

The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition

A Comparative Perspective

*Essays Presented in Honor of
Professor Robert W. Thomson
on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*

Edited by

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Armenian Witnesses of Three Eschatological Motifs

Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl

Eine Menge Material ist hier freilich unerreichbar, die syrischen, koptischen, slavischen Handschriften werden noch eine reiche Ausbeute liefern.

WILHELM BOUSSET¹

After more than a hundred years, this statement of W. Bousset is still valuable; to the “unattainable material” may be added dozens of Armenian apocalyptic texts that remain unedited until today² or edited over a century ago but based on too few manuscripts.³ The following first motif reveals that unedited Armenian manuscripts may sometimes shed new and precious light on old material. The second and third parts consist of lists of sometimes new quotations of two other well-known motifs.

1 The Origin of the Antichrist and His Name

Some thirty years ago in Erevan I copied from an unedited manuscript⁴ the following amazing lines concerning the Antichrist:

-
- 1 Bousset 1895, 19. Today the common tendency is to criticize Bousset's ideas presented in this quite thin book. But none of the modern research on the Antichrist myth gathers such an enormous quantity of written witnesses of that form of the old Jewish myth of the final enemy, i.e., the form that became the most expanded of all in Christian apocalypticism through the entire middle ages up to modern times.
 - 2 See n. 18 below, on Hippolytus. There are over twenty texts about the “Coming of Gog and Magog” mentioned in the Catalogue of the Matenadaran. Interesting material, probably dependant upon Ps.-Methodian or Ephremic traditions, can also be found in the number of sermons (*ճանք*) that are either anonymous or are attributed to Ephrem or to John Chrysostom; for instance *Յաղագս Նեռհն* (On the Antichrist), see John Chrysostom 1862, 910–15; also, *Վասն միւսանգաճ գալստեանն Քրիստոսի* (On the second Coming of Christ), 915–21 (this is possibly a translation of the Ps.-Chrysostomian sermon, εἰς τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν ... PG 61:776–8).
 - 3 This was mainly the merit of the Mekhitharist fathers who published such texts in Armenian. Nearly all these editions, however, did not include a translation that would have allowed non-Armenian scholars interested in apocalypticism to use them.
 - 4 M706 18r, l.19–22 (unedited). These lines belong to a little treatise “About the End of Times and the coming of the Antichrist”; a good dozen of such treatises may be found in Erevan (for

... *անունն հօրն նորա Հռոմեղայ*
 ... the name of his father: Hromelay
եւ մօր նորա Մելիտոնն եւ անունն նորա Հըռասիմ
 and of his mother: Meliton; and his name: Hrasim,
ըստ մարգարէն Եսայիայ որ ասէ թէ կամեցան
 after the prophet Isaiah who says: they wanted
անելի իւրոց թագաւոր զՀրասիմ գորդին Հռոմեղայ
 to make to their king Hrasim, the son of Hromelay.

These few lines give us precise and interesting details about the identity of the person of the Antichrist; namely his proper name, the name of his father and that of his mother. Concerning his name and that of his father, we are told that they are based upon a verse of the prophet Isaiah, i.e. Isa 8:6–7. This fact justifies our examining more precisely the context of this prophecy and providing a short presentation of the historical events which this passage of Isaiah addresses.

After the reign of Solomon, the former kingdom of David had been divided in two parts, the northern kingdom, Israel with its center in Samaria; and the southern kingdom of Judah, with its capital in Jerusalem. This secession was a cause of rivalry between the two kingdoms. At the end of the eighth century BCE, the king of Samaria, a certain Pekah, son of Remaliah, made a treatise with his neighbor Rezin, king of Aram (or Syria) and both together waged war against Jerusalem and Ahaz, son of Jotham, the king of Judah.⁵ Ahaz then appealed to the king of Assyria for assistance.

On the moral, or theological side, this call for help to the king of Assyria was considered by the prophet Isaiah as a lack of confidence in God; and, as a consequence of this treachery, he prophesied that the punishment of God would bring the real final disaster, the end of the kingdom and the deportation of the entire nation to Mesopotamia. Thus, the main significance of Isa 8:6–7 lies in the announcement of that catastrophic end.

The historical events as described above, however, transfer this announcement from the historical level to the level of eschatology, to the future history of the End, and into the legend of the Antichrist.

Historical events of the past are used as the model or pattern for eschatological stories. This is neither unique nor exceptional. Old prophecies were not only considered witnesses of the past, but were re-interpreted as indicative of

instance M689i, 120v–127r: *պատմութիւն չար նեղին ծննդեան* (History of the birth of the evil Antichrist).

5 2Kgs (LXX 4Kgdms) 16 (see also 2Chr 28; Isa 7:1). It is described as a quite terrific war; 2Chr 28:6 reports 120,000 killed and over 200,000 prisoners.

contemporary events.⁶ We find this technique used, for instance, by the composer of the *Apocalypse* attributed to Ps.-Methodius, who takes the story of Gideon related in the Book of Judges as a pattern upon which he models events that will happen at the End of Times.⁷

This is the first result of our study and commentary on this Armenian apocalyptic text; namely, that the most common process of composition of an apocalyptic text consisted in using biblical passages⁸ and imbuing them with new significance within a story prophesying the End. In the case of this Armenian apocalyptic text, we see that it employs the historical events that happened from the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic war until the end of the Jewish nation taken in captivity to Mesopotamia⁹ as a model for the eschatological events of the End of Times; namely, the legend of the Antichrist.

It will be worthwhile to look at the biblical text quoted, in the Greek and Armenian versions.

Isa 8:6–7:

- 6 Διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον
 Because this people chooses not
 τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σιλωὰμ τὸ πορευόμενον ἡσυχῇ,
 the water of Siloam that goes softly,
 ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τὸν Ραασσῶν
 but wills to have Raassōn
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ρομελίου βασιλέα ἐφ' ὑμῶν,
 and the son of Romelias (as) king over you,
- 7 διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἀνάγει κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
 therefore, behold, the Lord brings up upon you
 τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ πολὺ,
 the water of the river, strong and abundant,
 τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων . . .
 the king of the Assyrians . . .

6 See the Dead Sea Scrolls, for instance, 1Q *peshet* to Habakkuk.

7 Ps.-Methodius 1993, xxxii–xxxiii. A similar technique was employed by Jewish and Christian exegetical circles to provide the Book of Psalms with a messianic and eschatological interpretation.

8 Such applications were not limited to biblical prophecies. The description of the colonization of the world by the sons of Noah after the flood is inverted and serves as the model for the final storming of the nations into the country of the Just to wage war against the sons of light in the War Scroll (see Rosenstiehl 2006, 253).

9 A period of over one and a half centuries!

- 6 *Փոխանակ զի ոչ ախորժեաց ժողովուրդդ այդ*
 Because this people did not appreciate
զջուրն Սելովայ որ գնայ խաղաղ,
 the water of Siloah that goes peacefully;
այլ կամեցան առնել իւրեանց թագաւոր
 but wills to make their king
զՀռասիմ գորդին Ռոմելայ,
 Hřasim son of Rómela,
- 7 *Վասն այրորիկ ահաւաղիկ ածցէ Տէր ի վերայ ձեր*
 therefore, behold, the Lord brings up upon you
զջուր գետոյն զհզաւրն եւ զյորդ
 the water of the river strong and abundant,
զարքայն Ասորեստանի . . .
 the king of Assyria . . .

