THE ANDREAS SALOS APOCALYPSE
GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION, 
AND COMMENTARY

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ONE of the most intriguing parts of the Life of Andreas Salos, written by a certain Nicephorus in Constantinople in the tenth century it seems, is the section in which Andreas answers his friend Epiphanius’ question, when and how this world will come to an end. In a previous article I have tried to identify the models of the eschatological rulers described by Andreas Salos in this section. The purpose of the present paper is to continue the analysis of the Andreas Salos apocalypse on the basis of a critical edition of the Greek text.

The number of MSS containing the Life of Andreas Salos, or parts thereof, totals about ninety. Most of these MSS are late and of little value for the establishment of a critical edition. For the purpose of the edition of the entire Vita, I have concentrated on the MSS dating from the fourteenth century and earlier. The text published here is based on the collation of, in the first place, the following four MSS:

- **B** = Vindobonensis hist. gr. 123, s. XIV, fols. 84-90
- **D** = Vaticanus gr. 1574, s. XI–XII, fols. 147v–59
- **E** = Monacensis gr. 552, s. XIV, fols. 152v–67v
- **P** = Atheniensis 1014, a. 1071, fols. 93v–104

The latest of these MSS, B, is closely related to the oldest known witness of the Vita, an uncial fragment contained in Monacensis gr. 443 and probably dating from the second half of the tenth century. The part covered by this fragment, called A, has been published by S. Murray. An analysis of this part seems to show that the text of AB on the average is more reliable than that of the other MSS. Thus, there is reason to believe with Murray that B, in spite of its date, offers throughout a more genuine text than the other MSS. As a matter of fact, B would appear to have more authority than the other MSS even if there were no uncial fragment to support it. However, this does not mean that the text of B should be accepted without any further examination. In order to check B, I have collated it with three related MSS, namely,

- **O** = Oxon. Holkhamicus gr. 26, s. XIV–XV, fols. 85–91
- **M** = Mytilenensis gymn. 37, s. XV, fols. 127v–37v
- **Y** = Oxon. coll. Lincolniensis gr. 21, s. XVI, fols. 149v–53v.

It appears from the collation that within this group of four MSS there are two branches, consisting of BO and MY respectively, and that B alone and B and O together contain errors which have to be eliminated with the help of the other MSS. The source from which all four derive I call p. Judging

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2. Hereafter called AS.
from the consensus between A and the other MSS, β also now and then differs from what must be considered authentic. On the other hand, A sometimes has to be corrected with the help of β and the other MSS. Moreover, agreement between A and β is not always a guarantee that they reflect the original. Thus, the text of β must be submitted to continuous scrutiny, especially when A is not available, as in the section dealt with here. But, when I see no means for judging between the different variant readings of the MSS, I follow β. Its variant readings are always noted in the apparatus criticus, though obvious errors in B, O, M, and Y respectively are not.

P is interesting as being the oldest dated MS in this tradition, but it is of very uneven quality and must therefore be used with care. D's text is more stable, but, especially at the beginning of the *Vita*, it shows signs of a development toward a freer and wordier version which becomes evident in E. This MS is not only longer than the MSS just mentioned, but is also full of obvious errors. It is a very unreliable source but, as it, too, contains, besides much nonsense, readings which deserve serious attention, it cannot be neglected. Most variant readings of DEP are recorded in the apparatus criticus, but I have not found it necessary to give a complete account of them.

As the witness of a changing and growing text, E may be said to represent an intermediate stage between D and two other MSS, namely,

C = Vaticanus gr. 2010, s. XII, fols. 107–16

K = Atheniensis 2419, a. 1296, fols. 124–38.

In these MSS additions and deliberate changes are legion. They also bear clear evidence of contamination. Characteristic additions found in CK may be seen in the apparatus criticus, but other variant readings of CK have usually not been recorded.

D is the main source of the *editio princeps* of the *Vita* in *Acta Sanctorum*, reprinted by Migne, PG, 111, cols. 628–888. As an additional source the editor, Conrad Janning, used

F = Parisinus gr. 1547, a. 1286, fols. 158–247,

which, though containing an abridged version, is sometimes helpful. It is quoted here occasionally.

In principle the apparatus criticus is negative. When nothing else is said, it takes into account β (BOMY)DEP, so that, for instance, it may be inferred from the entry τῶν *om.* DE that τῶν is the reading of βP, and from the entry συντελείας: τῆς συντελείας MDEP that συντελείας is the reading of BOY. In such cases, nothing can be concluded as to the readings of CKF. They may agree with the text chosen or with the variants, but they may also have a lacuna or offer highly individual variants.

A more detailed presentation and discussion of the manuscript tradition will be found in the complete edition of the *Vita* which I am preparing.
1 Tit. peri τῆς πόλεως πρόγνωσις Επεφανίσασθαι τής συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου και τῆς ἀπολογίας τῆς πόλεως Ρ ἀρχῆς ὁδώρων καὶ περί τῆς πόλεως Κ τίτλος carent βΔΔ δραχτέο τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου scholium in marg. Ο || 2 τοῦ om. DE || 3 τῆς μᾶς ταύτην τῆς τοῦ Υ μᾶς Ρ || 4-5 ἐρωτάν τέλος: αὐτοῦ ἐρωτάν περὶ τῶν τ (finis lineae) νῦν καὶ περὶ τόπους στοιχείων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν κρεπτῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ περὶ ἄγγελων καὶ ἄρχοντων πόλεως (?) τάξις τῆς τάξεως ὑπερβεβία ἐκἀρακώ τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὅτι ποὺ αἰθητόν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ποιαν φύσιν ἤχουσαν αἱ νεφέλαι καὶ ὁ ἄρης, καὶ ἄπλωσ ὁ δύναμις πάντας λεγεῖ διά τοῦ μηκοῦ τοῦ λόγου τὴν τὰ πολλά παρισπόδον ἄλγησ πιὸ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἰρήμην ἀπαγαγόεται διεξάδεξα καὶ φησὶν Ἐπιφάνειος τὸ μακάριος παρακαλῶ σε, φημι, εἰπεῖ μοι, πῶς τὸ τέλος Ε αὐτῶν ἐρωτάν περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινῶν, λέγω δὴ στοιχείων καὶ μεταβολῶν ἄρον καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπορρήτων. τέλος παρεκάλετς αὐτῶν πῶς ἐστι τὸ τέλος C ἐρωτάν αὐτῶν πῶς περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινῶν περὶ τέλος τινών τινών (sic) καὶ μεταβολῶν ἄρον καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπορρήτων, μετὰ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους Κ || 7 πού: πῶς Ε || 8 ἱερουσαλήμ: Ὁμιτίτι Κ || 10 post leígena add. τοῦ χορήσασθαι (ωςαι C) καὶ ποῦ (ποῦ: ἐν τίνι C) τὰ σεμα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν μετακοσμοῦσιν Κ Κ || 11 om. ΒΥ || υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸς D || 14-20 περὶ καὶ κοιμίζομεν: ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ ὡς ἐπάνω πολλῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεως προκατελατίμηται μέχρι τῆς συντελείας ἀνάλυσις έθνεσ γενιτείας καὶ ἀξιόποτος ἡ γὰρ θεοτόκις ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν ἰδίων πεπρωμένων ταύτην φιλάττει (αὐτὴν ὁμολέγει C) καὶ τοῖς παρεβαινεῖς ἀὐτῆς ἄρωτος διαφυλάχθησατο. τὴν ἐθνῆς τινὰ διασώσασα τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τέλα αὐτῶν συντρίμπανες εἰς αἰσχύνα (μετα' αἰσχύνας) Αναχαρίσθησασθαι (ωςαι C), ἀπ' αὐτῆς δὲ πλουτάσθουσιν (ωςαι C) ἐθνὶ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσονται (ωςαι C). λόγος δὲ (της add. Κ) φησίται εἰπέω τὸ έθνος τῶν ἀγαρίων καὶ Ικανά πληθυντὸς μακαρία αὐτῶν κατασφαξάνσει εὐγὼ δὲ ἑκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ζωντὸν γένος ἐσελεύσεται, ἀὐτόν ἢ προστηγορία πρόκαται (πρόσκαται Κ) ἐν ἐπιτακτικάκτοι στοιχεῖ καίτοις ἐπί εὐκάρπωσιν στοιχείων ἀνακεφαλαιούμενοι (οὐκέμον codd.). ἀλλαζεύονται καὶ τὰ κάλα τῶν ἀμποτολῶν ἐπὶ ἔθρον κατασφαξάσει, οὔτω δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ ἐκ ποὺ δύο ὄρη τὴν πόλις (ὅρτικας Κ ὄρτιγγων Κ), ἂν αἱ ἀναποίηται ἀφάρς (Κ) καὶ ὁ δείκτης ἐρωτήτων τοῦ τόπου συντελείας (συγκεκομόητα Κ). οὔ γάρ (οὔς Φ) μὴ ἐξ τᾶς (ἐπι τοῦ Κ) ἅτιναν ἄνωθεντροφοῦσιν νῦντί καὶ oð' o' μὴ ἑπὶ ταύτη κατα- λειψάντων ΚΚ τὸ παρὰν δέκατον ἔθρον στοιχείων ἄπει ἐντοῦτο ἐστὶ τοῦ ζ, καὶ δηλοὶ τοὺς ἰδίους, ἄρτος τοὺς θάνατος, δὲ καὶ βασάνοις γένος κέλευσα, αὐτίνες εσελεφάσασαι καὶ πατάξασαι τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν ἄγαρ ἐν φώνῃ μαρτυρίας ιν. marg. add. sec. m. in Κ || 15 συντελείας: τῆς συντελείας MDEP || 15-16 οὔτως ὁ θεός (οὔς Φ). δὲ τις: οὔ μὲ αὐτὴν παγιδεύ- σει β || 16 αὐτῆς: αὐτὴν ΝΔ
τή Θεστόκροι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀρπάσει αὐτήν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς. Ἑθή γὰρ
πολλὰ δούσατε τὰ τέτια αὐτής καὶ τὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν συντρίγωσιν,
ἐν αλαχύνῃ ἀναχωροῦντα, δόματα δὲ καὶ πλούτων πολῶν παρ᾿αὐτής
κομιζόμενα.

"Ἀκούσοντε καὶ καὶ περὶ ἄρχης ὁδίνων καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ
κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις ἡμέρας ἀναστήσει κύριος
ὁ θεὸς βασιλέα ἀπὸ τενίας καὶ παρεύρεται ἐν δικαιοσύνη πολλή καὶ
πάντα πόλεμον παύσει καὶ τοὺς τένητας πλουτίσει καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἐπὶ
τοῦ Ναὸ τῇ ἐπὶ. Οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τὰς θείαν | πονηρίας ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
ἀνέσεως οὖτος παρεκάσατε ἔστων γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας
αὐτῶν πλούσιοι σφόδρα καὶ ἐν εὐρήν ἄπειρο 'πρόγοντες καὶ πήνωτες,
γαμοῦντες καὶ ἐγκαμίζοντες" καὶ ἐν ἁρμὸνι πολέμου καὶ ἀμερίμνη
γῆνις ἐπεκακεῖον οἱ Καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι πόλεμον συγκυότης τῆς
στάθαι αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς καὶ ζηράννας εἰς ἐργαλεῖα
gητονικά, διὰ τὴν γῆν ἐγράζονται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δόθει τὸ
πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀναστάλασας καὶ ταπεινώσας τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀγαγ·
ἀργυρίσθησαι γὰρ αὐτούς κύριος διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ
εἶναι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν χολῆς Σοδώμων καὶ πικρὰς Γομόρρας, καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο ἡράξασθαι τὸν βασιλέα Ρωμαίων ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξοδοθέρει
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν πυρὶ ἀναλώσει, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ παραδε-
δομένοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρισμῷ βιαστάτῳ παραδοθήσονται καὶ
ἄποκατασταθήσεται ὁ Τιττίλλικὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ρωμαίων. Κομίζε
δὲ καὶ Ἡ Ἀγιοττότα τὰ πάντα αὐτῆς. Καὶ θησεῖ τὴν χείρα αὐτῆς τὴν
δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἡμερώσει τὰ ξανάθα γένη καὶ ταπεινώ
cτοὺς ἔξωθροι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σκήπτρον αὐτοῦ κρατή
σεις
Τῇ τρίακοντα δύο. Τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἦτε τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κήμνον καὶ δόματα οὐ λήγεται, ἄλλῳ ἀνοιχτησθεὶς νισοῦς ἀγίους καὶ ἀνιακοδομήσει συντετριμένα χασιαστήρια. Καὶ δίκη οὐκετί ἦταν, οὔτε ὁ δίδικος οὔτε ὁ δίδικόμενος· φόβοι γὰρ ποιήσει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωφρονεῖ καὶ τοὺς παρανοοῦντας τῶν μεγιστάνων ταπεινώσει καὶ βανδάρω παραδώσει. Ἔν τοῖς καιροῖς ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνης πάσας ἐστιν ἐν οἰδοθητοῦ τότερ κρυπτόμενος νεώτερος οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ πτώσα ἂν σκορπίζει τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλουτήσει ἄπηδείκτης οἱ μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσταται ὡς βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ πένητες ἔσταται ὡς ἄρχοντες. Καὶ ἦστατο αὐτὸς ξῆλος μέγας, καὶ τοὺς ἱουδαίους κατατιθήμεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεί ταύτῃ Ἰσαμπλήτης οὐχ ἠφεθήσεται. Καὶ αὐτὸς δῆσει μεγάλως τήν πόλιν καὶ οὖν ἦστιν ὁ λυρίλος ἢ ὁ κιθαρίλος ἢ ὁ τραγωδών ἢ τι αἰσχρόν πράγμα ἐργαλείμονες· πάντας γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους μισήσει καὶ ἔζολοθρεύσει εἰς πόλεως κυρίον. Καὶ ἦσται πολλὴ χαρὰ τότε καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνατελεῖ πλοῦσια. Καὶ ἦσται ὁ τρόπον ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νόε ἐν ἡμέρας εὐφραίνομενος μέχρις οὐ ἠθελεν οὐκοτικολογοῦν.
70-71 η σαπρία ... κυρίου: η σαπρία της τείχης ώσ· θεβαλευμένου (sic) Ε η δυσωσία της αμυντικής δυναμένης βεβαιωμάτως τείχης εν τῇ ὁσραίαν Κ | η δυσωσία της εμπιστοσύνης εν τῷ ὁσραίαν Κ | 74-75 οἱ ἄνθρωποι: ἄνθρωποι: ΔΕ | 75 τοῦ πατάγου: τῶν πατάγων β | 75-77 θεραπεύω ... γεννᾶται: ἀπογέννηται Κ om. C | 75-76 θεραπεύω ... παραθετοῦνται: φέροντας παραθέτονται Ρ | 76 ἀποθανόνται: ἀποθανόντες Ε ἀποθανόντα Ρ | 77 τότε om. β: γῆ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ΚΚ | 78 τε καὶ: καὶ τοῦ β τε καὶ τοῦ Ε αὐτοῦ om. Ρ | 79 ἀντε παπατεθῆται add. γεννᾶται γάρ λυμὸς ἐπὶ τήν γῆν ὡς ἐπετευνά τοῦ ἄνθρωπος (δόξας add. Κ) ἀπὸ τῆς περισσοῦ τῷ μη ἱκανεί (ἴκανον εἰς μήτε τήν περισσότερον τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου τοῦ μη ἱκανοῦ Κ) μήτε τῇ περισσότερον τῷ μη ἱκανοῦ Κ. κατά (δι' add. Κ) κατά γε καὶ add. Κ) οὗ ἡ λύμα καὶ σκοτεινός καὶ σκότως ἡ λύμα διὰ τοῦ χειρόςληθος ἄνθρωπος καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πετοῦμεν ἐπὶ τήν γῆν ... τά ἡ δόρ καί τά σάνα (πάς Κ) νήσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρευς τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ φόρον τοῦ σεβασμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁπατίας (φόρο add. C) μετακινεῖται, τότε οἱ λεκαί τοῦ θεοῦ μετά τῶν καταλείθυτων ἑνώτερος καὶ ἐγκράπτων φύσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὅρα καὶ τὰς στέλεσε καί εἰς (ἐς om. Κ) τὰς σχεμαῖς τῶν πετρῶν ΚΚ | 82 γὰρ D τοιούτους Ε οὖν καὶ Ρ | 80 σκειπτρον: σκειπτρόν τῆς ἄνωθεν ΔΕ ἀβέβηκεν τῷ πυρί (πυρὶ om. Ε): χοίριον τῷ ἐξοτέρον ΚΚ | 81 Ρώμης τῆς Ὀραιοῦς πώλητι Ε τῇ πρεσβυτέρη τῷ Ρώμη ΚΚ | Ὀραιός: Ὀραιός Ρ 'Ῥήξ' Ρ 'Ῥήξ' ἦν ἐν Ἄρσενοι Ε Ἄρσενοι Κ Αρσενεῖον Κ Αρσενεῖον ΚΚ | Ἄρσενεῖον Δ | 82 Στροβίλῳ ΒΜΥ Στροβίλῳ ΟΚΣ Καρπούση κατασκευάζει: Καρπός πώλητι Κ Καρπούση Κ Καρπούση Κ Καρπούση Κ | Καρπός πώλητι Κ | Καρπούση Κ | 83 αναπαυόντως: αὐλαθείῃ αναπαυόντως Ε | 84 λαλοὶ add. Κ | 85 αὐτοῖς add. Κ | 86 οὗτος add. Κ | 87 αὐτοῦ add. Κ | 88-89 ἐφεξής ... γεφραί: ἀφρότητος θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄγων καὶ ἀλληλοὺς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ὁσραίων. ἀνήκει γάρ τὰς μεσαράς βίβλους τῶν Ἐλλήνων (τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὰς μεσαράς βίβλους Κ) ΚΚ | 89-102 ἀπὸ ... συντριμμός φωβορὸς om. β | 89 ἀπὸ ... διάβολος: καὶ διωξεῖ τὴν ἤπαθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ΚΚ τοῦ Σατανᾶ Ε | 90 νοοῦς τοῦ νοοῦ τῶν ἄγων ΚΚ ἠλοῦς D


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92 κατακόπτην ... ποίησις: συγκυκλώστε το κοινό του λαού ΚΧ (locus dubius)

860 B

λαοῦ ομ. E | 96–99 τότε ... καταγγέλλει: τότε (γάρ add. K) τοὺς κατακόπτοντας εἰς ταῖς (τοῦ C) νήσοις ἐξαιρεῖται εἰς τὰ τῆς Θρακίας καὶ Μακεδονίας (καὶ Στρυμόνος add. K) μέρη μεταγάγει (μετάγαγεν C). ἦσαν δὲ οἱ νῆοι εἰς ἠρμόσωσαν, στῆλη τακτικοῦ διεβαίνουσι καὶ ἑρμόζοντες καταγόντα. Ἡ ἐσοφαί δὲ τῷ καρπῷ τεκτόντες υπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ φοβορώτατοι καὶ σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ συμπτώματα πόλεως μεγάλῶν. Ἀναστήσεται γάρ ἐθνὸς ἐπὶ θυσίαν καὶ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν· καὶ ἐσται συντριμμὸς φοβορὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἠλιάμης καὶ στενοχωρία· ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Τότε φανήσεται πῦρ ἀτρ. ὧν ἀγαθὸν ἄστρατος ἄδειαν, οἵτινες (ἐν) ἀπειλῇ ἐπισκιαίνον πάν τὸ πρόσωπόν της γῆς, καὶ πεπεινών συνοχαί πολλαί· καὶ ἄρεσιν πονηρῶς τότε πλησίασθαι ἣ γῆ δικαίων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν σεβομένων τῶν παραπτώμασιν. Πάντα γάρ ταῦτα ἄρχη ὄνομι καθεστάτησαι.

