

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**THE APOCALYPTIC HORIZON IN BYZANTIUM:  
PHILOSOPHY, PROPHECY, AND POLITICS DURING THE ELEVENTH  
THROUGH THIRTEENTH CENTURIES**

BY

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Various chapters of the thesis are slight revisions of papers that have recently been published or are currently in press. CHAPTER 2 is a slight revision of a paper that I co-authored with my supervisor I. Perczel, entitled: “John Italos on the Eternity of the World,” *BZ* 111/3 (2018): 659–720. CHAPTERS 4–7 are based on the following publications of mine: “Living on the Edge of Time: Temporal Patterns and Irregularities in Byzantine Historical Apocalypses,” in *The Fascination with Unknown Time*, ed. S. Baumbach, L. Henningsen, K. Oschema (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 71–91; “Miracles and Pseudo-Miracles in Byzantine Apocalypses,” in *Recognizing Miracles in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. M. Gerolemou, Trends in Classics, Supplementary Volumes 53 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 111–130; “Typological Hermeneutics and Apocalyptic Time: A Case Study of the Medieval Greek Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel,” in *Όψεις του Βυζαντινού Χρόνου. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 29–30 Μαΐου 2015*, ed. E. Saradē, A. Dellaporta, Th. Kollyropoulou (Kalamata: Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου/Χριστιανικό και Βυζαντινό Μουσείο, 2018), 180–194. CHAPTER 9 is largely identical with the forthcoming publication: “Prophecies as a resource of decision-making: The case of Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos’ execution at the Column of Theodosios,” in *Supporting sovereign decision-making: Experts and their knowledge in a transcultural and comparative perspective*, ed. M. Grünbart (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming). The APPENDIX has been published in: “An inventory of Medieval Greek apocalyptic sources (c. 500–1500 AD): Naming and dating, editions and manuscripts,” *Millennium* 15 (2018): 69–143.

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*****PERIODICALS AND SERIES***

<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CACSS	Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CPMA	Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
<i>EEBS</i>	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν / Epetēris Hetaireías Byzantinōn Spoudōn</i>
FC	Fontes Christiani
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>

LBG	Trapp, Erich, ed. <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts</i> . 8 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994–2017.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Hell</i>	<i>Ἑλληνικά / Hellēnika</i>
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>NE</i>	<i>Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν / Neos Hellēnomnēmōn</i>
ODB	Kazhdan, Alexander, et al., eds. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. New York, NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
PBW	Prosopography of the Byzantine World (available at: <a href="https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/">https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/</a> last accessed 30/11/2018)
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> . 161 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Византийский временник / Vizantijskij vremennik</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Зборник радова Византолошког института / Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta</i>

## PART I: PHILOSOPHICAL SOURCES

<i>Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica</i>	Pontikos, Ilias N., ed. <i>Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica: A Miscellany in the Tradition of Michael Psellos (Codex Baroccianus Graecus 131)</i> . CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 6. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1992.
Aristoteles, <i>De anima</i>	Hicks, Robert D., ed. <i>Aristotle: De anima, with Translation, Introduction and Notes</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907.
Aristoteles, <i>De caelo</i>	Allan, Donald J., ed. <i>Aristotelis De caelo libri quattuor</i> . SCBO. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936 (repr. 1955).
Aristoteles, <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	Bywater, Ingram, ed. <i>Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea</i> . SCBO. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894 (repr. 1962).
Aristoteles, <i>Metaphysica</i>	Ross, David, ed. <i>Aristotle's Metaphysics</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924 (repr. 1997).
Aristoteles, <i>Physica</i>	Ross, David, ed. <i>Aristotelis Physica</i> . SCBO. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.
Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio</i> 29	Gallay, Paul, and Maurice Jourjon, eds./trans. <i>Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 27–31 (Discours Théologiques)</i> , 176–225. SC 250. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978.
Gregorius Nazianzenus, <i>Oratio</i> 39	Moreschini, Claudio, ed., and Paul Gallay, trans. <i>Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 38–41</i> , 150–197. SC 358. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
<i>Ilias</i>	Lattimore, Richmond, trans. <i>The Iliad of Homer</i> . Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press, 1951.
<i>Odyseia</i>	Lattimore, Richmond, trans. <i>The Odyssey of Homer</i> . New York, NY/London: Harper & Row, 1975.
(Ps)Iamblichus, <i>Theologoumena arithmeticae</i>	De Falco, Vittorio, ed. <i>Iamblichi theologoumena arithmeticae</i> . BSGRT 1446. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922 (repr. 1975).
Ioannes Damascenus, <i>Expositio fidei</i>	Kotter, Bonifatius, ed. <i>Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. Vol.2: Expositio fidei</i> . PTS 12. Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1973.
Italus, <i>Quaestiones quodlibetales</i>	Joannou, Perikles. <i>Ioannes Italos: Quaestiones quodlibetales</i> . Studia patristica et byzantina 4. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1956.
Ioannes Lydus, <i>Liber de mensibus</i>	Wünsch, Richard, ed. <i>Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber de mensibus</i> . BSGRT 1523. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898 (repr. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967).
Maximus Confessor, <i>Ambigua ad Ioannem</i>	Constas, Nicholas, ed./trans. <i>Maximos the Confessor: On Difficulties in the Church Fathers: The Ambigua</i> , Vol.1, 61–451. DOML 28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
Maximus Confessor, <i>Ambigua ad Thomam</i>	Constas, Nicholas, ed./trans. <i>Maximos the Confessor: On Difficulties in the Church Fathers: The Ambigua</i> , Vol.1, 1–59. DOML 28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.
Nemesius, <i>De natura hominis</i>	Morani, Moreno, ed. <i>Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis</i> . BSGRT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1987.

Nicephorus Blemmydes, <i>Epitome physica</i>	Wegelin, Johann, ed. <i>Nicephori Blemmidae Epitome physica</i> . In PG 142, ed. J.-P. Migne, 1024B–1320C. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1865.
Nicolaus Methonaeus, <i>Refutatio institutionis theologiae Procli</i>	Angelou, Athanasios, ed. <i>Nicholas of Methone: Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology</i> . CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 1. Leiden: Brill, 1984.
<i>Oracula Chaldaica</i>	des Places, Édouard, ed./trans. <i>Oracles Chaldaïques, avec un choix de commentaires anciens</i> . Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996 <sup>3</sup> .
Philo, <i>De aeternitate mundi</i>	Colson, Francis H., trans. <i>Philo in ten volumes</i> , Vol.9, 184–291. LCL 363. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941 (repr. 1985).
Philoponus, <i>Contra Proclum</i>	Rabe, Hugo, ed. <i>Ioannes Philoponus De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum</i> . BSGRT 1591. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899.
Philoponus, <i>In Aristotelis De anima</i>	Hayduck, Michael, ed. <i>Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria</i> . CAG 15. Berlin: Reimer, 1897.
Philoponus, <i>In Aristotelis Physicorum libros</i>	Vitelli, Girolamo, ed. <i>Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quinque posteriores commentaria</i> . 2 vols. CAG 16–17. Berlin: Reimer, 1887–1888.
Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>	Henry, René, ed./trans. <i>Photius: Bibliothèque, Tome IV («Codices» 223–229)</i> . Collection byzantine. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1965.
Plato, <i>Phaedrus</i>	Fowler, Harold N., trans. <i>Plato in twelve volumes. Vol.1: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus</i> , 412–579. LCL 36. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914 (repr. 1960).
Plato, <i>Res publica</i>	Shorey, Paul, trans. <i>Plato in twelve volumes. Vol.5: The Republic in two volumes, I, Books 1–5</i> . LCL 237. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930 (repr. 1937).
Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>	Bury, Robert G., trans. <i>Plato in twelve volumes. Vol.9: Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles</i> , 16–253. LCL 234. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929 (repr. 1989).
Plotinus	Henry, Paul, and Hans-Rudolf Schwyzer, eds. <i>Plotini Opera</i> . 3 vols. Museum Lessianum, Series philosophica 33–35. Paris/Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer/L'édition universelle, 1951–1973.
Porphyrius, <i>Contra Christianos</i>	von Harnack, Adolf, ed. <i>Porphyrius, 'Gegen die Christen', 15 Bücher: Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate</i> . Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1916, phil.-hist. Klasse 1. Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916.
Porphyrius, <i>Isagoge</i>	Busse, Adolf, ed. <i>Porphyrii isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium</i> . CAG 4/1. Berlin: Reimer, 1887.
Proclus, <i>Elementatio theologica</i>	Dodds, Eric R., ed. <i>Proclus: The Elements of Theology</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 <sup>2</sup> .
Proclus, <i>In Rem publicam</i>	Kroll, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem publicam commentarii</i> . Vol.1. BSGRT 1726. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899.

Proclus, <i>In Timaeum</i>	Diehl, Ernst, ed. <i>Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria</i> . 3 vols. BSGRT 1728–1730. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1906.
Psellus, <i>Chronographia</i>	Reinsch, Diether R., ed./trans. <i>Michaelis Pselli Chronographia</i> . Millennium-Studien 51. Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2014.
Psellus, <i>De omnifaria doctrina</i>	Westerink, Leendert G., ed. <i>Michael Psellus: De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction</i> . Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij N.V., 1948.
Psellus, <i>Opuscula I</i>	Duffy, John M., ed. <i>Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora. Vol.1: Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia</i> . BSGRT. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1992.
Psellus, <i>Opuscula II</i>	O'Meara, Dominic J., ed. <i>Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora. Vol.2: Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica</i> . BSGRT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.
Psellus, <i>Theologica I</i>	Gautier, Paul, ed. <i>Michaelis Pselli Theologica</i> . Vol.1. BSGRT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.
Psellus, <i>Theologica II</i>	Westerink, Leendert G., and John M. Duffy, eds. <i>Michaelis Pselli Theologica</i> . Vol.2. BSGRT. Munich/Leipzig: K. G. Sauer, 2002.
Ps-Aristoteles, <i>De mundo</i>	Lorimer, William L., ed. <i>Aristotelis qui fertur libellus De mundo</i> . Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933.
Ps-Dionysius, <i>Epistulae</i>	Heil, Günter, and Adolf M. Ritter, eds. <i>Corpus Dionysiacum II: De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae</i> , 151–210. PTS 67. Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2012 <sup>2</sup> .
Ps-Dionysius, <i>De divinis nominibus</i>	Suchla, Beate R., ed. <i>Corpus Dionysiacum I: De divinis nominibus</i> . PTS 33. Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1990.
Ps-Macarius, <i>Homiliae spirituales</i>	Dörries, Hermann, Erich Klostermann, and Matthias Kroeger, eds. <i>Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios</i> . PTS 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964.
Simplicius, <i>In Aristotelis Physicorum libros</i>	Diels, Hermann, ed. <i>Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor posteriores commentaria</i> . Vol.2. CAG 10. Berlin: Reimer, 1895.
Symeon Seth, <i>Conspectus rerum naturalium</i>	Delatte, Armand, ed. <i>Anecdota Atheniensia et alia. Vol.2: Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences</i> , 17–89. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 88. Liège/Paris: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres/Librairie E. Droz, 1939.
Theodorus Smyrnaeus, <i>Epitome de natura et de principis naturalibus</i>	Benakis, Linos G., ed. <i>Theodoros of Smyrna: Epitome of Nature and Natural Principles according to the Ancients. Editio princeps. Introduction – Text – Indices</i> . CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 12. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2013.
Zacharias Scholasticus, <i>Ammonius</i>	Colonna, Maria M., ed. <i>Zacharia Scolastico: Ammonio. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, comentario</i> . Naples: La Buona Stampa, 1973.

## PART II: APOCALYPTIC SOURCES

English title	Latin title (as in the Appendix)	Abbreviated title	Edition	Approx. date
<i>Greek theosophical fragments</i>	Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta	<i>TheoGrFrag</i>	Erbse, Hartmut, ed. <i>Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . BSGRT. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995.	V <sup>EX</sup> /VI <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Oracle of Baalbek</i>	Sibylla Tiburtina graeca	<i>SibTibGr</i>	Alexander, Paul J., ed./trans. <i>The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress</i> , 9–22. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967.	502–506
<i>Apocalypse of Ps-Methodios</i>	Apocalypsis Methodii graeca (redactio prima)	<i>ApcMeth</i>	Aerts, Willem J., and George A.A. Kortekaas, eds. <i>Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen</i> . Vol.1. Leuven: Peeters, 1998. Lolos, Anastasios, ed. <i>Die Apokalypse des Ps.Methodios</i> . Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1976.	710
<i>Ps-Hippolytos on the End of the World</i>	Hippolyti de consummatione mundi	<i>Ps-Hippol</i>	Athanasopoulos, Panagiotis C., ed. <i>Ψ.-Ιππολύτου Περί τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου – Κριτική έκδοση. 2η έκδοση</i> , 75–116. Ioannina: Carpe Diem, 2016.	VII <sup>EX</sup> /VIII <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Narrative of Daniel</i>	Diegesis Danielis	<i>DiegDan</i>	Berger, Klaus, ed./trans. <i>Die griechische Daniel-Diegesis: eine altkirchliche Apokalypse</i> , 12–23. Leiden: Brill, 1976.	716/17
<i>Anonymous prediction</i>	Anonymi de rebus Byzantinis vaticinium	<i>AnonymVatic</i>	Vassiliev, Athanasius, ed. <i>Anecdota graeco-byzantina, pars prior</i> , 47–50. Moscow: Sump-tibus et typis Universitatis Caesariae, 1893.	IX <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Ps-Chrysostom on the Vision of Daniel</i>	Iohannis Chrysostomi visio Danielis	<i>Ps-Chrys</i>	Schmoldt, Hans, ed./trans. <i>Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision’</i> , 220–236. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg, 1972.	842
<i>Vision of Daniel on the Last Times</i>	Visio Danielis de tempore novissimo et de fine mundi	<i>VisioDan</i>	Schmoldt, Hans, ed./trans. <i>Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision’</i> , 202–218. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg, 1972.	869
<i>Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool</i>	Apocalypsis Andreae Sali	<i>ApcAndr</i>	Rydén, Lennart, ed./trans. <i>The Life of St Andrew the Fool</i> , Vol.2, 258–284. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995.	X <sup>MED</sup>
<i>Dioptra of Philip the Monk</i>	Dioptra Philippi Monotropi	<i>Dioptra</i>	Lavriōtēs, Spyridōn, ed. <i>Ἡ Διόπτρα. Ὁ ᾽Αθως, Ἀγιορειτικὸν περιοδικὸν 1</i> . Athens: Τύποις ‘Νομικῆς’ Πέτρου Λ. Βεργιανίτου, 1920.	1096/97
<i>Apocalypse of Anastasia</i>	Apocalypsis Anastasiae	<i>ApcAnast</i>	Homburg, Rudolf, ed. <i>Apocalypsis Anastasiae</i> . Leipzig: Teubner, 1903.	X–XII
<i>Anonymous world chronicle</i>	Anonymi chronicon mundi	<i>AnonymChron</i>	See chap. 10: edition of cod. Hierosolymitanus S. Sabae 697, fols.114v–117r.	XII <sup>EX</sup> /XIII <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Oracles of Leo the Wise</i>	Oracula Leonis Sapientis	<i>OracLeon</i>	Brokkaar, Walter G., et al., ed./trans. <i>The Oracles of the Most Wise Emperor Leo &amp; The Tale of the True Emperor (Amstelodamensis graecus VI E 8)</i> , 56–88. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002.	XII/XIII