The Armenian text of Isaiah is not exactly the same as the Greek (or the Hebrew); but differs slightly. The Armenian Bible contains a peculiar tradition that may be quite old. We may observe the omission of the conjunction “and” (8.6b),¹⁰ which conveys a completely new meaning to the text. It does not speak of two kings, namely Hřasim, the first; and the son of Rómelay, the second; but compresses both figures into one: Hřasim (Rezin), the son of Rómelay (Remaliah).

The same identity appears in Ps.-Epiphanius’s *Sermo de Antichristo* 15:¹¹

*. . . Եւ յառաջ քան եւս երեսուն ամաւ ծնեալ լինի չար եւ ահիծեալ
 Նեռնն
 . . . and before thirty years will be born the evil and cursed Antichrist
 այն յազգէ Դանայ ի Քորազին,
 from the tribe of Dan in Chorazin,
 ի պիղծ եւ ի շնացոյ ծնողաց եւ ի պոռնկաց.
 from foul¹² and adulterous parents, from fornicators*

10 Already noted by Frasson (Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 273), who does not think it a *varia lectio*, but an omission: “è omessa la congiunzione tra Rasim ed il figlio di Romelia.” The *lectio* of the Armenian may be the result of its interpretation of the Greek *καὶ* (in *Ραασσων καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ρομελίου*) as “Raassôn **who** is the son of Romelias.”

11 Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 88–90.

12 “Foul” or “polluted,” “abominable,” the noun corresponding to this adjective is used in Dan 9:27, Mt 24:15 (the “abomination” of desolation). This word is commonly attributed to the mother of the Antichrist in the Armenian tradition; see, for instance, the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, Yovsēp’eanc’ 1896, 248, l. 29–30: *սա յղաւցի և ծնցի ի կուտ պղծոյ* (he will be conceived and born from a foul virgin).

որ խարէնութեամբ ասեն զհնքեանս կոյս գորով.

who wrongly say that they are virgins

որոց անուանք այս են.

whose names are these:

հոր նորա Հռովմէլայ, եւ մոր նորա Միլիտիէա.

of his father, Hrovmeḷay; and of his mother, Militinea;

եւ իւրն Հռասիմ:

and of him, Hrasim.

Although Ps.-Epiphanius does not explicitly cite Isaiah at all, it is obvious that the verses of Isaiah rest behind this passage!¹³ The author begins with some well-known features from the legend of the Antichrist: the origin of the Antichrist from the tribe of Dan,¹⁴ his birth in Chorazin;¹⁵ the lie about the virginity of his mother.¹⁶ And he ends with the names of the parents and of the Antichrist himself.

The Armenian apocalyptic tradition seems to be the only one to have preserved these names. The next text, however, Hippolytus's *De Christo et Antichristo* 57,¹⁷ not originally composed in Armenian,¹⁸ indicates that this tradition was not unique to Armenian apocalyptic texts, but belonged to common apocalyptic traditions:¹⁹

13 As noted already by Frasson, Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 272–3.

14 Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo* 6ff., 14–15; Ps.-Hippolytus, *On the End of the world* 18–19; Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* (Sackur 1898, 185); Latin Ps.-Ephrem 88–89 (Verhelst 1983, 526); “Vision of St. Nersēs” (VN 1853, 95); *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* 14,6; *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* 8,2 (=10,2 in Zervos 1983) and Venice text v.47 (Berger 1976, 25); on this motif, see Bousset 1895, 112–15 and Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 266–8.

15 “Vision of St. Nersēs” (VN 1853, 95); *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* 14,1; *Slavonic Vision of Daniel* 11 (Alexander 1985, 71); and Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 268–9. Jesus shared this apocalyptic tradition, see Mt 11:21, 23; Lk 10:13, 15.

16 Ps.-Hippolytus 22; *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* Venice text v.37 (Berger 1976, 25); Greek Ephrem 2,226 B[=3, 137 F]; Latin Ps.-Ephrem 89 (Verhelst 1983, 526); Romanos the Melodist, “Hymn on the Second Coming” (Grosdidier de Matons 1981, 242). See also the qualification as *υψηλθ*, n. 12 above.

17 Achelis 1897, 38.

18 An ancient Armenian translation of either this treaty of Hippolytus or the work attributed to him, *On the End of the world*, does actually exist in Armenian, see Kalemkiar 1892, 110 (and perhaps M7951, 1881–199v), and the fragments published by Pitra 1884, 158 and 236ff.

19 It seems to survive in the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* 12,1–5 (=11,1–5 in Zervos 1983):
 1 και συμβούλιον ποιήσουσι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνός και Ἱεροσολυμίται λέγοντες:

..... τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον διὰ τὸ μὴ βουληθῆναι αὐτοῦς
 because this people did not choose
 τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σιλοάμ τὸ πορευόμενον ἡσυχῇ πιεῖν,
 to drink the water of Siloah that goes softly,
 ἀλλ' ἐπεσπᾶσαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς
 but elected (as king) over them
 τὸν Ῥαασσῶν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων
 Raassōn, the king of the Assyrians
 Βασιλέα δὲ Ἀσσυρίων ἐν συμβόλῳ τὸν ἀντίχριστον λέγει.
 he (i.e. Isaiah) said "the king of the Assyrians" symbolically for the
 Antichrist.

If in the former Armenian texts we have seen that two kings, Hrasim (Rezin) and the son of Rōmela (Remaliah), were compressed into one (resulting in a figure: Hrasim [Rezin] the son of Rōmela [Remaliah]), here we have a continuation of the same process. Hippolytus takes a further step identifying this same Raassōn (very probably already assimilated to the son of Romelias [Remaliah]) with the king of the Assyrians! Thereafter, this Raassōn (Rezin), king of the Assyrians, is projected into the period of the End of Times and becomes the model of the Antichrist whose role he then plays.²⁰ At this point we may conclude, regarding the identification of literary models for this text, that the names of the father of the Antichrist and of the Antichrist himself have their origin in an interpretation of this verse of Isaiah.²¹

and the nation of the Jews and the Jerusalemites will take counsel saying:

2 δεῦτε ποιήσωμεν τοῦτον βασιλέα τὸν περίβλεπτον ἄνδρα.

Come, let us make king this admirable man!

3 καὶ ποιούσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα

and they make him king

4 καὶ στέφουσιν αὐτὸν ἡμερὰς τρεῖς.

and crown him (after) three days

5 καὶ βασιλεύσει ἔτη τρία.

And he will reign (for) three years.

20 The affirmation of Isa 8:6 that the Jews choose the king of the Assyrians (i.e., the Antichrist) is the origin of the constant affirmation that the Jewish people will join the Antichrist as soon as he will appear. See also the words of Jesus, Jn 5:43.

21 This same verse of Isaiah was the model for two other features prominent in apocalyptic literature: the first is the role of the Assyrians (and/or of the "Assyrian king"; and of the "Kittim of Assur"); the second, one of the most famous names of the Antichrist—Armilus—originally derived from the name of the father of the Antichrist—Romelyahu

The question of the name of the Antichrist's mother, however, has not yet found a solution. It is, in fact, not an easy problem.²² We may observe that the spelling of this name is not consistent, but shows quite a lot of variations.²³ Earlier attempts tried to locate the origin of the name in Armenia.²⁴ But after what we have just teased out with respect to the names of the Antichrist and his father, we do not feel obliged to restrain our investigation to Armenia.