860 C

Τελευτάσωσι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀθέου σκηνήτρου τούτου, τότε ἐρχεῖται ὁ Ἀθλιότατος ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου κράτους, όν φασίν ἐν τῇ δωδέκα τετελείωμεν τῆς
«Bασιλείας τοῦ οὐκακοῦ. Οὗτος ἄγαθος καὶ βασιλεύει εἰς ἐληφήνη καὶ ἀγίων οίκους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπτωθέντας ἀναστήσει καὶ ὡς ἄγαθος ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐφαπλωθήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη κυρίου ἐπ’. αὐτοῦ ἑν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ καὶ ἐσται χαρὰ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις.»

Παρεδόθεσα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐλευθέρωσε τὸ σκῆπτρον. 

860 C

860 D

861 A

110 καὶ ὁ τῶν (τοῦ Κ), πρὸ ΕΚΚ συμπτωθέντας: πτωθήσατε Π συμπτωθέντας Ε ἀναστήσετε: οἰκοδομεῖτε αντι τῶν πρὸ Δ

115 ἐπετρήψετε τε καὶ ταῖς (τοῖς Ε) νήσος τῶν λαῶν αὐτῶν πάντα (πάντα ΚΕΚ) ΕΚΚ || 112–13 ἐφαπλωθήσατε (ἐπ.-ΔΕ) . . . οἰκουμένην:

120 ἐνυπνόησθε ἐπὶ παντὶ θείει ΣΚ || 113 ἐπ’. αὐτοῦ βΔ Π δι'. αὐτοῦ Ε πρὸ ἀγαλλίασις αντι τῶν σκῆπτρων Δ |

125 διοικεῖν ἀλλήλων πόλεων καθ’ ἀυτούς || Ἰσχυρὸν. Καὶ ἐπάρας ὁ πρῶτος εἰσέβαλεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίκην, λέγων αὐτῇ: 'Θεσσαλίκην, ὑπήρκεις σοι τοὺς ἐξήρως σου, καὐχήματα γὰρ ἀγίων σὺ εἰ καὶ ἡγιασθέν σε ὁ
861 A

Τὸ δὲ δεύτερος μείρας ἑκστρατεύει καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων, καὶ στρατεύεται τοὺς ἑρείπας καὶ μοιάζοντας μαίνει δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ ἐπάρας ἔθετο ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμφαλον τῆς κτίσεως (τινὸς δὲ φασί ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείαν) κάθετο ἕκαστος τοὺς ἐταῖρους αὐτοῦ.

150 Τὸ δὲ τρίτος ἐξελέστηκαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς Φρυγίαν, Καρίαν, Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ ἐλεύσεται εἰς Σύλλαιον, τάδε λέγων: 'Σύλλαιον κληθήσεται καὶ οὐ συλληφθήσεται οὐδὲ παραληφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἷδον.' Καὶ ταύτα ἐρήμως ἐλεύσεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν λαίῳ ἄσυνθετῷ, τουτέστιν μὴ δυντὶ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ.

861 C

Μετὰ γούν τὸ συναχθῆναι αὐτοῦς κατεναντὶ ἀνθλῆρον, τότε κροτήσασιν πόλεμοι μέγαν καὶ φοβηρὸν καθέαυτος καὶ συγκυψοῦντας ἀνθλῆρος μελής ὁσπερ ἐν μακέλλῳ τὰ πρόβατα. Καὶ ἀποκτανθήσουσιν οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, καὶ γενομένης κοπῆς χυσθῆσαι αἷμα ᾿Ρωμαίοις ὡσεὶ ἀφόροτος βροχῆς, καὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν οὐ καταληφθήσεται οὐδὲ εἰς. Τότε συγκερασθῆσαι θὰ θάλασσα εἰς τὸν τόπον ἑκεῖνῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀιματός αὐτῶν σταθῶσι δῦδεκα. Καὶ λυπῶντι πᾶσα γυνὴ χήρα, ὡστε ἐπτάσα

γυναικές ἔτητσοςιν ἔνα ἄνδρα ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἐφήσουσιν, μέχρις ἄν
861 D ἀπὸ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἄνθρωποις ἔσονται ὡς χορίοι ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἄσωτής
μὴ αἰσθάνομενοί. Τότε μακάριοι καὶ τρισακάριοι οἱ ἐν δρέπι | και
864 A στπλαίου’ τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύουσιν, ὅτι τὰ δημοσίως γίνομεν κακά οὐ
θεᾶσονται, ἀλλ’ἐσονται ἠλίος ἐπὶ θύραις ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος, οἱ γυναίκατατοὶ ἄρενες οἱ μάλλοντες διὰ Χριστοῦ θέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ
δαίμονος τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ.
Τότε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνδρα ἐπίσημον ἄλλα τάντας τῆς ἀπολαίεσις
ἐναστήσετα γυναικῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου αἰχμών | μᾶνιον καὶ 
155 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταυτί. Καὶ αὐτή βασικέττα, τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ,
864 B μάγισσα καὶ ἀρρενωθημανίας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῆς ἐσονται
ἀλλήλων ἐτύπωλαι καὶ σφαγαι κατὰ ρύμην καὶ κατὰ οἰκίαν, καὶ
160 σφάζομεν ὑλίς πατέρα καὶ πατὴρ ὑλὸν καὶ μήτηρ θυγάτερα καὶ
θυγάτηρ μητέρα καὶ ἄδελφος ἄδελφων καὶ φίλος φίλων, καὶ ἦστατα κακία
pολλῇ καὶ μῖσος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταυτί καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄγιαις ἐκκλησίαις ἐναθεὶ
165 ἀσέλγεια καὶ ἀσωτία καὶ αἰμομείζια καὶ κιθάραι καὶ δριχθεῖς καὶ
πραγμαθείας στατουκια καὶ χειλευματικα καὶ παιγνία, ἀπέρ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε
ἐδέν οὔτε ἱδεῖν δύναται ἔως τοῦ καιροῦ ἱκείνου. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ βασίλεις ἡκείν | ἡ ἀκάθαρτος, θεὰν ἐκατόν κρατοῦσα καὶ θέε μαχομένη καὶ
170 προαιρομένη μετ’ αὐτῶν παλαιάσατο, κόπορ μιᾶ τὰ ἀγία τυσισ-
τηρία, καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης αὐτῆς ἤπατοι μιᾶς πάντα τὸν
λαὸν. Καὶ στρέφει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἕλλας καὶ ἄρπασαι πάν
σκέυος ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ συναφθῇς τὰς τιμὰς μορφώσεις | τῶν ἄγιων καὶ
τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ καὶ τὰ ἁγία εὐαγγέλια καὶ ἤπατα ἄποτα οὖν
καὶ ἄπαν ἔγγραφον βιβλίων καὶ ποιήσει σωρῶν μέγαν καὶ 
180 βαλοῦσι πῦρ πάντα καταστροφάσει. Καὶ τὰ ἐκκλησίας καταστρέψει καὶ ἐστη-
864 C

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145–55 μέχρις . . . ἢζομιν ομ. P || 154 ἄν: ἄν Ε || 156 ἄνθρωποις: ἄνθρωποις
απεί αικταλεύθερας ἐνθευθηκαί καὶ ΔΡ ὅς: ὅτε Ε || 159 τὸ μέγα ἔλεος:
τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως μέγιν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ΚΚ || 162 τις περὶ τῆς ἀσορίας καὶ
ἀνόμου γυναικοῦ Ε τῶς διὰ: τῶς δίδα Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε Ε
160 ἐναςτηθείσας ΒΟ Εκ μῶν: ἐκ τοῦ πόντου αἰχμῶν μᾶθαι Α τοῦ
πόντου αἰχμῶν Υ αἰχμῶν μᾶθαι Τ τοῦ πόντου ΔΕ αἰχμῶν τοῦ πόντου Ρ
ποιμνῶν μᾶθαι τοῦ αἰχμήτου απὸ τοῦ πόντου ΔΚ || 164 οὔτε: οὔτε Δ ||
165 μᾶθας: μάθας Ο ἀρρενωθημανίας: ἡς ΔΕΡ φανεροῦ Κ αὐτῆς: τοῦ
tῆς Δ || 166 ἀλλήλων ἐτύπωλαι: α ἐπιβουλοῦτοι Α ἐπιβουλοῦτοι ΔΕ σφαγαι:
σφαγαι ΕΡ φαγαμοὶ Δ || 167 σφαγαῖ: σφαγάνοι ΕΦ σφαχίζει P || 169 μῖσος:
καὶ φόνον ἀναβηθήσει καὶ φόνοι add. Ε εἰς τοῦ νοίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνοι ἀναβηθή-
tαι add. ΚΚ πόλεις: χόρον β γόνας om. P Δ ἐνδοθ: ἐνδόθεν Ε τότε
ἐσονται ἐνδόθεν Δ || 170 ἀσέλγειες scripsi: ἀσέλγειαι vel -ειαι vel -αιαιvadd. ||
172 ἀναστηθαι P Ε Ε 173 ἡ ἀκάθαρτος: ἡς ἀκάθαρτος Ρ κρατοῦσα: κρατοῦσαν ΟΥ
νομίζειςις ΟΥ νομίζεσι κε Κ 173–74 μαχομένη . . . παλαιάσατος πολλήμερος Ρ Ε
173 καί: η καὶ Ε om. Υ || 174 κόπος: καὶ κόπος ΥΥ καὶ γαρ τοῦτο Κόπο
ΔΕιναι Υ μιναι Ρ μιναί Ρ ΒΟ || 175 τῆς αἰσχύνης . . . μιᾶν: πλὴν τὸ σῶμα
αὐτῆς 98βετε καὶ μαλακάν (μαλακάν Κ) Κ . ἤπαται μιᾶς οἶνος ||
176 ἄπων: ἤπαται β πᾶσας ΚΚ βιβλίων: βιβλίων β βιβλίων Λραφ ΡΕ βιβλίων
τὸ ολοθήποτο γράφμα πνευματικόν συνεπίθεμεν (λέγε -μάνου) Ε Λράφ (sic) K
μέγαν scripsi (etiam C): μεγάλης BΔΕΡ μέγα Κ || 180 καταστροφῆς πάντα
ΓΕΡ post καταστρέψει add. μέχρι ιδάνως Ε ||
Λέιμανα ἄγιων τοῦ ἀπαλείψας καὶ οὖχ εὐρήσει· ὁ θεὸς γάρ ἀσφάτῳ δυνάμει μεταγράψει αὐτᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ τότε ἡ τάλαινα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας καταστρέψει τῆς τράπεζας, καὶ τὸ πάν τοῦ ναοῦ διαβρύσασα στίχεται κατὰ ἀναστάλης φράσις τομήμας καὶ ἐρεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὠγιστόν λέγουσα· 'Μὴ καθὸδευτηκα, ὁ λεγόμενος θεός ἀπαλείψαι σου τὸ δύναμι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς,' Ἰδοὺ ποιήσω καὶ ἀνέρχομαι αὐτῷ καὶ καταστρέψω τὸν καθεδρίαν τοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκδέχεται μικρὸν καὶ χαλῶ τὸ στερέωμα καὶ ἀνέρχομαι αὐτῷ καὶ θέασομαι τῆς ὁ διανεύτερος καὶ δύσωμαι τὶς ἡ ἱσχύς ἐν θείᾳ καὶ θείᾳ.' Καὶ ταῦτα λαλήσει ἡ γάγγαρια, καὶ πείθεις καὶ θάρεις, καὶ ύψιν εἰμιπόσπος καὶ λίθους πεῦτοσσά· ἐδάφα λέγειν αὐτῆς τὰ δεινότερα.

Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἑκείνῳ κλινεῖς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ τὸ δόξον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀκρατὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβερὴ δυνάμει τῆς ἱσχύς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνη τὴν χείρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταῦτην καὶ δράξηται αὐτῆς ἱσχύροςς. Καὶ τῷ δρέπανῳ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ὑποτέμῃ τῶν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐρεῖ τοῖς ὃδασιν τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παστάσασθαι αὐτὴν τοῦ καταπελτείν αὐτήν· ἄπερ φοβερὸς ἐπανοίγεται τάχις σφοδρὸς καὶ ἤχῳ φοβερωτάτῳ ἀναβραζόμενος. Καὶ τὸ ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς ἀναστάσει ἄπερ τῆς γῆς καὶ αἰτέι αὐτήν εἰς υψὸς ως μῦλον γυροβαλλόμενον, ὅστε τοὺς ἐν μέσῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐν φρίκῃ πολλῇ βοϊν τὸ οὖα. Καὶ πάλιν ταχεύς κατενεχθείς αὐτῆς κάτωθεν τὰ ανάβραζον ὃδατα σφοδρὸς κατακλύσαντα καὶ κατακλύσαντα τὸν φοβερὸν καὶ ἀχανείς πελάγει τῆς ἄφυσου παραπτέμψωσιν. Ὄπως οὖν, τέκνον μου· Ἕπειραν, ἡ πόλις ἦμων συντελεθήσεται, καὶ ἄπερ σοὶ ἐφηκαί διδεῖν ὅτι μέλλοναι συμβαίνειν τὸν κόσμον δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα εἰσα. ἄπερ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐφηκήν εἰςαρχὴν ὁδίνων.

Εἶτα μετὰ παραλέγειν τῆς πόλεως τὸ τηκυκάτα τὰ τῆς συντελείας συνιστάται. Τινὲς γάρ φασιν ὅτι μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς τῶν ἔνθιν
210 LENNART RYDÉN

βασιλείας μελέτησε τῷ θεῷ τὰ θεοσκητήρια Ἰσραήλ ἐξαναπαύσασθαι πρὸς τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐβδομοῦ αἰῶνος, φέροντες εἰς μαρτυρίαν τὸ ὑπὸ Ἰσαίαν εἰρημένον. ‘Καὶ ἦσαν εἰς ταῖς ἐσθάνταις ἡμέραις ἀρεί κύριος ὁ θεός σημεῖον ἐν τῇ συμπληρώσει τῶν ἑυόνων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ διεσκορπισμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔθεσιν καὶ συνάξας τοὺς ἀπολογομένους Ἰσραήλ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ ὡς τῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς γῆς Αιγύπτου’, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου εἰρημένον: ‘Οταν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἑυόνων ἦξεν, τότε πᾶς Ἰσραήλ σωθήσεται.’ Καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν οὕτω λέγουσιν καὶ ἱσοφωνεύοντες, ‘Ἰππόλυτος δὲ ὁ μάρτυς ἐφησεν ὅτι τῇ ἐπιδήμῳ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρῶτοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πλανηθήσονται καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιμαρτυρομένος αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔλεγεν ὅτι ‘Ἐγώ ἤλθον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετε με· ἄλλος ἔλευσεν ἐν τῷ ἱδρῷ ὀνόματι, κἀκεῖνον ἠλευσθείς.’ Ὡτε μὲν οὖν συνάξας αὐτούς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνταποδώσατο, ὡς τοῦ διασκορπισμοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ ἀπόκτησας πρὸς φασιν ἐν τῷ τέως ὑπαύτων ἐκκύψατο· ἐμελλόν γὰρ λέγειν ἐν τῇ κρίσει ὅτι ‘Ἡ ἐπέσυναχθα ἡμᾶς εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ἡμῖν ἀπεκατέστησας, πάλιν ἐν ἑπιστεύσεως τῷ Χριστῷ, τῇ ἀφορμῇ τοῦ φθόνου ἐξεσάντως τοῦ ἑνεκεί προτυγχάνει τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς,’ εἶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔποιησεν· οὔ δὲ συναχθῆναι καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπολαβθῆναι καὶ εἰν ἑι ἑαυτῆς ἀπιστίας μείναις, τόσο σωθήσωσιν, ἐνθέοις τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἐξερχομένου ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν; ὦ καὶ πιστεύειν μέλλουσι κατὰ τὴν φοβερὰν φωνήν τοῦ ιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· θεὸς γὰρ οὐ γενεῖται ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ εἰτὼν· ‘Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἡ ἀλληλεία. Τέως δὲ ἐν τῷ συναξάς αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς ἁπολογίας ταύτης αὐτοῦ ἀποστρεφθείη καὶ ὁ Παύλος σωθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ ἐφηκεν οὖν ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίων κολάσεως ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ταυτών ἐπεξ ἐπιδήμωσες τῆς ἐπὶ ἁλλοτρίας καὶ τοῦ ὑπενήμμου τῶν ἑθῶν καὶ τῆς ἀφάτου αἰσχύνης· ὅτι ἐν ταυτήτη ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χλευαζόμενος τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἐν ἑθών καρμωδούμενοι χρηστατίζοντες σωθήσονται τῆς δουλείας καὶ τοῦ
868 B

"Επιφάνιος εἶπεν: "Αφες ταύτα, φιλήστατε πάτερ; τούτοι μοι ἀνάγγειλον καὶ γάρ τινες φασίν αὐτὸν τόν θεούν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλ' ἄδορατρό δυνάμει κρεμασθήσαι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁερὸς." 'Ο δὲ δίκαιος ἔφη: "Τί λέγεις, τέκνου; Πάσης τῆς πόλεως βυθιζόμενης αὐτή πῶς μένεις; Τίς δὲ ταύτης δήμονος; Μή γάρ ὁ θέος ἐν χειροποιητοῖς νοοῖς κατοικεῖ; Οὐ μέντοι ψυχής ὁ λόγος· μένει δὲ μόνος δ' ἐν τῷ φόρῳ στόλος, καθότι κέκτηται τοὺς τιμίους ἄνθρωπος. Αὐτὸς

868 C

"Εσται δὲ τὸ πένθος αὐτῆς | ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. Ἀπὸ γονίων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων δοθήσεται τὸ βασιλείον 'Ῥώμη καὶ τῷ Σιλαίῳ καὶ τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ, τοῦ τέλους ἥδη ἐγγυαστόν. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἄτονα τὰ πράγματα γενήσονται καὶ δεινότερα καὶ ὀλθείρα· τὸ γάρ ἔτος ἑκέντο ἀποφράξεi κύριος ὁ θεός τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐν ἑδολεί ἀδικείσθαι δυο ἁμα τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν, τὰ λεγόμενα ῥυπαρὰ ἐθνί, τὰ βαδελυρώτερα πάσιν συγχαίσαι | καὶ δυσσοφίας, καὶ διακαρπτηκοῦσαι ἐν πάσα ἐδὲ τῇ γῇ τῇ υπ' ωιρανοῦ, σάρκας ἄνθρωπων ὠνασάτοιτες καὶ τὸ αἷμα πίνοντες, κόνος καὶ μίας καὶ βατράχους τρύγωντες καὶ πᾶσαν ῥυπαραβομενοῦ τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ἣδουν. Καὶ οὖαὶ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ πάση ἐν ἢ οὗτοι πορεύ·


868 D

69 A

265
σονται. Τάς μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἐκείνας μὴ ἐστω χριστιανόν, κύριε, εἰ δυνατόν· ἀλλὰ οὔτε στηρίζει. Τότε οἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖνα σκοτασθήσονται δίκην θηρνοῦσαν εἰ τῷ ἄρει διὰ τὸ μύσος, ὅπερ τὰ βαδελύρα θηνὶ ἐργάσαντο. Ὁ ἥλιος εἰς αἷμα γεννηται βλέπτων τὰ βεβελύγματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμιλλώμενα. Ἡ σελήνη καὶ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα σχολάσονται.