<i>Prophecy of Constantine the Great</i>	Prophecia Magni Constantini de Constantinopoli	<i>ProphMagCon</i>	Pertusi, Agostino. <i>Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo</i> , 54–56. Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto, 1988.	XIII <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Vision of Daniel on the City</i>	Visio Danielis de urbe, quomodo incendenda erat	<i>VisioDanUrb</i>	Pertusi, Agostino. “Le profezie sulla presa di Constantinopoli (1204) nel cronista veneziano Marco (c. 1292) e le loro fonti bizantine (Pseudo-Costantino Magno, Pseudo-Daniele, Pseudo-Leone il Saggio).” <i>Studi Veneziani</i> , n.s. 3 (1979): 13–46, at 23–24.	XIII <sup>IN</sup>
<i>Tale of the True Emperor</i>	Narratio mendici regis	<i>NarrMend</i>	Brokkaar, Walter G., et al., ed./trans. <i>The Oracles of the Most Wise Emperor Leo &amp; The Tale of the True Emperor (Amstelodamensis graecus VI E 8)</i> , 90–100. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002.	XIII
<i>Oracle of the Prophet Daniel on Byzantium</i>	Oraculum prophetae Danielis de Byzantio	<i>OracDan</i>	See chap. 9: critical edition of cod. Hafniensis, GKS 2147 4°, fol.11v and cod. Vindobonensis, suppl. gr. 172, fols.38v–39r.	XIII
<i>Last Vision of Daniel</i>	Ultima visio Danielis	<i>UltVisDan</i>	Schmoldt, Hans, ed./trans. <i>Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision’</i> , 122–144. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg, 1972.	XIII <sup>MED</sup>
<i>Ps-Leonine Oracles</i>	Aenigmata Leonis	<i>AenigLeon</i>	Trapp, Erich. “Vulgärorakel aus Wiener Handschriften.” In <i>Ἀκροθίvia. Sodalium Seminarii Byzantini Vindobonensis Herberto Hunger Oblata</i> , ed. Johannes Koder and Erich Trapp, 83–120. Vienna: Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Wien, 1964.	XIII <sup>EX</sup>
<i>Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople</i>	Leonis Constantino-politani de fine mundi homilia	<i>ApcLeonConst</i>	Maisano, Riccardo, ed./trans. <i>L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli</i> , 65–116. Naples: Morano Editore, 1975.	XIII
<i>Prediction of Andritzopoulos</i>	Praedictio Andritzopouli de Romanorum imperio et Antichristo	<i>PraedAndritz</i>	Rigo, Antonio. “La profezia di Cosma Andritzopoulos.” In <i>Καρίσκιν. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Spadaro</i> , ed. Anna Di Benedetto Zimbone and Francesca R. Nervo. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2002, 195–202.	XIII <sup>EX</sup>
<i>Visions of Daniel &amp; Other Holy Men</i>	Visiones Danielis et aliorum sanctorum hominum	<i>VisDanSanHom</i>	Pertusi, Agostino. <i>Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo</i> , 172–201. Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto, 1988.	XIII/XIV
<i>Oracular interpretation of Ps-Gennadios Scholarios</i>	Interpretatio litterarum Gennadii Scholarii	<i>IntrpGenSch</i>	Vereecken, Jeannine, and Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, eds./trans. <i>Les Oracles de Léon Le Sage Illustrés Par Georges Klontzas. La Version Barozzi Dans Le Codex Bute</i> , 134–136. Venice: Institut Hellénique de Venise & Bibliothèque Vikelaia d'Hérakleion, 2000.	1463
<i>Vision of Daniel on the Seven Hills</i>	Visio Danielis de septem collibus	<i>VisDanSepCol</i>	Schmoldt, Hans, ed./trans. <i>Die Schrift ‘Vom jungen Daniel’ und ‘Daniels letzte Vision’</i> , 190–198. Ph.D. dissertation. Hamburg, 1972.	1470

## PART III: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL / PATRIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Acropolites, <i>Historia</i>	Heisenberg, August and Peter Wirth, eds. <i>Georgii Acropolitae Opera</i> , Vol.1, 1–189. BSGRT. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978.
<i>Alexias</i>	Reinsch, Diether R. and Athanasios Kambylis, eds. <i>Annae Comnenae Alexias</i> . Vol.1. CFHB 40/1. Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2001.
Choniates, <i>Historia</i>	van Dieten, Jan L., ed. <i>Nicetae Choniatae Historia</i> . Vol.1. CFHB 11/1. Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.
<i>Chronica de captivitate Constantinopolis</i>	Müller, Josef. “Byzantinische Analekten.” <i>Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe</i> 9 (1853): 336–419, at 366–389.
<i>Chronicon Moreae</i>	Schmitt, John, ed. <i>The Chronicle of Morea; τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως</i> . Byzantine texts. London: Methuen & Co., 1904.
<i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	Dindorf, Ludwig, ed. <i>Chronicon Paschale</i> . Vol.1. CSHB 11. Bonn: Weber, 1832.
Ducas, <i>Historia turcobyzantina</i>	Grecu, Vasile, ed. <i>Ducac Historia turcobyzantina (1341–1462)</i> . Scriptores Byzantini 1. Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1958.
Guntherus Parisiensis, <i>Historia Constantinopolitana</i>	Riant, Paul E. D., ed. <i>Guntheri Alemanni, scholastici, monachi et prioris Parisiensis, De expugnatione urbis Constantinopolitane</i> . Geneva: Fick, 1875.
Leo Diaconus, <i>Historia</i>	Hase, Karl B., ed. <i>Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae libri decem et liber de velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti</i> . CSHB 30. Bonn: Weber, 1828.
Pachymeres, <i>Historia</i>	Failler, Albert and Vitalien Laurent, eds./trans. <i>Georges Pachymérès: Relations historiques</i> . 5 vols. CFHB 24. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984–2000.
<i>Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai</i>	Preger, Theodor, ed. <i>Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum</i> , Vol.1, 19–73. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901.
<i>Patria</i>	Preger, Theodor, ed. <i>Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901–1907.
Robert de Clari, <i>Conquête de Constantinople</i>	Dufournet, Jean, ed./trans. <i>Robert de Clari: La Conquête de Constantinople</i> . Champion classiques, Série «Moyen Âge» 14. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004.
Robertus monachus, <i>Historia Iherosolimitana</i>	Le Bas, Philippe, ed. “Historia Iherosolimitana.” In <i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux</i> , Vol.3, 721–882. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1866.
Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i>	De Boor, Carl, ed. <i>Theophanis Chronographia</i> . Vol.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883.
Tzetzes, <i>Historia</i>	Leone, Pietro A., ed. <i>Ioannis Tzetzae historiae</i> . Pubblicazioni dell’Istituto di Filologia Classica 1. Naples: Libreria scientifica editrice, 1968.
Villehardouin, <i>Conquête de Constantinople</i>	Faral, Edmond, ed./trans. <i>Villehardouin: La conquête de Constantinople</i> . 2 vols. Les classiques de l’histoire de France au moyen âge 18–19. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961 <sup>2</sup> .
Zonaras, <i>Epitomae historiarum</i>	Büttner-Wobst, Theodor, and Moritz Pinder, eds. <i>Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum, libri XIII–XVIII</i> . CSHB 49. Bonn: Weber, 1897.

Nella profezia è implicita sempre una teologia della storia.  
Agostino Pertusi<sup>1</sup>

Il compito originale di un'autentica rivoluzione  
non è perciò mai semplicemente di «cambiare il mondo»,  
ma anche e innanzitutto di «cambiare il tempo».  
Giorgio Agamben<sup>2</sup>

The organic relation between typology and prophecy,  
τύπος and λόγος is quite clear, for so far from being distinct categories,  
prophecy is the typological interpretation of history.  
Jean Daniélou<sup>3</sup>

## PROLEGOMENA

The end of times and with it the Last Judgment formed the focal point of the medieval religious mindset. This was no different in Byzantium. Although the Byzantines did not know any officially sanctioned views on the end times, they possessed a considerable apocryphal tradition that shaped the horizon of expectations of all strata of society. How far and how deep the influence of this tradition reached is not easy to determine, given the fragmentary evidence that has survived for the Byzantine period. Not only the paucity of extant sources but also the reluctance among the Byzantines themselves to theorize about their horizon of expectation impedes any research on Medieval Greek eschatology. Yet it seems worthwhile to excavate those latent presumptions that could potentially influence any strategy, decision, or identity. This dissertation scrutinizes the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations as it can be reconstructed from textual sources dating, first and foremost, to the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. The underlying research questions pertain to the theoretical legitimacy of this horizon, the literary and hermeneutical structure thereof, as well as its utility and impact on Byzantine history. The thesis consists of three parts: Part I establishes the validity of the horizon's existence, Part II analyzes the literary thought-world thereof, while Part III discusses instances when the apocalyptic horizon came to inform and shape the historical present.

<sup>1</sup> Agostino Pertusi, "Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli (1204) nel cronista veneziano Marco (c. 1292) e le loro fonti bizantine (Pseudo-Costantino Magno, Pseudo-Daniele, Pseudo-Leone il Saggio)," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 3 (1979): 13–46, at 46. "A theology of history is always implicit in prophecy."

<sup>2</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *Infanzia e storia: Distruzione dell'esperienza e origine della storia*, Nuovo politecnico 105 (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1978), 91. Translation in idem, *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*, trans. Liz Heron (London/New York, NY: Verso, 1993), 91: "The original task of a genuine revolution, therefore, is never merely to 'change the world', but also – and above all – to 'change time'."

<sup>3</sup> Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), 157.

The Eastern Romans lived in a constant state of ambivalence merging the persuasion of constituting an invincible world empire with the anticipation of the impending Second Coming.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, worldly existence was associated with temporary stability as well as with ultimate impermanence. This field of tension was constitutive to the Byzantine mindset.<sup>5</sup> It conditioned the belief that any major alteration, be it political or social, necessitated eschatological validation. A substantial change was only legitimate if it was a corrective reform, a return to the already achieved.<sup>6</sup> Apocalyptic prophecies, which purported to have access to the *eschaton*, were potent means for promoting or inhibiting political change. They could be legitimizing but also seditious. In another manner, philosophical discussions could be viewed as seditious too, namely when they called Christian eschatology into question. The present thesis demonstrates that eschatology was a preeminent issue being addressed not only in prophetic revelations but also in philosophical inquiries and political strategies.

The ultimate purpose of this investigation is to shed new light on the Byzantine theology of time.<sup>7</sup> Although studies in Byzantine apocalypticism have enjoyed increasing popularity since the 1970s and 1980s,<sup>8</sup> many aspects of Byzantine eschatology have remained understudied. The concepts of time and eternity, changes in the understanding of historicity, the wide-ranging implications and the polymorphous nature of the apocalyptic horizon of expectations are just the most apparent notions that have not yet been duly researched. Only a few studies have been spe-

<sup>4</sup> The identification with the last world empire is derived from the *Book of Daniel*, see Gerhard Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie: die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 u. 7) und der tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20): Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich: W. Fink, 1972), 4–76.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wolfram Brandes, “Anastasios ὁ Δίκτορος: Endzeiterwartung und Kaiserkritik in Byzanz um 500 n. Chr.,” *BZ* 90/1 (1997): 24–63, at 25: “Letztlich findet sich gerade hier, im Spannungsfeld zwischen Gegenwart und sicherem Ende, auch der Ursprung der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung, selbst wenn dies keineswegs immer deutlich wird.”

<sup>6</sup> See Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, 102: “Im Brennpunkt der Erwartung lag darum nicht die Umkehr der Herrschaftsverhältnisse, nicht revolutionäre Utopie als anarchisches Korrektiv hierarchischer Strukturen, sondern Prolongation, Festigung und Ausbau, kurz: Verewigung des schon Realiserten.” Cf. Wolfram Brandes, “Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (7.–9. Jahrhundert),” in *Varia III*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 11 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1991), 9–62, at 58.

<sup>7</sup> For a pertinent discussion of the theology of time in the medieval West, see Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought*, Archives internationales d'histoire des idées 189 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 327–441. Furthermore, for an insightful survey of the impact of apocalypticism on Western temporal perceptions, see Catherine Keller, *Apocalypse Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), 84–139.

<sup>8</sup> See pioneering works by Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), and Agostino Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*, ed. Enrico Morini, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Nuovi Studi Storici 3 (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto, 1988).

cifically dedicated to the Byzantine history of time.<sup>9</sup> A proper history thereof has yet to be written. The following chapters aim to provide a number of preliminary remarks to such research.

The reluctance to historicize time is not confined to Byzantine studies; it is characteristic of the historical sciences in general. Hence, in recent years a number of authors have called for a ‘temporal turn’ in historical research.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, it ought to be investigated how time depends on social aspects, such as culture, gender, or age,<sup>11</sup> how time depends on the technical capabilities of chronometry and speed measurement, and how time can serve as a tool to attain scientific, economic, or even geopolitical goals.<sup>12</sup> Foundational for any such research is the presumption that multiple temporal layers (*Zeitschichten*) can coexist, not only in one culture but even in one individual.<sup>13</sup> A notable example of parallel temporalities can be found in the amalgamation of linear and cyclical time. It has been rightly pointed out that the classical dichotomy of linear vs. cyclical time is untenable.<sup>14</sup> In fact, every historical sequence comprises both types to varying

<sup>9</sup> See the collection of essays in Jean-Marie Leroux, ed., *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, III<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris 9–12 mars 1981*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 604 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984), 419–488 and Gerhard Podskalsky, “Ruhestand oder Vollendung? Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie,” in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. Günter Prinzing and Dieter Simon (Munich: Beck, 1990), 157–166, 216–219. More recently, the related topic of the post-mortem fate of the soul has attracted attention, see John Wortley, “Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in Byzantine ‘Beneficial Tales’,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 53–69, Nicholas Constanas, “Death and Dying in Byzantium,” in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. Derek Krueger, A People’s History of Christianity 3 (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 124–145, and Vasileios Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium. The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

<sup>10</sup> Alexander C. T. Geppert and Till Kössler, “Zeit-Geschichte als Aufgabe,” in *Obsession der Gegenwart. Zeit im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. idem, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 25 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 7–36, at 10–11 and Caroline Rothauge, “Es ist (an der) Zeit: Zum „temporal turn“ in der Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 305 (2017): 729–746. Their call echoes John R. Hall, “The Time of History and the History of Times,” *History and Theory* 19/2 (1980): 113–131, at 131, who was among the first to propose to study the “history of times.”

<sup>11</sup> Regarding social time, see the collection of foundational studies by John Hassard, ed., *The Sociology of Time* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> For notable case studies that discuss the scientific, economic, and geopolitical repercussions of time conceptions, see Johannes Fried, *Aufstieg aus dem Untergang: Apokalyptisches Denken und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaft im Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 2001), Jacques Le Goff, “Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l’Église et temps du marchand,” *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 15/3 (1960): 417–433, Jonathan Martineau, *Time, Capitalism and Alienation. A Socio-Historical Inquiry into the Making of Modern Time*, Historical Materialism Book Series 96 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill 2015), and Vanessa Ogle, *The Global Transformation of Time, 1870–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>13</sup> See Reinhart Koselleck, “Zeitschichten,” in idem, *Zeitschichten: Studien zur Historik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000), 19–26 and Rothauge, “Es ist (an der) Zeit,” 735–736. See further James T. Palmer, “The Ordering of Time,” in *Abendländische Apokalypik. Kompendium zur Genealogie der Endzeit*, ed. Veronika Wieser, Christian Zolles, Catherine Feik, et al., Kulturgeschichte der Apokalypse 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), 605–618, who argues that the medieval notion of time constituted a “multivocal discourse.”

<sup>14</sup> The classical dichotomy is upheld, among many others, by Agamben, *Infanzia e storia*, 92–97, Paul Magdalino, “Το τέλος του χρόνου στο Βυζάντιο,” *Αρχαιολογία & Τέχνες* 75 (2000): 23–31, at 23. See Juan Gil, “Der zyklische Gedanke im eschatologischen Glauben der Spätantike und des Mittelalters,” in *Andalusien zwischen Vorgeschichte und Mittelalter*, ed. Dieter Hertel and Jürgen Untermann, Forum Ibero-Americanum 7 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), 139–190, who discusses various cyclical elements in the Christian tradition (e.g., typology), but insists on considering these

degrees.<sup>15</sup> This claim will be demonstrated in chapter 6 on the basis of apocalyptic narratives, which are often seen as the genre *par excellence* to convey linear temporality. Yet it will be shown that apocalypses invariably employ typological constructions that introduce recurrent, i.e., non-linear patterns into the linear, chronological order of the end times.

With regard to the Byzantine period, research on the history of time has to overcome the limitations of the fragmentary source material. Since the Byzantines did not explicitly lay out the fabric of the apocalyptic horizon of expectations, one has to rely on implicit references and secondary evidence. A. Kazhdan and G. Constable have laid out the necessity of analyzing indirect data in order to overcome the scarcity and the restraints of the extant sources.<sup>16</sup> With this in mind, I have chosen to investigate three different corpora of source material that, when studied together, allow new insights into the elusive fabric of Byzantine apocalypticism: (1) philosophical treatises that discuss the eternity of the world up until the thirteenth century, (2) Medieval Greek apocalypses from the whole Byzantine millennium that predict the course of the foreseeable future, and (3) historiographical narratives that recount late eleventh- and early thirteenth-century events.

These three corpora demand different methodological approaches. First, regarding the philosophical material, a particular treatise by John Italos stands out among all Byzantine discussions of the eternity of the world. Unfortunately, previous editions of Italos' treatise present a philologically deficient and philosophically misleading text. Thus, a new critical edition is required, which I supplement with a comprehensive analysis of its content. For this reason, Part I is mostly dedicated to Italos' contribution to the eternalist debate. Second, the apocalyptic material can be wholeheartedly characterized as a methodological Gordian knot. Pseudepigraphic prophecies are notoriously hard to date. As a consequence, there exists a wide range of dating attempts together with a wealth of speculative interpretations. The utility of most prophecies is further compounded by interpolations and late manuscript witnesses. In order to disentangle, as much as possible, this methodological knot, I present in the Appendix a survey of fifty apocalyptic sources, proposing a relative chronology as well as a review of the manuscript tradition thereof. The literary analysis of apocalyptic sources presented in Part II is based on this survey. Third, the

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elements remnants of pagan influence. See further Le Goff, "Temps de l'Église," 430, who cautions that the opposition between linear (Christian) and cyclical (Greek) time may have been overemphasized.

