

MATTHIAS HENZE

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

11

Mohr Siebeck

Matthias Henze

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel

Introduction, Text, and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book was written during the academic year 2000/01. I am grateful to the former Dean of Humanities at Rice University, Judith Brown, for the sabbatical leave during this year, as well as to the current Dean, Gale Stokes, for the generous financial support I received in form of the Paula and Jon Mosle Research Award.

Two individuals in particular deserve my gratitude. My Syriac teacher at Harvard University, James F. Coakley, “discovered” the manuscript in Harvard’s manuscript collection and brought it to my attention. He spent countless hours going over my translation and annotations, and it is only with the greatest hesitation that I occasionally disagree with him. Lucas Van Rompay of Duke University kindly read an early version of my translation and offered his advice with characteristic kindness. The generosity with which he shared his time and immense knowledge I regard as priceless. Of the many individuals who offered their help I am particularly indebted to Gerrit J. Reinink, Susan Ashbrook Harvey, Michael Maas, Evelyn T. Nolen, Roberta Van Vlack, and Stephen Hansen. All errors and wrongheadedness that undoubtedly remain are entirely mine.

I would like to thank the staff of Harvard’s Houghton Library and especially the Interlibrary Loan Office here at Rice University for their immense labor. The text of Manuscript Syriac 42 [formerly SMH 30], fols. 117 *recto* through 122 *verso*, is here printed by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University. I thank Prof. Dr. Christoph Marksches for including the volume in this series.

I dedicate this book to my father, Walter Henze, my first teacher and perpetual supporter of my work, who continues to have “a spirit of wisdom, a spirit of knowledge, and a spirit of understanding” (Syr Apoc Dan 3). Above all, *Deo gratias*.

Rice University, June 2001

Matthias Henze

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Introduction

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel (Syr Apoc Dan) has gone practically unnoticed by modern scholars. The only recognition of this text of which I am aware is by Miron Slabczyk. Slabczyk recently edited the Syriac text and translated it into Esperanto¹. His edition provides a valuable tool for the study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel. However, a new, critical edition of the apocalypse is in order for a number of reasons. First, Slabczyk's edition of the Syriac manuscript contains several doubtful readings and omissions that need to be corrected. Second, Slabczyk's translation into Esperanto lacks annotations that identify parallels in cognate literature or point to biblical references. Third, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel deserves to be translated into a spoken Western language and to be published in a volume that is widely accessible to the interested reader.

1. The Manuscript

The present edition of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is based upon the sole manuscript known to exist, Harvard Ms Syr 42 [formerly SMH 30]². The manuscript was purchased by Harvard University along with 124 other manuscripts in November of 1905 from the private British collector J. Rendell Harris. The manuscript, which consists of 125 folios, is written in "inelegant Serto"³ and is easily legible. Each page is divided into two columns with between 30 and 47 lines in each column. Since there is no colophon the

¹ M. SLABCZYK, *Apokalipso de Danielo Profeto en la Lando Persio kaj Elamo: Sirian tekston, Esperantan tradukon kaj Komentaron preparis Miron Slabczyk* (Vienna: Arkado eldonejo, 2000).

² To date, three scholars have set out to produce a catalogue of the Harvard collection of Syriac manuscripts. L. H. TITTERTON, a graduate student of St. John's College at the University of Cambridge, England, compiled a list of Syriac manuscripts as his unfinished doctoral dissertation; M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue* (Harvard Semitic Studies 23; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), compiled what he calls in his introduction "the first catalogue which describes a Syriac collection in America" (p. 14); more recently J. F. COAKLEY produced a catalogue entitled "Syriac Manuscripts at Harvard: An On-Line Catalogue," G. A. KIRAZ, ed., *SyrCOM-95: Proceedings of the First International Forum on Syriac Computing* (Washington, D.C.: The Syriac Computing Institute, 1995).

³ GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts*, 54.

dating of the manuscript has to remain tentative; a date around the twelfth or thirteenth century seems most likely. The manuscript includes a discourse on monastic life by John of Dalyatha (1 *recto*); fifty-one epistles by John of Dalyatha (33 *recto*); discourses on knowledge by John bar Penkaye (67 *recto*); various epistles and hymns (93 *verso*); metrical discourses of John bar Penkaye (98 *recto*); *neṣḥānā* of John bar Penkaye (101 *verso*); and homilies by Evagrius (102 *verso*), Gregory the Monk (109 *recto*), Simon the Monk (109 *recto*), Basilios (111 *verso*), Philoxenus (122 *verso*), and Chrysostom (114 *verso*).

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is found toward the end of the manuscript on fols. 117 *recto* through 122 *verso*. It is followed by some further discourses on the remaining three folios. Only a few words in the apocalypse, all of which are proper names, are partly or fully vocalized. The text of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears to have been preserved in its entirety. It opens with a superscription, "By the power of God we record the revelation which was revealed to Daniel the prophet in the land of Persia and Elam." Following the superscription, Daniel introduces himself in chapter 1 in the first person by providing some information about the ostensible setting of the book. At the end the text reverts again to the first person plural of the scribe, who, in common fashion, asks to be deemed worthy by Christ "to stand at his right side." The text closes with a brief postscript that echoes the language of the superscription, "Here ends the wondrous revelation which was revealed to the prophet Daniel in the land of Elam and in Persia."

2. *Apocalypses Attributed to Daniel*

Already during the Second Temple period, during which the biblical book of Daniel reached its final form, literary traditions about Daniel and his three companions circulated widely and were transmitted in variant collections⁴. The protagonist of the only full-blown apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible, Daniel became a popular pseudonym for authors of early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature in post-biblical times⁵. Apocalypses attributed to Daniel

⁴ The MT presents a contingent rather than exhaustive collection of tales. The Old Greek includes the so-called "Additions" to Daniel, edited by K. KOCH, *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 38, 1/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987; 2 vols.). The discoveries from Qumran revealed even more related material, commonly called "Pseudo-Daniel." See L. T. STUCKENBRUCK, "The Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Making and Remaking of the Biblical Tradition," J. H. CHARLESWORTH, ed., *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (N. Richland Hills, Texas: Bibal Press, 2000), 135–71, and more recently P. W. FLINT, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," J. J. COLLINS and P. W. FLINT, ed., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (VTSup 83.2/FIOTL 2.1; Leiden: Brill, 2001; 2 vols.), 1.327–367.

⁵ Other biblical figures, including Enoch, Ezra, Baruch and others, also appeared

or in which Daniel plays a significant role are numerous and are preserved in a variety of contexts, literary forms, and languages. The following provides a survey of apocalyptic texts associated with Daniel. The texts are listed according to the language in which they are attested in the chronological order of their publication⁶.

Arabic:

- R. J. H. Gottheil, "An Arabic Version of the Revelation of Ezra," *Hebraica* 4 (1887/88) 15–17;
 F. Macler, "L'apocalypse arabe de Daniel, traduite et annotée," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 49 (1904) 265–305;
 D. B. Cook, "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse," *Arabica*, forthcoming.

Armenian:

- G. Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision Daniels," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 6 (1892) 109–36, 227–40;
 F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 33 (1896) 288ff.;
 J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus* (Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1934), 249–65.

frequently as pseudonymous authors of early apocalyptic writings, yet Daniel in particular has a long history and broad range of attestations, beginning in the Second Temple period and extending well into the early Islamic period; see M. E. STONE, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 39–41.

⁶ Overviews of the extant texts can be found in A.-M. DENIS, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancient Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 309–14; F. WINKELMANN and W. BRANDES, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert): Bestand und Probleme* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1990), 305–22; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (D. F. ABRAHAMSE, ed.; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1985), 61–122; and K. BERGER, *Die Griechische Daniel-Diegesen: Eine Altkirchliche Apokalypse* (Studia Post-Biblica 27; Leiden: Brill, 1976), xi–xxiii. See also G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie: Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den 4 Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreich (Apok. 20)* (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften 9; München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), 53–57.