Φάγονται γὰρ καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς. Τὰ θυσιαστήρια κύθρων οἴκους ἐργάσαντο καὶ τὰ τίμια σκέπη ἐν μισάσατι χρησάται. Τότε οἱ κατασκοινοῦσιν Ἀσίαν φευγότως εἰς τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων (πενθήσει γὰρ Ἀσία τὰς νῆσους καὶ αἱ νῆσοι τὴν Ἀσίαν) οὐ γὰρ πορεύονται εἰς αὐταῖς οἱ λαοί, ἀλλὰ συνάντοινες μερόσωμα ἐξακοσίας εξήκοντα.

686 B

Τότε ἐγερθῆσαι οἱ Σατάνοι ὁ Ἀντίχριστος ἐκ φυλῆς τοῦ Δαν (οὐ μέντοι ἱδία δυνάμει ἄνθρωπος γενέμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, ὀλλά πλάσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σκέυος αἰσχρόν καὶ ὑποπαρόν, ὅπως πληρωθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν) καὶ ἀπολυθῆσαι εἰς τὸν τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐν ὧς αὐτὸν ὁ διεσπάστης Χριστὸς ἐκέκηθε γενέμενος ἐδέσμησεν, καὶ εἰσελέβασε εἰς τὸ σκέυος τὸ πλασθὲν αὐτῷ. Καὶ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀνθρωπισθῆναι καὶ βασιλεύσαντος, τότε ἀρθηκαί ἐπιδεικνύσαν τὴν πλάνην αὐτοῦ, καθὰ φησὶν Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος. Τότε ἐγείρει τόλμητεν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων' νήσους δὲ εἶναι, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσαίας, αἱ εἰς ἔθνων ἐκκλησία. Ἡλιοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἔσως καὶ τοῦ ὑλοῦ τῆς βροντῆς.
869 C ἐξελθόντων | καὶ προκηρυζόντων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποπλάνησιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δεύτεραν ἔλευσιν ὀλίγοι πιστεύσουσι καὶ συνήσουσιν. Πικρὸς δὲ τατεινώσει τοὺς τότε χριστιανοὺς, μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς θλίψεως καὶ ὀλεθρών οὗτοι ὁ μάσταιος ἄγαν. Τότε εἰ τῇ οὖ πλανητῇ μέγας καὶ φοβερός φίλος Χριστοῦ φανεραίται· μακάριοι γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι, ἀλλὰ γε πλέον οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντι-
χριστοῦ μαρτυρήσας μέλλοντες, μακάριοι καὶ τρισμακάριοι· μεγίστη γὰρ δόξα αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται εἰς ἀπελευθέρωσίν αὐτῶν. Πρῶτον δὲ μέλει ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἡλιαν, εἶτα τὸν Ἐνώχ, καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς βροντῆς ὕλον, καὶ τότε τοὺς μὴ πιστεύουσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄνακτος πικρὸς ἀφανείης.

872 A Τότε ἐσται μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τοῦ δεσπότου πόλεμος φοβερὸς· ἔτην γὰρ γνώσῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔχειν, μανία δεινή πρὸς οὐρανόν ἀντιπαρέχει, ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν καὶ κτύπων ποιῶν, ὡστε τῷ ἥχῳ τῆς βοήθει τῆς ὑπ’οὐρανοῦ δονείσας καὶ περιπέχεσθαι φοβερός· καὶ τίς τότε οὐ δαμασθήσεται καὶ πτηθεί, τέκνων γυναίκατοι; Μακάριοι τότε οἴτινες οὐ σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ ἀληθείᾳ θεῷ ἡμῶν. μακάριοι τότε οἴτινες οὐκ ἀποσχοιμοῖσαν·<εαυτοῦ> ἐκ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας, μακάριοι τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἁγάπην αὐτοῦ ἀποθάνουσι καὶ ἐλέγξουσι κατὰ πρόσωπον τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποπλάνησιν, μακάριοι δοὺς κατὰ τὸν δράκοντος ἀνδρυθύσονται καὶ γενναίοις τὰ δεινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξουν, οἱ φωστήρες οἱ ὀράοι, οἱ φιλτάται οἱ μαγγαρίται, οἱ καρδίαι οἱ γυναῖκες | καὶ τερτιναὶ καὶ μεληροῦν, καὶ οὗς εἰς πατέρα καὶ κόλπον καὶ ἄγων πνεύμα, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα τῆς Ἡωσίου πιστεύ-
σοντος.

872 B

287 ἐξελθόντων | (ὅσων Π) καὶ om. E καὶ τῆς | τῆν τε D τῆν θεὸς P τῆν E | 288 Χριστοῦ om. DEP δεύτεραν ante τῆν τοῦ κυρίου tr. E post θλευσὰν add. διαφημι-
σάντων P | 288-89 δλοίου ... συνήσουσι om. DEP | 290 ante ἀναπνοῆς add. αὐτῶν DEP | 291 δλοίου | 291 οὗτος | 292-293 τοὺς δεσπότους καὶ πιστεύσουσι om. DEP | 293 πλοῖον om. δ | 293 μαρτυρεῖς μέλλοντες: μαρτυρήσαντες (ἡμι om. add. E) οἱ ἐλέ-
Ταύτα τοῦ μακάριου καθεδωμένου καὶ λέγοντος, ἦσαν Ἰππαφιάνιον δέ ἀκούοντος τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐδρήνει εἰκ βαθέων στενάξων οὐ καὶ γάρ, καθὼς πολλάκις ἐξηρτίζετο, ὅσον συμπαθής ἐχρήματι. Ἐτα λέγει πρὸς τὸν δικόν: "Δεῦμαί σου, εἴπε μοι, πῶς μέλεις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπαλειφθῆναι ἢ ἀνθρωπότητι καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις;" "Εφη δ' οὗτος: "Τοὺς μὲν τὰ μυσταρὰ ἐθνή μέλλουσιν ἀναλῶσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πυκνότατοις πολέμοις βασικότατοι, τοὺς ὑπολοίπους δὲ πιστοὺς οὐ «Ἀντίχριστος διὰ κύριον ἀναλῶσαι. Όσιο δέ τῷ «Ἀντίχριστῳ πιστεύσουσι ἀποστελεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς θηρία, πετομένα κατὰ τὸν ἱερόπληθον, ἔχοντα ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν βούκεντρα ἱοῦ μεμεστωμένα, καὶ δοὺς οὐχ ἔχοντο τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σφαγῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶν καὶ ἀκέραιον ἐν τοῖς μετώποις αὐτῶν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων κεντρούμενοι καὶ λῶς χαλεπῶς ὁλυνυώμενοι μαναστὸ πτικρῶς τελευτάσθηκαν. Τότε οἱ τοῖς ἄγιοι ἐν ἐρμαίνεσι λαβόντων τὸν «Ἀντίχριστον εὐφημήσαται, ἀπαντῶν ὁ κύριος πνευμάτων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἄγια τόλης Σιῶν ἀδροίσας οὕτω εἰσὶν ὁ γραφέντες ἔς ὑπὸν.

Τοῦ «Ἀντίχριστον ἦν ταπαγθέντος καὶ | σὺν τοῖς διάμοιροι αὐτῶν συλληφθέντος καὶ ὑπὸ πυρών ἀγγέλους δεξιομένοις καὶ φυλασσόμενοι τῷ κριτηρίῳ παριστάσαται καὶ ἀπαθαναθῆναι διὰκεκριμένου ἐν τῷ πυρὸς οὐ ἀπόλεσθαι, τότε οὐκ ἢ σάλπτης ἢχησεῖ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἀναστάσθησιν ἀφήραντο. "Επειτα οἱ Ζωντες, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Παύλος, εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου ὁ περιπληθύνων, ἄλλαγεν ἐν ῥήτῃ ὁμολογούμενῳ ἀπὸ φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθονίαν ἄμα σὺν αὐτῶι ἄρταγιθήσαται ἐν νεφελίας εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς άφρα. "Όταν οὖν ίδῃ τὶς τὰ βαδελυρὰ θένα ἐσθελησθῆναι εἰς τῶν κόσμων, ὁ τέκνον, τότε γνωσκότητά ὅτι ἐτί θύρας πάντα καὶ μετὰ μικρῶν ὁ κριτής ἐπελεύσεται."

Ταύτα πάντα ἔδαρσεν ὁ μακάριος τῷ Ἰππαφιάνῳ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἀγρυπνούσων αὐτῶν, παρούσῃ καὶ τῆς ἔμης ταπεινότητος. Τοῦ δὲ ἕξυλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας κρούσαντος ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰππαφιάνιος ἔκεισε, ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καθαύτου προσφηγήσετο.
Once when Epiphanius and the blessed Andreas had an opportunity, Epiphanius took him to his house so that they could spend at least the following week at ease. As they sat alone Epiphanius began to ask the blessed man: "Please, tell me how this world will come to an end and when, and what 'the beginning of the birth pangs' is and how men will know that it is 'near, at the very gates.' By what signs will the coming of the end be proved? How will this our city, the New Jerusalem, pass away? What will become of the holy churches which are here, and the crosses and the precious icons and the books and the relics of the saints? Please, explain it to me, for I know that it was about you and men like you that the Son of God said: 'To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven,' how much more then to know those of the world?"

The blessed man answered, "About our city you shall know: Until the end she will fear no nation whatsoever, for no one will entrap or capture her, not by any means, for she has been given to the Mother of God and no one will snatch her out of her hands. Many nations will break their horns against her walls and withdraw with shame, receiving from her gifts and great wealth."

"Let me also tell you about the 'beginning of the birth pangs' and about the end of the world and the rest. In the last days the Lord

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* According to ECK, Epiphanius begins the conversation by asking about topics such as the stars and the changes of weather conditions. In E the beginning of the passage seems to be extremely corrupt, but then E goes on: "... and about angels and archangels: how one rank is higher than the other, and what the substance of the light is, and that the sun is perceptible fire, and what nature the clouds and the air have, and in a word, you cannot tell it all because of the length of the conversation. But, passing over most of it, I will relate a few things that were discussed between them." The explanation of the sun as ἐξέρχεται points forward to 884 C, where ECK have a chapter on the sun in which it is described as ἔξερχεται.
God will raise up an emperor from poverty. He will walk in great righteousness and bring every war to an end and make the poor rich, and the years [?] will be as in the time of Noah. However, this comparison has been made, not with regard to the wickedness of those men, but regarding their rest from tribulation. For in his days men will be very rich and in deep peace they will be ‘eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,’ and without fear of war and in freedom from anxiety they will devote themselves to husbandry [?]. As there will be no war, they will beat the blades of their swords into sickles, and their spearshafts and spears they will make into farming implements, with which the ground is tilled.

Thereupon he will turn his face toward the east and humble the sons of Hagar. For the Lord will be angry with them because of their blasphemy and because their fruit is of Sodom’s gall and Gomorrah’s bitterness. Therefore, he will strike the emperor of the Romans and rouse him against them and he will destroy them and kill their children with fire, and those who have been given into his hands will be handed over to violent torment. The whole of Illyricum will be restored to the Roman Empire. Also Egypt will pay her tribute. He will put his right hand on the sea and tame the fair-haired peoples and subdue his enemies. His scepter will rule for thirty-two years.

In the twelfth year of his reign he will collect no taxes and receive no gifts. Instead he will raise up holy churches and rebuild destroyed altars. There will be no more trials, nor any wrongdoer or victim of wrong. Through fear he will make the sons of men learn moderation, and those of the grandees who transgress the law he will humble and deliver up to death. In those days all gold, wherever it is hidden, will be revealed before his majesty at the instigation of God, and with a shovel he will spread it over his people, and his grandees will be rich and become like kings and the poor will become like rulers. He will have great zeal and pursue the Jews, and in this city you will find no Ishmaelite. He will keep the city in tight bonds and there will be none who plays the lyre or the cithara or sings.

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9 Cf. the revised Second Vision of Daniel, ed. A. Vassiliev, Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina (Moscow, 1893), 45 φόρον πενήντα, = E. Klostermann, Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik (Leipzig, 1895, 118,65, and V. Istrin, Otkrovenie Mejlodii Patarskago i apokrificheskii vidiennia Danila v Vizantiiskoii i Slaviano-ruissko literaturakh; izoliedovanie i teksty (Moscow, 1897), Text, 137,12.


12 Cf. Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3.

13 C. Janning writes άμηρσηδω βιοπτήν, “violentissimis flammis,” but one expects a word with a sense less close to that of ἔμμα, which has just been mentioned. The original probably had προκατε, “sawing,” i.e., “gnashing of teeth,” “torment.” The closest parallel in the Life of AS is 800 A (text of PG) τολλοι οὖν μετὰ χαράς περιεύσασθαι ... καὶ οὖς ὀδοντό πολύ άμηρσηδω τοῦ θανότου καὶ θλίμως καὶ ἀδύνη αὐτοῦ πειραία, καὶ περικρα καὶ φλέκε, καὶ συνεργεῖο. “Ametresis” is the reading of D and the variants are προκατε β E and έρημος P. Also in this case the sense “gnashing of teeth,” “torment” seems to fit the context better than “burning.”

14 For πτόσφ, cf. Matt. 3:12, par.
songs or commits a shameful act, for all such people he will hate and obliterate from the city of the Lord. There will be great joy then and gladness. Good things will come up from the earth, and from the sea riches will rise. It will be as when in the days of Noah men enjoyed themselves in peace until the flood came.

"When this scepter has passed away 'the beginning of the birth pangs' will rise. A short-lived son of lawlessness will appear and reign in this city for three and a half years. He will cause lawlessness to be committed such as has not been committed since the beginning of the world, no, and never will be again. For he will sit down and impose decrees, such as that father shall have intercourse with daughter and son with mother and brother with sister. If he refuses, he who rebels will die, and such a man will be ranked with John the Forerunner on the day of judgment. He will join the nuns with monks in marriage and likewise with priests, and the lawlessness of the intercourse will be worse than murder. He himself will prostitute his mother and daughter. In those days, because of the accursed licentiousness, they will get permission, these fools, to neigh lecherously for their own sisters. The 'stench and foul smell' will rise as an abomination before God, and the Lord God will be filled with bitter wrath and in great anger look down upon the whole earth. He will command his thunder and lightnings in heaven, and they will begin to descend upon the earth with violence and great terror. Many cities will be burned in flames, and from the crash of these fearful thunders the men will be paralyzed by great terror and die miserably, and many will be consumed by the lightning. Woe then to the earth because of the threats of the Almighty and his boundless anger and wrath which is already coming on the whole world. But this scepter will be smitten and thrown into the 'unquenchable fire.' After those days blessed are those who live in Rome or Riza or in Armenopetra or in Strobilos or in Karioupolis, for in these cities
and places they will have rest. Everywhere else there will be wars and tumults, and there will be great confusion according to him who said that 'you will hear of wars and rumors of wars,' and so forth.

"Thereupon another reign will rise against this city, and this ruler will be a grim-looking ass and deny Jesus Christ and, reading the writings of the pagans, he will convert himself to paganism and like the devil wage war against the saints through the influence of Satan. A few days after he has begun to reign he will burn down the churches and call the precious and life-giving cross a gibbet and cause the clergy to fall and cut down ordinary people in the public streets. Then friends will give up friends to death and brothers brothers and neighbors and a father his son and a son his father. Many will confess their faith from zeal for God, and their end will be blessed, for they will reign together with Christ. Then the islands and the valleys from Thrace and downward will become desolate, turning to nests of demons and dens of beasts and serpents. At that time there will be terrible thunders in heaven and great earthquakes and the collapse of great cities. 'For nation will rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom' and there will be a terrible misery upon earth and 'tribulation and distress' for the sons of men. Then there will appear a fire from heaven as quickly as a flash of lightning menacingly overshadowing the entire face of the earth. There will be frequent afflictions from birds and the earth will become filled with poisonous snakes biting men who reverence transgressions. All this constitutes the 'beginning of the birth pangs.'

"After also this ungodly scepter has come to an end, then the emperor of Ethiopia from the first horn will come, who, they say, will hold the helm of the Empire for twelve years. He will be a good ruler and reign in peace and restore churches of saints ruined before

25 It is tempting to read κατακατηρήσαντα λαοῦ ἐνὶ τῆς ἔρημου περιήγη καὶ κατὰ τῶν δρυσιομοίων στρατός, "he will cut down people in the Mece and in the (other) public streets."
29 Rom. 2:9.
30 CK add the following: "For in those days the Lord will send his holy angels who are in charge of the winds to take them out of their stores and block up their breath, so that no wind at all will blow in the whole world, so that there will be intense warmth and boiling and burning heat upon the face of the whole earth, so that in their distress men will turn and repent their sins. The great ships, not being able to sail the sea without wind, distressed by the constraint, will blaspheme against the Lord our God. Then everything green, I mean every plant on earth and the highest trees [C: Then every tree] will wither away, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low [Isa. 40:4], and one third of the animals, both of cattle and birds, of reptiles and wild beasts will die. The sea will become like blood. And immediately one-third of the fish will die, for God will be angry with them because of the sins of men and their impenitence. For because of their great wickedness men will hate each other, not wanting to look at themselves or amend their ways and turn to 'better things that belong to salvation' [Heb. 6:9; 'not wanting ... salvation' is missing in C] but [and C] 'because the wickedness is multiplied,' as the Lord said, 'men's love will grow cold'" (Matt. 24:12).
31 Cf. Dan. 8:8ff.
him, and because of his goodness he will be loved by the people.