<sup>15</sup> Koselleck, *Zeitschichten*, 19.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, "In Search of Indirect Information," in *idem*, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 162–178, 202–204.

historiographical corpus presents a different methodological challenge. Reliable editions and competent scholarship notwithstanding, historiographies—chronicles and histories alike—have rarely been studied with an eye for apocalyptically phrased subtexts. Historiography is replete with apocalyptic allusions,<sup>17</sup> which are virtually impossible to spot for the modern reader, unless he/she is familiar with the biblical and apocryphal tradition. Part III focuses on uncovering a particular set of apocalyptically connoted allusions in historical narratives.

These diverse corpora have been selected with the assumption that one can properly understand a phenomenon by investigating its extreme manifestations: by looking at the extraordinary, the ordinary may be best reconstructed, which in Byzantium remained all too often tacit. Two such extreme views during the middle Byzantine period were the apocalyptic belief in an imminent end of the world and the Neoplatonic doctrine of an everlasting kosmos. While the former belief derived from prophetic tendencies that ventured beyond canonical eschatology,<sup>18</sup> the latter formed a philosophical theory that periodically reemerged in intellectual circles. The synoptic approach of juxtaposing philosophical and apocalyptic literature accounts for the dual heritage of the Christian Eastern Roman Empire, which was shaped by Christian eschatology as well as by Platonic philosophy.

The selected corpora span a broad scope in terms of language and authorship/readership; they represent distinct genres from the wide spectrum of Byzantine literary production. At the one end stand atticizing histories whose high-brow sociolect was hardly intelligible to the uneducated Byzantine. Likewise, the technical language of philosophical treatises was not readily understood by the lesser-educated majority. That said, a number of philosophical compendia that will be discussed herein were deliberately composed with the general public in mind. At the other end stand prophetic texts that were more often than not written in a demotic language register. Thus, it can be said that both elitist discourses and popular narratives make up the source material of this thesis.

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<sup>17</sup> Byzantine historiography contains a mass of apocalyptic allusions despite the fact that by virtue of its genre historiographies tended to disregard apocalyptic speculations, as pointed out by Paul J. Alexander, “Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques,” in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d’Études Byzantines (Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961)*, Vol.2 (Belgrade: Comité Yougoslave des Études Byzantines, 1964), 1–8, at 7 and Paul Magdalino, “From ‘encyclopaedism’ to ‘humanism’: The turning point of Basil II and the millennium,” in *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between. Papers from the Forty-Fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, Oxford, 24–6 March 2012*, ed. Marc D. Lauxtermann and Mark Whittow, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 19 (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 3–18, at 9.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Bern: A. Francke AG. Verlag, 1946), 28: die Ursprünge der Prophetie scheinen in der unbändigen politisch-religiösen Spontaneität des Volkes zu liegen.

Yet it needs to be emphasized that Byzantium knew a marked symbiosis between learned and popular writings.<sup>19</sup> Although it can be assumed that some erudite writings were only accessible to an exclusive readership, this cannot be assumed of apocalyptic texts. Prophetic texts counted among the most inclusive literary genres in Byzantium. The purpose of apocalypses was of universal interest, since they interpret past and present events within a biblical exegetical framework, reducing anxieties and promoting visions of hope. They convey messages of contemporary socio-political criticism that concerned all levels of society. Furthermore, the demotic register allowed any Byzantine to readily understand its wording and purported message.<sup>20</sup> Medieval Greek apocalypses presented a popular and pervasive literary genre that was potentially more influential and more representative than high-brow letters.<sup>21</sup>

The scope of this investigation is largely limited to the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. That being said, the twelfth century receives less attention due to the scarcity of source material: neither philosophical treatises dedicated to the eternity of the world nor apocalyptic narratives securely datable to the twelfth century have survived; we have to rely on short allusions and indirect evidence. The time frame of the late middle Byzantine period has been chosen because it provides both a wealth and a dearth of textual sources—a fact that is in itself indicative and will be the subject of scrutiny.

Astrology will not be considered here, as this field constitutes a different paradigm, namely the paradigm of scientific eschatology.<sup>22</sup> It is undeniable that astrology influenced the apocalyptic horizon of expectation. It may even be regarded as a bridge between philosophical

<sup>19</sup> Erich Trapp, “Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?” *DOP* 47 (1993): 115–129.

<sup>20</sup> It should be remembered that apocalypses have the generic requirement to ‘reveal’ rather than conceal. Many allusions that are obscure and enigmatic to the modern reader were more readily understood by their original target audience. In principle, apocalyptic symbolism was intended to be deciphered. That is not to deny the often deliberately polysemous character of particular symbols. See further John R. Yeatts, *Revelation*, Believers church Bible commentary (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2003), 456–457.

<sup>21</sup> See Jane Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102, 264, 369.

<sup>22</sup> On Byzantine astrology, see among others, David Pingree, “The Horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,” *DOP* 27 (1973): 217–231, idem, *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bīkāner*, Serie orientale Roma 78 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa et l’Oriente, 1997), esp. 63–77, idem, “From Alexandria to Baghdad to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 8/1 (2001): 3–37, Paul Magdalino, “The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology,” in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring, The Medieval Mediterranean 42 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2002), 33–57, idem, *L’Orthodoxie des astrologues: La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Réalités byzantines 12 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2006), and Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, eds., *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: La Pomme d’Or, 2006). For the context of late antique horoscopes, see Otto Neugebauer and Henry B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 48 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1987).

inquiry and prophetic revelation, insofar as it conflates scientific methods and eschatological beliefs. Yet astrology lies outside the scope of this dissertation that is limited to the fields of philosophy, prophecy, and historiography.

Also, my investigation of the apocalyptic horizon in Byzantium does not address the technical aspects of the divisions and the reckoning of time.<sup>23</sup> This is not to deny the importance of such practical matters, but these fields have already been explored. It is commonly known that the Byzantines counted years in view of the fifteen-year taxation cycle known as the *indiction* and according to the assumed year of the creation of the world (*anno mundi*). The latter presented an absolute reference point that, by the middle Byzantine period, was uniformly held to have taken place on 1 September 5509 BC.<sup>24</sup> It is also common knowledge that the Byzantine day (τὸ νυχθήμερον) was divided into twelve equal parts for daytime and nighttime, which varied in length according to the season.<sup>25</sup> Locality too was known to influence time, since the Byzantines were well aware of time zones.<sup>26</sup> A most significant element of structuring the day was the hours of prayer. The liturgical day started at sunset with the celebration of vespers (ὁ ἑσπερινός). At sunrise, matins (ὁ ὄρθρος) was celebrated, while additional prayer services were spread throughout the day and night.<sup>27</sup> Prayers and liturgical practice were the bedrock of the Byzantine perception of time.<sup>28</sup>

The liturgical experience influenced virtually every aspect of Byzantine life, including the understanding of time and history.<sup>29</sup> A. Louth has drawn attention to the significance of the liturgy insofar as it reflects and conveys the Byzantine persuasion that time belongs to the realm

<sup>23</sup> For the classical heritage and continuous use of public clocks in Constantinople, see John G. Landels, "Water-clocks and time measurement in Classical Antiquity," *Endeavour* 3/1 (1979): 32–37 and Benjamin Anderson, "Public clocks in late antique and early medieval Constantinople," *JÖB* 64 (2014): 23–32.

<sup>24</sup> See Venance Grumel, *La Chronologie*, *Traité d'études Byzantines* 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 111–128.

<sup>25</sup> See further *ibid.*, 163–177, Marcus Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, The Greenwood Press "Daily Life Through History" Series (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press 2006), 3–8, and Johannes Koder, *Die Byzantiner: Kultur und Alltag im Mittelalter* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 49–51.

<sup>26</sup> See Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 19 (§3), who proves the spherical nature of the world by drawing attention to the observation that the sun illuminates first the East and then the West, leading to differences in daytime across the globe.

<sup>27</sup> See Rautman, *Byzantine Daily Life*, 4 and Alexander Demandt, *Zeit. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2015), 132–134.

<sup>28</sup> For a brief overview of the Byzantine Rite, see Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History*, American essays in liturgy series (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992).

<sup>29</sup> See Arnold Angenendt, "Die liturgische Zeit: zyklisch und linear," in *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 101–115, who points out that the Christian liturgy conveys a marked sense of circularity despite the fact that the salvation history was understood as a linear process. Although the liturgical observation is correct, I suggest that the sharp dichotomy of linearity and circularity in medieval Christianity ought to be replaced with the notion of graded conjunction.

of transient change and of ceaseless becoming.<sup>30</sup> Time essentially belongs to worldly existence.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, time was seen as an unidirectional extension (τὸ διάστημα) that is devoid of meaningless gaps and is ordered towards the divine paradigm of eternity. In contrast to everyday experience, the liturgy was believed to suspend the division of temporal modes by making Christ present in the Eucharist and by typologically re-enacting biblical events.<sup>32</sup> Within the collective subjectivity of the liturgy the “Christian subjects inhabited multiple temporalities by engaging the biblical narrative.”<sup>33</sup> That is, the hallmark of worldly existence, diachronic time, was believed to be overcome in the divine mysteries and was expected to be abolished in the afterlife.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, to transcend time and nature and to draw upon eternity could be considered the best way to know God.<sup>35</sup>

The said aspects of liturgical time paradigmatically show the conjunction of Greek philosophy with Christian orthopraxy. It can thus be ascertained that the “twin pillars” of Byzantine cosmology were the *Timaeus* and *Genesis*.<sup>36</sup> A similar argument is advanced in the

<sup>30</sup> Andrew Louth, “Space, Time and the Liturgy,” in *Encounter Between Eastern Orthodoxy and Radical Orthodoxy. Transfiguring the World Through the Word*, ed. Adrian Pabst and Christoph Schneider (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 215–231 and idem, “Experiencing the Liturgy in Byzantium,” in *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the Forty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011*, ed. Claire Nesbitt and Mark Jackson, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 18 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 79–88. See further Sarah Gador-Whyte, *Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium: The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), esp. 147–154.

<sup>31</sup> An investigation of the Byzantine understanding of time remains a *desideratum* at least since the pioneering study by Linos G. Benakis, “Χρόνος και αἰών. Αντιπαράθεση ελληνικής και χριστιανικής διδασκαλίας στο ανέκδοτο έργο του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού,” *Φιλοσοφία* 10–11 (1980/1981), 398–421 [repr. in: idem, *Βυζαντινή Φιλοσοφία. Κείμενα και Μελέτες; Texts and Studies on Byzantine Philosophy* (Athens: Παρουσία, 2002), 463–486]. Key texts for such an investigation are Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 43–44 (cap. 15; II.1), 234–239 (cap. 100; IV.27), *Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica*, 108–110 (cap. 35–36), Psellus, *De omnifaria doctrina*, 57–58 (§102), 59 (§107), 102–104 (§II), Psellus, *Theologica I*, 203–208 (Opusc. 53), 343–349 (Opusc. 87–88), Psellus, *Theologica II*, 122–126 (Opusc. 32), Psellus, *Opuscula I*, 146–148 (Opusc. 41), Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 66–68 (§§65–67), and Italus, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 81–83 (Q60).

<sup>32</sup> See Nicolas Ozoline, “Theology in Colour: the Icon of Christ’ Nativity,” in *Icons, Windows on Eternity: Theology and Spirituality in Colour*, ed. Gennadios Limouris, Faith and Order Paper 147 (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1990), 132–140, at 139–140 and Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 75–105.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1225A (cap. 24.21): Καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις, ὡς ἔσται χρόνος ὅτ’ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ οὐρανός· ἀλλ’ ἔσται πάλιν αἰωνική τις παράτασις, καθ’ ἣν οὐθ’ ὁ οὐρανός οὐθ’ ὁ χρόνος εἶναι δυνήσεται κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς φύσεως. | “But no one shall say that there will be time when there will not be the heaven. Rather there will be again an everlasting extension, according to which neither heaven nor time could exist according to natural succession.” Blemmydēs argues here that diachronic time will be abolished in the post-apocalyptic realm. The same holds true for before creation, see ibid., 1224D (cap. 24.21).

<sup>35</sup> Psellus, *Theologica I*, 104.55–56 (Opusc. I.26), discussed in Graeme Miles, “Psellos and his Traditions,” in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed. Sergei Mariev, Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Philosophica 1 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 79–101, at 91–92.

<sup>36</sup> Louth, “Space, Time and the Liturgy,” 215, whose statement refers to patristic cosmology but it is equally applicable to the Byzantine context.

following chapters which claim that Platonic philosophy and Christian apocalypticism both delimited and defined the Byzantine horizon of expectations.

The dissertation can be summed up as follows: the mid- and late eleventh century saw a series of discussions on the eternity of the world, which, if endorsed, precludes Christian eschatology. A number of philosophers, first and foremost John Italos, argued against eternalism and in favor of Christian eschatology. Yet the very existence of this debate brought into question the apocalyptic horizon which was of critical importance for the legitimacy of the Komnēnian revival in the late eleventh century. Despite the lack of apocalyptic sources from the Komnēnian period, the apocalyptic horizon can be plainly reconstructed from the source material that precedes and follows the Komnēnoi. The reconstruction thereof allows one to read the historiographical sources of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries in a different light, which is illustrated with three case studies: (a) the self-presentation of Alexios I Komnēnos, (b) the execution of Alexios V Mourtzouphlos, and (c) thirteenth-century Byzantine irredentism. The thesis is supplemented with an inventory of fifty Byzantine apocalyptic sources introducing a partial but systematic overview of the often puzzling and largely fragmented prophetic source material of Byzantium.

## PART I. ARGUING THE END:

### THE PHILOSOPHICAL HERITAGE IN THE DEFENSE OF ESCHATOLOGY

The debate concerning the eternity of the world is a philosophical problem that has ceaselessly vexed thinkers, particularly so in the Middle Ages. Together with the issues of the immortality of the soul and the divine knowledge of particulars, the dispute over an everlasting world presented a preeminent case when Christian (as well as Muslim and Jewish) orthodox dogma was challenged by the classical philosophical heritage. This meant that distinct literary canons came into conflict.

The dual heritage of Greek philosophy and Christian revelation stimulated much scientific discussion in Byzantium. With regard to the eternity of the world, the general tendency was to use philosophical arguments in defense of the Christian doctrine of a temporally limited creation. In contrast to Scholastic, Arab, and Hebrew philosophy,<sup>37</sup> the debate over the world's eternity has not yet been investigated for the Medieval Greek philosophical tradition, although Constantinople saw a marked revival of the debate which climaxed with the scholarship of the eleventh-century philosopher John Italos.<sup>38</sup> Following this short-lived apex, the eternity of the world lapsed into silence until the mid-thirteenth century. This *hiatus* has neither been noticed nor explained. An explanation requires a thorough analysis of the foregoing debate, which the following chapters offer by scrutinizing Italos' contribution together with its antecedents and consequences. Beforehand, it is expedient to briefly outline the ancient and late antique background of the debate. A concise overview will suffice, given the vast scholarship on the earlier stages of the eternity debate.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See, most notably, Ernst Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt. Problemgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Kontroversen um Weltanfang und Weltunendlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erster Teil: Die Problemstellung in der arabischen und jüdischen Philosophie des Mittelalters* (Munich/Paderborn/Vienna: F. Schöningh, 1965), Richard Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum. Theories in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), Herbert A. Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity, Creation and Existence of God in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Philosophy* (Oxford/New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), Richard C. Dales, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), and Tamar M. Rudavsky, *Time Matters: Time, Creation, and Cosmology in Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, SUNY Series in Jewish Philosophy (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000).

<sup>38</sup> A first sketch of Byzantine philosophers who addressed the eternalist debate can be found in Börje Bydén, "'No prince of perfection': Byzantine anti-Aristotelianism from the patristic period to Pletho," in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the Forty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*, ed. Dimitar Angelov and Michael Saxby, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 17 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 147–176, at 168.

<sup>39</sup> See, among others, John B. McDiarmid, "Theophrastus on the Eternity of the World," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940): 239–247, Gordon H. Clark, "Plotinus on the Eternity of the World," *The Philosophical Review* 58/2 (1949): 130–140, Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum*, esp. 268–283, Carlos Steel,

## CHAPTER 1: THE ETERNALIST DEBATE FROM LATE ANTIQUITY UNTIL THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The issue whether the world is eternal or created at the beginning of time was forcefully raised in Plato's school, notably by Aristotle, in connection with the interpretation of the creation story in the *Timaeus*.<sup>40</sup> The dispute was continued in Middle Platonism and became acute in the late third century, when Porphyry advanced strong arguments based on Aristotelian syllogisms in defense of the eternity of the world. Despite the imperially ordered destruction of his books,<sup>41</sup> many of Porphyry's arguments survived, most notably in the *Commentary on the Timaeus* by Proklos, the fifth-century diadochos of the Athenian Academy.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Proklos contributed to the debate by enumerating eighteen arguments that aimed to prove that the world is eternal and that the creation story in the *Timaeus* has to be understood counterfactually:<sup>43</sup> were it not for the ordering activity of the Demiurge, the world would fall into complete chaos.<sup>44</sup> His arguments were challenged by John Philoponos (d. after 567) in his *On the Eternity of the World Against Proklos*,<sup>45</sup> to whom Simplicios reacted in turn.<sup>46</sup> In contrast to Proklos and Simplicios, Philoponos interpreted the creation story of the *Timaeus* as a factual account.