If we consider the names given to the Antichrist in apocalyptic texts, we find that most of these names have a biblical origin. Many of these names retain an old Semitic tradition; for example, instead of saying "the Lawless (one),"²⁵ they often prefer to use the semiticism, "the Son of the Lawlessness";²⁶ likewise, "the Son of the Destruction," rather than "the Destroyer." The latter represents one of the most common names for the Antichrist, usually translated as "the Son of Perdition," ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, *νηρηῖν ἡνηρυντωῦ, πομηρε μπιτακο, bar abdânâ, filius perditionis.*²⁷

Sometimes one can detect that the Semitic formulation, "son of something" is no longer used or understood in its original sense. Moreover, it sometimes takes on a new meaning; namely, not "the son of *something*," but "the son of

(and from there was, in a later stage, assimilated to Romulus). Note that this old interpretation of Assur=Antichrist survived not only in Hippolytus, but also in ancient commentaries on the Revelation of John; see, e.g., Victorinus of Poetovio (Dulaey 1997, 86).

22 Cf. the remarks of Frasson, Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 270: "L'identificazione del nome come appellativo della madre dell'Anticristo è pero questione disperata."

23 Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 270: *Ἐπιφάνιος ἐπισημαίνει τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἀντικρίστου*. "Vision of St. Nersēs" (VN 1853, 95 and n. 139): *ἡ μητέρα τοῦ ἀντικρίστου—ἡ μητέρα τοῦ ἀντικρίστου—ἡ μητέρα τοῦ ἀντικρίστου*.

24 See again, Ps.-Epiphanius 1976, 270.

25 *Apocalypse of Elijah* 2.34 (A 29,10; Steindorff 1899, 82; transl. Kuhn 1984, 766; Rosenstiehl 1987, 1810), ΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ; 2Thes 2:8: ἄνομος, *ἄνομος* (cf. Ps 17:11).

26 *Apocalypse of Elijah*: πομηρε ἡτάνομια in 1.10 (A 21,2), 3.1 (A 31,16), 3.5 (A 32,10), 3.11 (A 33,12; Sa 5,22), 3.15 (A 34,8–9; Sa 6,7–8), 3.19 (A 34,16; Sa 6,7–8), 3.33 (A 35,1), 3.39 (A 35,18; Sa 8,24), 3.53 (A 38,5; Sa 10,11), 3.64 (A 40,5; Sa 12,23), 3.92 (A 42,14). Cf. 2Thes 2:3: ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, *ἄνομος, ἄνομος ἄνομος*.

27 *Apocalypse of Elijah* 2.33 (A 29,8–9); Greek *Tiburtine Sibyl*, l. 220 (and cf. ὁ ἀρχὼν τῆς ἀπωλείας, ll. 208,216, Alexander 1967, 21.22); Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl* (Sackur 1898, 185); Ps.-Hippolytus 26, 30, 40; Greek *Vision of Daniel* (Vassiliev 1893, 37, 38, 42); Ephrem, Sermon V.78.361, 364, 448, 477, 482, 498 (Beck 1972, 81, 89, 90, 92, 93); Latin Ps.-Ephrem 145–6 (Verhelst 1983, 528); Romanos the Melodist, "Hymn on the Second Coming" (Grosdidier de Matons 1981, 244); *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* 11, 17; 13, 21; 14, (2), 6, 7, 9, (10), 11; this name is used in the New Testament, 2Thes 2:3; Jn 17:12. The meaning of these words, "Perdition" or "Destruction," is in fact "the action of" or "the place of Destruction" or "of Perdition," that is, the Abyss.

somebody"! This is exactly the case in the following text concerning the origin of the Antichrist in the Greek *Apocalypse of Daniel* 11,9–10:²⁸

- 9 ὄνομα αὐτῆς (i.e. κόρη παρθένος) Ἀδικία,
Her (i.e. a virgin girl's) name: "Adikia" ("Injustice")
διότι ἀδικίας υἱὸς μέλει τεχθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῆς.
because the Son of Injustice ("Adikia") will be born from her;
- 10 τὸ δὲ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς ἔσται Ἀπόλεια.
and her surname will be "Apôlia."

We read here two feminine nouns, Adikia and Apôlia, that are said to be the names of the mother of the Antichrist. But these names are highly symbolic in their meaning: Adikia means Injustice, and Apôlia, Perdition. In Greek, these nouns are feminine, so they are well-suited to a woman; in this instance, the mother of the Antichrist. The identity or title "Son of Injustice" and "Son of Perdition" may also be understood as "Son of Miss Adikia" or "Son of Miss Apôlia"! These feminine names were normally easily understood in Greek; but even so, they were sometimes misconstrued, as is evident in the *Dialogue between Christ and the Devil* 7, where Christ answers the Devil's question about his origin in the following manner:

συνλάβεται σε κόρη παρθένος ὀνόματι Εὐδοκία
you will be conceived by a virgin girl named Eudokia
ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ἀδικίας ὠφείλεις γεννηθῆναι.
because you have to be born from Adikia.²⁹

"Son of the Injustice" is not the most frequently used title to designate the Antichrist; but it is not very surprising.³⁰ ἀδικία (injustice) is equivalent to

28 Berger 1976, 15 (= 9,9–10 in Zervos 1983).

29 Casey and Thomson 1955, 55. Van der Vliet 1994 tried to show, with much erudition, that this was a polemic text against the fifth-century Byzantine empress Eudokia—through a genuine play on the words, Eudokia-Adikia. But it would constitute the only reference to this person in any apocalyptic text; and it seems difficult to imagine the empress Eudokia in the role of the mother of the Antichrist. In the Greek Tiburtine Sibyl 92–93, she seems quite well regarded, even the Metropolitan City is there named after her: Εὐδοκόπολις Κωνσταντίνου πόλις (Alexander 1967, 14). Berger 1976, 106 is right when he sees in "Eudokia" a corruption for "Adikia."

30 See *Apocalypse of Elijah* 2.2, and 2.6 (A 25,4,16; Sa 3,26; 4,7) where a model of the Antichrist, opposed to the "king of the Peace" (πῆρο ἡτρηνη) is called πῆρο ἡαααααααα αααα πῆρο ἡααααααα "the Assyrian king and the king of Injustice."

ἀνομία. The words are nearly synonymous, sometimes used interchangeably in the Greek Bible³¹ as well as in the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel*.³²

The translation of these words in Armenian is quite consistent: “injustice” (ἀδικία) is translated by *ւնիրաւորիւն* (the adjective “unjust” [ἄδικος], by *ւնիրաւ*); and “lawlessness” (ἀνομία), by *ւնաւրէնութիւն* (the adjective “lawless” [ἄνομος], by *ւնաւրէն*). However, it is impossible to render these Greek feminine words with Armenian words that sound feminine and could be understood as a woman’s name.³³ Although the same problem arises with the designation “Apōlia,” this last name has a classical equivalent, well known in Greek, “Abaddōn,”³⁴ which is simply the transliteration of the Hebrew original. The Armenian translator had apparently just borrowed this foreign word, without translating it at all. The name was subsequently corrupted to “Մելիտոն” (“Meliton”) and the other variant corruptions.³⁵

This quick survey of some apocalyptic texts leads to the conclusion that Armenian apocalyptic texts may yield new information. So, for instance, we

31 For instance in Ps 45 (LXX 44):8. In translations, the same equivalency is found, see 2Sam (LXX 2Kgdms) 7:10, υἱὸς ἀδικίας, where the Armenian has *որրիւ ւնաւրէնութեամբ*. Note that the New Testament does not know the title “Son of the Injustice.”

32 See *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* 13,13 (=13,12 in Zervos 1983): πάσης ἀνομίας ἐργάτα καὶ πάσης ἀδικίας πεπληρωμένε, “Worker of all iniquities and full of every injustice” (on the last expression, see Rom 1:29; but cf. Venice text v. 74 [Berger 1976, 26]: πάσης ἀνομίας πεπληρωμένε, “full of all iniquities”); and 14,3: οὐαὶ σοὶ παράνομε, ἐργάτα τῆς ἀδικίας, “Woe to thee, Lawless one (literally: “Outlaw”), Worker of iniquities”; on this last expression, see Lk 13:27; *I Apocryphal Apocalypse of John* 16,5 (Tischendorf 1866, 83–4).