During his reign the love of the Lord will spread over the whole world, and there will be joy and gladness.

“But also this scepter will pass away and there will come another scepter from Arabia who will reign one year, as they say. During his reign the holy pieces of the precious and life-giving wood of the cross will be united together at the instigation of the invisible God and given to the emperor. He will go to Jerusalem, to a place where the feet of Jesus Christ the true God stood and there he will, with his own hands, dedicate the precious wood of the cross and the imperial diadem. Together with these he will also surrender to the Lord God his soul.33

“Then there will arise in this city three young men, shameless, foolish, and good-for-nothing, who will reign in peace for 150 days. Thereupon, at the instigation of the devil, they will become angry with each other and wage a violent war among themselves. The first will stand up and go to Thessalonica and say to her: ‘Thessalonica, you will conquer your enemies, for you are the pride of the saints, and the Most High has consecrated you.’ Then he shall enroll her people from seven years of age and upward, and the priests and the monks he will equip with weapons of war. He will build large ships and go to Rome and stand before her gate and say to her: ‘Hail, Rome of three streets, your sword is sharp, your arrows are numerous, you are honored: hold fast to your faith so that you might not lose it, for blessed are those who live in you.’ Then he will enroll the fair-haired peoples and build ships and enter between Delos and Adelos34 and wait for his fellow rulers.

“The second young man also will enlist an army, from Mesopotamia, the ‘Cyclades of the islands’ and enroll the priests and the monks in terrible anger against the others. He will stand up and go to the navel of creation (some say to Alexandria) and there he will wait for his fellow rulers, with whom he will go to law, raging with anger.

33 The section on the emperor from Arabia according to CK: “After him [i.e., the emperor from Ethiopia] the emperor from Arabia will come and reign for one full year. In his days those who have a portion of the precious wood of the cross will open their reliquaries and find them empty. For at the instigation of Almighty God, the holy pieces of the cross will be united and it will become whole and perfect, as when Christ our God was nailed to it and will be given to the emperor. He will take it and go to the city of Jerusalem, and when he has come to Calvary, he will with his own hands surrender the precious cross and, having put on the top of the cross the diadem that is on his head, he will lift up the cross and say: ‘Lord Jesus Christ, the number and sum of years you have set aside for the empire of the Romans has been fulfilled: receive your famous and wonderful spear and with it also my spirit.’ Immediately an angel of the Lord will fly down from heaven and take the precious cross together with the diadem and the soul of the emperor. Then the empire of the Romans will pass away, for the precious cross is the empire of the Christians. Blessed are those who have fled from this city and gone away to deserts and mountains [v. l. caverns] and the caves of the earth.” For the delivering of the Empire to God as a sign of the end, cf. I Cor. 15:24.

34 Cf. Oracula Sibyllina, III, 363, ἤστηκεν Δῆλος ἄδηλος.
"The third will also march out and enroll Phrygia, Karia, Galatia, and
Asia and Armenia and Arabia and come to Sylaion and say:
'Sylaion will be called and never be seized nor captured.' After these
words he too will go to an unallied [?] people, i.e., one which is not
under his or his fellow-rulers' sway.

"Having assembled opposite each other they will fight a violent
and terrible battle and tear each other limb from limb like sheep
in the meat market. The three kings will be killed, and through the
slaughter the blood of the Romans will flow like pouring rain, and
not one of them will be left. The sea on this spot will be red from
their blood at a distance of twelve stades. Then every woman will be
widow, so that seven women will try to get one man, but not find
any until foreigners learn of it and come from abroad. The young
boys who have been saved will reach manhood before their time and,
without noticing it, become like swine from much lechery. Then
those will be blessed and thrice-blessed who serve God 'on moun-
tains | and in caves,' for they will not see the evils done in public
but in isolation | wait for the great mercy at the very gates, the most
sweet sheep who will be sacrificed for the sake of Christ by the evil
demon Antichrist.

"As there is no man of importance, but all are depraved, there
will arise a woman from Pontus, wicked ... , who will reign in this
city. She will be full of Bacchic frenzy, a daughter of the devil, a
sorceress, mad after men and women alike. In her days there will
be mutual plotting and slaughter in public and in private. A son
will kill his father and a father his son and a mother her daughter
and a daughter her mother and a brother his brother and a friend
his friend. There will be much vice and hatred in this city, and
within the holy churches there will be licentiousness and profili-
gy and incest and cithara-playing and dancing and Satanical songs
and mockery and ridiculing jests of a kind that no man has seen nor
will be able to see until that time. For this unclean empress, who
claims to be a goddess and fights with God and wants to wrestle
with Him, will defile the holy altars with filth and with all the
defilement of her harlotry she will defile the whole people. She will
turn her face toward evil and rob the church of every vessel and
gather together the precious pictures | of the saints and the precious
crosses and the holy gospels and every writing of the apostles and
every written book and make a huge pile and set fire to it and
burn it all to ashes. She will overturn the churches and search for
the relics of saints in order to obliterate them, but she will not find

34 Cf. Isa. 4: 1.
35 Heb. 11: 38.
36 For τῆς ἀπωλήσις, cf. II Thess. 2: 3, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλήσις, 'the son of perdition' (i.e., Antichrist).
37 The word μάνδον is still unexplained.
38 Cf. Matt. 10: 21, par.
38a I.e., it seems, every book of the OT.
him because God by his unseen power has removed them from this
city. Then the wretched woman will overturn the altar of the Great
Church of God's Wisdom, and when she has destroyed the whole
church she will insolently turn eastward and say to the Most High:
'You whom they call God, did I hesitate to wipe out your name
from the earth? You impotent God, see what I have done and you
could not even touch a hair of my head! Only wait a bit and I will
let down the firmament and go up there | and see who is the more
powerful of us and discover who has strength among gods and
goddesses!' This and even more she will say and do, this gangrene,
spitting and throwing stones towards the sky. But I refrain from
telling her worst deeds.

"At that time the Lord God the Almighty will bend\(^{39}\) the bow of
his violent wrath and with the terrifying power of his strength stretch
out his hand against this city and seize it with great force. With his
mighty sickle he will cut away the soil under the city and tell the
waters which have carried her of old to swallow her, and with
terrifying obedience they will gush forth with great speed and with a
terrible roar. He will pull up her foundation | from the earth and
lift her on high like a whirling millstone,\(^{40}\) so that those who are in
the city will feel great fear and cry, 'Woe!' Then she will quickly
be brought down again and the waters as they gush forth will
irresistibly deluge her and cover her and surrender her to the
terrifying and immense sea of the abyss. Such, my son Epiphanius,
will be the end of our city, and the terrors which I have now said
will come upon the world are those which our Lord Jesus Christ
said are 'the beginning of the birth pangs.'

"Then, after the passing away of the city, the events of the end
will begin. Some people say that after the fulfillment of the reign
of the gentiles God will see to it that the divine tribes of Israel will
arise to reign until the completion of the seventh age, adducing as
proof the saying of Isaiah: 'It shall come to pass in the latter days,
when the number of the gentiles has been completed [?], that the
Lord God will raise an ensign for the sheep which have been dispersed
among the gentiles and gather the lost sons of Israel in the holy city
of Jerusalem, and it will be for Israel as when they left the land of
Egypt,'\(^{41}\) and the saying of the blessed Paul: 'When the full number
of the gentiles come, then all Israel will be saved.'\(^{42}\) Now, | these
authors agree in this opinion, but the martyr Hippolytus said that
when Antichrist comes the Jews will be deceived first,\(^{43}\) and his

\(^{39}\) For κλειστον, cf. II Sam. 22: 10, και διδυμων ουρανους και κατηθη.

\(^{40}\) Cf. Jer. 28 (51): 42 and 63f.; Rev. 18:21; Pseudo-Methodius, *rec. tertia*, ed. Istrin, 64, 2f.

\(^{41}\) Isa. 11: 12 and 16.

\(^{42}\) Rom. 11:25f.

\(^{43}\) The passage referred to seems to be Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, ed. H. Achelis
word is confirmed by Christ who said to the Jews: ‘I have come in
my Father’s name, and you do not receive me; another will come in
his own name, and him you will receive.’

It is clear that God will
gather them in the city of Jerusalem and return to them what is
theirs in order to remove once for all the [false?] excuse they find
in their dispersal, for if he did not do that, they would say in the
judgment: ‘If you had gathered us in Jerusalem and restored to us
what belongs to us, we would long ago have believed in Christ,
destroying the pretext for envy that the gentiles are preferred to
us.’

But now when they have been gathered and have received
what belongs to them and still remain in the same disbelief, how
can they be saved, when Antichrist immediately will come out amidst
them? They will believe in him, according to the fearful voice of
the Son of God. For God the Only who said, ‘I am the truth’
does not lie. By gathering them together for a while he will in the first
place deprive them of this defense. For Paul said that they will be
saved not from the eternal punishment, but from so many years’
wandering about in foreign lands and from the abuse of the gentiles
and their untold shame. After living in such distress and in such
ridicule, a laughingstock among the gentiles for so many years, they
will be saved from their slavery and their yoke as they are gathered
together in their native city, but not, as I have already said, from
the eternal punishment. For those who were not persuaded by the
tribulation to believe in the life-giving and only-begotten Son of God,
how shall they be persuaded by the so-called joy?

And so forth.’

Epiphanius said, “Please, leave that, dear Father, and explain
to me the following: Some people say that the Great Church of God
will not be submerged with the city but will be suspended in the
air by an invisible power.” The righteous man said, “What are you
saying, my son? When the whole city sinks into the sea, how can the
Great Church remain? Who will need her? Do you think God dwells
in temples made with hands? However, what they say is not false,
but it is only the column in the forum that will remain, because it
has the precious nails. Only this will remain and be saved, so that
the ships will come and tie up their ropes to it and [the merchants
will] weep for and lament this Babylon, saying, ‘Woe to us! Our great
city, in which our business prospered, has disappeared into the depths
of the sea!’

44 John 5:43.
45 Antichrist will rise from the tribe of Dan; see 869 B.
46 John 5:43, quoted supra.
50 Cf. 837 C.
51 Cf. Rev. 18:9–19; Ezek. 27.
868 C "The mourning for her will last forty days. After those days the Empire will be given to Rome and Sylaion and Thessalonica, when the end is already approaching. From now on the government will become weak and the situation terrible and dangerous. For this year the Lord God will open the gates in Indalia [?], which Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, had closed, and seventy-two kings will come out with their people, the so-called filthy nations, who are more disgusting than all defilement | and foul-smelling filth. They will spread over the whole earth under heaven, eating raw [?] human flesh and drinking blood, devouring with pleasure dogs and | rats and frogs and all sorts of filth. Woe to every part of the world where these will go! In those days let there be no Christian, oh Lord, if possible, but I know there will be. Then those days will be darkened as if weeping in the air because of the defilement which those foul nations will bring about. The sun will turn into blood when it sees the abominations vying with each other on the earth. The moon and all the stars will stop shining, for they will even eat the soil of the earth, they will turn the sanctuaries into houses of pots and defile the precious vessels. Then let those who live in Asia flee to the 'Cyclades of the islands' (for Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia). To them the peoples will not go, but they will mourn for 660 days.

868 D "Then Satan Antichrist will rise from the tribe of Dan (not by his own power becoming a man, not by any means, but the Lord God will form for him an ugly and filthy vessel, that the words of the prophets might be fulfilled in him) and be loosed from the chains of Hades, in which our Master Christ bound him when he descended there, and he will enter into the vessel that has been made for him. When he has been born as a human being and has reached manhood and become a king, he will begin to display his deceit, as John the Theologian says. Then he will stir up war against the 'Cyclades of the islands'; islands are, as Isaiah says, the churches among the gentiles. When

869 A "Then Elijah and Enoch and the Son of Thunder come out and proclaim his deceit and the second coming of Jesus Christ, few will believe and understand. Bitterly he will humble those who are Christians then,
to their last breath afflicting and hurting them beyond measure, the fool that he is. Then he who is not led astray will stand out as a great and mighty friend of Christ. For blessed are all the saints, but more blessed still are those who are going to witness during the reign of Antichrist himself. They are blessed and thrice-blessed, for the greatest glory will be theirs for everlasting eternity. First he will kill Elijah, then Enoch, and at last the Son of Thunder. Then he will annihilate in bitter death those who do not believe in him.

872 A Then there will be a terrible war between him and the Master, for when he sees that the end is approaching [?] he will revolt against heaven in terrible anger, lightning and thundering and making violent sounds, so that from the reverberation of his shouting the earth under heaven will shake and echo fearfully. Who will not then be alarmed and fear, my dear son? At that time those will be blessed who do not take offense at our Master, Jesus Christ, our true God; those who do not cut themselves off from him who was born of the holy Virgin Mary; those who, because of love for him, are killed and rebuke the dragon and his deceit face to face; all those who meet the dragon courageously and denounce his crimes bravely, the beautiful lights of heaven, the dearest | pearls, the sweet, delightful, and honeyed hearts, and all those who believe in the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, in the holy, consubstantial, and life-giving Trinity."

As the blessed man sat telling all this and Epiphanius heard what is going to happen in the world he wailed, sighing deeply, for he was, as I have often said, extremely sensitive. Then he said to the pious man: “Please, tell me, how will mankind be erased from the earth and then the resurrection take place?” The pious man answered, “Some will be annihilated by the filthy peoples, others will be killed in the numerous wars, and the remaining faithful will be put to death by Antichrist for the sake of Christ. For those who believe in Antichrist the Lord God will send creatures, flying, as in the description of Ezekiel, having ox-goads in their tails filled with poison, and those who do not have the sign of the seal of Christ whole and pure on their foreheads will be stung by these creatures and will succumb to dangerous poison and end their life in bitter death. Then, if anyone of the saints is found in the deserts, having escaped Antichrist, the Lord, through the spirit of his power, will

Jerusalem. Their bodies will be thrown in the middle of the city and people will gather around them and laugh at them as they have no protection. Their holy bodies will be lying in the street for three days. In the middle of the fourth day a dove will fly down from heaven and circling above them like a flash of lightning she will breathe life into them, and gathering strength they will arise in the presence of all, and trembling will come upon all who see them. Then there will be a voice from heaven saying to them: ‘Come up to me, my friends.’ Immediately a cloud will descend and take them and make them a dwelling in Paradise.” Cf. Rev. 11:3-12.

* Cf. Ezek. 1:5 ff.
** Cf. Rev. 9:10.
gather them all in the holy city Zion. These are those who have been written in the book of life. 63

872 D “When Antichrist has already been smitten and | seized together with his demons and put in chains by angels of fire and is being kept under guard to stand before the court and pay retribution for the souls he has destroyed, the trumpet will sound and the dead will rise imperishable. Then those who are alive, as Paul said, who are left until the coming of the Lord, will be changed in the twinkling of an eye from perishability to imperishability | and together with these will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. 64 Now, when you see that the foul nations have come into the world, my son, you should know that all is at the very gates and that the judge soon will follow.” 65

All this the blessed man told Epiphanius while they kept vigil that night; I too, humble man, was present. But when the church’s sounding board struck, Epiphanius went to church while the blessed man prayed at home alone.

COMMENTARY

853 A Epiphanius’ questions on the end of the world are seven in number: 1. How will it happen? 2. When will it happen? 3. What is “the beginning of the birth pangs”? 4. How will men know that it is “near, at the very gates”? 5. What are the signs? 6. How will Constantinople pass away? 7. What will become of its churches, crosses, icons, books, and relics? Of these, no. 1 is answered in 868 Cff. and no. 2 in 865 B: “after the passing away of the city, the events of the end will begin.” The answer to question no. 3 is that the time from the second emperor to the disappearance of Constantinople will constitute the “beginning of the birth pangs”: 856 C, “when this [i.e., the first] scepter has passed away the ‘beginning of the birth pangs’ will rise” and, 865 A, “such will be the end of our city, and the terrors which I have now said will come upon the world are those which our Lord Jesus Christ said are the ‘beginning of the birth pangs’.” No. 4 is answered in 873 A: “When you (τοι) see that the foul nations have come into the world you (τοι) should know that all is at the very gates and that the judge soon will follow.” The answer to no. 5 is given throughout the

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63 Cf. Isa. 4:3; Rev. 20:15, par.
64 Cf. I Cor. 15:51ff.; I Thess. 4:15–17.
eschatological description. No. 6 is answered in 864 Df. and no. 7 in 864 Bf.

It is worth noting that Epiphanius does not ask about the fate of the Roman Empire as a whole, but only about that of the city of Constantinople itself, which he characteristically calls not New Rome but New Jerusalem. His questions are not those of a man concerned about the actual political situation, but those of a man interested in eschatology in general and especially in the final destiny of the city where he lives and which he considers holy. Certainly, there are in the following answer of AS a number of other place-names as well, but these names seem either to reflect the eschatological tradition or, if used here for the first time, are of a very uncertain significance.

The concept of Rome as the eternal city was transferred to Constantinople, but not without changes, as it was incompatible with Christian doctrine, according to which nothing in this world will last forever. The Byzantines had to modify it and say that Constantinople will last, not forever, but to the end of the world.

It is instructive to compare what AS says on this topic with the corresponding passage in the Greek translation of Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 22ff.: ἡ γὰρ ... βασιλεία αὕτη κάκτηται τὸ μέγα καὶ σεβάσμιον ξύλον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ λωσποῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς παγέντος ... ὡς γὰρ ἐφημεν, ἀγαπητοί, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Λωσις ξύλου μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαιγέντα λωσποῦ ὁχυρώτατα σταυρῶν ... ποια γὰρ ἴσχυς ἡ δυναστεία ἴσχυσε πώποτε τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ περιδράσασθα δύναμιν ... πάσα γὰρ ἀρχη καὶ ἐξουσία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καταργηθήσεται ἕνεκ τούτης. It is γὰρ αὕτη πολεμεῖται καὶ ὀὐκ (sic) ἡγίαται. First, Pseudo-Methodius, writing in Mesopotamia in the seventh century, speaks about the Roman Empire, whereas the main concern of

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66 In the Life of AS Rome means ancient Rome, whereas its successor is called Constantinople (629 D, 664 D), the Imperial city (ἡ βασιλεία τῆς πόλεως in 744 B etc.), the Queen of cities (ἡ βασιλεία τῶν πόλεων in 888 C etc.), the city of the Lord (856 C), New Jerusalem (853 A), and this Babylon (868 B). The name Byzantium appears only in the title of MS D in the rather peculiar formula πῶς Βυζάντιον τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως. As for “New Jerusalem,” see A. Frolow, “La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine,” RHR, 127 (1944), 61–127, esp. 86f. (add to Frolow’s material the homilies of Photius), and for the names of Constantinople in general, see E. Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, ed. H.-G. Beck, IX (Munich, 1968).