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"The Neoplatonic Doctrine of Time and Eternity and Its Influence on Medieval Philosophy," in *The Medieval Concept of Time. Studies on the Scholastic Debate and its Reception in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Pasquale Porro, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3–31, at 3–16, Niketas Siniosoglou, "Time, Perpetuity and Eternity in Late Antique Platonism," *KronoScope* 5/2 (2002): 213–235, Richard Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators, 200–600 AD: A Sourcebook. Vol.2: Physics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 175–188, Helen S. Lang, "Perpetuity, Eternity, and Time in Proclus' Cosmos," *Phronesis* 50/2 (2005): 150–169, and Michael Chase, "Discussions on the Eternity of the World in Late Antiquity," *ΣΧΟΛΗ: Ancient Philosophy and The Classical Tradition* 5/2 (2011): 111–173. Further references will be given in the following chapter.

<sup>40</sup> Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.1, 251b17–19 and *De caelo* I.10, 280a28–34.

<sup>41</sup> Günther C. Hansen, ed., *Sokrates: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, Neue Folge 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 33.21–34.1 (lib. I.9.30).

<sup>42</sup> See Proclus, *In Timaeum*, Vol.1, 391.4–396.26, where Proklos summarizes Porphyry's lost treatise, which refuted the arguments of Plutarch and Attikos on the creation of the world. Translation in David T. Runia and Michael Share, trans., *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Vol.2. *Book 2: Proclus on the Causes of the Cosmos and its Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 263–271. A comparison of this section with Proklos' anti-creationist arguments in other parts of the *Timaeus* commentary show that he was using Porphyry's arguments throughout this work. For an overview of Attikos' interpretation of the *Timaeus*, see John Dillon, *The Middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*, Revised edition (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 252–257.

<sup>43</sup> The expressions "counterfactual" and "factual" are used here instead of the generally applied terms "allegorical" and "literalist," as the whole debate between eternalist and creationist exegetes of the *Timaeus* was not just about whether the creation 'myth' ought to be allegorized. Rather, the issue addressed the relationship between creation and Creator, which could be understood either as a logical (counterfactual) or as a historical (factual) relation.

<sup>44</sup> Put differently, the visible world was in discordant and disorderly motion prior to the ordering activity of the Demiurge, see Plato, *Timaeus* 30a3–5: [...] οὕτω δὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν παραλαβὼν οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἡγάγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, [...]

<sup>45</sup> Hugo Rabe, ed., *Ioannes Philoponus De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, BSGRT 1591 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899).

<sup>46</sup> Hermann Diels, ed., *Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor posteriores commentaria*, Vol.2, CAG 10 (Berlin: Reimer, 1895), 1326–1336. Translation in David Furley and Christian Wildberg, trans., *Place, Void, and*

The respective arguments that each philosopher presented were, first of all, exegetical in nature. The bone of contention was how to interpret properly this Platonic text by means of referring to the presupposed coherence in Plato's thought. Therefore, the debate over an eternal world was discussed as a hermeneutical problem.

This does not mean, however, that religious issues were not implicit in the debate. The testimonies of (i) Pseudo-Justin, (ii) Philoponos, and (iii) the tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedia, the *Suda*, make clear that Christians understood the arguments of Porphyry and Proklos as directed against them. (i) In Pseudo-Justin's *Christian Questions to the Gentiles* there are five Gentile arguments against the Christians and in favor of the eternity of the world, which recognizably belong to Porphyry's treatise summarized by Proklos.<sup>47</sup> (ii) Furthermore, Philoponos emphatically points out that Proklos "has made it his one goal to arm himself by all available means against the truth of our Scriptures and, arguing against us as if we were inexperienced in these questions [...]."<sup>48</sup> (iii) Moreover, the *Suda*, characterizes Proklos' argumentation for the eternity of the world as an explicitly anti-Christian treatise.<sup>49</sup> The exegetical dispute over the

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*Eternity. Philoponus: Corollaries on Place and Void; with Simplicius: Against Philoponus on the Eternity of the World*, Ancient commentators on Aristotle (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 105–128.

<sup>47</sup> *Quaestiones christiana ad gentiles* in Johann K. Theodor von Otto, ed., *S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera, Tomus III*, CACSS 3/2 (Jena: Mauke, 1848), 238–317. *Pace* José P. Martín, "Las Quaestiones de Pseudo Justino: un lector Cristiano de Aristóteles en tiempos de Proclo," *Tópicos* 18 (2000): 115–141, who attributes to Proklos the doctrines expressed in the Ps-Justinian fragments, and *pace* Benjamin Gleede, "Johannes Philoponos und die christliche Apologetik: Die Widerlegungen des Proklos und Aristoteles und die Debatte des Schöpfungsproblems in der Schule von Gaza und bei Ps-Justin," *JbAC* 54 (2011): 73–97, at 82, who thinks that the pagan opponent of the *Quaestiones* is not a professional philosopher but just a pagan intellectual, who develops his arguments on the basis of vulgar-Platonist monotheism, akin to the *Corpus hermeticum*.

<sup>48</sup> Translation in Michael Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus's 'On the Eternity of the World 1–5'*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 4 and 61, slightly changed. Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 75.7–10: ἓνα δὲ σκοπὸν θέμενος τὸ ὅπως οὖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λογίων ἀνθοπλίζεσθαι ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμενος [...]. Cf. Helen S. Lang and Anthony D. Macro, trans., *Proclus: On the Eternity of the world (de Aeternitate mundi)* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2001), 1–34, who propose that Proklos argued primarily against the exegesis by the Middle Platonists Plutarch and Attikos. This interpretation is favored by Clemens Scholten, trans., *Johannes Philoponos: De aeternitate mundi - Über die Ewigkeit der Welt*, Vol.1, FC 64/1 (Turnhout: Brepols 2009), 17–25, while Benjamin Gleede, *Platon und Aristoteles in der Kosmologie des Proklos. Ein Kommentar zu den 18 Argumenten für die Ewigkeit der Welt bei Johannes Philoponos*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 1–36 argues that Proklos' prime target was Aristotle.

<sup>49</sup> Ada Adler, ed., *Suida Lexicon*, Vol.4, (Π–Ψ), Lexicographici Graeci 1/4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935), 210.14–18 (# 2473): οὗτός ἐστι Πρόκλος, ὁ δεῦτερος μετὰ Πορφύριον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὴν μιὰν καὶ ἐφύβριστον αὐτοῦ γλῶσσαν κινήσας· εἰς ὃν ἔγραψεν Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλόπονος, πάνυ θαυμασίως ὑπαντήσας κατὰ τῶν ἰ' καὶ ἡ' ἐπιχειρημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν κἂν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἐφρόνει, ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀνόητον. | "This is Proklos, who was the second after Porphyry to move his foul and wanton tongue against the Christians. Against him was writing John, also called Philoponos, responding to his eighteen arguments in a very admirable manner and showing that he was unlearned and unintelligent even in matters of Greek education, of which he was very confident." Cf. Gleede, *Platon und Aristoteles in der Kosmologie des Proklos*, 3–9.

*Timaeus* was clearly understood to have religious implications. The connection is rarely made explicit presumably due to the technical nature of the scientific dispute.

The sixth century saw a series of events that tipped the scale against the counterfactual exegesis of the *Timaeus*.<sup>50</sup> Philosophical arguments like those advanced by Philoponos as well as by the Gazan Christians Aeneas, Prokopios, and Zacharias were undoubtedly instrumental in this regard.<sup>51</sup> At the same time, political pressure against pagan teaching steadily increased, which curtailed the possibility for pagan Neoplatonists to vindicate publicly an exegesis that offended Christian sensitivities. This could already be seen in Ammonios' ill-famed "agreement" with Peter the Stammerer (Μογγός) (d. 490) in late fifth-century Alexandria—although we know as good as nothing on the content of this agreement<sup>52</sup>—while it became utterly clear with the closure of the Athenian Academy in 529.<sup>53</sup> As a result, pagan voices grew weaker in challenging Christian sensitivities, which were conditioned by Christianity's inherent eschatological dimension enhanced by the calculation that the six thousand years of the world should come to an end in the early sixth century. It is important to recall that the late antique *Zeitgeist* of the early sixth century was infused with apocalyptic sentiments that gave the ethical and political implications of this exegetical dispute a new moral significance and an existential immediacy.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> For references to earlier Christian authors who argued against the eternity of the world, see Harry A. Wolfson, "Patristic Arguments against the Eternity of the World," *Harvard Theological Review* 59/4 (1966): 351–367, who discusses six types of arguments in Justin Martyr, Origen, Lactantius, Basil of Caesarea, Diodoros of Tarsos, and Augustine.

<sup>51</sup> For the creationist arguments of the three Gazan philosophers, see Michael W. Champion, *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Gaza*, Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity (Oxford/New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. 105–186 and Richard Sorabji, "Waiting for Philoponus," in *Causation and Creation in Late Antiquity*, ed. Anna Marmodoro and Brian D. Prince (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 71–93. See also the introduction to and English translation of Aeneas' *Theophrastus* and Zacharias' *Ammonius* in Sebastian Gertz, John Dillon and Donald Russell, trans., *Aeneas of Gaza: Theophrastus with Zacharias of Mytilene: Ammonius*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

<sup>52</sup> See Polymnia Athanassiadi, ed./trans., *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (Athens: Apamea, 1999), 280–281 (#118B): Ὁ δὲ Ἀμμώνιος αἰσχροκερδὴς ὢν καὶ πάντα ὀρῶν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ὄντιναοῦν, ὁμολογίας τίθεται πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα τηνικαῦτα τὴν κρατοῦσαν δόξαν. | "Ammonius, who was sordidly greedy and saw everything in terms of profit of any kind, came to an agreement with the then overseer of the prevailing doctrine." For the significance of this agreement, see Edward J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 41 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2006), 222–231.

<sup>53</sup> The literature on the closure of the Athenian Academy is vast. See, among others, Alan Cameron, "The Last Days of the Academy at Athens," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* 195 (1969): 7–29 and Watts, *City and School*, 111–142.

<sup>54</sup> For a prominent early sixth-century apocalyptic prophecy, see Paul J. Alexander, ed./trans., *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967). With regard to philosophical circles, the well-known testimony by Simplicios appears to be pertinent, as he criticizes eschatological, if not apocalyptic speculations by Philoponos, see below pp.93–94. For further references to apocalyptic material of the fifth and sixth centuries, see Brandes, "Anastasios ὁ Δίκωρος."

Following the sixth century, discussions over the eternity of the world became rare. This abatement coincided with the general decline of philosophical literature between the seventh and eleventh centuries.<sup>55</sup> A notable exception was Maximos the Confessor, who presents a number of arguments against the eternity of the world in his *Ambigua to John*.

Several chapters of Ambiguum 10 address directly or indirectly the eternalist debate.<sup>56</sup> His argumentation revolves around a firm dichotomy between the Creator and His creatures: only the Creator is infinite, immovable and eternal. In contrast, creation is finite, mutable and temporally limited. Any created being is inherently characterized by mutability by virtue of which “it is not possible, nor rationally coherent, to consider as eternal that which is not always the same, nor immune from change and alteration, but instead is scattered and changed in a myriad of ways.”<sup>57</sup> The inherent instability of any created being necessitates its finite and thus non-eternal nature. As change and motion characterize the world, Maximos feels free to deduce that the post-apocalyptic world must be free of any kind of movement. Change and perturbation affect only the this-worldly existence from which one ought to distance oneself.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Maximos agrees with Aristotle on upholding that motion entails a moving cause that initiates the motion. Whatever moves, has been moved and thus has a beginning.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, substances are necessarily circumscribed by genera and species and are therefore not infinite, neither in definition nor in being.<sup>60</sup> Even matter cannot be infinite. As there can be no actual infinite, matter has to be quantitatively circumscribed, too.<sup>61</sup> What is more, if matter were eternal, it would be co-eternal with the Creator, which is impossible given that only the monad (μονάς) can be infinite and

<sup>55</sup> See Mossman Roueché, “Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century,” *JÖB* 23 (1974): 61–76, Paul Lemerle, *Cinq Études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1977), 210–213, and Katerina Ierodiakonou and George Zografidis, “Early Byzantine Philosophy,” in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, Vol.2, ed. Lloyd P. Gerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 843–868, esp. 848–868.

<sup>56</sup> On the diverse nature of Ambiguum 10, see Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, Early Church Fathers (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), 91–93. It has recently been argued that Maximos’ argumentation owes much to John Philoponos, see Timur Shchukin, “Matter as a Universal: John Philoponus and Maximus the Confessor on the Eternity of the World,” *Scrinium* 13 (2017): 361–382, at 372–381 and Maria Varlamova, “Philoponus’ Dispute Against the Eternity of the World and Its Influence on the Byzantine Philosophy,” *Scrinium* 13 (2017): 383–399, at 390–398.

<sup>57</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 276–277 (Amb. 10.32; PG 91, 1169D): [...] οὐκ εἶναι δυνατόν, οὔτε μὴν λογικῆς συνέσεως αἰδίων φάναι τὸ μὴ ὡσαύτως ἔχον αἰεὶ, δίχα τροπῆς καὶ τῆς οἰασοῦν ἀλλοιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μυρίοις σκεδαννύμενον τρόποις καὶ περιτρεπόμενον, [...] For an alternative translation, see Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, 132.

<sup>58</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 278–279 (Amb. 10.33; PG 91, 1169D–1172A).

<sup>59</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 286–287 (Amb. 10.36; PG 91, 1177A): Πᾶσα δὲ κίνησις οὐκ ἄναρχος, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ ἀναίτιος. | “And no motion is without beginning, since it is not without a cause.” Cf. Aristotle, *Physica* VII.1, 241b24.

<sup>60</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 288–291 (Amb. 10.37; PG 91, 1177B–1180A).

<sup>61</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 294–299 (Amb. 10.39; PG 91, 1181A–1184A). See Aristotle, *Physica* III.5, esp. 204b7–8. Cited and discussed in Shchukin, “Matter as a Universal,” 377–378.

without beginning. The dyad (δυάς) is *per definitionem* the principle of derivative division that causally proceeds from God's singularity.<sup>62</sup> Co-eternity with God, Maximus upholds, is conceptually implausible. The arguments presented in chapters 32–41 form a loose yet resolute vindication of the temporal finitude of the world; it does not, however, constitute a dedicated treatise.

John of Damascus pays even less attention to the issue of the eternity of the world. His *opus magnum*, the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, does not discuss it, at least not explicitly. Having said that, he reiterates the stark contrast between created and uncreated beings based on the criterion of changeability: “If then things are created, they are also fully changeable.”<sup>63</sup> The correlation of createdness with changeability goes back to a standard anti-eternalist argument.<sup>64</sup> According to this argument, whatever is changeable cannot be eternal but must be temporally limited. John of Damascus takes this argument for granted and derives from it the fundamental difference between createdness and uncreatedness, which he uses in his proof for the existence of God.<sup>65</sup> Yet the implication with regard to the temporal finitude of the world is not brought out. John of Damascus does not advance any discussion on the eternity of the world.

Neither is the debate revisited by Photios. All that Photios does is to furnish—in his *Library* (or *Myriobiblos*)—a summary of the anti-eternalist argumentation presented by Diodoros of Tarsos in his now lost work *Against Predestination* (Κατὰ εἰμαρμένης).<sup>66</sup> Diodoros' central argument seems to have been that because the world must have been created and must be governed by God, the “notion of fate is superfluous and useless.”<sup>67</sup> He argues for the createdness of the world by pointing out that the four elements of the world are persistently undergoing change. Whatever undergoes change, Diodoros argues, must be created since it depends on external causes, while only “the uncreated does not need anything external for its own formation.”<sup>68</sup> The world as a whole must be created, since its constituent elements are created. Although Photios

<sup>62</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 299–301 (Amb. 10.40; PG 91, 1184B–D).

<sup>63</sup> Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 11.22–23 (cap. 3; I.3): Εἰ μὲν οὖν κτιστά, πάντως καὶ τρεπτά.

<sup>64</sup> As correctly pointed out by Wolfson, “Patristic Arguments,” 353.

<sup>65</sup> Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 11 (cap. 3; I.3).

<sup>66</sup> Diodoros, bishop of Tarsos, died before 394. See ODB, s.v. “Diodoros.” The respective argumentation is summarized in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 9–13 (= Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Photii Bibliotheca*, Vol.1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1824), 208B–210A). In the following, I slightly depart from the translation provided by Nigel G. Wilson, *Photius: The Bibliotheca, A Selection* (London: Duckworth, 1994), 195–197.

<sup>67</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 13.23–24 (= Bekker, ed., *Photii Bibliotheca*, Vol.1, 210A): [...] περιττή καὶ ματαία ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς εἰμαρμένης [...] See further Wolfson, “Patristic Arguments,” 353, who briefly discusses the argument.