33 A construction like *ւնիրաւորի* would sound very strange, and seems quite impossible!

34 For its use in apocalyptic language, see, e.g., the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* 11,10, quoted above; or Rev 9:11:

ἔχουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν βασιλέα

they (i.e. the locusts) had upon them (as) king

τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου,

the Angel of the Abyss

ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδὼν,

his name, in Hebrew: “Abaddōn”

καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλύων.

and in Greek it is: “Apolluōn (Destroyer).”

The last lines are interesting in Armenian:

Եւ ւնուին նորա Երրայեցերէն Սըրադոն [Սըրադոն], որ կոչի ի հայ բարբառ Չորրուստ (And his name in Hebrew: “Abaddon” (Abaddōn), which means in the Armenian language “Perdition”). The usual translation of Abaddon is ἀπάλεια in Greek (and *չորրուստ* in Armenian).

35 See above n. 23.

discovered the possibility that the time of wars that ended with the exile of the Jewish people into the very desperate Babylonian captivity, served as a model for the times of trouble and persecution to come at the arrival of the Antichrist. Another example is furnished by the name of the mother of the Antichrist in the Armenian apocalyptic tradition, which probably represents something along the lines of “miss Perdition,” corresponding to the equivalent “miss Injustice” of the Greek.

2 The Period of Abundance at the End of Times

This motif is, like other features of the apocalyptic tradition, quite common and widespread in the universal hope of mankind, and may belong to general folklore. The Latin Tiburtine Sibyl contains a description of eschatological abundance that may be considered generic:

In illis ergo diebus erunt divitiae multe
 In these days there shall be many riches
et terra abundanter dabit fructum,
 and the earth shall give fruit in abundance,
ita ut tritici modium denario uno venundetur,
 so that one measure of wheat shall be sold for one cent,
modium vini denario uno,
 one measure of wine one cent
modium olei denario uno . . .
 (and) one measure of oil one cent . . .

Commenting on this passage, Ernst Sackur thought immediately of the classic descriptions of the Golden Age.³⁶ It seems quite reasonable that at least one period of the End of Times could have been understood as such a Golden Age. The time of the Messiah was clearly imagined as such in Jewish eschatological speculations,³⁷ as R.H. Charles established in his translation of and commentary on the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 *Baruch* 29,4):³⁸

36 Sackur 1898, 185 (and n. 1) referred to Virgil's *IV. Eclogae*, 18–30, and to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1:101–12. See also de Jonge 1979.

37 See the descriptions in *Sibylline Oracles* 3.619–23, 744–9 (Nikiprowetzky 1970, 320, 326).

38 Charles 1913, 497–8; cf. A.F.J. Klijn 1983, 630; Bogaert 1969, II:64; Berger 1976, 111–12, 118–20.

The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold
and on each vine there shall be a thousand branches,
and on each branch shall be a thousand clusters,
and each cluster shall produce a thousand grapes,
and each grape shall produce a car of wine.

He further noted:

We have here another fragment of an old apocalypse, of which we find a version in Irenaeus V, 33. Papias is there said to ascribe it to our Lord. Irenaeus preserves a longer and fuller form than our text, and all seeds and fruit-trees share in the miraculous fruitfulness in his quotation. I Enoch X, 19 gives a still more fragmentary quotation.³⁹

More precisely, the origin of such fabulous abundance is to be found in Jewish messianic speculations.⁴⁰

We present below a collection of some apocalyptic texts mentioning this feature of abundance; it is interesting to notice that some Armenian texts belong to this list, a fact that allows a rather rich comparative perspective. The period of abundance is not always expected at the same time: sometimes it happens just before or during the reign of the Antichrist; other times it belongs to the time of the final millennium; it may also be conceived of in relation to paradise. For the sake of simplicity the following list is organized in accordance with these characteristics and without further commentary.

39 Charles 1913, 195; 1Enoch 10.18–19: “(18) And then shall be the whole earth tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessings. (19) And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of) it shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.”

40 A remembrance of such speculations is to be found in the Babylonian Talmud, Ketubot 111b. Caquot 1987, 483 (note on 1Enoch 10.18) proposes to see the origin in Ps 72, read and interpreted in a messianic sense. Cf., for instance, Ps 72:16.

2.A *The Period of Abundance within the Legend of the Antichrist*2.A.a I Apocryphal Apocalypse of John 5,1–4⁴¹

- 5,1 *Եւ դարձեալ սսացի ցՏէր*
And again I said to the Lord:
յորժամ յայտնեսցի այդ ամենայն եւ որպէս իցե ժամանակն այն:
“When will all these things appear, and how will this time be?”
- 2 *Եւ ասէ Տէր ցիս. Լուր արդարդ Յովհաննէս*
And The Lord said to me: “Hear, righteous John!
եղիցի ի ժամանակին յայնմիկ
There will be in that time
լիութիւն յոյժ ծորենւոյ եւ զինւոյ զոր ոչ իցէ լուեալ
great abundance of wheat and of wine such as has never been
եւ ոչ այլ լիցի մինչև եկեսցէ ժամանակն այն.
nor shall ever be anymore until that time comes.
- 3 *զի եղիցի ժամանակին յայնմիկ լիութիւն եւ առատութիւն*
Then, in that time, shall be abundance and plentiness
զի մի կապիւճ սերմն արասցէ -ո- կապիւճ ցորենւոյ
so that a single choenix of wheat shall produce 1000 choenices of wheat
եւ մի որթագոյն արասցէ -ո- ողկոյզ խաղողոյ
and a single vine shall produce 1000 cluster of grapes
եւ մի ողկոյզն արասցէ սափոր մի զինւոյ.
and one cluster shall produce one jar of wine.
- 4 *Եւ ի կալ ժամանակին ոչ գտանէ ինչ ի նոցանէ*
And in the next time one shall not find anything of these things,
ի վերայ ամենայն երկրի
upon the whole earth,
ոչ կապիւճ մի ցորենւոյ եւ ոչ սափոր մի զինւոյ.
not (even) a single choenix of wheat nor a single jar of vine.”
- 5,1 *καὶ εἶπον. κύριε,*
And I said: “Lord,
Πότε μέλουσιν ταῦτα γενέσθαι, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν οἱ καιροὶ ἐκεῖνοι;
when shall these things come to pass, and what do those times bring?”

41 Previously unedited text; text here based upon the following manuscripts: M2270, 124r ll.10–19; M2576, 131r ll.15–19; M3506, 80r l.29–80v l.7; M4370, 181r² ll.5–15; M7951, 164r ll.17–21. Greek text in Tischendorf 1866, 73. On this apocryphal *Apocalypse*, see Geerard 1992 and Rosenstiehl 1984, 600.