68 One would prefer τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαιγέντα λωσποῦ ὁχυρώτατα σταυρῶν.

69 I.e., τῆς τῶν Ὄρωνα πολεμεῖται καὶ ὀὐκ (sic) ἡγίαται.

70 The original was written in the Syriac language sometime between 644 and 678. The Greek translation was made in the seventh or early eighth century. See P. J. Alexander, “Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor,” MedHum, N.S., 2 (1971), 55ff.
Nicephorus, the author of the Life of AS, writing in Constantinople three hundred years later, is the capital. Second, Pseudo-Methodius says that the Roman Empire possesses the cross that was planted in the middle of the earth, i.e., in Jerusalem, and that this is a guarantee that the Empire will last to the end of time. AS instead bases his assertion on the belief that Constantinople has been given to the Mother of God, by whom it will be protected. By the time Pseudo-Methodius wrote his prophecy Jerusalem had already been taken by the Arabs. According to Theophanes Confessor, the Emperor Heraclius had removed the cross from Jerusalem before the catastrophe and had brought it to Constantinople.\(^{71}\) It is not clear whether Pseudo-Methodius meant that the cross remained in Jerusalem or not. If he meant the former, his assertion that the Roman Empire has the true cross is a rather strange one, and, in that case, he must have regarded the Arab conquest as temporary, claiming that Jerusalem still belonged to the Romans. If he meant that it had been transferred to another place within the Empire he does not tell when and how it will be restored to Jerusalem before the last Roman emperor goes to Golgatha and puts his crown on the cross, thereby surrendering his power to God. In the Life of AS, on the other hand, there is no uncertainty in this respect. Here it is clear that Jerusalem no longer belongs to the Byzantine sphere. When AS says (861 B) about the third evil young ruler that he, too, will go to "an un-allied people, i.e., one which is not under his or his fellow-rulers' sway," this implies that Jerusalem, which has been alluded to just before, lies beyond Byzantine influence. That it is no longer the city where the true cross is located is an acknowledged fact. The day when the last emperor goes to Jerusalem to hand over his power to God, the scattered pieces of the cross must first be reunited and given to him and he himself must bring the cross with him to Jerusalem in order to carry out the ceremony (860 C). In the eyes of Nicephorus and his contemporaries the role of Jerusalem had been taken over by the new Jerusalem, Constantinople.

Constantinople was supposed to enjoy the special protection of the Mother of God ever after its delivery from the siege of the Avars in the year 626, which was attributed to her intervention. There was also a legend saying that Constantine the Great had formally dedicated the new

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\(^{71}\) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 337,8ff.
capital, not to Tyche (to whom Constantinople originally was dedicated) or to Christ (as a competing legend said), but to the Mother of God.\footnote{22} Exactly when this legend was born is not known. The first "historical" description of the dedication to the Mother of God is, according to Frolow, to be found in the beginning of the eleventh century in the Syntaxarium CP, col. 673: ταύτης τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ βασιλιδος πόλεως τῆς εξαιρέτως ἀνακείμενης τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου δεσποινης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ άεταράθευνυ Μαρίας καὶ ὑπ' αὐ- τής δία παντὸς σωματίας . . . (Subject: Constantine) ἀνάθεις ταύτην (i.e., Constantinople) τῇ ὑπερενθέρῳ δεσποινῇ ἡμῶν Θεοτόκῳ καὶ άεταράθευνῳ . . . ἀνήθεν ἐν τῷ φόρῳ . . . . The legend seems to be implied in a legendary \textit{Vita Constantini} from ca. 900, in which the Lord says to Constantine: ... ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ μητρί μου τῇ θεοτόκῳ Μαρίᾳ ἰδόνιμοισί τελίν πρός ἀντολάσ ήλιου ἐν ὧν τόπῳ οὕτως ὑποδείξῃ σοι,\footnote{73} and also in a tenth-century mosaic, in the southwest vestibule of St. Sophia, representing the Mother of God holding her Son. They are surrounded by Constantine the Great and Justinian I, of whom the former is presenting to the Mother of God a model of the city of Constantinople and the latter a model of St. Sophia.\footnote{74} According to Frolow, it is already implied in a stanza by Andreas of Crete (ca. 700), beginning with the words τὴν πόλιν σοι φύλαττε, θεογενήτορ πάναγην. At any rate, it is a reasonable question to ask if the expression κεχάρισται τῇ Θεοτόκῳ in the present passage implies the notion of a formal dedication by the first Byzantine emperor. The answer seems to be given in a corresponding passage in the \textit{Vita Basilii iunioris}, ed. A. N. Veselovskij (1889), 65 (cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 134).\footnote{76} Basil is predicting the attack of certain barbarians called Ῥώς καὶ Ὕμη καὶ Μέγη, i.e., the Russian attack of the year 941. His pupil Gregory, the author of the \textit{Vita}, asks him anxiously: Κύριε μου, κύριε, καὶ μήποτε μέλλει παραλήφεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν; Basil reassures him: Ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κύριου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔσει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν παραληφθῆναι εἰς χειρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτής, εἰς γάρ κλήρον αὐτῆς δέοστι αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ικανὸς αὕτης ὑπερασπίζεται. Here it is expressly stated that Constantinople has been

\footnote{22} On this whole topic, see Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople."
\footnote{73} F. Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos," \textit{AnalBoll}, 77 (1959), 79.
\footnote{76} "La dédicace de Constantinople," 69 note 1.
given to the Mother of God by God Himself. As the two passages are very similar, it may be inferred that Nicephorus also, if he meant anything in particular, meant that the giver was God. That would, in fact, very well suit his concept of Constantinople as a holy city, a new Jerusalem.

The belief in the Mother of God as the protectress of the inhabitants of Constantinople is expressed a second time in 848 C ff., where AS and Epiphanius, while attending a night-long doxology in the soros of St. Mary of Blachernae, see in a vision how the Virgin takes off her veil and spreads it over the congregation. The city of Constantinople is not mentioned here, but it seems reasonable to assume that the people in the church represent the people of Constantinople as a whole.

As to the longer version of CK, according to which Constantinople will be attacked by the Arabs and by a people whose name begins with the seventeenth letter of the Greek alphabet, I have suggested in *Eranos*, 105, that the mention of the latter of these enemies reflects the legendary account of the famous Russian attack on Constantinople in the year 860. Be that as it may, the relatively precise kind of information which CK give does not easily fit the generally unhistorical character of the AS-eschatology. I consequently think that here, as often elsewhere, CK represent an enlarged and secondary version.

853 B–873 A The eschatological drama described by AS may be summarized as follows:

1. An emperor "from poverty" will reign for thirty-two years. In the twelfth year of his reign he will impose no taxes, but raise up churches and restore destroyed altars. He will humble the sons of Hagar, tame the fair-haired peoples, bring Illyricum and Egypt back under Roman domination. His reign will be characterized by peace, wealth, righteousness, and orthodoxy.

2. The son of lawlessness will reign for three and a half years.

3. There will appear an emperor who will deny Christ, read the writings of the pagans, and persecute the Christian priests.

4. A good emperor will come from Ethiopia and reign in peace for twelve years.

5. Another good emperor will come from Arabia. After one year, he will go to Jerusalem and surrender the diadem (i.e., the imperial power) to God.
6. Three evil young men will reign in peace for 150 days. Then they will start a civil war and kill each other in a terrible battle.

7. For lack of men, the power will be given to a wicked woman.

8. During her reign, Constantinople will sink into the sea; only the column of Constantine the Great will remain visible.

9. Between the description of the “beginning of the birth pangs” (2–8) and the description of the events of the end (10ff.), AS polemizes against those who say that from now on the Jews will reign until the end of the seventh millennium.

10. After a period of mourning of forty days the power will be transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaion.

11. Within a year after the disappearance of Constantinople the gates which Alexander the Great closed will open and the seventy-two foul nations will come pouring out and devastate the whole world.

12. Antichrist will appear from the tribe of Dan. Elijah, Enoch, and John the Evangelist will be witnesses. They will be killed by Antichrist. There will be war between Antichrist and Christ and Antichrist will be killed.

13. The dead will rise and Christ will return.

How does this scheme compare with that of related eschatological documents, i.e., first, in the Greek Pseudo-Methodius, and second, in the Second Vision of Daniel?

The first half of Pseudo-Methodius’ apocalypse is a kind of survey of the history of the world from Adam to the author’s own time, to which there is no parallel in the Life of AS. The second half (chap. 8 ff.) is a prophecy which, after the description of the preliminary victories of the Ishmaelites, contains the following main points:

1. An emperor who was considered dead will arise from the sea of the Ethiopians and defeat the Ishmaelites. There will be peace as in the time of Noah.

2. The gates in the north will open and the foul nations come pouring out.

3. The emperor will go to Jerusalem.

4. After ten and a half years the son of perdition of the tribe of Dan will appear.

5. The emperor will go to Golgotha and put his crown on the cross and surrender his power to God.

77 For an analysis of Pseudo-Methodius, see Alexander, “Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs,” 54f.
6. The son of perdition will go to Jerusalem and sit in the temple.
7. Enoch and Elijah will denounce Antichrist and he will kill them.
8. The return of the Lord.

Along with certain common elements, such as the foul nations and the surrender of the imperial crown in Jerusalem, there are a number of significant differences between the eschatology of AS and that of Pseudo-Methodius. Pseudo-Methodius' survey of the history of the world serves the purpose of showing that Ethiopia in Psalm 68(67):32, Ἄθιοπια προφήται κείρα αὐτῆς τῷ Θεῷ, is in fact the Roman, i.e., the Byzantine, Empire. AS on the other hand has no historical introduction and does not try to prove anything, although he now and then refutes different opinions on smaller questions. Further, Pseudo-Methodius has only one emperor, whereas AS has five. This emperor roughly corresponds to AS no. 1, but Pseudo-Methodius does not say that he will reign for thirty-two years or that in the twelfth year he will rebuild churches and altars. He will be the last Roman emperor, the one who goes to Jerusalem and surrenders his empire to God. In the prophecy of AS the fifth emperor will do this. In Pseudo-Methodius there are no "three evil young men"; the parallel to these is in his "historical" section, where Alexander the Great is succeeded by his four παρερήματα, i.e., servants. There is no wicked woman, nothing on the fate of Constantinople, no polemics against the Jews. Thus, Nicephorus, even if he may have known about Pseudo-Methodius, certainly did not use him as a model for his own eschatology.78

As to the Vision of Daniel, there are several different versions. Alexander79 lists the oldest three, all of which he dates to the ninth century: First Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev,80 33–38, by W. Bousset81 called M II; Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, op. cit., 38–43, by Bousset called D I; Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, translated from a lost Greek original composed in the ninth

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78 There seems to be no clear indication that Nicephorus had first-hand knowledge of Pseudo-Methodius. That the twelve-year emperor, i.e., a reincarnation of Alexander the Great, is said to come from Ethiopia could give the impression that he had some, perhaps indirect, knowledge of Pseudo-Methodius, in whose work the alleged Ethiopian origin of Alexander plays an important role. But, on the other hand, Nicephorus might as well have got this feature from the Alexander romance itself. On the idea that Alexander the Great was the son of an Ethiopian princess, see E. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudomethodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibyle (Halle, 1898), 26ff.
79 P. J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," AHR, 73 (1968), 999.
80 Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina.
81 W. Bousset, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie (Schluss)," ZKircheng, 20 (1900), 261–90.
The first of these versions has little in common with our text. The last I am not able to use. The second, entitled "Orasie tov DumiL perii tov eschantou kairoq kai peri tr\'s sumpitelas tov aiwnos, is worth comparing with the prophecy of AS. The situation in the beginning is that the Ishmaelites are invading the Roman Empire led by a young man. Then, the main points of the story are the following:

1. There will appear an emperor ek polufr0n (7) whose name begins with to triaokstovn stoixhov (i.e., \( \lambda \)). There will be a battle in which so much blood is shed that a horse can get drowned in it. He will pursue the Ishmaelites together with the fair-haired peoples. He will go to Rome and destroy to \( \dot{\omicron}\dot{\omicron}\dot{\omicron}ov (\S) and receive riches which will be distributed among the people.

2. An evil emperor will shed the blood of the saints, join brother and sister in marriage, and arm the priests.

3. The Roman Emperor will come from the west and adorn Constantinople. He will say: "Woe to you, City of Seven Hills, for you too will be drowned by the waters." He will reign in peace for thirty-two years. He will be pious and rebuild the churches. The great men will become like kings and the poor will become rich.

4. During the peaceful reign of his successor the foul nations will appear. The emperor will go to Jerusalem. There will be war everywhere. The women will become widows and seven women will lust for one man. After twelve and a half years the son of perdition will appear. The emperor will surrender his empire to God.

5. The son of perdition will go to Jerusalem and destroy the temple. Enoch and Elijah will witness and be killed by the son of perdition.

6. The resurrection and the return of Christ.

Bousset identified nos. 1 and 2 of this eschatology with Leo III and Constantine V. According to him, this Vision of Daniel was first written in the beginning of Leo's reign and then enlarged during the reign of his son. But, as Dr. S. Gero has pointed out to me, it is unlikely that the portraits of the first two iconoclast emperors would have been so completely different with regard to good and evil.

82 An interpolation in Pseudo-Methodius, by Bousset called M I A, has in the corresponding context the variant reading ek polloq fr0u, followed by the words epimer0menos evo leipta ekisasiqai thumou, de evedwstoq st0oun (ed. Istrin, p. 40, app. crit.). Thus the point seems to be that the origin of the emperor will be humble.

83 The normal sense of stoixhov is "letter," but as the Greek alphabet has only twenty-four letters, the meaning must be "the thirtieth numeral." The corresponding passage in the First Greek Vision of Daniel reads estin de to d\( \omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \) oto\( \omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \) e\( \omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \) ("the sum thirty"). Thus stoixhov may be corrupt for kephalivon.
As the document in its present shape dates from the ninth century, the question might not be as simple as I thought it was in my paper in *Eranos*, 101ff., in which I accepted Bousset’s interpretation. As to no. 3, Bousset thought that one of the Frankish rulers was alluded to, perhaps even Charles the Great himself. This identification is not easy to prove. I would restrict myself to the observation that the model of this emperor clearly is Constantine the Great who came from the west and built the new capital on the Bosphorus and was supposed to have reigned for thirty-two years. The parallel passage in the apocalypse of Elijah, quoted by Bousset, 277, is also an obvious allusion to the founder of Constantinople and not, as Bousset had it, to his son Constans. At any rate, the AS-prophecy has more elements in common with the Second Vision of Daniel than with the First or with Pseudo-Methodius. Here we find not only one, but four successive emperors, of whom the first, the third, and the fourth, who in the end will surrender the Roman Empire to God, are good and the second evil. This differs from the succession of good and evil emperors in the Life of AS only in that there the first good emperor is succeeded by two evil ones. Thus, it seems highly probable that Nicephorus was familiar with the Second Vision of Daniel in one form or another. That in turn reminds us of the often quoted statement of Liudprand of Cremona in *The Embassy to Constantinople*, chap. 39: “The Greeks and Saracens have certain writings which they call The Visions of Daniel; I should call them Sibyline Books. In them is found written how many years each emperor shall live; what crisis will occur during his reign; whether he shall have peace or war and whether fortune will smile upon the Saracens or not. According to these prophecies the Assyrians in the time of the present emperor, Nicephorus, will not be able to resist the Greeks, but Nicephorus himself will live for only seven years. After his death an emperor will rise worse than he....” Note that in Liudprand’s version of the Vision of Daniel a bad emperor will succeed a good one (or a less bad according to Liudprand), exactly as in the version that has been preserved until the present day. On the other hand, it is clear that Nicephorus has not just taken the succession of emperors from the Second Vision of Daniel and simply expanded it through the insertion of a second evil ruler. He has treated the tradition much more freely. Nos. 1 and 3 have been combined into a single emperor, i.e., the first one,

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which explains the strange mixture of peace and war in the description of his reign. No. 3 has been replaced by an emperor whose reign will last for twelve years. After the last emperor has surrendered the empire to God there will be two more evil reigns, first that of the three young men and then that of the wicked woman, both of which are missing in the Second Vision of Daniel.

Closely related to this vision is the interpolation in Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 40, *app. crit.*, by Bousset called M I A. The three first emperors are roughly the same, but the fourth, during whose reign the foul nations will arrive, is characterized as blasphemous. It ends with the sinking of Constantinople into the depths of the sea.

Later revised versions of the Second Vision of Daniel are legion. One which has been preserved in many MSS can be studied in Vassiliev, *op. cit.*, 43–47, in Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patriistik*, 115–20,86 and in Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 135–39. Bousset calls this version D II and describes it as “ein spätes Machwerk wohl schon aus dem Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge, in dem die Elemente älterer Weissagungen in verwirrender Weise durcheinander geworfen sind” (262). However, the parallels with the AS-apocalypse show that at least its second half represents a considerably older structure. It begins with the prophecy that three angels will be sent to the earth, one to the περιβόλαια (?) and the islands, one to the west, and one to Asia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, and the Mother of cities. A number of elements follow which seem to be late and have little or nothing in common with the AS-text. Then its scheme is as follows:

1. The Byzantines will find a man who is righteous, merciful, and φιλόνοµοι and will make him emperor. He will beat the Ishmaelites, Ethiopians, Franks, Tatars, and all peoples. On his return the treasures of the earth will open and everybody will become rich and the earth will bring forth a sevenfold grain and the weapons will become sickles. He will reign for thirty-two (v. l. 36) years.

2. There will arise an emperor who will reign for twelve years and then go to Jerusalem and surrender his power to God.

3. His four sons, reigning in Rome, Alexandria, Heptalophos (i.e., Constantinople), and Thessalonica will kill each other in civil war.

4. For lack of men a wicked woman will reign in Constantinople.

5. Because of her blasphemy Constantinople will be drowned in the sea. Only Xerolophos will remain visible.

6. Another ruler will reign for a short time in Thessalonica. Soon also this city will be drowned.

7. The reign of Antichrist.

According to this version of the Second Vision of Daniel there will be only two emperors before the surrender of the imperial power to God. On the other hand, the act of surrender to God does not indicate the absolute end of the Roman Empire, as the succession of different reigns will continue for a while. Obviously it does mean, however, that from now on there will be no good and pious ruler. Thus the pious twelve-year emperor will be succeeded by his four evil sons who will wage war against each other. The former is, as already indicated, a reincarnation of Alexander the Great; his sons are the diadochs. Their equivalents in the above summary of the AS-prophecy are nos. 4 and 6. It now becomes clear why in this prophecy Alexander does not immediately precede the diadochs. Nicephorus wanted another emperor to deliver the imperial crown to God. As there could be no good emperor after this ceremony had taken place, the author had to put him in before no. 5, thus slightly weakening the link between him and his traditional successors. Nicepheros also changed their number from four to three; this will be discussed below.