<sup>68</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 10.20–21 (= Bekker, ed., *Photii Bibliotheca*, Vol.1, 209A): τὸ γὰρ ἀγέννητον, οὐ δεῖται τινος ἄλλοτρίου πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σύστασιν. See also, *ibid.*, 10.34–35 (Bekker, ed., *Photii Bibliotheca*, Vol.1, 209A): τὸ γὰρ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀνενδές. | “The uncreated is unchangeable and self-sufficient.”

and his audience appear to have known of anti-eternalist arguments, they do not seem to have made any use of them apart from acknowledging their historical and intellectual value.

Dedicated discussions over the eternity of the world resurfaced in the eleventh century, namely in the works of Michael Psellos, Symeōn Sēth, and John Italos. The towering intellectual figure of eleventh century, Michael Psellos, gives a succinct overview of the various opinions that can be held in the eternalist debate. He does so in prop. 157 of his encyclopedic work, *De omnifaria doctrina* (Ἀποκρίσεις συνοπτικαὶ καὶ ἐξηγήσεις). The text deserves to be quoted in full:<sup>69</sup>

Psellus, *De omnifaria doctrina*, 81: (§157) Εἰ ἀγέννητος ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἄφθαρτος. Οὐτε ἀγέννητος παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ κόσμος δοξάζεται οὔτε ἄφθαρτος, γεγενῆσθαι τὲ γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς καὶ φθαρήσεσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ ἀγέννητον αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τίθει. Πλάτων δὲ γεννᾷ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, ἀποφαίνεται δὲ μὴ φθαρήσεσθαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀντίκειται αὐτῷ, πῶς σύνθετος ὢν οὐ φθαρήσεται· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ σύνθετον καὶ διαλυτόν· διαστέλλεται λέγων ὅτι ὅσον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν φθαρτός ἐστι, σῶμα γὰρ οὐ χωρεῖ ἀϊδιότητα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄφθαρτον ἐπείσάκτως παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζεται. ὁ δὲ γε Πρόκλος ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίμαιον λόγοις πειρᾶται δεικνύναι βιαιότερον, ὅτι μὴδὲ γεννητὸν ὁ Πλάτων τὸν κόσμον οἶεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸν χρόνον ἀγέννητον ἀποφαίνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐπινοίᾳ γεννητόν.

(§157) Whether the world is ungenerated and incorruptible.

We hold that the world is neither ungenerated nor incorruptible, for we have learned from the Holy Scripture that it was created and that it will come to an end. But Aristotle holds that it is ungenerated und incorruptible. As to Plato, in the *Timaeus* he makes it to come into existence but, at the same time, he states that it will never come to an end. However, as he runs into the difficulty of how, being a composite, it will not decay—given that all composites are also dissolvable—he specifies saying that, as to its nature, the world is corruptible—for bodies do not share in eternity—but it receives incorruptibility extrinsically from God. As to Proklos, in his *Commentary on the Timaeus* he attempts to show quite forcibly that Plato does not even think the world to be generated but shows it to be ungenerated temporally, while being generated conceptually as far as it is composite.

<sup>69</sup> Concerning the date of composition, prop. 157 can be assigned to the reign of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055), given that cod. Matritensis gr. 4681 (*olim* N-51; Andrés 131), saec. XIV<sup>MED</sup> and cod. Athonensis Iberensis 190 (Lambros 4310), saec. XIII both specify that Psellos dedicated the first redaction of the *De omnifaria doctrina* (containing prop. 157) to Monomachos, see Leendert G. Westerink, ed., *Michael Psellus: De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij N.V., 1948), 2–3. For a discussion on the encyclopedic nature of the *De omnifaria doctrina*, see Michiel Meeusen, “Salt in the Holy Water: Plutarch’s Quaestiones Naturales in Michael Psellus’ *De omnifaria doctrina*,” in *Plutarch in the Religious and Philosophical Discourse of Late Antiquity*, ed. Lautaro R. Lanzillotta and Israel M. Gallarte, *Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition* 14 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), 101–121 and Stephanos Efthymiadis, “Questions and Answers,” in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniosoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 47–62, at 55–56.

Psellos starts with declaring his Christian belief in the factual beginning and eventual end of the world.<sup>70</sup> He contrasts this biblical view with its Aristotelian antithesis, namely that the world has neither beginning nor end, as demonstrated in *On the Heavens* I.10–12. The juxtaposition is followed by Plato's view. It is noteworthy that Psellos agrees with Aristotle (as well as with Philoponos) in reading the *Timaeus* in favor of a factual beginning to the world.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, Psellos sums up Plato's teaching from Tim 41a–b, according to which the world will not come to an end, notwithstanding its createdness, given that the Creator overrides the world's natural tendency to decay. Psellos seems vaguely dismissive of this view, as he subscribes to the principle that "all composites are dissolvable," that is, whatever has a beginning must also have an end.<sup>72</sup> The paragraph closes with a reference to Proklos' interpretation of the *Timaeus*. The Athenian diadochos argues that when Plato talks about the generation of the world in Tim 28b7 ("γένονεν"), he does not talk about a generation in time, as this would be absurd, given that time is coextensive with the world.<sup>73</sup> Rather, Plato is talking about a causal dependency, which functions as the generating principle by means of which the tangible and visible things of the world are moved into being. Proklos agrees that "[i]nasmuch as the universe has a bodily element, it is generated."<sup>74</sup> Yet this generation is not to be understood factually, but counter-factually. Psellos leaves the discussion at that. Since he avoids going into any depth, it seems likely that the text served merely didactic purposes. The enumeration of the four possible standpoints would have sufficed to inform his audience and to generate a debate.

<sup>70</sup> Psellos' explicit rejection of the eternity of the world can be seen as an indication that he also rejected the Aristotelian notion of aether, as suggested by Sergei Mariev and Monica Marchetto, "The Divine Body of the Heavens," in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed. Sergei Mariev, Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Philosophica 1 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 31–65, at 53.

<sup>71</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 28b4–7: [...] σκεπτόν δ' οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, ὅπερ ὑπόκειται περὶ παντὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ δεῖν σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἦν αἰεὶ, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενος. γέγονεν | "[...] we must first investigate concerning it that primary question which has to be investigated at the outset in every case,—namely, whether it has existed always, having no beginning of generation, or whether it has come into existence, having begun from some beginning. It has come into existence;" (trans. by Robert G. Bury). Cf. Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.1, 251b17–19 and *De caelo* I.10, 280a28–34 as well as Philoponos, *Contra Proclum*, 135.9–211.5 (Arg. VI.7–26), who both read Plato's account factually.

<sup>72</sup> As demonstrated by Aristoteles, *De caelo* I.10, 279b24–280a3, I.12, 282a21–283b22.

<sup>73</sup> Proclus, *In Timaeum*, Vol.1, 286.24–26. εἰ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει χρονικὴν τὸ πᾶν, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἀρχὴν ἔξει χρονικὴν, ὁ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀδυνατώτατος. Translation in Runia and Share, trans., *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Vol.2, 139: "But if the universe has a temporal beginning, then time will also have a temporal beginning, which is completely impossible." Proklos follows here Plato's well-known claim (Tim 38b6) that time came into being together with the heavens.

<sup>74</sup> Translation by Runia and Share, trans., *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Vol.2, 139. Proclus, *In Timaeum*, Vol.1, 286.14: καθόσον γὰρ ἔχει τι σωματικόν, γενητὸν τὸ πᾶν.

Contemporaneous with Psellos was Symeōn Sēth. Being an erudite polyglot he was well versed in medical literature, natural philosophy, and astrology.<sup>75</sup> In his compendium entitled *Synopsis of Inquiries on Nature* (Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν) he devotes one short chapter to the eternalist debate, which again is worthwhile to be quoted in full:<sup>76</sup>

Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 37: (§30) Εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος.  
 Ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν κόσμον δοξάζει ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἄφθαρτον, ὁ δὲ Πλάτων γεννητόν μὲν, ἄφθαρτον δέ. ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν ὡς ἐπεὶ σῶμά ἐστι, πᾶν δὲ σῶμα πεπερασμένην ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ σύνθετον ἀρχὴν ἔχει καὶ τελευτήν. ὅτι δὲ πεπερασμένην ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον· ἀποκαθίσταται γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως διὰ τῆς κινήσεως ἐν ὥραις κδ'· εἰ γοῦν εἶχε δύναμιν πλείονα, ἐν ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ ἐκινεῖτο χρόνῳ ὥστε, καθάπερ πεπέρασται κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, οὕτω καὶ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν.

(§30) Whether the world is incorruptible.

Aristotle holds that the world is ungenerated and incorruptible, while Plato holds it to be, on the one hand, generated and, on the other, incorruptible. We, however, say that [the world] has got both beginning and end since it is a body—and every body has but finite power—and is composite. It is obvious from the following that it has but finite power: it is agreed that [the world] is restored [from its earlier state] through movement within 24 hours; if it had greater power, it would move so in less time so that just as it is finite according to its size, so also according to its power.

This short discussion points out that Aristotle had taught the world to be eternal and that Plato had taught the world to be endless but not without a beginning. Like Psellos, Symeōn Sēth follows Aristotle's reading of the *Timaeus*. More importantly, he follows John Philoponos in advancing an

<sup>75</sup> On the life and work of Symeōn Sēth, see Paul Magdalino, "The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on Alexiad VI.7.1–7," in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalla-Crook, Judith Herrin (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 15–31, at 19–21, Petros Bouras-Vallianatos, "Galen's Reception in Byzantium: Symeon Seth and his Refutation of Galenic Theories on Human Physiology," *GRBS* 55/2 (2015): 431–469, at 436–442, and Dimitri Gutas, Anthony Kaldellis, and Brian Long, "Intellectual Exchanges with the Arab World," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniosoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 79–98, at 92–98. For Sēth's profile as an astrologer, see Magdalino, "The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology," 46–49 and idem, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, 100–107.

<sup>76</sup> The *Synopsis* (or *Conspectus*) can be dated to the reign of Emperor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078), to whom it is dedicated according to various manuscripts (which, however, ascribe the work to Psellos), see Armand Delatte, ed., *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia, Vol.2: Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 88 (Liège/Paris: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres/Librairie E. Droz, 1939), 2 and 17 (apparatus criticus). For an overview of the content of the *Synopsis*, see Manolēs Kartsōnakēs, "Η Σύνοψις τῶν Φυσικῶν του Συμεών Σηθ," in *Βυζάντιο - Βενετία - νεώτερος ελληνισμός. Μια περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης: Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2003*, ed. Giōrgos N. Vlachakēs and Euthymios Nikolaīdēs (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2004), 129–137, at 132–136. See further Eftymios Nicolaidis, *Science and Eastern Orthodoxy: From the Greek Fathers to the Age of Globalization*, trans. Susan Emanuel, Medicine, Science, and Religion in Historical Context (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 65–66, who summarizes Kartsōnakēs' overview.

argument from infinity to prove that the world cannot be everlasting.<sup>77</sup> The argument is supported with an illustrating example: if the world were to be everlasting, it would need to have infinite power, which however would translate in the much faster (than actual) rotational movement of the heavens.<sup>78</sup> As this is not the case, one can infer that the world has but finite power and is, thus, temporally limited.

In contrast to Psellos' and Sēth's brief surveys stands the discussion by John Italos, who penned the most prominent contribution to the eternalist debate in the eleventh century. In an exhortation to an unspecified Byzantine emperor he argues conclusively against the eternity of the world. Despite its importance, Italos' reevaluation of debate has not been analyzed thoroughly.<sup>79</sup> The ensuing chapter sets out to meet this *desideratum* by reconstructing Italos' argumentation and establishing its significance.

<sup>77</sup> The infinity argument is discussed below in connection with Italos' ARG. I.1. It is noteworthy that the infinity argument had already been elaborated by the unknown fifth-century author of the Ps-Justinian *Refutation of some Aristotelian Teachings*. Ps-Justin—like John Philoponos after him—argued from the Aristotelian principle of the inexistence of an actual infinity to the intraversability of the infinite and, hence, to the impossibility of the world's existence from eternity but permitted its perpetuity in the future. See Ps-Justin's *Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelis* in Johann K. Theodor von Otto, ed., *S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera, Tomus III*, CACSS 3/1 (Jena: Mauke, 1846), 128–134 (*Quaestiones* 17–22, 128C–131B) as well as Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 8.27–11.2 (Argument I.3) and 619.3–25 (Argument XVIII.3). For a useful overview of Ps-Justin's anti-Aristotelian arguments (including his infinity argument), see Marcelo D. Boeri, "Pseudo-Justin on Aristotelian Cosmology: A Byzantine Philosopher Searching for a New Picture of the World," *Byz* 79 (2009): 99–135, esp. 113–131. See also Herbert A. Davidson, "The Principle That a Finite Body Can Contain Only Finite Power," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History: presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1979, 75–92, esp. 79–82 and Richard Sorabji, "Infinity and the Creation," in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. idem, Second edition, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 103 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2010), 207–220, who both—erroneously—attribute the invention of the infinity argument to Philoponos. That said, given the widespread use of Philoponos in the eleventh century, it appears more likely that Symeōn Sēth borrowed this argument from Philoponos than from Ps-Justin. The dependence on Philoponos has been argued by Börje Bydén, "A Case for Creationism: Christian Cosmology in the 5th and 6th Centuries," in *The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. Börje Bydén and Katerina Ierodiakonou, Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4/1 (Athens: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2012), 79–107 at 82–85 and idem, "No prince of perfection," 168. His argument is reproduced by Varlamova, "Philoponus' Dispute," 387.

<sup>78</sup> The argument is mentioned in Bydén, "A Case for Creationism," 83, who judges it to be 'somewhat unconvincing.'

<sup>79</sup> The text in question is Italos' *Quaestio* 71. With regard to previous scholarship, Pavel V. Bezobrazov, "Book review of F. Uspensky, Очерки По Истории Византийской Образованности, St. Petersburg 1892 and Синодикъ Въ Недѣлю Православія, Odessa 1893," *VV* 3 (1896): 125–150, at 128–131 outlines some of Italos' arguments. Pélopidas É. Stephanou, "Jean Italos: L'immortalité de l'âme et la résurrection," *Échos d'Orient* 32 (1933): 413–428, at 421–423 provides a close paraphrase of Italos' main points. Furthermore, Perikles Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz, I. Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos*, *Studia patristica et byzantina* 3 (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1956), 63–65 and Constantine G. Niarchos, *God, the World and Man in the Philosophy of John Italos*, Ph.D. dissertation (Oxford, 1978), 270–282, 412–417 give a general, but at times flawed, overview of Italos' arguments, presumably because both were working from a text edition that does not always correspond to the manuscript tradition. More recently, Bydén, "A Case for Creationism," 83 has sketched one of Italos' anti-eternalist arguments, while Timur Shchukin, "Эсхатология Иоанна Итала," *Vestnik russkoj khristianskoj gumanitarnoj akademii* 11/4 (2010): 116–120 has discussed further lines of reasoning from *Quaestio* 71.

## CHAPTER 2: JOHN ITALOS ON THE ETERNALIST DEBATE

In what follows, I briefly present Italos' character, his literary work, and his controversial condemnation in order to contextualize his contribution to the eternalist debate. These introductory remarks are followed by a new critical edition of the Greek text of Italos' treatise on the eternity of the world (*Quaestio* 71). Its re-edition seemed necessary, as its three modern editions are wanting from a philological and philosophical point of view. The new edition is accompanied by a first English translation and followed by a commentary that analyzes Italos' main arguments and identifies some of his sources.<sup>80</sup>

### THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN ITALOS

John Italos, whose name refers to his 'Italian' provenance, was born c. 1030 in southern Italy. He moved to Constantinople around 1050, where he became a student of Michael Psellos. He excelled in dialectic reasoning, became a teacher himself, and eventually followed Psellos as the head of the imperially sponsored school of philosophy.<sup>81</sup> His teachings and his argumentative style aroused suspicion that led to his repeated investigation in 1076/77 and in 1082, when local synods scrutinized his orthodoxy. Ultimately, he was condemned for heterodoxy and was forced to resign from his teaching position and to retire to a monastery.<sup>82</sup>

Yet, an early twelfth-century reference suggests that Italos had an ecclesiastic career after his condemnation and subsequent revocation of his earlier teachings. Nikētas Seidēs relates in a treatise against Eustratios of Nicaea that Eustratios' teacher was a certain "John, formerly

<sup>80</sup> The edition, translation, and commentary provided in this chapter have been published in *BZ* 111/3 (2018): 659–720 and represent the common work of my supervisor Prof. István Perczel and myself. Moreover, the English translation has been much improved thanks to the suggestions of Joshua Robinson.