- 2 καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι. ἄκουσον, δίκαιε Ἰωάννη.
 And I heard a voice saying to me: “Hear, righteous John!
 μέλλει τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι
 There shall be in that time
 πλησμονὴ σίτου καὶ οἴνου, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
 abundance of wheat and wine,⁴² such as there has never been upon the
 earth,
 οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ γένηται ἕως οὗ ἔλθωσιν οἱ καιροὶ ἐκεῖνοι.
 nor shall ever be until those times come.
- 3 τότε ὁ στάχυς τοῦ σίτου ἐκφυεῖ ἡμιχοίνικον,
 Then the ear of wheat shall produce a half choenix,
 καὶ ὁ ἀγκῶν τοῦ κλήματος ἐκφυεῖ χιλίους βότρυας,
 and the bend of the branch shall produce a thousand clusters,
 καὶ ὁ βότρυς ἐκφυεῖ ἡμισταμνον οἴνου.
 and the cluster shall produce a half jar of wine;
- 4 καὶ τοῦ ἐπερχομένου ἔτους οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς
 and in the following year there shall not be found upon the face of all the
 earth
 ἡμιχοίνικον σίτου οὐδὲ ἡμισταμνος οἴνου.
 a half choenix of wheat or a half jar of wine.”⁴³

2.A.b Greek Apocalypse of Daniel 11,29–33; 12,6–7⁴⁴

- 11,29 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται εὐφορία σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου
 at that time there will be abundance of grain and wine and oil
- 30 οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.
 such as has not been since the foundation of the world.
- 31 ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ὁ στάχυς εὐφορεῖ ἡμισυ χοίνικον σίτου
 in those times the ear will pour out a half choenix of wheat

42 Ms B Paris Greek 947 adds καὶ ἐλαίου.

43 Ms B has here: οὔτε σίτος οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε ἔλαιον.

44 Berger 1976,16; (=10,1–4; 11,5–6 in Zervos 1983). Compare also Venice text v.64–65 (Berger 1976, 25):

καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος ἢ παχέα ποιήσει χιλίους βότρυας καὶ ὁ ἀμητὸς μυρίους στάχους.

and the vine will make one thousand clusters, and the (wheat) harvest ten thousand ears

καὶ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐρχόμενον οὐ μὴ εὑρηθῇ εἰ μὴ χοίνικον σίτου εἰς τὸ κόσμον ἅπαντα.

and in the next time there will not be found one choenix of wheat in the whole world.

The image returns in the *Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel* 18, see Henze 2001, 86 (text 44): “In those days the land will be measured in a span and a cubit [of land] will be bought for a mina. The area requiring one khor [of seed] will yield [as little as] one seah, and one thousand vines of the vineyard will yield [as little as] one measure of wine.”

- 32 και ὁ ἀγκῶν τοῦ κλήματος ἐκβαλλεῖ βότρυας ἑκατόν.
And the vine branch will put out a hundred clusters.
- 33 και ὁ βότρυς γενήσεται μυριαγωγὸς και ἐκχέει οἶνον μέτρα.
And the cluster will bear ten thousand (grapes) and will pour out a hundred measures.
- 12,6 και ἐν τῷ τριτῷ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ
And in the third year of his reign (i.e. the Antichrist)
ἐκλείψει πᾶς καρπὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.
all the fruits will fail upon the earth
- 7 και οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῆ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ
And there will not be found in the whole world
εἰ μὴ μία ἡμιχοίνικον σίτου και εἰ μὴ ἥμισον στάμνον οἴνου και ἐλαίου.
(even) a half choenix of wheat or a half jar of wine or oil.

2.A.c Dialogue between Christ and the Devil ⁷⁴⁵

ὁ διάβολος λέγει, “κύριε, και ἀπ’ ἐκεῖ τί;”
The Devil said: “And after this, what will happen?”
ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει, “τὸν αὐτὸ καιρὸν γενήσεται σίτος και οἶνος πολὺς . . .
Jesus said: “In that same time, there will be much wheat and wine . . .
και τῶν δύο καιρῶν οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα πέρατα,
but in the (next) two times, there will not be found, so far as the four ends
(of the world),
ἢ οἶνος ἢ ἔλαιος εἰ μὴ τῆς χήρας γυναικὸς ψωμὸς σίτου και ἡμίλιτρον ἐλαίου.”
any wine or oil except the ration of wheat of the widow and half a liter of
oil.”

2.A.d Vision of Enoch the Just ⁴⁶

Uju tū trlḡni swāḡniwtwrrp swḡḡswlḡp ti qḡḡḡḡḡḡp.
These are the two chiefs of tribes white and fine to look on.

- 45 Casey and Thomson 1955, 55. Cf. also the Slavic fragment (R²) of “A Dialogue between Christ and the Devil,” 6 (translation in Casey and Thomson 1955, 60):
And the Devil said: “And what will happen then?”
And Jesus said: “The first year the vines will yield plenteously but the next year there will not be a *pud* (40 lb.) of grain on the whole earth.”
The mention of the widow in the Greek text is an allusion to the story of Elijah, 1Kgs (LXX 3Kgdms) 17.
- 46 Yovsēp’eanc’ 1896, 383.26—384.4. English translation: Issaverdens 1934², 243–4.

զի յաւուրս սոցա եղիցի խաղաղութիւն եւ լիութիւն,
 And in their days will be peace and abundance,
 Մոռացումն ամենայն չարեաց եւ նեղութեանց առաջնոց.
 men will forget all the former evils and tribulations;
 քաջբերութիւնք անդաստանաց, լիութիւն պտղոց, կալոյ եւ հնծանի.
 there will be fertile fields, and abundance of products for the barn and for
 the wine-press.

- (5) յայնժամ տացէ երկիր զգօրութիւն իւր յուրախութիւն մարդկան իբրեւ
 զառաջինն,
 Then the earth will give forth her produce as before, to the joy of men;
 անդաստանք յորդեսցին ցորենով եւ զհնով. եւ տացեն երկինք
 անձրեւս շահեկանս,
 the fields will abound with wheat and wine, and heaven will pour down
 fruitfull rains;
 եւ ոչ եղիցի կարկուտ եւ հրահոսութիւն եւ ցնդմունք ողորդ.
 and there will be no hail, neither thunder, nor tempests.
 այլ արասցէ հատ մի ցորենոյ հարիւր հասկ, եւ տաշտ մի այգոյ հազար
 ողկոյզ.

One grain of wheat will give one hundred ears, and one shoot of vine one
 thousand clusters.

եւ եղիցին ի լեռինս տունկք որթոց քաջուղէշք եւ պտղաւէտք,
 And upon the mountains will be vines, fine-branched and laden with
 fruit,

- (10) եւ պարարտացին ձիթենիք եօթնպատիկ յուրախութիւն մարդկան.
 and the olive-trees will produce sevenfold for the joy of men;
 եւ հանգիցեն մարդիկ եւ մոռացին զնեղութիւնս զառաջինս:
 and men will rest and forget their former tribulations.

2.A.e *The Motif of the Period of Abundance Also Appears in the End of
 Times, Mingled with the Story of the Antichrist, in the Hebrew
 Apocalypse of Elijah 6,4⁴⁷*

Then one *kor* of wheat will yield 900 *kor*
 and it will be the same concerning the wine
 and the same also concerning the oil.
 Every tree will be covered with delicious fruits,

47 Text in Büttenwieser 1897, 20 (trans., 64). Chapter and verse numbers from the German
 trans. in Riessler 1928, 237.

as it is said:⁴⁸

“And ye, mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches . . .”
And Israel shall eat and rejoice for forty years.