Both the diadochs and the wicked woman are missing in the original Second Vision of Daniel. Other features which are missing there but are common to the revised version and the Life of AS are the description of the flooding of Constantinople (in the older document mentioned only as a prophecy within the prophecy) and the prediction that after the disappearance of Constantinople the power will be transferred to Thessalonica (to Rome, Sylaion, and Thessalonica according to AS). The revised version also stresses the poverty of the first emperor more expressly than the original Second Vision (ἐκ πολυφόρου the Second Vision, φορῶν πενήντα the revised version, ἀπὸ πενήντα AS). Thus, the comparison with this text strengthens the impression that Nicephorus was familiar with some version of the Second Vision of Daniel. That this version was not identical with the Second Vision of Daniel proper, but with one which had developed later, seems clear. How much later? The version just summarized was, according to Bousset, op. cit., 290, composed in the
thirteenth century. But, as the passage which can be compared with the Life of AS obviously has been inherited from an older stage of the tradition, this date, even if it could be confirmed, is of no use in our case. Moreover, there is a third example of this eschatological tradition which offers parallels to the AS prophecy, namely the one printed by Istrin, Oktrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago, 145–50, under the title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ. It begins with the prophecy of the three sons of Hagar, Ὁθήσης, Ἀξιόφρον, and Μορφόσαρ, invading the Roman Empire and threatening Constantinople from Chalcedon. They are depicted in a way that reminds the reader of the three angels in the preceding version of the Vision of Daniel. Then the savior-emperor will appear and defeat the Ishmaelites and there will be peace and wealth. His reign will last thirty-six years. His successor will be an evil emperor who will join relatives and monks in marriage. Then the wicked woman will reign and Constantinople will disappear. The power will be transferred to Rome. Then the Jews will be reunited in Jerusalem and harass the Christians all over the world. The Antichrist will be born and the Jews will believe in him; and so forth. In this variant many standard features are missing, such as the twelve-year emperor, the surrender of the empire to God, and the foul nations. The name of the savior-emperor is said to begin with the eighth letter of the alphabet, i.e., with Θ. Bousset wonders if Theodosios III (715–17) could be meant. To me the evidence for such an early date seems rather weak, especially as in that case one would expect it to be more closely related to Pseudo-Methodius than it actually is. On the whole it is not very like the eschatology of AS, but there are a number of close parallels in the details. When the savior-emperor defeats the Ishmaelites the blood of the fallen will redden the sea at a distance of twelve stades, just as in the battle between the three evil young men in the Life of AS. Exactly as in this Life, only the column of Constantine the Great will remain visible when Constantinople disappears (in the Vassiliev version [supra, note 80], 43–47 ff., it is Xerolophos). Thereupon the power will be transferred to Rome (to Thessalonica according to the other version, to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaion according to AS). During the reign of Antichrist “those who live in the mainland will flee to the islands and those who live in the islands will flee to the mainland,” which reminds the reader of the Life of AS of the prophecy that “those who
live in Asia will flee to the Cyclades of the islands, for Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia” (869 A). Thus, none of the versions of Pseudo-Methodius or the Vision of Daniel summarized here can have been Nicephorus' only source of information on these matters. He must either have read and used more than one of the eschatologies we know or have used an unknown text which included all the features we now collect from different sources. Of these possibilities, the latter is purely theoretical. It is unlikely that there ever existed a version that contained all the features we now find scattered in many sources. As far as we know, the eschatological tradition was unrestricted and unsettled. As time went by some features were abandoned, others were added, old features returned in new combinations, and so forth. In the case of Nicephorus, his polemics against different ἑρωδεῖα who say certain things indicate that he was familiar with several apocalyptic documents. It seems to me that one of these was the Second Vision of Daniel in a form not yet fully developed in the ninth century. But absolute certainty, if it can be arrived at, is not to be expected until the Middle-Byzantine eschatological tradition has been examined in its entirety.\(^{(86)}\)

The prophecy of the end of Constantinople begins with the description of the reigns of five successive Roman emperors, of whom the first, fourth, and fifth are good and the second and third evil. Who are these emperors? It is tempting to try to link them with a succession of Byzantine emperors of the ninth or tenth century. Thus, the first emperor has been identified by A. A. Vasiliev\(^{(87)}\) with Michael III and by J. Wortley\(^{(88)}\) with Basil I. As the description of the following emperors does not fit the successors of Michael and Basil, these identifications imply that the Life of AS was written, say, in the sixties of the ninth century, or that Nicephorus, writing at a later date, included in his work an apocalypse written at that time. But as far as I can see there is no reason to believe either that the first emperor was Michael III or that he was Basil I, nor is there any other Middle-Byzantine emperor who might easily be recognized as the

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\(^{(86)}\) A major work on the eschatological tradition in Byzantium before the crusades is being prepared by Professor Paul J. Alexander.


model of any of the eschatological kings of the *Vita*. In fact, Nicephorus does not seem to have had any contemporary emperor in mind. On the contrary, AS is obviously recounting, in the future tense, the history, distorted by anachronisms and legend, of the first years of the Byzantine Empire. As I have tried to explain in my paper in *Eranos*, 101ff., the first, second, third, and fifth emperors represent the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great to Jovian. The fourth, characterized as Alexander the Great, is closely connected with the three young men who succeed the fifth emperor, in 860 C, and bear the traits of the diadochs. One would expect Alexander to be their immediate predecessor, but as a good emperor he is not supposed to reign after the fifth emperor has surrendered the imperial crown to God, and so the author inserted him before this emperor. However, this identification does not mean that Nicephorus incorporated in his work an apocalyptic document written in the year 364, when Jovian died. It simply means that he arranged the eschatological material available in his time in the pattern of the earliest history of the Byzantine Empire. It means further that his description of the last Byzantine emperors is more theoretic than that of most other apocalyptic texts. This feature fits the general character of the *Vita*. The Life of AS is not only a saint's Life but also a kind of pseudo-learned encyclopedia, answering questions such as: Where do the clouds get their rain? Why is the snow white? What is the soul made of? Where are the souls of the saints now? It is significant that MSS ECK should let Epiphanius begin the conversation by asking questions about natural phenomena (see 853 A, *app. crit.*). The eschatological question of the end of the world and the fate of Constantinople should not be isolated from these other questions. On the contrary, it should be interpreted as forming a part of the encyclopedia which occupies a large portion of the *Vita*. Within an encyclopedic framework a general, timeless treatment of the eschatological question is more appropriate than a prophecy which interprets its own time as the very beginning of the end.

853 B–856 C (21–58) It is a characteristic feature in the AS-eschatology that it begins with peace and happiness whereas the eschatology of Pseudo-Methodius and the Second Vision of Daniel begin with the description of a desperate military situation from which

**I owe this observation to Professor P. J. Alexander.**
the Byzantines eventually are saved through the sudden appearance of a victorious emperor whom everybody had thought was dead. Pseudo-Methodius and the author of the Second Vision of Daniel wrote under the impression of the Arab conquests. The mention of the war against the sons of Hagar (856 AD) probably is a reminiscence of the victories of the savior-emperor of Pseudo-Methodius and the Vision of Daniel, but the situation in the *Vita* of AS is quite different. Here, there is no mention of a military threat. The reason for the Roman expedition is only that the sons of Hagar are supposed to be blasphemous. This accords well with the assumption that the Life of AS was written in the tenth century. It was obviously written by a man who felt secure within the borders of a strong empire and whose main concern was not the military but the religious situation.

As pointed out above, Nicephorus' description of the first eschatological emperor contains features which characterize two different emperors, the first and the third, of the Second Vision of Daniel. The emperor's humble origin and his war against the Ishmaelites and taming of the fair-haired peoples derive from the first source. The idea that he will appear as a revived Constantine the Great originates from the second. It is hard to know how generally it was understood that the prototype of this emperor was in fact Constantine the Great, but that Nicephorus himself was aware of it appears clear from the fact that he describes his successors after the model of Constantine's successors and from the prophecy that in the twelfth year of his reign he will raise up churches and restore altars; this corresponds to the later image of Constantine, according to which he founded Constantinople τῷ ἑδρᾳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, but is lacking in the Second Vision of Daniel.

In his article "The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse," Wortley has traced a number of similarities between this emperor and Basil I and concluded that the former alludes to Basil. Undoubtedly there are similarities between the two, but in my opinion they are not striking enough to make Wortley's conclusion imperative. When, e.g., Wortley concludes that the prophecy "in the last days the Lord God will raise up an emperor from poverty" alludes to

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90 See my paper in *Eranos*, 107f. To the evidence mentioned there add Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin" (*supra*, note 73), 84 (par. 8, line 28).
91 See note 88. In my opinion, the designation warrior-emperor is rather inappropriate, as the reign of this emperor is characterized more by peace than by war.
Basil I because this Emperor was of humble origin, I would prefer to explain it as a variant of the description of the first emperor of the Daniel Vision. The similarity to Basil I may be due to coincidence. It is perhaps also possible that the poverty of the future Basil I was stressed and exaggerated because of the apocalyptic tradition. It is, however, interesting to compare Nicephorus’ description of the first eschatological emperor with Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ portrait of his grandfather in the *Vita Basilii*. This portrait has been analyzed by Professor Alexander from the point of view of the Byzantine *Kaisergedanke*. In the Byzantine *Kaisergedanke* the notion of “newness” played an important part but, as the analysis of the *Vita Basilii* shows, “newness” did not mean innovation but rejuvenation, the restoration of a splendid past. Prof. Alexander demonstrates that this conservative concept of the imperial mission goes back to Constantine the Great, in whose opinion the Christian religion was as old as the world itself and who considered it his duty to restore man to the condition he had enjoyed before the Fall. God had recalled man the first time through his Son, now he recalled him again through Constantine, the first Roman emperor to accept and favor Christianity. Now, AS does not say that the first eschatological emperor will restore men to the innocence of the period before the Fall, but that his reign will be like the days of Noah. Such a statement, based as it is on Matt. 24:37f. and Luke 17:26f., would normally mean that men will live in prosperity combined with wickedness until sudden destruction comes upon them, taking them completely by surprise. Pseudo-Methodius, speaking of the reign of the savior-emperor, quotes the same biblical passage, and in this context, even if there is no mention of wickedness, it is more appropriate, as the days of happiness are interrupted suddenly by the invasion of the foul nations. In the *Life of AS* the comparison with the days of Noah is rather pointless, first, because the “beginning of the birth pangs” will not come until the second emperor and later on there will be two more good emperors and destruction will come still later; second, because Nicephorus stresses the righteousness, moderation, and orthodoxy of the reign of the first emperor. The comparison, as he hastens to remark, is in this context strictly limited to the rest from tribulation. His description of the first eschatological emperor seems to me,

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92 In “The Strength of Empire and Capital” (*supra*, note 67), 348ff.
with its emphasis on the restoration of Church and Empire, on righteousness, moderation, and orthodoxy, to be a good example of the Byzantine Kaisergedanke as outlined by Prof. Alexander. The presence of this ideology in the AS text is, I think, due precisely to the fact that Constantine the Great has been chosen as the prototype of the first emperor. So far as I can see, there is insufficient reason to believe that Nicephorus learned it from the Vita Basilii.

I still have no definite answer to the question why Egypt and Illyricum are especially mentioned in connection with this emperor. The attempts of Vasiliev and Wortley to link them with incidents during the reign of Michael III or that of Basil I are unconvincing. My own explanations in Eranos, 110, are tentative. It is worth noting, however, that both Egypt and Illyricum are among the countries that will be attacked by the expanding Ishmaelites, according to Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 15. Consequently, these names fit the situation in the seventh century, but I do not think this should be taken as evidence for an early dating of the AS apocalypse. Instead, Nicephorus may have chosen them more or less at random among several possible names in order to express what seems to be the main idea of the passage, namely, that before the “beginning of the birth pangs” the Roman Empire will once again be restored to its former size and splendor.

856 C–857 B (59–85) The second emperor corresponds, as Bousset, “Beiträge,” 274, shows, to the second ruler of the Second Greek Vision of Daniel and the second ruler of Bousset’s M I A (Istrin, Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago, 40, app. crit.). However, the parallel passages are much shorter than the version of AS. When M I A says he will be διαφάνες, AS explains that he will reign for three and a half years, which designates him as a forerunner of Antichrist. Both the vision of Daniel and M I A speak about the incest, but AS dwells on it at greater length and adds that the emperor will join monks and nuns in marriage. Bousset thinks that the description would fit Constantine V seen through the eyes of a monk, a view which I accepted in 1968, but about which I am now somewhat skeptical because it is hard to understand why

93 This suggests the reading διαφάνειος for the unintelligible δραήγλαχος, Vita AS, 856 C (line 60).
the image of the iconoclast emperor Leo III should be altogether good if the image of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V is altogether evil. Thus, I would now restrict myself to identifying him with Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine the Great, for reasons given in *Eranos*, 110.

The wordy narrative of AS does not give many more facts than the shorter versions of M I A and the Vision of Daniel. The description of the thunderstorms may be an elaboration of Matt. 24:27 (cf. Pseudo-Hippolytus, chap. 36, ed. Achelis, 303f.). There is, however, one remarkable feature which AS mentions but the other sources omit, namely the statement that after these days those will be blessed who live in Rome, Riza, Armenopetra, Strobilos, and Karioupolis. Do these names have any historical implication? Riza and Armenopetra give no clue, as I have not been able to identify them. A Karioupolis is mentioned in “La Vie de S. Philarete,” ed. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 165 line 28, where the author says that he wrote the *Vita* έτους γελ (in the year 821/822) έν Εξορίαι θεν Παλατουνήσοφο, έν Καροποτόλη. The editors assume that the exile was due to his being an iconophile. But that does not seem to solve our problem. If AS alludes to places not infested by Iconoclasm one would like to see Karioupolis mentioned as a place where monks are said to escape Iconoclasm and not as a place where they are exiled because of their icon-worship. A Strobilos was situated on the southeast coast of Asia Minor.95 It was besieged by the Arabs in 913 and would probably have been taken had not the Saracen commander Damianos fallen ill and died.96 Thus, does AS refer to places that will not fall into the hands of the Arabs? But, even assuming this, the choice of names is strange and, moreover, the context does not seem to allude to any particular enemy. As to Rome, Riza, and Armenopetra, AS may be playing on the meanings “strength,” “root,” and “rock,” indicating that their inhabitants will be safe because they live in places that are strong and firm. Perhaps even Strobilos and Karioupolis were chosen because the author attributed to these names some sense which is hidden to us. At any rate, I doubt that he is alluding to any specific contemporary events.

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The third emperor has no counterpart in the other Middle-Byzantine eschatologies. He seems to be Nicephorus’ own invention, created to fit his conception of the last reigns of the Roman Empire as a return of the emperors Constantine the Great, Constantius, Julian, and Jovian. The prophecy that he will deny Jesus Christ, read the writings of the “Greeks,” and convert himself to paganism clearly connects him with Julian the Apostate.

Also, the sentence τὸν τίμιον καὶ ξυστοίχον σταυρὸν φούρκαν ὀνομάζει seems to suit the image of Julian perfectly. However, J. Wortley has found a striking parallel in Euthymios Zigabenos (twelfth century), *Contra Messalianos*, PG, 131, col. 45 B: τοὺς ... τὸν τίμιον καὶ ξυστοίχον σταυρὸν φούρκαν ἀποκαλοῦσι ... ἀνάθεμα. He believes that Nicephorus was directly inspired by this work, which in his opinion is not authentic. But, authentic or not, the *Contra Messalianos* seems to reflect the acts of a council held after 1092, so there is little chance that Nicephorus could have used it. Still it remains possible that he borrowed the statement in question from the Messalians. It can hardly originate from Julian himself, as he is unlikely to have used an expression like φούρκα. But if Nicephorus borrowed it from the Messalians, he obviously changed the meaning when he applied it to Julian, because the contempt of the Messalians for the cross was, according to Germanos II, patriarch 1222–1240, based on the fact that it had killed Christ: Οὐ χρή, φασί (i.e., the Messalians), τὸν σταυρὸν προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι, ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνελόντα καὶ θανατώσαντα (PG, 140, col. 632B). This is of course not the argument of an apostate.

Why Julian should be called a “grim-looking ass” I am not able to explain. Usually Nicephorus uses βλεσμόρος only in the expression βλεσμόρῳ τῷ ὃματι (656 B, 697 B, 760 D); it occurs as a variant reading in 757 B: ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καταφνὲν ἑκπορευόμενον Α; similarly β: βλεσμόρῳ DE. To the combination βλεσμόρος δνὸς I have no parallel. Until an explanation is found it might be best to regard δνὸς as corrupt.

Another peculiar element in the section on Julian is the prophecy that he will make κατακοπῆν λαοῦ τῆς μέσεως κατὰ τὰς δὴμοσίας στράτας, i.e., if the text is sound, that he will

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98 M. Jugie in *DTC*, 5, col. 1579f.
“cut down people of the Mese in the public streets.” This is not, as far as I know, a typical element in the image of Julian the Apostate; nor, on the other hand, does it contradict it. Probably it is just another characteristic of his evil nature. Nicephorus may have borrowed it from the description of some other evil ruler. The form μέσεως, for which Du Cange suggested ἡμίσεως, I take as a Byzantine genitive of μέση; cf. 760 C: διερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέσεως (sic DE: ἐπὶ μέσεως is missing in β, the whole passage is missing in P); 768 D: φεύγε ... τοῦ ἐκάστη ἄρα ἐπὶ μέσεως προέρχεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν τὰς θυρίδας τοῦ καταπτεύσαι κάλλος μοχθηρόν καὶ ἀλλότριον (the details vary, but even β has ἐπὶ μέσεως); further, 784 A and 804 B: φιάλεως for φιάλης; and S. B. Psaltes, Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken (Göttingen, 1913), 174, on other metaplasmic forms of κώμη, φιάλη, etc. Ἡ Μέση proper was the main street from the Augustaion to the forum of Constantine, but ἡ Μέση may also refer to the main street from Constantine’s forum to the Golden Gate and the church of the Holy Apostles. Metonymically it was also used of the people in the street, as appears from Georgius Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, 824: προβάλλεται Μιχαήλ Βαρδαν τὸν θειὸν αὐτοῦ Καισαράς ὃς ἐπὶ ἄρματος πορευθεὶς ἔδωκεν ὑπαστείαν τῇ μέσῃ. Thus, in the present passage, λαὸς τῆς μέσεως perhaps stands for the people of the street, ordinary people in contrast to the ἱερατεῖον, the clergy, mentioned immediately before. But the expression is so strange that it may be corrupt and in need of an emendation.

A large portion of the section on the third emperor is missing in the important β-branch, in which there is a large lacuna from the middle of 857 C to the end of 860 A. Unfortunately, the difficult passage which I have rendered by “the islands and the valleys from Thrace and downward will become desolate” falls within this lacuna. For ἄκοιντος (ἄκοιντος P) αὐτοῦ, which is certainly wrong, I suggest κατοικοῦντες. The expression “those who live on the islands” etc. for simply “the islands” etc. is strange but has a certain support in Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 39: ἐξερήμωσαν ... τοὺς κατοικοῦντος πληροῦν ῥώμης. It may also have an OT flavor; cf. Ps. 72(73):19 (subject: the wicked): ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐρήμωσιν. In both cases the idiom appears to be of Semitic origin. The whole passage seems to echo Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 29,6f.: καὶ οἱ νήσοι τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσονται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπολοῦνται μαχαίρα καὶ αἰχμαλώσις.