<sup>81</sup> On the Constantinopolitan school of philosophy, see Friedrich Fuchs, *Die Höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, Byzantinisches Archiv 8 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1926; repr.: Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), 28–35 and Lemerle, *Cinque Études*, 195–248. For a general discussion of higher education in Byzantium, see Athanasios Markopoulos, "De la structure de l'école byzantine. Le maître, les livres et le process éducatif," in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. Brigitte Mondrain, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 19 (Paris: Collège de France, CNRS, 2006), 85–96 and idem, "In Search for 'Higher Education' in Byzantium," *ZRV* 50 (2013): 29–44.

<sup>82</sup> See Jean Gouillard, "Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien: Les actes et leurs sous-entendus," *TM* 9 (1985): 133–174, at 159.429–430. On Italos' life, see further Antonio Rigo, "Giovanni Italo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 56 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001), 62–67. For the slight but significant difference between heterodox and heretical, see Maria Atanasova, "Être «hérétique» à Byzance à l'époque des Comnènes," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 87 (2009): 533–543, at 537–538.

*chartophylax* of the great city of Antioch.”<sup>83</sup> This reference is unambiguous, since Eustratios was John Italos’ student.<sup>84</sup> P. Magdalino has argued that, had Italos fulfilled the ecclesiastical office of *chartophylax* prior to his trial in 1082 (discussed below), then the trial record would have made mention of it. Moreover, *chartophylax* was an ecclesiastic position, which Italos could have fulfilled only after his monastic vow in 1082, plausibly in the years 1096–1098, when Alexios expected the liberation of Antioch by the crusaders and needed a Latin-speaking cleric to support the mission of John Oxeitēs, recently elected as patriarch-in-exile of Antioch.<sup>85</sup>

Arguably, only few of Italos’ works have survived his excommunication. However, as we do not possess a catalogue of his writings, we can only speculate about his literary productivity. The works that have come down to us display a renewed interest in the philosophical debate over an eternal world in Constantinopolitan higher education. Even though Italos’ arguments can be shown to derive from late antique sources, his contribution does not lack in originality.

With regard to his sources, Italos was a man of his age. Most notably, the eleventh/twelfth centuries saw a revival of interest in Proklos,<sup>86</sup> who was studied and commented on by the Byzantine polymath, Michael Psellos, by John Italos himself, as well as by Ioane Petritsi who, probably, was the latter’s disciple.<sup>87</sup> Proklos’ influence can be witnessed not only in philosophical

<sup>83</sup> Theodōros N. Zēsēs, ed., *Νικήτα Σεΐδου Λόγος κατὰ Εὐστρατίου Νικαίας*, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς 19, supplement (Thessaloniki: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο, Θεολογικὴ Σχολή, 1976), 35–82, at 65.27–28: [...] τοῦ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ πρὶν χαρτοφύλακος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ἀντιοχείων; – The passage has been identified and translated by Paul Magdalino, “Prosopography and Byzantine Identity,” in *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Averil Cameron, Proceedings of the British Academy 118 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 41–56, at 50. See also Paul Magdalino, “Deux philosophes italiens face à la xénophobie byzantine: répétition ou évolution d’un schéma?” *Cahiers d’études italiennes* 25 (2017): 1–14, at 6, URL: <http://cei.revues.org/3561> (last accessed 30/11/2018).

<sup>84</sup> Gouillard, “Le procès officiel,” 159.434.

<sup>85</sup> Magdalino, “Prosopography and Byzantine Identity,” 51. On John Oxeitēs, see Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, “Ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας Ἰωάννης Ε΄ Ὁξείτης (1089–1100),” *EEBS* 12 (1936): 361–388 and Paul Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 269–272.

<sup>86</sup> On the so-called ‘Proklos Renaissance’ of the eleventh/twelfth century, see Gerhard Podskalsky, “Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz (11./12. Jh.),” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42 (1976): 509–523, Linos G. Benakis, “Neues zur Proklos-Tradition in Byzanz,” in *Proclus et son influence: actes du colloque de Neuchâtel, juin 1985*, ed. Gilbert Boss and Gerhard Seel (Zurich: Éditions du Grand Midi, 1987), 247–259, Ken Parry, “Reading Proclus Diadochus in Byzantium,” in *Reading Plato in Antiquity*, ed. Harold Tarrant and Dirk Baltzly (London: Duckworth, 2006), 223–235, Michele Trizio, “Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium,” in *Interpreting Proclus from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Gersh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 182–215, Frederick Lauritzen, “The Renaissance of Proclus in the Eleventh Century,” in *Proclus and his Legacy*, ed. David D. Butorac and Danielle A. Layne, Millennium-Studien 65 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 233–240, and Peter Adamson and Filip Karfik, “Proclus’ Legacy,” in *All from One: A Guide to Proclus*, ed. Pieter d’Hoine and Marije Martijn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 290–321, at 294–295.

<sup>87</sup> Modern scholarship on Ioane Petritsi, who was writing in Georgian but had—in all likelihood—studied in Constantinople, began in the nineteenth century at the *St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences*; see Udo R. Jeck, “Europa entdeckt die mittelalterliche byzantinisch-georgische Philosophie,” in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed.

works but also in historiography, most notably in the *Alexiad*, where John Italos is credited with having made much use of the Athenian diadochos.<sup>88</sup>

The *Alexiad* presents a prominent account of Italos. Among others, it is stated that Italos was carried away by his excessive use of dialectic, while lacking the rhetorical skills that were expected from a Byzantine gentleman. Furthermore, it is said that he had grown up without a mother, was lacking an appealing corporeal constitution, and was speaking an unpolished Greek; moreover, he was irascible, conceited, and, above all, heterodox.<sup>89</sup> It has been convincingly argued that this portrayal is a rhetorical construction that aims at presenting an absolute contrast to Emperor Alexios, who is characterized as the perfect realization of the Byzantine ideal type, showing forth eloquence, restrained behavior as well as self-control, physical beauty, orthodoxy, and piety.<sup>90</sup> It is hard to tell how much literary invention lies behind the portrayal of Italos but it is certain that his character was considered with great antipathy at the Komnēnian court.

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Sergei Mariev, *Byzantinisches Archiv. Series Philosophica 1* (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 243–270. For Petritsi's life, works, and allegedly orthodox teachings, see Michael Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur: Auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze*, *Studi e testi* 185 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), 211–225. Earlier research notwithstanding, it was the respective work by Levan Gigineishvili and Lela Alexidze that made Petritsi well-known to Western scholarship; see Levan Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, *Gorgias Eastern Christianity Studies 4* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007) and Lela Alexidze and Lutz Bergemann, trans., *Ioane Petritsi: Kommentar zur Elementatio theologica des Proklos. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen, Indices und Einleitung*, *Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie 47* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: B.R. Grüner, 2009). For the hypothesis that Petritsi was Italos' pupil, see Natela Ketschakmadze, ed., *Ioannis Itali Opera* (Tbilisi: Mezniereba, 1966), xix. Yet, recently this traditional opinion was challenged by Edisher Chelidze, "On the Life and Literary Activity of Ioane Petritsi, part I," *Religia* 3–5 (1994): 113–126 and idem, "On the Life and Literary Activity of Ioane Petritsi, part II," *Religia* 1–3 (1995): 76–89 (both in Georgian), who, mainly on linguistic grounds, claims that Petritsi wrote his works at the end of the twelfth, beginning of the thirteenth century. If this were so, he could not be a disciple of Italos. Chelidze's hypothesis is now accepted by some Georgian scholars, such as Damana Melikishvili, "On the Question of the Unity and Individuality of the Linguistic Style of the Gelati Literary School," *Transactions of the Gelati Academy of Sciences 2* (1996): 65–74 (in Georgian), eadem, "Ioane Petritsi and John Italos on Two Original Causes," in *Georgian Christian Thought and Its Cultural Context. Memorial Volume for the 125th Anniversary of Shalva Nutsubidze (1888–1969)*, ed. by Tamar Nutsubidze, Cornelia B. Horn and Basil Lourié, *Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 2* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 236–243, and, with some reservation, Lela Alexidze, "Ioane Petritsi," in *Interpreting Proclus from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Gersh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 229–244, esp. 242. For a detailed discussion of both hypotheses, see Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, 17–19.

<sup>88</sup> *Alexias*, 165.40 (lib. V.9.1).

<sup>89</sup> *Alexias*, 161–167 (lib. V.8–9). For a more complete synopsis of Anna Komnēnē's characterization of Italos, see Dion Smythe, "Alexios I and the heretics: the account of Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*," in *Alexios I Komnenos, Vol.1: Papers. Papers of the second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14–16 April 1989*, ed. idem and Margaret Mullett, *Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 4/1* (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 232–259, at 244–249.

<sup>90</sup> See Georges Arabatzis, "Blâme du philosophe. Éloge de la vraie philosophie et figures rhétoriques: Le récit d'Anne Comnène sur Jean Italos revisité," *BZ* 95/2 (2002): 403–415, esp. 409–412. Similarly, Magdalino, "Deux philosophes italiens," 6 has suggested that Komnēnē gives a negative portrayal of Italos in order to acquit Alexios and Psellos of particular criticism. She constructs Italos as a barbarian who simply did not fit among the Byzantine intelligentsia.

Opposition to Italos led Emperor Alexios to convene a tribunal in March 1082, which condemned a series of philosophical viewpoints that were attributed to Italos.<sup>91</sup> In all likelihood, this was a show trial, less motivated by doctrinal issues than by personal antipathy toward Italos and by political circumstances. Italos had been politically allied to the previous dynasty of the Doukas family; Emperor Michael VII (r. 1071–1078) had been his student and patron. Moreover, Italos was a foreigner, whose loyalty could be questioned.<sup>92</sup> This made him to be considered a dangerous subject by Alexios I who, after the Doukids and the usurper Nikēphoros III Botaneiatēs (r. 1078–1081), inaugurated the rule of the new Komnēnian dynasty in 1081.<sup>93</sup> That being said, it awaits further study to understand the interests of the monastic and/or ecclesiastical circles that supported the imperially orchestrated trial and condemnation.

Whatever the circumstances of the trial may have been and whatever errors the anathemas may attribute to Italos, our best evidence for his actual teachings are the works that have survived. We have a number of commentaries on Aristotle<sup>94</sup> and a collection of 93 aporetic questions in which Italos discusses various metaphysical and logical issues, some of which he explicitly dedicates to Emperor Michael VII Doukas.<sup>95</sup> This collection of treatises is entitled:

<sup>91</sup> Alexios Komnēnos presided over a tribunal that was made up of ecclesiastical and imperial officials, who seem to have been hand-picked by Alexios himself. See further Lowell Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 26 (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik, 1981), 21–25. For a brief but useful overview of the trial, see Johannes Irscher, “Die Verurteilung des Johannes Italos,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 6 (1982) 117–122, at 119–121.

<sup>92</sup> A point that has also been made by Robert Browning, *Church, State, and Learning in Twelfth Century Byzantium* (London: Dr. Williams’s Library, 1981), 14 [repr. in: idem, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World* (Northampton: Variorum, 1989), no.VI]. See also *Alexias*, 163 (lib. V.8.5).

<sup>93</sup> See Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre*, 23–29, cf. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 91–95. See also Jeffrey L. Macdonald, *The Condemnation of John Italos*, MA thesis (St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, 1982), 24, who points out—much in line with Joannou’s argumentation—that Italos might have been suspected of encouraging the Doukas family to revolt against Emperor Alexios. See further Robert Browning, “Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Past & Present* 69 (1975): 3–23, at 13–15, Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 50–54, and Pâris Gounaridis, “Le procès de Jean dit Italos révisé,” *Histoirein* 6 (2006): 35–47, who—with different arguments—support the assumption that Italos’ condemnation was politically motivated.

<sup>94</sup> Namely, *De dialectica*, *De syllogismis*, *De rhetorica*, *Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica*. For the edition of these works, see Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*, 1–48. The latter commentary has been edited anew by Sofia Kotzabassi, *Byzantinische Kommentatoren der aristotelischen Topik: Johannes Italos & Leon Magentinos*, *Ἑταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν* 17 (Thessaloniki: Ekdoseis Baniias, 1999), 63–108.

<sup>95</sup> Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 63.12–14 (Q50) holds a dedication to the emperor in its title: Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κύρ Μιχαήλ, εἰ αἱ ψυχὰι ζητήσαντα, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἀνάβασιν δέχονται ἀπολυθεῖσαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐν ᾧ δέδεικται καὶ ὅτι ἀθάνατος. | “To the Emperor Michael, who has asked, whether the souls, as some say, ascend after being released from the body, in which [response] it is also demonstrated that the soul is immortal.” Cf. Diether R. Reinsch, ed./trans., *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, *Millennium-Studien* 51 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 286 (VII.168 (c4).6–7), where Psellos affirms the emperor’s love for philosophy: πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων, ὁ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔρωσ· τὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ὕψος· ἢ τῆς ἀλλαγῆς μεταβολῇ. Translation in Edgar R. A. Sewter, trans., *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, Penguin Classics, L169 (Harmondsworth: Penguin

Ἀπορίαι καὶ Λύσεις or *Quaestiones quodlibetales*.<sup>96</sup> It presents the best evidence of Italos' teachings, whose factual correspondence with the altogether eleven condemnations directed against him is far from being evident.<sup>97</sup>

#### TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF ITALOS' *QUAESTIO* 71

The first scholar to work on a critical edition of the *Quaestiones quodlibetales* was G. Tsereteli (1870–1938), but only a part of his work was published in 1924 and 1926.<sup>98</sup> Much of his work remained in manuscript and is kept at the *Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts* in Tbilisi (archival funds no. 188–219). Tsereteli first worked with later manuscripts, i.e., Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203, saec. XV and Monacensis gr. 99, saec. XVI but, eventually, found also Marcianus gr. Z. 265, saec. XIII and chose it as the basis for his partial edition of the *Quaestiones*, which also contains Italos' *Quaestio* 71.<sup>99</sup> Tsereteli introduced a number of emendations to the text wherever he found it incomprehensible. His edition and unpublished notes formed the basis of the *editio princeps* of Italos' *Quaestiones* by P. Joannou and of the edition of all of Italos' remaining œuvre by N. Ketschakmadze.<sup>100</sup> Joannou diverged from Tsereteli's work at several points and presented an edition with numerous inaccuracies.<sup>101</sup> Ketschakmadze's text is a revised version of that of Joannou and holds a richer *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus criticus* that includes all the variant readings and conjectures of Tsereteli. Ketschakmadze, who did a tremendous philological work in collating Tsereteli's manuscript with Joannou's edition, did not engage in establishing a radically new text as she thought that the variants indicated are mostly of linguistic and palaeographic

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Books, 1966), 369: "but, above all else, he cultivated a love of philosophy, of books that enrich the spiritual life, of allegory and its interpretation."

<sup>96</sup> This collection has to be handled with care, as not all *Quaestiones* represent Italos' actual works, as noted by Jean Gouillard, "La religion des philosophes," *TM* 6 (1976): 305–324, at 310.

<sup>97</sup> The condemnations were incorporated into the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* following Italos' trial in 1082. For the critical edition, French translation, and extensive commentary, see Jean Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie, édition et commentaire," *TM* 2 (1967): 1–316, at 57.184–61.246.

<sup>98</sup> Grigol Tsereteli, ed., *Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta*, 2 vols. (Tbilisi: Typis et impensis Universitatis Tphilisiensis, 1924, 1926).

<sup>99</sup> Tsereteli, ed., *Itali opuscula*, Vol.2, 47–55. Previously, Fyodor Uspensky had transcribed a few sentences of *Quaestio* 71 from cod. Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203, fols.115v–116v (Fyodor Uspenskij, *Синодикъ въ Недѣлю Православія. Сводный текстъ съ приложениями* (Odessa: Типографія Одесскаго военного Округа, 1893), 65–66) while Bezobrazov, "Book review," 128–131 had transcribed some passages based on cod. Vaticanus gr. 1457 and had given a brief overview of some arguments of *Quaestio* 71.

<sup>100</sup> Perikles Joannou, ed., *Ioannes Italos: Quaestiones quodlibetales*, *Studia patristica et byzantina* 4 (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1956) and Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*.

<sup>101</sup> Already Gouillard, "La religion des philosophes," 310 voiced criticism on Joannou's edition.

significance, leaving the judgment whether they also affect the evaluation on Italos' thought to later scholars.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, it appears that neither Joannou, nor Ketschakmadze have carried out an independent collation of the extant manuscripts, but relied heavily on Tsereteli's work, which contains less mistakes than the subsequent editions that build upon his work. That being said, the text established by Tsereteli is not without flaws itself, including erroneous punctuation marks, which have been rectified wherever needed. As the Tsereteli/Joannou/Ketschakmadze edition contains incomprehensible parts that inhibit a proper reconstruction of Italos' philosophical arguments a new edition is required.