Excluded from this list are commentaries on Daniel, even though they often include apocalyptic material (see the Commentary below for examples); for a list of commentaries from the early third century to the present see J. J. COLLINS, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 453–56. More Syriac commentaries exist in manuscripts but have not yet been edited and translated, including the commentary by Dionysius bar Šalibi (d. 1171); cf. L. VAN ROMPAY, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," M. SÆBØ, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. 1/2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 559–77, on Dionysius pp. 573–74.

Coptic:

- F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 33 (1896) 165ff;
- C. H. Becker, "Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Daniel-Buche," *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* (Göttingen: Dieterich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1916) 7–57;
- O. Meinardus, "A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel, according to the Coptic Version," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966) 394–449;
- O. Meinardus, "New Evidence on the XIVth Vision of Daniel from the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968) 281–309;
- H. Suermann, "L'apocalypse copte de Daniel et la chute des Omayyades," *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983) 329–48;
- J. M. J. M. Van Lent, "The Nineteen Muslim Kings in Coptic Apocalypses," *Parole de l'Orient* 25 (2000) 643–93.

Greek:

- E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1895), 113–27: "Die Apokalypsen des Propheten Daniel," p. 121: "Weissagung Daniels über die Siebenhügelige und über die Insel Kreta," pp. 122f: "Über die Insel Cypern von demselben Daniel,"
- E. Klostermann, "Zur Apokalypse Daniels," *ZAW* 15 (1895) 147–50;
- H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniel's letzte Vision". Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte*, diss. Hamburg 1972, pp. 122–45: "Die letzte Vision des Propheten Daniel," pp. 190–99: "Vom Mönch Daniel über die Siebenhügelige," pp. 203–19: "Vision Daniels über die letzte Zeit," pp. 220–37: "Logos unseres heiligen Vaters Johannes Chrysostomus,"
- L. Rydén, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse: Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974) 199–261;
- R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples: Morano, 1975);
- K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesse. Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse* (Studia Post-Biblica 27; Leiden: Brill, 1976).

Hebrew:

- I. Lévy, "Une apocalypse judéo-arabe," *Revue des études juives* 67 (1914) 178–82;
- L. GINZBERG, *Ginze Shekhter* (Texts and studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 7–9; New York: Be-hotsaat Bet midrash ha-rabanim asher ba-Amerika, 1928; 3 vols.), 1.313–23 [Hebrew];
- S. Krauss, "Un nouveau texte pour l'histoire judéo-byzantine," *Revue des études juives* 87 (1929) 1–27 [= *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7 (1927/28) 57–86];
- A. Sharf, "A Source for Byzantine Jewry under the Early Macedonians," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1970) 302–18;

J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire. 641–1204* (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), 134–35;

A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London: Routledge, 1971), 201–04: “The Vision of Daniel” [repr. in A. Sharf, *The Jews and other Minorities in Byzantium* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995) 119–35]⁷.

Persian:

H. Zotenberg, “Geschichte Daniels/Ein Apokryph,” *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1 (1869) 385–427;

J. Darmesteter, “L’apocalypse persane de Daniel,” *Mélanges Leon Rénier: Bibliothèque de l’École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1887), 405–20;

F. Macler, “Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 33 (1896) 43ff;

R. Levy, “Danial-Nama: A Judeo-Persian Apocalypse,” S. W. Baron, ed., *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935), 423–28;

A. Netzer, “Daniyal-Name: An Exposition of Judeo-Persian,” G. L. Tikku, ed., *Islam and Its Cultural Divergences* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 145–64;

A. Netzer, “Daniyal-nama and its Linguistic Features,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 305–14;

A. Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad shel Yehude Paras bi-Mekhon Ben-Tsevi* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi /Hebrew University, 1985), 33 [Hebrew].