As far as the islands are concerned, the allusion appears to be to the raids of the Arabs in the Aegean Sea. As these did not begin until the seventh century, the passage is anachronistic in relation to the reign of Julian. Thrace was sacked throughout the centuries by different invaders. It is hard to know whether Nicephorus had any particular invasion in mind.

860 B The fourth emperor will come from Ethiopia, "from the first horn," he will be a good ruler and his reign will last twelve years, all features that characterize him as an Alexander redivivus, for reasons which I have given in Eranos, 111. As such he is an intruder in the series Constantine, Constantius, Julian, and Jovian, but forebodes the arising of the diadochs, i.e., the three evil young men in 860 Cf. See above, note 78.

860 C The fifth emperor will reign for one year and be a good ruler. This fits Jovian, who reigned for only eight months but was highly regarded by the Christians because of his restoration of Christianity after the anti-Christian rule of Julian. It is remarkable that AS says that he will come from Arabia. In Eranos, 112f., I suggested that it might have something to do with the Syriac Julian romance, according to which Jovian, before he became emperor, was in command of 170,000 Arabian soldiers in Julian's army. As there seems to have been no Greek translation of the Syriac Julian romance, this explanation presupposes that Nicephorus knew Syriac. Professor I. Shahid points out to me that Pliny, Nat. Hist., V, 20, 85, refers to the western part of northern Mesopotamia as Arabia, while the eastern part of the same region was called in Syriac Bēt-Tharabâyê, i.e., the abode of the Arabs, or Arabia. As Julian died and Jovian was proclaimed emperor somewhere on the eastern side of Tigris north of Ctesiphon (Ammianus Marcellinus, bk. XXV), Nicephorus may be referring to the fact that Jovian became emperor in or near an area called Arabia.

According to the Julian romance Jovian was crowned emperor in a miraculous way: the imperial crown was put on the cross and Jovian knelt before it, whereupon the crown descended by itself and placed itself on Jovian's head.100 If Nicephorus knew this legend, it must have seemed natural to him to apply to Jovian the prophecy that the

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last Roman emperor will go to Jerusalem, put the crown on the cross, and surrender his power to God. In the seventh-century Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, where the legend of the Last Roman Emperor is first attested, the cross seems to be in Jerusalem, waiting for the crown of the Roman Empire. Nicephorus, writing in the tenth century, is aware that the relics of the true cross have been spread all over the world and therefore says that the scattered pieces will be collected and put together again and that the restored cross will be given to the emperor, who will bring it back to Jerusalem.

Arriving in Jerusalem the emperor will go to a place where the feet of Christ stood, i.e., I presume, to Golgotha. Then the MSS vary as to the details of the ceremony. According to D and P he will dedicate the diadem by putting it on the cross and together with these surrender his soul to God. Apart from the surrender of the cross, this is in accordance with the traditional story, but seems to put a certain force on the sense of the verb παρατίθημι. According to β and E he will dedicate the cross and the diadem and together with these surrender his soul to God. In this case cross and crown are equivalent, which is contrary to the usual form of the legend but suits the fact that the emperor will bring both cross and crown with him. As to παρατίθημι, it is here used in a way which has a parallel in the inscription on the column of Constantine the Great in Constantinople as quoted by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, PG, 145, col. 1325D: Σοι, Χριστέ Θεός, παρατίθημι τὴν πάλιν ταύτην. Thus, weighing the pros and cons, I am inclined to choose this version instead of that of D and P.

860 Cff. Although the diadem has been dedicated in Jerusalem and thus the Roman Empire proper has come to an end, the succession of rulers will continue for a while. There is, however, a change at this point. From now on there will be no more pious ruler and no more ruler who can be identified with any Byzantine emperor. What follows is a description of the gradual loss of power and the disintegration of the Empire.

860 C–864 A The first reign of this period is that of the three young men who will reign in peace for only 150 days and then start a

101 On the biblical and theological background of this prophecy, see Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs" (supra, note 70), 55 ff.
civil war and kill each other in a bloody battle. They are, as pointed out above, closely connected with the Alexander of the fourth reign and thus represent the diadochs, who have a bad reputation in the apocalyptic tradition. One would expect them to be four as in the Daniel Vision summarized above, but in fact the first young man, who will go to both Thessalonica and Rome, represents two different diadochs, namely, the one reigning in Thessalonica and the one reigning in Rome. In 1968 I assumed that the reason they are only three was that Nicephorus associated them with the triumviri, who appear in the Sibylline oracles, III, 52, and there, as in the Life of AS, are followed by a woman. It must be added, however, that there is also a certain similarity to the three angels mentioned in the beginning of the same late Daniel Vision, especially between the third young man, who will enroll Phrygia, Karia, Galatia, Asia, Armenia, and Arabia, and the third angel who will be sent to Asia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, and the Mother of cities. As I have said before, these in turn correspond to Οὐάχης, Ἀβίδος, and Μορφός, the three sons of Hagar mentioned at the beginning of the Methodius text printed by Istrin, Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskogo, 145–50. I am not certain as to the exact interrelation of these two versions, but it seems clear that Nicephorus in this passage has conflated two different traditions, one originating from the history of Alexander the Great and the diadochs and the other from the apocalypses inspired by the Arab conquests. Thus, the similarity with the triumviri probably is only superficial or, at the most, indirect.

The first sentence of the section on the second young man is difficult. If the text is sound, ἐκστρατεύσαι must be transitive and mean “make to march out,” but for this sense there is only a distant parallel in the Ars rhetorica attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 9,5: ὅ γὰρ Ἀγαμήμων ἀπόρος ἔχει ἐκστρατεύσαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. It is quite possible that it has its usual intransitive meaning and that something has dropped out, perhaps something like καὶ στρατοπεδεύσει after ἐκστρατεύσει propter homoeoteleuton, or that an εἰς should be supplied after αὐτός. Further, the expression τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νῆσων is peculiar, but Nicephorus uses it again in 869 A and B. In the latter passage he explains it as an allusion to Isaiah meaning “the churches in the land of the gentiles.” But it is not certain that the “Cyclades of the islands” is always used figuratively.
From Mesopotamia and the "Cyclades of the islands" the second young man will go to "the navel of the earth," i.e., Jerusalem, which, on the basis of Ps. 73(74):12, was supposed to be situated in the center of the world. This seems to be Nicephorus' own view, as he adds that τοὺς say that he will go to Alexandria. These τοὺς are probably identical with those in the revised Second Vision of Daniel, already referred to several times, according to which one of the diadochs will reign in Alexandria and the others in Rome, Thessalonica, and Constantinople respectively. One may wonder what caused Nicephorus to exchange Alexandria for Jerusalem and also why he gave Mesopotamia such an important role. I have no definite answer to these questions, but some tentative answers may be suggested. One reason may have been that both were closer to the existing Byzantine Empire than was Alexandria, another that the only city mentioned in connection with the three angels in the beginning of the late Daniel Vision is σωτή ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πόλεων, which presumably means Jerusalem, and thus may have influenced Nicephorus' choice; in the version published by Istrin, Οtkrovenie Mefodii Patarskogo, 135ff., Mesopotamia appears in the same context. A third reason may have been that he wanted a city with a meaningful name like Rome, Thessalonica, or Sylaion and that in this respect "the navel of the earth" served his purpose better than the colorless name of Alexandria. Of these possibilities, I regard the first as the least and the second as the most likely.

A puzzling passage in the section on the third young man is that on Sylaion. To begin with there are two cases of textual uncertainty. First, before Σύλαιον most MSS have τὸ δὲ λέγωμεν. If this is the original reading, a piece of direct speech must have dropped out, as Janning says (in his note no. 33), before the following τὰ ἔρημα. However, it seems more likely that the sentence beginning with Σύλαιον constitutes direct speech; so I prefer the variant of Ε τάδε λέγων, which also corresponds well to the λέγων σωτή in the beginning of 861 A. Secondly, the MSS vary between τυλίχθησται (β,D) and συλήθησται (E,P). In the latter case the ϕ may have been omitted unintentionally, but it may also stand for συλήθησται, which in itself would make

102 Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen (supra, note 78), 77 note 3; A. Frolow, La relique de la vraie croix, AOC, 7 (Paris, 1961), 57 note 2. There seems to be little support for the view of the MSS C and K that Alexandria was the navel of the world.

103 In the reign of Leo VI a theme was organized under the name of Mesopotamia; see N. Oikonomides, Les listes de présence Byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles (Paris, 1972), 349. But it does not seem likely that Nicephorus is alluding here to this small border theme.
reasonable sense. The author is playing on the name of Sylaion\textsuperscript{104} as he has just been playing on the names of Rome and Thessalonica, and both verbs can apparently serve this purpose. I have, however, chosen συλληφθήσεται. The meaning of this verb is slightly ambiguous, and so the addition of ὄθεν παραληφθήσεται seems natural,\textsuperscript{105} whereas the combination συλληφθήσεται — παραληφθήσεται forms a hysteron proteron.\textsuperscript{106} As to κληθήσεται, the reading seems safe, but the sense has not been understood correctly. Janning renders it postulabitur ad deditonem and the MSS CK change it to ἐπικάλησαι, “(Sylaion) is your name.” Neither of these interpretations is convincing. What is said here points forward to 868 C, where Constantinople has disappeared into the depths of the sea and the power of the Roman Empire is transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaion. The third young man is saying that Sylaion will be spared because after the fall of Constantinople it will be called to take over the power together with Rome and Thessalonica.

There is no description of the battle between the diadochs in the Daniel Vision edited by Vassiliev, Klostermann, and Istrin. Nicephorus’ model seems to have been the apocalyptic battle in which the Arabs will be defeated by the savior-king; maybe this is the reason why the armies are supposed to be drawn up in places outside the Empire. We are not told where it will take place, but the parallels indicate that it will be fought at Constantinople.

864 A–865 A (162–206) The wicked woman appears already in the\textit{Oracula Sibyllina}, III, 75ff., and VIII, 194ff., where the historical prototype clearly is Cleopatra.\textsuperscript{107} She also appears in the Armenian Vision of Daniel, where according to the translator she represents Verina, the wife of the late Leo I.\textsuperscript{108} But the closest parallel to Nicephorus’ version of the story is, as is so often the case in this section of the\textit{Vita}, a passage in the revised version of the Second Vision of Daniel: καὶ ἐν τῷ μή εἶναι ἄνδρα χρήσιμον βασιλεύσει γυνὴ μιαρὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐπταλόφῳ

\textsuperscript{104} In the case of Sylaion the pun is of the \textit{ex contrariis} type; cf. E. R. Curtius, \textit{Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter} (Bern, 1948), 487.

\textsuperscript{105} For παραληφθὲναι, “capture a place;” cf., e.g.,\textit{Martyrium Arethae}, ed. J. F. Boissonade, \textit{Anecdota Graecae, V} (Paris, 1833), 57, παραλήφθη Τοφάρ ἢ βασιλεύσει πόλις.

\textsuperscript{106} The MSS BDEP all spell Σύλλαιαν with one λ, but if συλληφθῆσεται is authentic, it should perhaps be changed to Σύλλαιαν.


\textsuperscript{108} Macler, “Les Apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel” (\textit{supra}, note 85), 300.
καὶ μιᾶν τὰ δόγμα τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστήρια καὶ σταθεῖσα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἑπταπλησίου βοήθειας φωνῇ μεγάληι λέγουσα· Ἡ τῆς θεοῦ πλήν ἐμὸν καὶ τῆς δύναται ἀντιστῆται τῆς ἠμῶν βασιλείαν; (quoted from the edition of Klostermann, 119,89ff., corresponding to Vassiliev, 46,16ff., and Istrin, 138,4ff.). Neither the Vision of Daniel nor the AS-apocalypse seem to allude to any Byzantine empress. As P. Maas has remarked, there is nothing to support Murray’s tentative identification of the woman with the empress Irene. According to Macler (supra, note 85), loc. cit. note 1, the woman alludes to Jezebel. This might be true in some respects; cf. the words θεῶν θαυμὰ τραγούδα in our text 864 B with Rev. 2:20: τὴν γυναῖκα 'τελεθήλη, ἡ λέγουσα θαυμὰ προφήτην. However, her harlotry reminds the reader more of “Babylon, mother of harlots” in Rev. 17 and her ὑπερφανία of the king of Babylon who says that he wants to ascend to heaven and make himself like the Most High (Isaiah 14:13f.). The belief that in the end Constantinople will sink into the depths of the sea is closely related to the final fate of Babylon as described in Rev. 18:21: καὶ ἤρεν εἰς δύναμιν Ἰσχυρὸς λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν λέγων· οὕτως ὁ ρύμημα βλήθησαν καὶ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ σύ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἔτπ.; cf. Jer. 28(51):42 and 63f. Nicephorus does not mention the name of Babylon here, but in the corresponding passage in the third version of Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 63,29ff., Constantinople is expressly called the “Babylon of Seven Hills”: ἡ Βασίλειος ἐν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλώνιος τής ἑπταπλήσιος καὶ ἑπτάνιος ἐν τόπῳ ἡπταπλήσιος πολιτηθήσεται ή πόλις ή λεγομένη Βαβυλών ἐν τρόπον στροφήτη ἱθον; Cf. further the Armenian Vision of Daniel, trans. Macler, 300, “Malheur à toi . . . Babylone aux sept collines, quand la veuve régnera,” and the original Second Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 41,8f., where the king from the West who will reign for thirty-two years (i.e., Constantine the Great) enters the ἑπταπλήσιος Βαβυλώνιος and prophesies: οὕτως οὐκ ἐσελήλυφεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτάλαφρε ὡς ἀνακατασταθήσεται. Later Nicephorus himself, who in the beginning of his eschatology calls Constantinople the New Jerusalem, gives it the name Babylon, namely 868 B, where the seafarers bewail τὴν Βαβυλώνα ταύτην, i.e., the sunken city of Constantinople. I find it reasonable to assume that Nicephorus here applies the biblical

110 In Life of Andreas (supra, note 3), 31.
111 As to the sense of κρατεῖν, cf. Vita Nili iun., PG, 120, col. 57 B, μανδομένον με κρατεῖν, and Demetrakos, Mega Lexikon, s.v. κρατεῖν, 18.
method of comparing certain cities with harlots\textsuperscript{113} and that the wicked woman is nothing else than a personification of Constantinople itself. That Nicephorus says that she will come from Pontus is puzzling, but he is perhaps playing on the literal meaning of the name and connecting it with the verb πονητίζων or alluding to the “City by the Sea” or something similar. If he meant that she will come from the real Pontus, the woman must represent something more than a personification of Constantinople; in that case I have no explanation to suggest. It may be noted that the λόγος Μεθοδίου printed by Istrin, 145ff., simply says that she is an ἀλλόφυλος (147,36).

Still harder to explain is why she is called μύσσας. Janning printed it as a name, but no woman with that name is known. Moreover, as the preceding rulers are anonymous, she is not likely to have a name. If it is an adjective, it is equally unparalleled. Both meaning and etymology are obscure. Most probably it is a false reading demanding emendation.


For relatives killing each other (864 A) as a traditional element in the Antichrist story, see W. Bousset, Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche (Göttingen, 1895), 76f.

As to the κικάραι καὶ δραχμίσεις καὶ πραγματείαι στατικaiser (864 B), cf. Rev. 18:22: καὶ φοινική κικάραδον καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν οὗ μὴ δικουσθη ἐν σοὶ (i.e., Babylon) ἐτ. At the same time the passage reflects the constant fight of the apostolic fathers against secular song and dance, cf., e.g., Ephraem Syrus, ed. G. Assemani, III, col. 381 E (under the heading: Τὸ πῶς ἐπιστρέφει τις εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ὃτι οὐ χρή παίξειν χριστιανῶν) ὁ διάβολος καὶ οἱ κικάραι καὶ χορῶν καὶ φασμάτων δαίμονικων, and the Leges Homeritarum, PG, 86,1, col. 600 Bf. Οἱ κικάραδοι, καὶ οἱ λυρισται, καὶ οἱ πραγματείαι, καὶ οἱ κροτούντες χερσί, καὶ οἱ δραχμίμενοι υπομενέτωσαν (the verb meaning “should be punished,” according to the editor); see further Ph. Kukules,\textsuperscript{114} V, 206ff., and H. Reich,\textsuperscript{115} 109ff. In the opinion of Reich, the wicked woman is a predecessor of Antichrist in the guise of a Byzantine mime (p. 824 note).

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 513.

\textsuperscript{114} Βυζαντινῶν Βίου καὶ Πολιτισμού, I–VI (Athens, 1948–57).

\textsuperscript{115} Der Mimus (Berlin, 1903).
Regarding κλινεῖ ... θυμόν (864 D), cf. the λόγος Μεθοδίου, ed. Istrin, 148,7 f.: κλινεῖ κύριος τήν ὑγρήν σύντοι. See also supra, note 39.

The use of the word χοῦς in the sentence ὑποτέμη τὸν χοῦν τὴν ὑποκάτω τῆς πόλεως (864 D) is strange. I guess the author has borrowed the expression from Mark 6:11, ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ύμῶν, without taking note of the different situation.

The image of a millstone for Constantinople (865 A) evidently derives from Rev. 18:21, quoted above. The participle γυροβολοῦμενος I have rendered “whirling.” The verb seems to have been a wrestling term; cf. the demotic verb γυροβολάω which, according to Demetrakos, is used of wrestling; he paraphrases it περιστρέφων τινὰ τὸν τινᾶσσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔδαφος. In the story of Andreas wrestling with the Ethiopian giant (636 C) it appears as a variant in DE.