This new critical edition of *Quaestio* 71 is based on all eight manuscripts that are known to contain this text. I largely concur with Joannou's partial *stemma codicum* that establishes as the three main witnesses of Italos' *Quaestiones* the Marcianus gr. Z. 265 (M), the Vaticanus gr. 316 (B), and the Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203 (V). M and B form together with Escorialensis X-I-11 (e) one recension,<sup>103</sup> while a second recension follows the hyparchetype of V.<sup>104</sup> This bifurcation is apparent from a number of common textual features: for instance, MBe read ὑποπιπτούση while Vmnp read ὑποπιπτούσης (l.68). Joannou established that MBV have a common source, which he named R<sup>2</sup>. It is apparent that R<sup>2</sup> used an idiosyncratic abbreviation for the suffix 'οῦσαν', which led all subsequent manuscripts to read only 'ου' (e.g., ἀποτέμνου instead of ἀποτέμνουσαν, l.138). Moreover, R<sup>2</sup> used an ambiguous abbreviation for παρά (adopted in MBVm), which the copyists of enop mistook for περί (l.65).

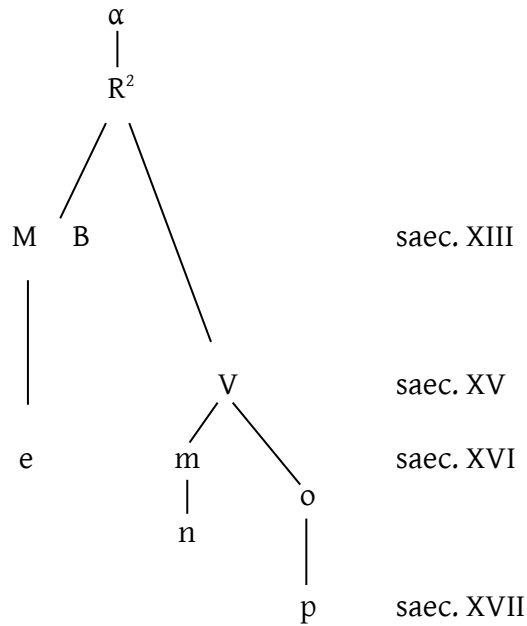
Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203 (V) presents a second recension. Monacensis gr. 99 (m) is a copy of V,<sup>105</sup> whereby Matritensis 4754 (n) is an apographon of m, as clearly indicated by the *lacuna* at (l.44). Finally, Parisinus gr. 2002 (p) depends on Vaticanus gr. 1457 (o), which, in turn, is dependent on V. The manuscript evidence of *Quaestio* 71 suggests the following *stemma codicum*:

<sup>102</sup> For a brief account of previous scholarship, see Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*, xix–xxi (in Russian).

<sup>103</sup> Joannou, ed., *Italos: Quaestiones*, x. Based solely on my reading of *Quaestio* 71, I cannot support Joannou's assumption that e also depends on B.

<sup>104</sup> Thus, I cannot confirm Sofia Kotzabassi's observation that both B and V are dependent on M, see Kotzabassi, *Johannes Italos & Leon Magentinos*, 41–46. However, her observations are based on the manuscript tradition of Italos' *Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica* and not of the *Quaestiones quodlibetales*.

<sup>105</sup> As already noticed by Tsereteli, ed., *Itali opuscula*, Vol.1, v, viii.



The most significant misreadings of the previous editors have been noted in the *apparatus* in order to clarify where the present edition departs from the previous ones. Furthermore, an almost exhaustive *apparatus criticus* has been established, which notes even simple orthographical mistakes such as iotacisms. It is hoped that these notes will be useful for any future edition of Italos' entire œuvre.<sup>106</sup> That said, the *apparatus* does ignore the nu-ephelkystikon (which is particularly characteristic of e) and the idiosyncrasy of p that persistently inserts definite articles into the text.

## SIGLA

### MANUSCRIPTS

M = Codex Marcianus gr. Z. 265 (coll. 516), fols.99r–103v, saec. XIII<sup>2</sup>

B = Codex Vaticanus gr. 316, fols.71r–73v, saec. XIII

V = Codex Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203, fols.115r–120v, saec. XV<sup>1</sup>

e = Codex Escorialensis gr. X-I-11, fols.169r–172v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

m = Codex Monacensis gr. 99, fols.363r–366v, c. ann. 1550

n = Codex Matritensis 4754, fols.128r–131v, c. ann. 1550

o = Codex Vaticanus gr. 1457, fols.143r–148v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

p = Codex Parisinus gr. 2002, fols.285v–297v, ann. 1620

<sup>106</sup> A complete edition of Italos' œuvre is currently being prepared by Sergei Mariev at the University of Munich (written communication of Sergei Mariev to A. K., dated 29/03/2015).

## EDITIONS

*Ts* = Tsereteli, Grigol. *Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta*, Vol.2, 47–55. Tbilisi: Typis et impensis Universitatis Tphilisiensis, 1926.

*Jo* = Joannou, Perikles. *Ioannes Italos: Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 120–125. *Studia patristica et byzantina* 4. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1956.

*Ket* = Ketschakmadze, Natela. *Ioannis Itali Opera*, 192–197. Tbilisi: Mezniereba, 1966.

οα΄. Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ὁ κόσμος φθαρτός, καὶ ὅτι ἔσται ἀνάστασις

Βασιλεῦσι μέγα καὶ λίαν ὡς οἶμαι ὠφέλιμον οὐ μόνον στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὀπλιτεύειν εἰδόσι συναναστρέφεσθαι καὶ τούτοις συνεξετάζειν τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ ὡς οὗτος μὲν λοχαγός, οὗτος δὲ καὶ πρωτοστάτης ἐπιτήδειος, 5 καὶ σφενδονᾶν μὲν ἐκεῖνος, τοξεύειν δὲ οὗτος ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ μούσαις καὶ ἠθικαῖς ἐπισκέψεσι καθ' ἑκάστην προσομιλεῖν, καὶ ἀνιχνεύειν ἐπιμελῶς τί μὲν δικαιοσύνη, τί δὲ φρόνησις καὶ τίνες αἱ ταύταις ἀνθεπόμεναι, καὶ ὡς τούτων αἱ μὲν ἀτελεῖς, αἱ δὲ καὶ 10 τελειόταται τὴν φύσιν πεφύκασιν· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τελείοις ἡμῖν καὶ ἀτελέσιν εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἃς μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ὑποληπτέον ἢ περ ἐκείνας δι' ἕτερον γεγονέναι. οὐ γὰρ ἴν' ὤμεν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῷ ἀρετὰς ἔχιν πεφύκαμεν· ὧν αἱ μὲν λόγῳ, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐθίζεσθαι ἡμῖν 15 παραγίνονται, ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης ἐπίσης τὴν ψυχὴν χωρίζουσαι, ὧν ἔργα τὰ πολεμοῦντα πάθη, καὶ δι' ἃ τῆς ἡμῶν τελειότητος διεστήκαμεν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐργάται γινόμεθα, διὰ δὲ τὴν λύπην τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐκκλίνομεν. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι ὡς οἶμαι τὸ τοῖς παλαιοῖς 20 συμβολικῶς εἰρημένον, ὡς «ἐν Διὸς οὐδὲ δύο πίθοι κατακεῖνται», ὅθεν μοιχεῖαι, ἀλληλοφονίαι, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον, εἰδωλοατρίαι· οὐ τί ἂν ἄλλο γένοιτο ζῶν λογικῶ χαλεπώτερον, νεκρώσαντι τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν φύσιν ἀθετήσαντι καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς ἑαυτὸ ἀποστήσαντι;

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἀρετῆς προϋθέμην εἶπεῖν, ταύτης δὲ κεφάλαιον ἀκριβὲς εἶναι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἡγῆμαι, τούτου δὲ τὸ ἀναστάντας τῶν ἔργων ἀμοιβὰς ἀπολήψεσθαι, λεκτέον ἄρα περὶ ἀναστάσεως πρότερον, καὶ 25 πειρατέον ὡς δυνατόν τοῖς καλῶς τε καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούουσιν ἐπιδεικνύναι ὡς ἀναστήναι πάντας ἀναγκαῖον, οἷα ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει ἐπόμενον. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τό τε τὸν κόσμον λέγειν αἰδῖον καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κοινὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπολαμβάνειν γενέσθαι σώματα ἐμποδῶν καθέστηκε· τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς αἰδίου τυγχάνοντος καὶ τῶν 30 ἡμετέρων ἐν γενέσει σωμάτων αἰεὶ πεφυκότων, ἀπίθανον ἂν δόξειε τὸ περὶ ἀναστάσεως θρυλλούμενον. δεικτέον οὖν πρότερον μὴ αἰδῖον εἶναι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, εἴτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν καιρῷ διαλεκτέον.

5 καὶ! ... 6 ἀμείνων] Cf. Psellus, *Chronographia*, tom.1, 20 (liber I,32.7–14) 18 ἐν... κατακεῖνται] Ilias 24:527. Cf. Plato, *Res publica* 379d (liber II,18) et Proclus, *In Rem publicam*, 96–100 22 κεφάλαιον...23 εὐσεβεῖν] Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, 2.21–23 (cap.1) et Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 79.82–85 (cap.26 [= liber II, cap.12]) 28 ἡμέτερα...σώματα] cf. Porphyrius, *Contra Christianos*, 101–102 (frag. 93/2, frag. 94)

4 τούτοις] τούτους **Vmnop** 5 πρωτοστάτης] προτ- **Vmnop** 6 ἐκεῖνος] ἐκείνως **MBe**, *Jo*, *Ket* | οὗτος ἀμείνων] coniecit *Ts*; οὗτος ἄμεινον **B**; οὕτως ἄμεινον **ceteri codd.**, *Jo*, *Ket* 8 προσομιλεῖν] -μολεῖν **B** 9 ταύταις] αὐταῖς **p** | τούτων] τούτων **e** 11 μᾶλλον] μᾶλλον **e** | ὑποληπτέον] -λειπτέον **e** 12 γεγονέναι] post γεγονέναι interductum alteravimus καλοῖ] **B** ante correctionem non legi potest; καλλοί **e** 13 πεφύκαμεν] -κασιν **m** ante correctionem 14 παραγίνονται] περιγίνονται **MB**; περὶ γίνονται **e** 15 δι' ἃ] δι' ἃ **codd.** et *Jo*; δι' ἃς coniecit *Ts*, quod accepit *Ket* 17 ἐκκλίνομεν] ἐκλίν- **mnop** 18 συμβολικῶς] συμβεβηκῶς **e** 19 ἀλληλοφονίαι] -φωνίαι **B** 21 ἀθετήσαντι] -τήσαντα **B**; -τίσαντι **op**; -τήσαντα et -τήσαντι **m** | τελευταῖον] -ταῖον et -ταίῳ **M** 28 ἄλλοις] ἄλλους **e** 30 πεφυκότων] πεφηκ- **e** | ἀπίθανον] ἐπίθ- **op** | δόξειε] -ξειεν **B**, correxit in -ξετε

## 71. That the world is corruptible and that there will be a resurrection

[Prolegomenon addressed to the emperor]

It is a great and very beneficial thing for emperors, I think, not only to converse  
with those who know how to lead an army and serve as men-at-arms, as well as to  
examine, together with these, the best [soldiers], [deciding] that this one is apt to be  
a commander and that one to be a file leader, that this one is more fit to be an archer  
and that one to be a slinger, but also to spend time with letters, to be conversant with  
the arts and with ethical inquiries on a daily basis, and to search out carefully what  
justice is, what prudence is, and which are the virtues that follow from these and to  
find out that, from among these, some are imperfect, while others are most perfect  
by their nature. We happen to be perfect or imperfect by means of these [virtues], so  
that it is to be supposed that we have come to being for their sake, rather than they  
for the sake of something else. In fact, our constitution is not simply such that we  
should exist, but that we should be good and noble by the fact of possessing the  
virtues: some of these we acquire through reason, while others we acquire through  
also practicing them, separating the soul equally from pleasure and pain, whose  
works are the passions fighting against us, and because of which we have fallen short  
of our own perfection. For on the one hand we become the workmen of evil because  
of pleasure, and on the other hand we turn away from the most noble acts because of  
pain. And this, I think, is the meaning of the symbolic expression of the ancients,  
according to which "There are two urns that stand on the door-sill of Zeus," whence  
come adulteries, murders and, unholyest of all, idolatries. For what could be worse for  
the rational living being who has killed his soul, denied his nature and, finally,  
removed himself from the blessed life?

Since, however, I have decided to speak about virtue, and because I hold that the  
precise sum of virtue is piety, and the sum of piety is that at the resurrection we will  
receive the recompense for our deeds, we must first talk about the resurrection and  
try to demonstrate as much as possible, to those who listen attentively and with  
good-will, that it is necessary that all rise, and that this also follows for us from the  
nature of things. Claiming that the world is eternal, however, and supposing that our  
bodies will be shared with others too, constitutes an obstacle to such a  
demonstration. In fact, if the universe were eternal, and if our bodies were by their  
very nature always in generation, then the common talk about the resurrection  
would seem implausible. So, we must first show that this world is not eternal, and  
then we can treat the other issues in due course.

**8** with the arts] Literally: "with the Muses". However, here, Italos means philosophy.  
**10** from these] Italos speaks about the cardinal virtues, which are: prudence (φρόνησις),  
justice (δικαιοσύνη), self-restraint (σωφροσύνη) and courage (ἀνδρεία). According to  
Italos, the second two virtues – and also many others – follow from the first two. | to find  
out that] The structure ἀνιχνεύειν ... τί μὲν ..., τί δὲ ...καὶ τίνες, καὶ ὥς appears to be an  
*apo koinou* construction: ἀνιχνεύειν meaning with the interrogative particles τί, τίνες  
"to search out" "to investigate", while with the objective ὥς particle, "to find out".  
**30** for us] We take ἡμῖν here as a *dativus ethicus* and καί as meaning "also". The meaning  
seems to be that the necessity of the resurrection flows not only from the testimony of  
the Scriptures but also from "the nature of the things", which can be the subject of a  
purely philosophical inquiry. Although grammatically it is possible to construct ἡμῖν  
καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει ἐπόμενον as a parallel structure: "consistent with us and  
with the nature of the things", this does not give any philosophically meaningful sense.

Πλάτων τοίνυν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μέγιστος παρ' Ἑλλησι τελῶν – δεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ἄρχεσθαι – γένεσιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου παραδίδωσιν, εἴ γε καὶ ψυχῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ἀπαρέσκονται, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου δόγμασι παρασυρόμενοι. καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν Πλάτωνος εἰρηκότος Ἑλλήνας ὑπολαμβάνειν μὴ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον αἰδίων, ὅπου γε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ὃς πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ὡς εἰπεῖν αἰδιότητος – οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὸν διδάσκαλον παρακρούσασθαι βουλευθεὶς, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πεποίηκε – καταβάλλεται δόγμασιν, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ῥημάτων τε καὶ ἀποδείξεων μὴ εἶναι αἰδίων ὑπεμφαίνει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ φυσικῷ ὁγδῶ οὕτω περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου αἰτίας φαίνεται διαλεγόμενος, ὡς ἀκινήτως κινούσαν τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τὸν ἄπειρον ἤδη χρόνον, ἀσώματον εἶναι καὶ ἀμερῇ. εἰ γὰρ σῶμα ἦν, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν ἢ πεπερασμένον ἢ ἄπειρον· μὴ ὄν δὲ ἄπειρον ἔσται πεπερασμένον, καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχον δύναμιν· οὐκ ἔσται ἄρα σῶμα αἰδίων, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ δύναμιν κέκτεται αἰδίων. εἰ γὰρ τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως πεπερασμένης ἔσται ἡ οὐσία ἄπειρος, μάτην ἔσται καὶ οὐ πρὸς τέλος ἀφορῶσα· τοῦτο δὲ ψεῦδος καὶ ταῖς ἀπάντων δόξαις ἐναντιούμενον. οὐκ ἄρα ὁ κόσμος αἰδῖος.

Ἀλλὰ φασὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου παράδειγμα τῶν ἐσώτων εἶναι καὶ μονίμων, καὶ τούτῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι τῷ καὶ εἶναι παράδειγμα· ἔσται ἄρα καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπουσα εἰκὼν αἰεὶ ὄν, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης τῆς φύσεως. ἔνεστι τοίνυν ἐκ πλείονων τεκμαίρεσθαι μὴ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν λόγον. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο αἰδίων· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡμῶν γινομένων τε καὶ φθειρομένων, ἐκάστοτε οὐκ ἔφθαρται τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἔστι ἡμῶν μὴ ὄντων αἰδίων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς συμβέβηκεν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν γινομένων τε καὶ φθειρομένων ἔστι τι πρῶτον αἰδίων, ἂφ' οὗ τὸ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν εἶναι παρειλήφασιν.