Slavonic:

P. S. Sreckhovic, “Zbornik Popa Dragolia,” *Spomenik* 5 (1890) 10–11;

V. M. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i apokrificheskiiia videniia Daniila v vizantiiskoi i slaviano-russkoi literaturakh* (Moscow: Univ. tip., 1897), 84–131, 156–58.

Syriac:

H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift “Vom jungen Daniel” und “Daniel’s letzte Vision”. Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte*, diss. Hamburg 1972, pp. 25–113: “Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende.”

This list of works associated with, or attributed to, Daniel requires comment. Most importantly, the term “apocalyptic” has been used rather loosely in the past without a clear definition of the genre. The semantic confusion has been considerable. Paul Hanson was certainly right when he found the problem

⁷ Another still unpublished Hebrew “historical” apocalypse attributed to Daniel, entitled *Nevu’ot Daniel*, was discovered among the Geniza fragments and is now part of the St. Petersburg collection.

expressed “in the descriptions of apocalyptic given in the handbooks, descriptions consisting of long lists of random features gleaned from various apocalyptic works. The picture with which one is left is not only confusing, it is also misleading, for no given apocalyptic work comes close to incorporating all of the listed features. . . . How, by means of such a list, can one hope to come to an understanding of apocalyptic, or even to be able to identify a composition as apocalyptic?”⁸

The situation improved after a better understanding of apocalyptic as a literary genre was reached. The clearest definition remains that of John Collins as found in his much celebrated and often quoted *Semeia* volume.

“Apocalypse” is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world⁹.

Collins’s definition is based on apocalypses which were composed considerably earlier than the texts listed above, i.e., during the Second Temple period and in the first centuries of the common era. These include *1 Enoch*, *Daniel*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *3 Baruch*, *2 Enoch*, *Testament of Levi* 2–5, and with some qualification other texts as well.

However, only a few of the apocalypses attributed to Daniel listed above fit Collins’ description. They all are concerned with what has been called “apocalyptic eschatology”¹⁰, but this, too, can take many forms. The texts are

⁸ P. D. HANSON, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 6–7. Hanson clarified the terminology by introducing a threefold distinction between “apocalypse” as a literary genre, “apocalyptic eschatology” as a religious perspective or set of ideas, and “apocalypticism” as a symbolic universe or social ideology; see his “Apocalypse, Genre,” K. CRIM, ed., *IDB, Supplementary Volume* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1976), 27–34. See also M. E. STONE, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” F. M. CROSS, W. E. LEMKE, and P. D. MILLER, Jr., ed., *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 414–52, esp. 439–43; idem, “Apocalyptic Literature,” M. E. STONE, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 383–441, esp. 392–94; and M. A. KNIBB, “Prophecy and the Emergence of Jewish Apocalypses,” R. COGGINS, A. PHILLIPS, and M. KNIBB, ed., *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 155–80, esp. 160–61. Both STONE and KNIBB argue for a distinction between “apocalypses” and “apocalyptic eschatology” only.

⁹ J. J. COLLINS, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 9.

¹⁰ The debate over the apocalyptic genre is summarized in J. J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998 [first ed. 1984]), 2–12.

furthermore divided by the different languages in which they are preserved, although there may be more linguistic uniformity than the list suggests. Brandes observed that many of these compositions, even though they have been transmitted in a variety of languages, were originally composed in Greek, with the Greek original no longer extant¹¹. Finally, the texts show almost no signs of mutual dependencies or textual borrowings¹². There are certain traditions that recur frequently, to be sure. For example, several apocalypses, including the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, refer to the popular Antichrist legend¹³; some of the apocalypses follow a traditional eschatological scheme according to which the end of the world begins with the rebellion of the eschatological “Peoples of the North” (among them Gog and Magog), who, together with Antichrist, will invade the world but ultimately will be defeated by Christ at his Second Coming¹⁴. These motifs are so common, however, that they provide little information about the origin of the texts in which they occur. In summary, the list of apocalypses attributed to Daniel bears testimony to the ongoing popularity of Daniel as a pseudonymous author of post-biblical apocalyptic literature, however broadly defined. It says little, if anything, about the history of the genre.