2.B *The Period of Abundance in the Final Millennium*

2.B.a *Irenaeus, Adversus Haereses, V, 33, 3⁴⁹*

Յորժամ և արարածս ազատեալ եւ նորոգեալ,

When the creation, renewed and liberated,

Բազմութիւն ի վեր տուեալ բուսուցէ ամենազան կերակրոց

will bring forth an abundance of all kinds of food,

ի ցաւոյն երկնի և ի պարարտութենէ երկրի.

from the dew of heaven and the fertility of the earth;

որպէս ծերունիքն յիշեն, որք զՅովհաննէս զաշակերտն զՏեանն տեսին,

thus the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, remembered

- (5) *լսել ի նմանէ յաղագս ժամանակացն այնոցիկ, զոր ուսուցանէր Տէր և ասէր.*

that they had heard from him, about those times, what the Lord used to teach and say:

Եկեսցեն ատրք, յորս որթք բուսուցեն

“Days will come, when vines will grow

ըստ միոյ միոյ բիրս ուս ունելով,

having a single one ten thousand boughs,

և ի միում միում ուս բիրս արմկունս,

and on each single bough ten thousand branches,

և յիրաքանչիր արմկան բիրս շառաւեղս,

and on each branch ten thousand shoots,

- (10) *և յիրաքանչիր շառաւեղացն բիրս ողկոյզն,*

and on each shoot ten thousand clusters,

և յիրաքանչիր ողկոյզս բիրս պտուղս,

and on each cluster ten thousand grains,

և յիրաքանչիր որ պտուղ ճմլեալ տալ քսան և հինգ ճաշակս գինոյ. . . .

and each grain, when pressed, will give twenty five jars of wine. . . .

48 Ezek 36:8.

49 Edition of the Armenian by Ter Minassiantz (Irenaeus 1910, 235). For the Latin text and a recent bibliography see Körtner 1998; see also the presentation in Dubois 1991, 6–8.

- Նոյնպէս և հասն ցորենոյ բիրս բուսուցանել հասկս,
 So too a grain of wheat will produce ten thousand ears,
 և իրաքանչիւր հասկ բիրս ունելով հասս,
 and each ear will have ten thousand grains,
 (15) և իրաքանչիւր հաստ հինգ կապիճս նաշիհ տալ մաքուրս.
 and each grain will give five choenix of fine flour
 և այլք ամենայն պտղաբերք ծառք և սերմանք և բանջարք
 and all the other fruit-trees and seeds and grass
 ըստ համեմատութեան այսոցիկ կարգաբար
 in corresponding proportion . . .”

*Quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae
 escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae. Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt,
 qui Ioannem discipulum domini viderunt, (5) audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum
 de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat:*

- “Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur,
 singulae decem millia palmitum habentes,
 et in una palmite dena millia brachiorum,
 et in una vero palmite dena millia flagellorum,
 (10) et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum,
 et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum,
 et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit viginti quinque metretas vini.*

...

- Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum,
 et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum,
 (15) et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similiae clarae mundae
 et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam
 secundum congruentiam his consequentem . . .*

2.C *The Period of Abundance in Paradise*

2.C.a Apocalypse of the Apostles⁵⁰

ԹԵՃԷ ԹՄԱՏ ԻՄՍԻՐ. ՃԷ ԹՃԸ ԵՐՏՆԻՏԷ ԱԿՏՏԱՅՈ ՆԵՆՉՈՒՆ ԿԻՐՈՎ. ՆՏԻՆՈՎՉԷ
 Thomas said unto the Saviour: “Lord, behold thou hast shown us all the
 sweet smelling trees

50 Part of an “Encomium on saint John the Baptist attributed to saint John Chrysostom,” ed. Budge 1913, 142, ll.6–27.

εΤΖἸΠΠΑΡΑΔἸCOC. ἸΖΥΠΩΡΑON ΜἸἸΒἸNE.
which are in paradise, and the fruit-trees, and the palm-trees.

ΜΑΤCΑΒON ΔΕ ΟΥἸ ΟΥΗΗΡ ἸΛΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΒἸNE.

Tell us now how many clusters on each palm-tree,

Η ΟΥἸ ΟΥΗΗΡ ἸΒἸΒἸΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΩ ἸΚΑΤΑΛΩΟΥ.

and how many fruits on each tree and each cluster,

- (5) ΑΥΩ ΟΥἸ ΟΥΗΗΡ ἸCΜΑΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΩ ἸΕΛΟΟΕ.
and how many bunches on each vine.”

ΠΕΔΕ ΠCἸΡ.

The Saviour said:

ΔΕ ἸΨΜΑΖΕΠ ΛΑΔΥ ΕΡΩΤἸ ΔΗ ΖἸΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤἸΩἸNE ἸCΩΥ.

“I shall not hide from you anything about what you questioned.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΜΑ ἸΕΛἸΟΕ ἸΤΑΤΕΤἸCΝΟΥἸ.

As regardeth the vine concerning which you have asked me,

ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥCΜΑΖ. ΟΥἸ ΟΥΤΒΑ ἸΒἸΒἸΕ ΖἸΩΥ.

on one bunch there are ten thousand grains,

- (10) ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΒἸΒἸΕ ΟΥΑΡCΟΥ ἸΜΗΤΡἸΤΗC.
and each grain will produce six measures (of wine).

ΕΤΒΕ ἸΒἸNE ΔΕ ON ἸΠΠΑΡΑΔἸCOC. ΟΥΤΒΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΩΟΥ.

As regardeth the palm-trees of the paradise, each cluster (yieldeth) ten thousand dates,

ΠΕΥΩἸΗ ΠΕ ΠΩἸ ἸΟΥΡΩME.

their length is the measure of a man.

ἸΚἸἸΤΕ ON ΚΑΤΑΤΕἸZE ΟΥΤΒΑ ΚΑΤΑΟΥΚΛΑΔOC.

So likewise with the figs: ten thousand per branch,

ΟΥΚἸἸΤΕ ἸΟΥΩΤ. ΟΥΑΡΕΩOMἸΤ ἸΡΩME ΟΥΩM ἸCΕCἸ.

a single fig: three men eat and are satiated of it.

- (15) ΟΥΖΜC ἸΟΥΩΤ ἸCΟΥἸ ἸΤΕΠΠΑΡΑΔἸCOC. ΟΥἸ ΟΥΤΒΑ ἸΒἸΒἸΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΖΜC.
On each ear of wheat of the paradise there are ten thousand grains per ear,

ΑΥΩ ΟΥΟΥ ἸΩἸ ἸCΟΥΟΕ ΠΟΥΑ.

and each grain produceth six measures of flour.

ἸΚἸΔΡἸON. ON. ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕἸZE. ΟΥΤΒΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΒΩ ΕΥΧΟCΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ.

Likewise with the lemons: ten thousand per tree, which are very high,

ἸCἸΠΕΖ ΑΥΩ ΠΘΟΥΡΑΚἸON ἸΠΕἸ ΟΥἸ ἸΟΥΩΤ ΟΥΤΒΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΚΛΑΔOC.

The apples and the peaches are on the same scale: ten thousand per branch,

ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΡΕ ΟΥOMἸΤ ἸΡΩME ΟΥΩM ΕΒΟΛ ἸΖΗΤἸ ἸCΕCἸ.

and if three men eat one, they are satiated.”

2.C.b Visio Pauli 22⁵¹

αἰσῶντ εβολ ρῖπκαρ ετῖμαγ.

I looked out on that country,

αιναγ εγειερο εφσωκ ἡρωτε ρῖ εβῖδ̄.

I saw a river flowing with milk and honey,

ρῖππεισα ἡπειερο. μῖ παῖ ἡμοϋ ενεερητ ἡωην εφῶτῖ ἡκαρπος.

on this side of the river and on that were growing trees that were laden with fruit.

ανοκ δε αἰσῶντ̄ ε̄πσα ἡππεβ̄τ̄.

