

Old Testament Apocrypha:

ApDan	= Apocalypse of Daniel
ApEl	= Apocalypse of Elijah
ApZeph	= Coptic Apocalypse of Zephania
AsMos	= Assumption of Moses
2Bar	= Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3Bar	= Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
5Bar	= Arabic Apocalypse of Baruch
1En	= Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch
3En	= Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch
4Ezra	= 4 Ezra
Jub	= Jubilees
PssSol	= Psalms of Solomon
SibOr	= Sibylline Oracles
TAb	= Testament of Abraham
TBenj	= Testament of Benjamin
TDan	= Testament of Dan
TIsaac	= Testament of Isaac
VisEzra	= Latin Vision of Ezra

¹²⁷ Cf. R. MURRAY, *The Cosmic Covenant. Biblical themes of justice, peace and the integrity of creation*, London, 1992, p. 98-100.

¹²⁸ On the 'Last Judgement', see T.F. GLASSON, *The Last Judgment in Rev. 20 and Related Writings*, in *New Testament Studies* 28 (1982), p. 528-539. About the 'Resurrection', see G.F. HASEL, *Resurrection in the Theology of Old Testament Apocalyptic*, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (1980), p. 267-284.

¹²⁹ Old and New Testament books abbreviations have been excluded.

New Testament Apocrypha:

ActPi	= Acta Pilati (Greek recession)
Apoc.Paul	= Coptic Apocalypse of Paul
ApPeter	= Apocalypse of Peter
EpAp	= Epistula Apostolorum
GBart	= Gospel of Bartholomew (versio casana-tensia)
Ps.Mth	= Pseudo Matthew
SJosCar(boh)	= The Bohairic Story of Joseph the Carpenter

Rabbinics:

‘Eduy	= ‘Eduyōt
NumR	= Bemidbar Rabbah
Sanh	= Sanhedrin
SifDeut	= Sifre Deuteronomy
Soṭ	= Soṭah
TarJon	= Targum Jonathan

Dead Sea Scrolls:

1QM	= The ‘War Scroll’ from Qumran Cave 1
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WORKS NOT QUOTED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis item Maiiae dormitio.* Adhitis Evangeliorum et Actuum apocryphorum supplementis. Edited by C. TISCHENDORF (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1866).
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