The only text that is directly related to the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is the one other Daniel apocalypse written in Syriac, “Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende.” This Syriac text was edited and translated into German by Hans Schmoldt in his 1972 dissertation written under Klaus Koch at the University of Hamburg¹⁵. “Vom Jungen Daniel” and the Syriac

¹¹ WINKELMANN and BRANDES, *Quellen*, 317.

¹² In his classic study on the Antichrist, W. BOUSSET collected a formidable corpus of texts in an effort to reconstruct the original legend (“Geheimtradition”) about Antichrist. This quest for an original Antichrist tradition may seem naive to us today but, as BERGER rightfully observes, only points to the methodological difficulty of explaining common elements in writings for which “literary dependence” is an inadequate category; W. BOUSSET, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1999 [first German ed. 1895]); BERGER, *Daniel-Diegesse*, 1–2.

¹³ The last decade has witnessed a proliferation of scholarship on medieval apocalyptic subjects, including a number of works on the Antichrist. For a succinct review and helpful analysis see C. W. BYNUM and P. FREEDMAN, ed., *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1–17.

¹⁴ This scheme, which is also found in the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, is attested in a number of Syriac texts from the seventh century, i.e., in the milieu in which the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel was composed; see G. J. REININK, “Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser,” W. VERBEKE et al., ed., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia XV; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 82–111, esp. 94.

¹⁵ H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift “Vom jungen Daniel” und “Daniel’s letzte Vision”*.

Apocalypse of Daniel are related in a number of ways. First, both texts are preserved in a single manuscript only. “Vom Jungen Daniel” is attested in a biblical manuscript in which it is framed by two apocryphal texts, the story of Susanna, which precedes, and the Letter of Jeremiah, which follows it¹⁶. As explained above, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears towards the end of a manuscript of mixed content. Most of the theological discourses and epistles come from the pen of two Nestorian writers, John of Dalyatha, also known as John Saba¹⁷, and John bar Penkaye, or John Fenek, a seventh-century Syriac chronicler from northwestern Mesopotamia¹⁸. Second, neither “Vom Jungen Daniel” or the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears to be a translation from the Greek but were originally composed in Syriac. In the case of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel an important *argumenta e silentio* in support of a Syriac original is based on the observation that the text does not include any Greek calques that would force the assumption of a Greek original no longer extant. Further evidence comes from the use of the Bible in the text. As we will see below, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is suffused with allusions to, and quotations from, the Bible. These are based on the Peshitta, not on the Septuagint. Note, for example, the following quotation of the *Trishagion* (Isa 6:3) in Syr Apoc Dan 36 as compared to the same verse in the Peshitta (for further examples see the Commentary below):

Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte, diss. Hamburg 1972 (pp. 25–113: “Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende”).

¹⁶ “British Museum Syr. Cod. Add. 18,715, fols. 239–41; see W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1870; 3 vols.), 1.18–20. This manuscript is similar to Harvard Syr. 42 and, according to WRIGHT, also dates to the twelfth century.

¹⁷ A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968 [first ed. 1922]), 225–26.