I do not know who the Τίνες were who, on the basis of Isaiah 11:12 and 16 and Rom. 11:25f., say that after the reign of the gentiles God will let the divine tribes of Israel reign until the end of the seventh millennium. They are not likely to have been Jews, for in that case they would probably have been quoted as such, and it is also less likely that a Jew would have quoted St. Paul in support of his opinion. It is true that Isaiah 11:12-16 is referred to by a Jew in the part of Vita Gregentii known as Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo, PG, 86,1, col. 692 Aff., but there the seventh millennium is not mentioned, nor is St. Paul referred to. Herban also quotes Isaiah much more exactly than AS does. Nor have I found anything similar to the view of the Τίνες in the ancient commentaries on the biblical passages in question or in the treatises contra Judaeos known to me. The traditional Christian interpretation of the σημεῖον of Isaiah 11:12 is that it refers to the cross.
interpreted as a reference to the conversion of the gentiles.\textsuperscript{120} No commentary I have seen relates the two passages to each other. Both Isaiah and St. Paul are quoted very freely by the \textit{παύετα}. The words of Isaiah εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ("he will raise an ensign for the nations") they replace by \textit{ἐν τῇ συμπλήρωσι τῶν ἔθνων}, which seems to mean "when the number of the gentiles has been completed." In Rom. 11:25 they substitute \textit{εἰς} for \textit{εἰς} to make possible the interpretation "when the full number of the gentiles has come," which is, I take it, equivalent to "after the reign of the gentiles," i.e., in this case, after the reign of the three young men and the wicked woman. All that can be said on the basis of my material is that their speculation makes an unorthodox impression. Their tolerance toward the Jews may be compared to that demonstrated by Gregory, the pupil of Basil the Younger and author of the \textit{Vita} of this saint. Gregory says he had started to think that the Jews were not so bad after all, but Basil soon convinced him in a spectacular way that he was wrong.\textsuperscript{121}

Nicephorus himself does not think that Rom. 11:25f. implies more than that the Jews will be allowed to return from exile before the end. The only reason for this is, according to him, that they thus will be deprived of their pretext for envy.\textsuperscript{122} Then Antichrist will appear immediately. According to 821 B, the Jews have been waiting for him all the time. In the present context Nicephorus says that they will be the first to be deceived by Antichrist. The Hippolytus \textit{ὁ μάρτυς} referred to in support of this opinion seems to be the so-called Pseudo-Hippolytus, who probably in the ninth century compiled a treatise on the end of the world on the basis of Hippolytus' \textit{De Antichristo} and certain homilies by Ephraem the Syrian.\textsuperscript{123} But the related belief that Antichrist will establish the kingdom of the Jews appears already in the writings of Hippolytus himself; see A.-M. Denis, \textit{Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament} (Leiden, 1970), 298. Denis thinks that Hippolytus is referring to a well-known legend of Christian, or at least not Jewish, origin. The \textit{παύετα}, who think that God himself will establish the kingdom of the Jews, do not take this tradition into

\textsuperscript{120} See, e.g., John of Damascus, PG, 95, col. 533 Df.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Vita Basilii iun.}, ed. Veselovskij, Sbornik' otdelenija russkago jazyka, LIII, No. 6 (1891), Supplement, 3ff. (cod. Mosquensis symod. 249, fol. 147vff.).
\textsuperscript{122} For \textit{φονοῦ} (end of 865 C) I read \textit{φονοῦ} with E, which gives a better sense. The envy of the Jews is also mentioned in \textit{Vita Basilii iun.}, ed. Veselovskij, \textit{loc. cit.}, 131,29; 132,1; 139,27 (cod. Mosquensis symod. 249, fol. 299vff.).
\textsuperscript{123} H. Achelis, \textit{Hippolytstudien}, TU, N.S., I,4 (Leipzig, 1897), 79.
consideration but concentrate on the interpretation of Isaiah 11:12 and Rom. 11:25f.

The quotation from John 8:21 (24), ην τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ωμῶν ἀποθανεῖσθαι (865 C), I have excluded from the text as having little value as evidence in this context and because it is lacking in MSS β and P. It may be noted, however, that the combination of John 5:43 and 8:21 (24) appears also in Vita Basilii Iun., ed. Veselovskij (1891), 8 (cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 153v).

I am not certain as to the meaning of υπολείποντας (865 C), which may be corrupt. I have tentatively rendered it "false."

868 B As in the case of the τινὲς in 865 B, I cannot identify the τινὲς who say that the Great Church of God (i.e., St. Sophia) will be suspended in the air when the rest of Constantinople is flooded by the sea. Nicephorus may be referring to some rather obscure oral tradition, or even inventing the τινὲς just to make his narrative more lively and interesting.

The prophecy that only the column in the forum will be left when Constantinople disappears contradicts the Daniel Vision edited by Vassiliev, 43–47, Klostermann, 115–20, and Istrin, 135–39, according to which it is the Xerolophos, as the seventh hill of Constantinople was called, that will remain above water. The basis for this particular view is perhaps that the name of the seventh hill contains the adjective ξηρός, "dry." However, it agrees with the prophecy of the λόγος Μεθοδίου edited by Istrin, 148, ff.; καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ τέχνη καταπεσοῦσα καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποσύνῃ ἐν σοι, εἰ μὴ στύλος τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ἵνα εἰκεὶ θρημήσωσιν οἱ πλεονετες τὴν θάλασσαν. Thus, we find here another instance of the affinity between this document and the AS-eschatology.

For the belief that the nails which had fastened the body of Christ to the cross had been inserted in the statue of Apollo-Helios in the guise of Constantine the Great on the column in the forum, more specifically, in the rays which crowned its head, see this Life, 837 C; further, the Life of Constantine published by Halkin (supra, note 73), 94, 33ff. and Frolow (supra, note 66), 77. Frolow refers, besides to the Life of AS, to the Scriptores origium Constantinopolitanarum, ed. T. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), 174; to Zonaras, XIII, 3, ed. Bonn., III, 18 (PG, 134, col. 1112 A), and to Synaxarium CP, ed. Delehaye, col. 673. He observes that this detail was not added until the Middle Ages, when there
seems to have been a tendency to render the statue in the
forum more venerable.

For Constantinople as a new Babylon, see 864 A4–865 A.

The variant reading of DE, καὶ ἀπὸ τόν θηρόν έκείνων,
(255–58) is perhaps intended to be a counterpart to Matt. 24:29,
μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τοῦ θηρούν έκείνων (cf. the variant καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
θλίψεως τοῦ θηρούν έκείνων of CK), and could thus possibly be
understood as “after the distress of those days.” I have,
however, chosen the simpler version of β which seems safer
and has a parallel in 857 B.

The transfer of the political power to other cities after the
flooding of Constantinople is mentioned also in the λόγος
Μεθοσίου edited by Istrin, 145ff., and in the Daniel Vision
eds. Vassiliev, 43ff., Klostermann, 115ff., and Istrin, 135ff.
According to the former apocalypse, the βασιλεία (cf. the
βασιλέαν of AS) will be given to Rome; according to the
latter it will be given to Thessalonica. Both of these cities
are among those held by the diadochs at an earlier stage in
the eschatological drama. The Life of AS, however, seems to
be the only source according to which the power will be
divided between three of the cities mentioned in connection
with the diadochs. Only Jerusalem is missing, but this
omission seems to be motivated by the preceding polemic
against the Jews. In other respects the parallelism between
this section and the diadoch section is very striking. In
both cases there is a tripartition of power which illustrates
how the imperial authority grows weak and the Empire
disintegrates. One may ask whether this parallelism is
peculiar to the Life of AS or whether it was already tradi­
tional at the time when Nicephorus was writing. I am
inclined to attribute it to Nicephorus’ own invention, but a
definite answer depends on a correct interpretation of the
enigmatic role of Sylaion in this context. It is indeed
remarkable that a small town on the coast of Pamphylia,
whose sole merits were that it had a bishop, that it was
one of the bases of the navy of the Cibyraeot theme, and
that near it an Arab fleet had been wrecked, appears in
the AS eschatology as an heiress of Constantinople on a par
with Rome and Thessalonica. It may be that Nicephorus
here makes an allusion which, if we were able to understand

125 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer; la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes
de Byzance aux VIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 83 note 3; 108; 111.
126 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, ed. de Boor, 354,10.
it, would throw light not only on this section but on the whole *Vita*. So far, however, I have not been able to see any other common denominator for the three cities than the etymological pun on their names, and it is quite possible that no deeper sense should be sought.\footnote{127}

The words τοῦ τέλους ἡδη ἐγγίσαντος καὶ λοιπῶν ἄτονα τά πράγματα γενήσονται have a certain ring of Hesychius Milesius, ed. T. Preger, *Script. Orig. Const.*, I (1901), 1,1ff. Δύο καὶ ἑξικοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγοῦστου Καίσαρος μοναρχίας διεληλυθότων ἐνιστῶν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς ἡδη πρὸς πέρας ἀφιγμένων Κωνσταντίνου ο Ἡρώδης ο Κωνσταντίνου παῖς ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἁλατικῶν ἀντίστοις Ῥώμην ἵστην αὐτὴν τῇ πρώτῃ χρηματίζειν προστάξας. The idea, developed in the sixth century and implicit in this passage, is that the new Rome in the East was the young, vital Rome in contrast to the aging, senile, dying Rome of the West.\footnote{128} In the eschatology of *AS* the words are similar but the situation is different. Constantinople itself, which is never called New Rome, will pass away. Its power will be transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaion, and thus the old Rome will revive again and survive what was officially considered the new Rome. But only for a short time. Soon τά πράγματα, an expression I have rendered as "government," will lose its force again, this time definitely.

The readings of Π, πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἡδη ἐγγίσαντες, and Δ, πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐγγίσαντος ἡδη, are still closer to the passage of Hesychius Milesius quoted above. If they are more original than that of Β, which I have chosen because of its better syntax, the meaning is either "which [i.e., the three cities] already are approaching the end" or "which [i.e., the Empire] will already approach the end."

868 C–869 A  
(258–76)  

tὸ γὰρ ἔτος ἔκεινο: i.e., in the same year as Constantinople will pass away. The reigns of Rome, Sylaion, and Thessalonica will last for only a short time; cf. the Daniel Vision, ed. Vassiliev, 46,23ff. (Klostermann, 119,96ff.; Istrin, 138,11ff.). καὶ οὕτως (after the passing away of Constantinople) βασιλείας ἔτερος ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη ἐπὶ χρόνων μικρῶν.

ἀποφράξει: ἀποφράξτω has its traditional meaning, "block up, stop up" in 653 B, but here it must mean the opposite, "to open," a meaning which occurs in later Greek; see

\footnote{127} On the mediaeval thinking in terms of etymology, see Curtius, *Europäische Literatur* (supra, note 104), 488ff. The examples in hagiography are legion, see, e.g., my *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala, 1970), 48ff.


*tós πῦλας τάς ἐν † Ἰνδαλίας † ἀς ἔβελεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ ἐξελέφαντον βασιλεῖς ἐβοσμὴντα δύο: Nicephorus, on two points, differs in a remarkable way from the corresponding passage in Pseudo-Methodius' prophecy, ed. Istrin, 20,7 ff. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴσικηλή φωνήν καὶ προφητείαν τῆν λέγουσαν "ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέφασται Γώγ καὶ Μαγώγ εἰς τὴν γῆν Ἰσραήλ" (cf. Ezek. 38:14–16) οἱ εἶσαι ἔθνη καὶ βασιλεῖς, οὓς καθέρξεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Βορρᾶ, Γώγ καὶ Μαγώγ ... (Pseudo-Methodius enumerates twenty-two peoples). First, Pseudo-Methodius locates the gates to the north, which is the normal location in texts influenced by the Bible (cf. Ezek. 38:15), whereas the MSS of the Life of AS place them in Ἰνδαλία, or in κινδύνος, or in Ἰνδία. The first two variants do not seem to make sense; so it would be tempting to adopt Ἰνδία. It is true that no other source, at least among those known to me, says that the gates are in India, but, as India plays an important part in the Alexander romance, Nicephorus may have put the gates there more or less carelessly. Secondly, the number of the kings and their peoples is twenty-two according to Pseudo-Methodius, but no fewer than seventy-two according to Nicephorus. Directly or indirectly, Pseudo-Methodius arrived at his number from the number of barbarian nations which Alexander the Great traditionally was supposed to have subjugated, ὑπέταξεν (i.e., Ἀλέξανδρος) ἔθνη βαρβάρων κβ', Ἐλλήνων τ', 129 and in his turn passed it on to later apocalyptists who used him as a source. 130 In the earliest work which is specific on this point, the Syriac *Christian Legend Concerning Alexander*, the number is twenty-four, a number which appears also in other, later sources. 131 According to H. Stocks 132 and myself, 133 this is due to the fact that the foul nations were identified with the offspring of Japheth, one of Noah's three sons (Gen. 10), and thus may have been supposed to represent one-third of the seventy-two biblical peoples. It should be added, however, that none of our sources explicitly allots twenty-four of the seventy-two biblical peoples to Japheth. 134 Other numbers

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133 In *Eranos*, 116.
are also mentioned in the sources,133 but as far as I know, Nicephorus is the only author who says that the peoples are seventy-two in number. His motive for that is not quite clear. The fact that he does not mention Gog and Magog could indicate that he is thinking not of a fraction but of the whole sum of the biblical peoples, which was seventy-two.136 On the other hand, he can hardly have meant that Alexander excluded all peoples. Probably he is simply using seventy-two as a traditional round number of peoples characterized as ὃν ἀριθμὸς ὥσις ἄρμος θαλάσσης, which is used of the foul nations in the original Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 41.

The expression σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ὥσις (868 D) I understand as “the raw flesh of men.” Pseudo-Callisthenes, version β, ed. L. Bergson (Uppsala, 1965), 205,1 and the Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 42,9f., have simply σάρκας ἀνθρώπων; Pseudo-Methodius has νεκρῶν σάρκας (ed. Istrin, 18,7).

The κύθρων οἴκους (869 A) is dubious. However, the general meaning of the sentence is clear, namely that the sanctuaries will be profaned. Cf. Pseudo-Hippolytus, ed. Achelis, 291, οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς οἱκοὶ ἔσονται; ibid., 303, τά ιερὰ τῶν ἱερατῶν ὡς ὑπωροσφυλάκιον” (Isaiah 1:8) γενησόνται; Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 32 (the Arabs appear in the guise of the foul nations): τοὺς ισραήλ ἐνδον εἰς τὰ ἄγια μιλύανας κατασφάξονται καὶ καταστρέφονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς σπετοῖς καὶ ιεροῖς τόποις, ἐν οἷς ἡ μυστική καὶ ἀναίμακτος ἐπιτελεῖται θυσία; Euthymios Zigabenos, Contra Phundagiagitas, PG, 131, col. 56 A: Κτίσουσιν ἱερατεύσας οἱ ἁσβεῖς, καθὼς αὐτοὶ ταύτα πάντα ὁμολόγησαν, οὐ τίθεσι, ἀλλὰς τὸ ἐπιταίλες, καὶ μιαίνει αὐτός, ὥστε τοῦ θυσιασμοῖρὸς τὸς μιαρός πράξεις, καὶ μιξίνας αἰσχρὰς ποιεῖν μὴ παραιτούμενοι.

The exhortation to flee (869 A) echoes Matt. 24:16 (Mark 13:14, Luke 21:21): τότε ὁ ἐν τῇ ἱλουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὅρη. The following statement that Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia seems to be an adaptation of a prophecy found in the λόγος Μεθοδίου, ed. Istrin, 149, 14f.: τότε ... οἱ ἐν τῇ στεφεῖ γὰρ φεύγονται ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νῆσοις ἐν τῇ στεφεῖ.

869 B For the belief that Satan will come from the tribe of Dan, see Bousset, Antichrist, 112ff., and for his ugliness, ibid., 101f.

133 Ibid., 54ff.
136 For references concerning the 72 peoples of the world, see Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek (supra, note 117), 32 (note on line 47).
As to the statement that Christ himself had descended to Hades and bound Antichrist, cf. *Vita Basilii iun.*, cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 105 (ed. Veselovskij [1889], 41): ... τά ταμεία τοῦ ἄδου, καὶ συνετρίψεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ἀχράντου πάθους αὐτοῦ κατείχε μετὰ ψυχῆς θεικῶς καὶ πᾶσαν τήν δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ἄδου δεσμεύσας δεσμοῖς ἀλώτοις τῶν Σάτανος (the text seems slightly corrupt, but the sense is clear). According to Rev. 20:1 ff., it was not Christ himself but an angel that bound Satan. However, chap. 1:18, “I have the keys of Death and Hades,” indicates that the idea of Christ’s descension to Hades and his fight with Satan and victory over him existed already at the time when the Revelation to John was written.137


869 C (286–96) The traditional opinion was that the witnesses who will appear during the reign of Antichrist are Elias and Enoch.138 The Life of AS, here and in 817 A, B, represents a later stage of the tradition, according to which these two will be joined by John the Evangelist, a version which is also represented by Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Hippolytus, among others.139 This belief seems to have been regarded as popular, to judge from the commentary of Arethas of Caesarea on Rev. 10:11 (PG, 106, col. 645 B): Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ δεῖ δὲ ἄπο τοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἤλεγχου τού, δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεύσαι, ἔχουσι δόξαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς μέχρι τῆς συντελείας ὁ μακάριος οὗτος ἦ, καὶ ήξε κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου μετὰ Ἑκάκχον καὶ Ἡλίου ἀμα αὐτοῖς ἐπανορθούμενος τοὺς την καῦσα πάθρωτους, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποκτανθήσεται. The long version of the MSS CK is mostly an adaptation of Rev. 11.

The variants ὄλενβο, ὄλεννῳ, and ὄλεννυῳ, which appear here and in 872 C, seem to be late forms of ὄλλωμι, but so far I have seen no other instances of these particular forms. They apparently represent a development in a direction which came to a dead end. As in most cases of doubt, I have followed the reading of β.

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138 Idem., Antichrist (*supra*, p. 251), 134 ff.
139 Ibid., 137. Bousset says John the Baptist, but he must mean John the Evangelist.
Nicephorus sometimes pretends that he knew AS personally and therefore some commentators have dated the composition of the Vita to the sixth century. But the Life of AS is fiction, not a historical document. A number of anachronisms show that it must have been written several centuries after the supposed lifetime of the Saint.

As I have tried to show above, his theory on the end of the world reflects the apocalyptic tradition in a form it did not develop until after the appearance of the Second Vision of Daniel, dated to the ninth century. In 648 A he says that AS ἐν παιδίων κατὰ τὸν πάλαι Συμεὼν ἔκτενον τὸν θαυμαστόν. According to the sources, Symeon Salos lived in the sixth century, and his Life was written in the middle of the seventh. As the adverb πάλαι indicates that Nicephorus regarded him as a man of ancient times, this is a revealing anachronism. In 712 B he mentions the church of the Mother of God in Constantine’s forum, built by Basil I (867–86). Among chronological arguments ἐ σιλεντίῳ, the references to the ἀντίφορος (656 B), τὰ Μαυριανῶ (832 D), and τὸ Ἐπτάσκαλον (841 D) may be mentioned. Elsewhere, the earliest reference to an ἀντίφορος in Constantinople seems to be Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae, ed. I. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 165,17. Τὰ Μαυριανῶ is not known before the ninth century and τὸ Ἐπτάσκαλον not before the tenth. Further, the mention of a χαρτουλαρίους τῶν πλοίων in 849 B is clearly anachronistic.

On the whole, the author is not greatly concerned with time. At the beginning of the section translated here Nicephorus speaks about τὴν μίαν τούτην ἔβδομα, but we are not told what week he is referring to. Now he says that the conversation has taken place τῇ νυκτὶ ἑαυτῇ, although we have not previously been told that AS and Epiphanius were meeting at night. It is clear, however, that we shall imagine the conversation as taking place not long before the death of the Saint. It is the first in a series of conversations on spiritual topics which form the end of the Vita and in which AS says farewell to his friend. It is a natural place for an eschatological message.

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141 This was already pointed out by P. Maas, op. cit. (supra, note 109), 318.
142 Janin, Constantinople Byzantinae (supra, note 99), 386.
143 Ibid., 229.
144 Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer (supra, note 125), 74. On the other hand, there is little anachronistic about the winter storm described in 660 Cf., which has been connected with the severe winter 928 (Da Costa-Louillet, op. cit., 183). It is in fact a reminiscence of Vita Danielis stylitae, ed. H. Delehaye, SubsHag, 14 (1923), 51f.
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