And I looked to the east,

- (5) αἰσῖνε ἡσῶντ̄ νῖμ ἡτε πνογτε ρῖπμα ετῖμαγ

I discovered all the creations of God in that place

αιναγ ε̄ρενβῖνε εγρητ ρῖπμα ετῖμαγ.

I saw palm-trees growing there,

ογ̄ετ τ̄σοτ ἡτογ̄ει τογ̄ει.

and each one was wholly different from the other;

εογ̄ἡ ογ̄ον ἡρητογ̄ εφναρ̄ μααβ ἡμαρε ἡωην.

some of them were thirty cubits in height,

ογ̄ἡ ογ̄α νεφναρ̄ χ̄ογ̄ωτ. ογ̄ἡ ογ̄ον εφναρ̄ μητ.

some of them twenty, some of them ten;

- (10) πκαρ ετογρητ ριχ̄ωσ νεφογ̄δ̄β̄ω̄ ἡρογ̄δ̄ επρατ̄ ἡσαωγ̄ ἡσοπ.

the ground wheron they were growing was whiter than silver, seven times.

χ̄ιητνογ̄νε ητογ̄εῑ τογ̄ει ωαρηαῑ επεερητ. ογ̄ἡ ογ̄τβα ἡρωπ̄ω̄.

From the root of each tree up to its heart there were ten thousand branches

[ρ̄ιχ̄ἡ ογ̄τβα ἡλωογ̄.] ε̄ογ̄ἡ ογ̄τβα ἡλωογ̄ ρ̄ι ηρωπ̄ω̄ ηρωπ̄ω̄.

[with tens of thousands of clusters;] there were ten thousand clusters on each branch,

εογ̄ἡ ογ̄τβα ἡβῖνε ρ̄ιηλωογ̄ ηλωογ̄.

there were ten thousand dates in each cluster.

αγ̄ω τ̄βω νελοολε οη κατα τ̄ειρε.

And thus was it also with the vines.

- (15) εογ̄ἡ ογ̄τβα ἡωλ̄ε ρ̄ἡτ̄βω νελοολε. αγ̄ω ἡσμαρ̄ ρ̄ἡηωελ̄ε ηωλ̄ε.

On each vine were ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot (ten thousand) grapes,

51 Coptic: Budge 1915, 562, ll.15–32. Greek: Tischendorf 1866, 50–1. Latin: Silverstein and Hilhorst 1997, 116–17.

εΟΥΝ ΟΥΤΒΑ ΝΒΛΒΙΛΕ ΖΜΠΕΣΜΑΖ ΠΕΣΜΑΖ.

on each grape were ten thousand grains.

ΝΚΕΩΗΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ΝΤΒΑ ΠΕ.

And there were other trees there, tens of thousands of tens of thousands of them,

ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΙΡΕ.

and their fruit was in the same proportion.

καὶ ἦσαν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ δένδρα πεφυτευμένα

And there were by the bank of the river, trees planted,

πλήρεις καρπῶν διαφόρων.

full of different fruits.

- (4) καὶ ἐπέβλεψα ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν,

And I looked towards the rising of the sun,

καὶ ἴδον ἐκεῖ δένδρα πανμεγέθη πλήρεις καρπῶν.

and I saw there trees of great size full of fruits;

- (10) ἦν δὲ ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη λαμπροτέρα ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ,

and that land was more brilliant than silver and gold;

καὶ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς φοίνιξιν ἐκείναις ἀναδενδράδες,

and there were vines growing on those date-palms,

καὶ μυρίοι ἀκρονόνες καὶ μυρίοι βότρυες ἐφ' ἐκάστου κλήματος.

and myriads of shoots, and myriads of clusters on each branch.

Et circumspexi terram illam et uidi flumen currentem lac et mel.

And I looked round about that land and saw a river flowing with milk and honey.

Et erant al litus fluminis ipsius arbores plantate plene fructibus.

And there were at the brink of the river trees planted, full of fruits:

Vna quoque autem arbor erat adferens fructos xii in anno uarios et diuersos fructos abentes.

now every tree bare twelve fruits in the year, and they had various and diverse fruits:

- (5) *Et uidi creaturam loci illius et omnem facturam dei.*

and I saw the creature(s) of that place and all the work of God,

Et uidi ibi palmas cubitorum xx, alias autem cubitorum x.

and there I saw palm-trees of twenty cubits and others of ten cubits:

- (10) *Terra autem illa clarior argento septies.*

and that land was seven times brighter than silver.

Et erant singule arbores plene fructibus a radice usque ad summum eorum,

And each tree was full of fruits (?) from the root up to his summit,

erant x milia palmarum super (singulis) ramos
 there were ten thousand palms on each branch
et erant singule arbores (lege palmas?) afferentes fructus super (x) milia.
 and each palm brought over ten thousand fruits.

- (15) *Vineae autem uitis habebant x milia arbusta.*
 And the vine bough had ten thousand shoots
In singulis autem uitibus erant x milia butriones
 and on each vine (shoot) there were ten thousand clusters
et x milia racemi in singulis butrionibus.
 and ten thousand grapes on each cluster.
Singule autem arbores ille adferebant decemilia fructum.
 Each of these (grape?)trees brought ten thousand grains.

3 The Portrait of the Antichrist

Descriptions of the identity of the Antichrist have intrigued scholars such as Bousset, Macler, Nau, and James, for over a century. These various descriptions were finally published together in translation in 1967.⁵² Since the publication of that volume, the same and similar lists were published in subsequent studies,⁵³ some of which added new portraits of the Antichrist. From these more recently published portraits, it seems interesting to give here one from the Irish tradition; a second, in Syriac, from the large field of apocryphal visions related to the prophet Daniel; and finally, one from the Armenian apocryphal literature.

3.A Irish Story of the Antichrist⁵⁴

And John the Evangelist said to Jesus:⁵⁵
 Lord, what shape shall be on that man, so that we may leave a description
 of him written,
 so that he may be recognised from his deeds, and so that no one may
 believe in him, he being recognized.

⁵² See Rosenstiehl 1967 in general (and concerning these scholars, 45 n. 5).

⁵³ Berger 1976, esp. 115–20; Stone-Strugnell 1979, 28–39; McGinn 1988; McGinn 1994, 72–3; Frankfurter 1993, 117–25; Ford 1996.

⁵⁴ “Book of Lismore,” Hyde 1927, 396; Dottin 1909; Herbert and McNamara 1989, 149 (and cf. O’Cuiv 1973, 89).

⁵⁵ This introductory detail shows that this Irish tradition depends on the *I Apocryphal Apocalypse of John* (see hereafter the beginning of text 3.C.b.).

The Lord said that it is from a harlot of the tribe of Daniel⁵⁶
of Bethel (he should be)
and he would be reared in the Carbuban
and that he would reside in the city which is called Besasta;⁵⁷
and the length of his body shall be six hundred fathoms,
and forty fathoms its breadth,
and (he has) one eye protruding from his forehead,
and his face all one flat surface,
and his mouth (reaching) down to his bosom,
and there shall be no upper teeth in his head, and he shall have no knees,
and the soles of his feet shall be round like the wheel of a cart,
and there shall be horrible black hair on him,
and there shall be three fiery fumes out of his nose
and out of his mouth rising in the air, as it were flames of fire.

3.B *Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel* 22⁵⁸

And these are his signs and the fearsome appearance of his stature:
his head is large, his hair is glistening,
his eyes blue and neck strong.
His sides raised, his chest broad,
his arms long, and his fingers short.
He has two horns in his ears,
and there is excessive flesh in his ear
also deficient flesh.
His figure is furious, amazing and wrathful.
The appearance of his stature is also amazing.
He will be seen like lightning in heaven,

56 This Daniel is probably to be identified with Dan, see above n. 14.

57 "Bethel," "Carbuban," and "Besasta" were originally the three towns Chorazin, Capernaum and Bethsaida (see n. 15, above).