¹⁸ In light of the parallels between John’s main composition, a summary of world history composed in 686/87 and entitled *ktābā’ d-rēš mellē*, and the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, it is not surprising to find both works included in the same manuscript. Book XV, the final book of John’s account, “offers its own individual theological interpretation of the events of this momentous period, and provides evidence for the currency of apocalyptic expectations in the late 680s in North Mesopotamia” (S. P. BROCK, “North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye’s *Rish Melle*,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987) 51–52 [repr. in S. P. BROCK, *Studies in Syriac Christianity: History, Literature and Theology* (Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1992), II]. John follows the same traditional eschatological scheme one finds in the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, beginning with the invasion of the eschatological Peoples of the North and culminating in the Second Coming of Christ. On John bar Penkaye see A. BAUMSTARK, “Eine syrische Weltgeschichte des siebten Jahrh.s,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 15 (1901) 273–80; and REININK, “Pseudo-Methodius,” 84–95 (with further bibliography).

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ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Syr Apoc Dan 36

Holy, holy, holy is the Mighty Lord ...
The whole world is full of your glory.

ܠܫܬܬܐ ܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Isa 6:3 [Pesh.]

Holy, holy, holy is the Mighty Lord;
the whole world is full of his glory.

Finally, the spelling of proper names known from the Bible suggests that the author followed the Syriac, not the Greek, Bible and hence composed his apocalypse in Syriac. Note, for example, in Syr Apoc Dan 5, the name of Asarhaddon, King of Assyria, is spelled ܐܫܪܚܕܘܢ (*srḥdwm*), the exact same spelling found in the Peshitta (2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38; also *Pseudo-Methodius* VI, 3–4). The Greek reads Ἀσσηδαν.

The close relatedness of “Vom Jungen Daniel” and the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is evident in sections of the texts that show verbatim parallels, including the final passage of “Vom Jungen Daniel:”

Syr Apoc Dan 22

“Vom Jungen Daniel” 8:14–17

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His figure is wrathful, stupendous,
 inspiring,
 and furious,
 the figure of his stature is likewise
 stupendous.
 He will appear like lightening in the sky,
 like a lamp in the camp.
 Fiery chariots and war camps will be
 with him.
 Faster than a leopard are his horses,
 and bolder than the evening wolves his
 couriers¹⁹.
 His stature is great and high
 and floats over the mountains,
 equal to the clouds in the sky.
 A host of serpents is with him,
 and camps of Indians.

14 His figure is wrathful, awe-
 inspiring,
 and furious.
 The figure of his stature is stupendous,
 and like a burning lamp among the
 war camps.
 15 Faster than a leopard are his
 horses, swifter than the evening
 wolves his couriers;
 16 his stature is exalted over the
 mountains.
 He is equal to the clouds in the sky.
 17 A host of serpents is with him

At this point “Vom Jungen Daniel” breaks off in the middle of the sentence. The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel continues with an account of the opening of the “Gates of the North” and the invasion of the Agogites and Magogites. We can conjecture that the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel has preserved a fuller version of what used to be the ending of “Vom Jungen Daniel,” though there is no way of knowing.

Numerous parallels between the two texts suggest that they are related but not identical²⁰. The opening sections of both texts sufficiently illustrate that these are two different documents. “Vom Jungen Daniel” opens with a very brief prose account in which Daniel is introduced in the third person (1:1–4). The narrative voice then shifts to the first person of Daniel, who, throughout the remainder of the text, relates the signs that will occur at the end of time. The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, by contrast, begins in chapters 1–13 with a long, “historical” prose account of Daniel that refers briefly to some of the episodes in the first half of the biblical book while adding further elaborations, none of which has a parallel in “Vom Jungen Daniel.” The

¹⁹ Hab 1:8, “Their horses are faster than leopards, swifter than the wolves of the evening.” Both renderings of this verse differ from the Peshitta, but “Vom Jungen Daniel” is considerably closer: the Peshitta reads *hrypyn mn*, “swifter” and, unlike “Vom Jungen Daniel,” does not change the subject of the second clause to *šlyhwhy*, “couriers.” The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel reads *hsypyn*, “bolder;” see the Commentary on chapter 22 below.

²⁰ Contra SLABCZYK, *Apokalipso*, 32–46, who treats the two manuscripts in his apparatus as if they preserved the same document.

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