58 Henze 2001: text, 47, trans., 91–2; translation here from Brock 2005–6, 14. The Syriac apocalyptic text, "Of the Young Daniel" (8,11–13), edited in the unpublished dissertation of Schmoldt 1972, has nearly the same portrait: "And these are his signs; the appearance of his stature, and his head, is large; his hair (like a) cock's comb, his eyes glistening, his eyebrows raised. And he has two horns in his ears and there is excessive flesh inside his ear. His neck is strong, his chest broad, his arms long, and his fingers short. His appearance is furious, fearful and wrathful. The appearance of his stature is amazing, and like a torch of fire amid camps of war," translation in Brock 2005–2006, 14. On the apocryphal visions of Daniel in general, see now DiTommaso 2005.

and like a torch in a camp
 With him are chariots of fire and camps of war.

Within the same pseudepigraphical literature of Daniel, the Armenian apocalyptic tradition also gives an attestation of such a portrait:

3.C.a *Seventh Vision of Daniel*⁵⁹

... որոց է նշանս այս.
 ... whose signs are these:
 զատկեալ անկրկնելի ի ծնկոց
 The joints of his knees are stiff,
 հաշմ,
 he is crippled,
 ողորկայաւն,
 smooth-browed,
 մանկադաստն,
 crooked-fingered,
 սրագլուխ...
 long-headed...

Other portraits may be found in Armenian texts; for instance, in the following Armenian translation of a Greek apocalypse:

3.C.b (*Armenian*) *I Apocryphal Apocalypse of John 6–7*⁶⁰

6,1 Եւ դարձեալ ես Յոհաննէս ասեմ զՏէր
 and again I, John, said to the Lord
 Տէր յայնմ հետէ զինչ կամիցիս անել.
 Lord, thereafter what wilt Thou do?
 2 Եւ լուայ ձայն որ ասէ զիս
 and I heard a voice saying to me:
 լուր արդարդ Յոհաննէս
 Hear, righteous John
 զի զկնի այսր ամենայնի
 after all this

59 Text in Kalemkiar 1892, 133, and Yovsēp'eanc' 1896, 249; for translations see Rosenstiehl 1967, 49 n. 1. See also L. DiTommaso's contribution to Part I of this volume.

60 Unedited; text based upon M2270 and M3506 (see above, n.42).

- յայտնեցի մարդն անաւրէնութեան*
 shall appear the Man of Lawlessness
որդին կորստեան ուրացողն
 the Son of Perdition the Denier
և անպարհզտն արգելեալն ի խաւարի
 the Impious imprisoned in the darkness
որ կոչի [ըննդէս] քրիստոսի:⁶¹
 whose name is [Anti]christ.
- 3 *Եւ դարձեալ ասեմ [ցտէր]*
 and again I said [to the Lord]
Տէր յայտեա ինձ թէ որպէս իցէ նայ.
 Lord, reveal to me how he is;
- 7,1 *և լուայ ձայն որ ասէր*
 and I heard a voice saying
լուր արդարդ Յոհաննէս
 hear, righteous John,
կերպարանք երեսաց նորա սևադէն
 the appearance of his face is dusky
և հեր գլխոյ նորա սուր իբրև գլաք
 and the hairs of his head sharp like darts
և յունք նորա իբրև զգազանի վայրենոյ
 and his eyebrows like a wild beast's
- 2 *աչք նորա այլազոյնս*
 his eyes of different colours
[ականջք]⁶² իբրև զաստղ որ ձագէ առաւօտոյ
 [his right eye] like the star which rises in the morning
և միւս այլ իբրև զարձուի
 and the other like an eagle's
- 3 *բերան նորա մեծ⁶³*
 his mouth large
և ատամունքն նորա որպէս զառիծոյ⁶⁴
 and his teeth like a lion's
- 4 *մատունք ձեռաց նորա իբրև զմանգաղս*
 the fingers of his hands like scythes

61 M2270 is corrupt here, text borrowed from M3506.

62 Lit. "his ears," but see Greek: ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δεξιός, "his right eye."

63 M3506: բերան նորայ կանկուն մի (cf. Greek).

64 M3506: ատամունք նորայ մեծամեծք յոյժ. չափ թզոյ միոյ (cf. Greek).

- υ ητηρ νηηγ ύηρω τηηυ ραωζαψυ*
and the print of his feet of three spans
- 5 *υ γερ η υερωυ δαηωτηη ύηρω ρξ υω ζ ύτηνυ:*
and written on his forehead: this is the Antichrist.
- 6 *Γω υήύζυ ηερληύυ ρωρδρωυγυ*
He shall be exalted unto heaven
*ρωγ υήύζυ ανήηηηηη ηηηδανύευγυ*⁶⁵
but shall be cast down to the hell of the abyss
υ ανύξ υρηωιηρυ υεδωύεδυ:
and he shall cause great terrors.⁶⁶

65 M3506: *υήύζυ ηανήηηύηη ησηηηηηηη.*

66 The Greek text, Tischendorf 1866, 73–5:

- 6,1 *και πάλιν ειπον· κύριε, από τότε τί μέλλεις ποιείν;*
And again I said: Lord, after that, what wilt Thou do?
- 2 *και ήκουσα φωνής λεγούσης μοι·*
And I heard a voice saying to me:
άκουσον, δίκαιε Ιωάννη·
Hear, righteous John
τότε φανήσεται ό άρνητής και έξορισμένος έν τη σκοτία,
then shall appear the Denier (now) rejected in the darkness
ό λεγόμενος άντίχριστος.
who is called Antichrist.
- 3 *και πάλιν ειπον·*
And again I said:
κύριε, αποκάλυψόν μοι ποταπός έστιν.
Lord, reveal to me what he is like.
- 7,1 *και ήκουσα φωνής λεγούσης μοι·*
And I heard a voice saying to me:
τό είδος του προσώπου αυτού ζοφώδες,
the appearance of his face is dusky,
αι τρίχες της κεφαλής αυτού όξειαι ως βέλη,
the hairs of his head are sharp like darts,
οί όφρυες αυτού ώσει άγρου,
his eyebrows like a wild beast's
- 2 *ό όφθαλμός αυτού ό δεξιός ως ό άστήρ ό πρωί ανατέλλων,*
his right eye like the star which rises in the morning,
και ό έτερος ως λέοντος,
and the other like a lion's
- 3 *τό στόμα αυτού ως πήχυν μίαν,*
his mouth about one cubit,
οί όδόντες αυτού σπιθαμιαίοι,
his teeth a span long,

3.C.c

Finally, two further examples demonstrate that such portraits are not rare in the Armenian apocalyptic tradition. The first occurs in Ps.-Epiphanius's *Sermo de Antichristo*, 15; the second, in the "Vision of Agathon."⁶⁷

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- 4 οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτοῦ ὡς δρέπανα,
his fingers like scythes,
τὸ ἶχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ σπιθαμῶν δύο,
the print of his fet of two spans,
- 5 καὶ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ γραφὴ ἀντίχριστος·
and on his face an inscription: Antichrist
- 6 ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσεται
he shall be exalted even to heaven
καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἄδου καταβήσεται,
and shall be cast down even to hell,
ποιῶν ψευδοφαντασίας . . .
he will make false miracles . . .
- 67 On these two visions, see the contribution of Z. Pogossian in volume 2 of this collection of essays and her "Jews in Armenian Apocalyptic Traditions."

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