34 γένεσιν...κόσμου] Plato, *Timaeus* 28b 35 ψυχῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ] Plato, *Timaeus* 34c 42 ἀκινήτως...43 κινούσαν] Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.5, 258b4–5 43 ἄπειρον ἤδη χρόνον] Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.9, 266a6–7 | ἀσώματον...44 ἀμερῇ] Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.10, 267b25–26 44 εἰ...ἄπειρον] Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.10, 267b19–20 | μὴ...45 πεπερασμένον] Cf. Aristoteles, *De caelo* I.5–7, 271b1–276a17 45 πεπερασμένην...δύναμιν] Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.10, 267b22–24; Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 235.4–12 (Arg. VI.29) 50 τὸ...παράδειγμα] Cf. Proclus, *In Timaeum*, tom.1, 392.25–393.1 et Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 24.1–16 (Arg. II) 55 ἀλλ...56 αἰδίων] Cf. Philoponus, *In Aristotelis De anima*, 7.11–19 (prooemium)

33 φιλοσοφίᾳ] -σοφίαν e 36 θαυμαστὸν Πλάτωνος] interductum alteravimus cum Ts; καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; Πλάτωνος εἰρηκότος Jo, Ket 41 ὑπεμφαίνει] -φαίνειν Vmnop, Jo, Ket. Interductum editorum alteravimus 43 κινούσαν] -σα Vmnop 44 σῶμα...δὲ?] omittit n 45 ἔχον] ἔχων op 50 παράδειγμα] περὶδ- e 51 τούτῳ] τούτων e | τὸ εἶναι τῷ καὶ εἶναι παράδειγμα] τῷ εἶναι παράδειγμα B; τοῦ εἶναι παράδειγμα Ts 52 ἔνεστι] p; ἔν ἔστι Vmno; ἔν ἔστι MB; ἔν ἔστιν e 54 γὰρ] omittit e | ἡμῶν] omittit n 55 ἐκάστοτε] Interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus. Post ἐκάστοτε comma posuerunt codd. praeter p 56 ἡμῶν...αἰδίων] MBVe, editores; ἡμῶν καὶ ὄντων αἰδίων mno; ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ὄντων αἰδίων p 58 αἰδίων] αἰδίου (sic) e

## [Arg. I.1 Argument from infinity]

So, Plato, who was the greatest philosopher among the Greeks – for one must start with Plato – teaches straightforwardly that there is a beginning of the world, once there is also a beginning of the soul prior to it, even though his successors disagree with this, being misled by the doctrines of the Peripatetics. It is no wonder that, once Plato had said so, some Greeks [i.e., pagan philosophers] thought that the world is not eternal, given that even Aristotle, who proposes in his teachings many strong arguments about the world and its so-called eternity – having made up his mind to refute his teacher, I do not know why, just as he did in other matters – implies by his own words and demonstrations that the world is not eternal. In fact, in the eighth book of the *Physics* he appears to reason about the cause of the world in the following way: given that it moves the universe in an unmoved way, and that it has done so for an already infinite time, it is, therefore, incorporeal and indivisible. For if it were a body, given that a body is either finite or infinite, then, since it is not infinite, it would be finite, and would have finite power. So, it [i.e., the world] will not be an eternal body, given that it possesses no eternal power. For if the substance of a finite power were infinite, then its substance would be in vain, and it would not aim at a purpose. But this is false, opposed to the beliefs of all. Thus, the world is not eternal.

## [Arg. I.2 Refutation of the paradigm argument]

However, they say that the model of the world is a stable and permanent thing, and its being is precisely in its being a model. Consequently, its image, which looks to the model, will also exist eternally and will be of unchanging nature. Now, it is possible to judge by a number of arguments that this reasoning is not necessary. For it is not true that, if the first is eternal, then, necessarily, the subsequent is also eternal. For just as the cause of our coming to be does not decay each time that we come to be and decay, but exists forever even though we are not eternal, so also the same holds true for this universe. In fact, in the case of the things in becoming and decay, there is always a first eternal principle, from which they have received the fact that they are becoming and that they exist in any way.

**58** its being is precisely in its being a model] Codex B has a different version, which is difficult to interpret but perhaps stands for: “and its being a model consists in this”. Tsereteli’s emendation *ad locum* also has the same meaning.

Εἰ δ' ὅτι φθειρομένου τοῦ παντός τῆς ἀξίας ἡλάττωται τὸ τοῦ κόσμου αἵτιον, λεγέτωσαν πότερον προαιρέσει ἢ φύσει ποιεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν προαιρέσει μόνον, οὐκ αἰεὶ πέφυκε ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσει, καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνο ἄρα, καὶ ἔτι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ στήσεται ἢ κάθοδος μέχρι τινὸς αἰδίου, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν αἶδιον.

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Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἶδει φασὶν εἶναι αἶδια. οὐκ οὖν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιούντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενον. τὴν γὰρ ὕλην πατρογενῇ τὰ λόγια φασιν, ἀλλοιωτόν τι καὶ ῥευστόν οὖσαν, καὶ πρῶτον, ὥς τισιν ἔδοξε, κακόν, καὶ πενίαν καὶ στέρησιν ὡς ἀληθῆ· καὶ οὐχ ὁ πατήρ συνέφθαρται αὐτῇ φθορᾷ ὑποπιπτούσῃ καὶ μηδέποτε τυγχανούσῃ ὄν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ παντός εἶδος ἐν αὐτῇ φθειρομένη αἰεὶ καὶ παντοίως κινουμένη, ὡς εἴρηται, πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τὴν μὲν ὕλην φθαρτὴν εἶναι νομίζειν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον ὄντα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμένειν; οὐ γὰρ ἄϋλον τὸ τοῦ παντός εἶδος, οὐδέ γε αὐθυπόστατον οὐδὲ παράδειγμα ἑτέρου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὄν καὶ τούτου ὁσημέραι δεόμενον, φθαρτὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ ῥευστόν. εἰ γὰρ τῆς μὲν ὕλης αἰεὶ ῥεούσης τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ διαμένειν πέφυκεν εἶδος, ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ ἔνυλον ἅμα καὶ ἄϋλον, καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον, καὶ μάτην ὕλη καὶ ὄγκος, καὶ ποσὸν ἅμα καὶ ποιόν, καὶ ὅσα εἰδῶν πάθη ἐνύλων καὶ σωμάτων εἶναι λέγεται.

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Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν φθαρτὴν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ μεταβάλλουσιν αἰεὶ, τὴν δὲ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ· εἰ γὰρ δύο, φανερόν ὡς ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς ἢ ἰδίως ἢ ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ. εἰ μὲν οὖν κοινῶς, ποτὲ μὲν μία ἔσται καὶ δύο πάλιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τινὰ ιδιότητα ἔχουσα καὶ ταύτην κατὰ συμβεβηκός· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἄτοπον. εἰ δ' ἄλλως καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν διαφορῶν ιδιότητας, τίνι διαφέρει τοῦ εἶδους, ὕλη οὖσα καὶ πάντῃ ἀνείδεον; μία ἄρα ἢ τοῦ παντός ὕλη ῥευστὴ καὶ ἀλλοιωτὴ καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχουσα ἴδιον· διὸ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ῥευστόν τε καὶ ἀλλοιωτόν, ὥστε καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὡσαύτως.

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62 στήσεται...63 αἶδιον] Cf. Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 43.12–15 (Arg. III) 66 ὕλην πατρογενῇ] *Oracula Chaldaica*, frg. 49.1 67 κακόν] Plotinus I.8 [51], 14.50–51, II.4 [12], 16.24, V.9 [5], 10.18–20 | πενίαν] Plotinus II.4 [12], 16.19–23 | στέρησιν] Plotinus II.4 [12], 16.1–8, V.9 [5], 10.18–20 79 ἄφθαρτον...ἀκήρατον] Cf. Ps-Aristoteles, *De mundo*, 52 (392a9)

60 πότερον] πρότερον **Bnop** et **m** ante correctionem; πρότερα **e** | φύσει] -σιν **e** 61 τὸ] τὸ **p** 64 οὐκ οὖν **Vmnop**; οὐκοῦν **MBe**, editores; emendavimus 65 παρὰ<sup>2</sup>] περὶ **enop** 66 φθειρόμενον] -μενος editores; *Ket*: “φ – ν codd. praeter M” sed falso quia et **M** lectionem φθειρόμενον habet. Nihilominus subiectum sententiae ὁ κόσμος est. Versionem codicorum restituimus, interductum alteravimus secundum codices πατρογενῇ] προγ- **mnop** 67 οὖσαν] -σα **Vmop** 68 ὡς ἀληθῆ] **codd.**; ὡς ἀληθῶς editores sine teste | ὑποπιπτούσῃ] -ούσης **Vmnop** 69 τυγχανούσῃ] coniecit *Ts*; -ούσης **codd.** 71 φθαρτὴν] -τεῖν **Vmnop** 73 ὁσημέραι] ὡσημέραι **B**; ὡσεὶ μέραι **Vmno**; ὡσεῖμαι **p** 78 μεταβάλλουσιν] -βάλλου **MBVemn**; in margine legitur μεταβάλλουσιν **m** et **n**; in margine legitur μεταβάλλου **o** 80 διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς] interductum alteravimus. διαφέρουσι, καὶ ἢ κοινῶς editores | ἰδιαίτατα] ἰδιώτατα **Vmnop**; ἰδιαιτάτη editores, sed falso. Vide Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, 8.7–8 82 συμβεβηκός] κατασυμβεβηκός **V**; κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός **p** 83 ιδιότηας τίνι διαφέρει] τίνα διαφέρῃ **e**, τίνι διαφέρῃ **e**<sup>2</sup>; ιδιότηας διαφέρει *Jo* et *Ket*, sed sine sensu 85 ἅπαν] ἅπαντα **e** | ἀλλοιωτόν] -ωτοί **n**

[Arg. I.3 Creation through a divine will permits the corruptibility of the world]

[And when they say that] if the universe is corruptible, then the cause of the world is diminished in dignity, let them tell us whether the cause creates by an act of will or by nature. If it creates only by an act of will, then its nature is not such that it is eternally creating. If it creates by nature, too, then, so also the next one and so on, and the regress will stop at something eternal, after which there is no [other] eternal [entity].

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[Arg. I.4 The materiality of the world entails its corruptibility]

However, they say that whatever is eternal is so with respect to its form. To this I would respond that the world is therefore not eternal, since it is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness]. In fact, the *Oracles* say that matter is begotten by the Father and is something subject to change and in flux, and is, as it seemed to some, the first evil and poverty and real privation, yet the Father is not decaying together with it, even though it is subject to decay and is never really being. And since the form of the universe is in it [i.e., matter], while it is always decaying and, as has been said, is moving in all sorts of ways, how would it not be senseless to consider matter corruptible, while the world, which is in it, remains? For the form of the universe is neither immaterial, nor is it self-constituted, nor is it the model of something else but, since it exists in another [i.e., in matter] and is in continuous need of it, it would be corruptible and in flux. In fact, if – while matter always changes – the form in it were to be such by nature that it would remain, then the same thing [i.e., the form] would be at once enmattered and immaterial, corruptible as well as incorruptible, and then matter and volume, quality and quantity would be in vain, as well as all those that we call affections of enmattered forms and of bodies.

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[Arg. I.5 Refuting the theory of two types of matter]

However, they say that [matter] is on the one hand corruptible and ever-changing while, on the other hand, incorruptible and pure. But this is not reasonable. For if there are two [kinds of matter], it is clear that they differ from each other, and this, either through a common difference, or through a proper difference, or through a most proper difference. If through a common difference, then [matter] will be sometime one and at another time two and in fact it would have some property, and this, accidentally. However, this is absurd. Alternatively, if they differ otherwise, and, more precisely, according to the properties of those that differ, then in what respect would it [i.e., matter] differ from the form, even though it is matter and completely formless? Therefore, the matter of the universe will be one, in flux and changeable, so that nothing that it has in itself is proper to it. For this reason, everything that is in it is also in flux and changeable, and so also is the world.

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**78** begotten by the Father] The *Chaldean Oracles* speak of “light engendered by the Father” (πατρογενὲς φῶς, frg. 49.1) and “the splendour of Hekatē, engendered by the Father” (αὐγῆς πατρογενοῦς Ἑκάτης, frg. 35.2–3), see *Oracula Chaldaica*, 79 and 75. However, the sixth-century author John the Lydian supports Italos’ attribution in his *Liber de mensibus*, 175.8–9 (IV.159) where he says: ὅθεν ὁ Χαλδαῖος ἐν τοῖς λογίοις πατρογενὴ τὴν ὕλην ὀνομάζει. | “For this reason, the Chaldean calls matter generated by the Father.” The connecting link might be Plutarch, who considered Hekatē an allegory for matter. See also Italus, *Quaestio* 89, 135.19 and Psellus, *Opuscula* II.40, 151.9. **96** through a most proper difference] Here all earlier editors had given a mistaken text, misreading the expression *ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ*, “by means of a most proper difference” for *ἰδιαίτη διαφορᾷ*, which is a non-existent expression. The distinction between “common”, “proper” and “most proper” difference, generally used in late antique and Byzantine logic, comes from Porphyry, *Isagoge*, 8.7–8.

Εἰ δέ τις οἶεται τῶν μὲν κατέκαστα εἶναι τὴν φθοράν, τῶν δὲ καθόλου οὐδαμῶς, ἴστω ὡς καὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶδος μερικόν ἐστι καὶ κατέκαστον. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν ὕλῃ· πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρτόν· διὸ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα.

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Ἔτι δέ φασι διελόμενοι, πότερον φθειρομένου τοῦ παντὸς ἔσται τι ἢ οὐκ ἔσται· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσται, πότερον οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἕτερος· καὶ εἰ μὲν οὗτος, μάτην τὸ φθαρήναι· εἰ δ' ἕτερός τις, ἢ κρείττων τοῦ προτέρου ἢ χειρόν ἢ ὁμοίος· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε κρείττων δυνατόν – ἦν γὰρ ἂν καὶ πρότερον – οὔτε χειρόν, ὡς μὴ ἂν ἄτοπος δόξειεν ὁ τεχνίτης, οὔθ' ὁμοίος διὰ τὸ καὶ μάτην τὸ φθαρήναι καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι πάλιν τὸν αὐτόν· αἴδιος ἄρα καὶ ἄφθαρτος ὁ αἰσθητός ἐστι κόσμος. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα εἴρηταί μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω φάναι. ἐπεὶ τὴν μὲν ὕλην παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ μὴ εἶναι φάμεν, παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι κοσμουμένην τε καὶ εἰς εἶδος ἀγομένην βέλτιον, φανερόν ἄρα ὡς τὸ ἐκ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τοῦ εἶδους οὐκ ἔστι μὲν δι' αὐτήν, ἔστι δὲ διὰ θάτερον· ὃ δὲ καὶ ἔστι τε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, οὐκ αἴδιον, ἀλλὰ φθαρτόν. οὐ γὰρ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸ ποιήσαν αἴτιον, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐν μεταμελείᾳ γεγονός, ἔφθειρέ τε καὶ αὐθις ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὃ πέφυκε δημιουργεῖν οὐκ ἐν ὕλῃ πέφυκε διαμένειν, καθάπερ οὐδὲ αἱ τῶν νυκτερίδων ὄψεις τὸν ἥλιον καθορᾶν· ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἄρα καὶ ὄντος ὁ κόσμος· διὸ καὶ ὄν ἅμα καὶ οὐκ ὄν, ὄν μὲν οὐκ ἐσόμενον, οὐκ ὄν δὲ ἐσόμενον.

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**91** πότερον...**97** κόσμος] Philo, *De aeternitate mundi*, 210–215 (= §41–44) et Zacharias Scholasticus, *Ammonius*, 99.131–139 (= PG 85, 1032B–1033A) **98** τὸ μὴ εἶναι] Cf. Italus, *Quaestio* 19, 20.33–35, *Quaestio* 24, 26.3–4, *Quaestio* 92, 145.18–20. Cf. *Quaestio* 91, 139.10–12 **99** εἶδος...**100** βέλτιον] Plotinus, II.4 [12], 3.4–5 **104** οὐδὲ...**105** καθορᾶν] Aristotle, *Metaphysica* II.1, 993b9–10

**90** ἄρα] post ἄρα rubricam novam aperuimus; incipit enim novum argumentum auctoris **92** πότερον] -τερα **e** **93** φθαρήναι] -ρεῖναι **Vmnop** **97** εἴρηταί] εἴρητέ **V** **98** φάναι] post φάναι interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus **100** βέλτιον] post βέλτιον interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus **103** ἀλλ' ὅ] ἀλλ' ὅτι ὃ coniecit Tsereteli, sed non requiritur **104** πέφυκε] -φηκε **e**

[Arg. I.6 Argument from the world being an individual existent]

If someone assumes that decay pertains to individual beings but in no way to universal beings, then let him know that the form of the world, too, is particular and individual. Yet, everything that is such is in matter, and everything that is in matter is corruptible. For this reason, the world is [corruptible], too.

[Arg. I.7 Refuting the notion that there can be no other world after this one]

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Then they also say, using a disjunctive syllogism: If the world is destroyed, then either there will be something or there will not be. If there will be something, [then] it will either be this world or another one. If it will be this world, then its decay will be in vain. But if it will be another one, then it will either be superior to the former one, or inferior to it, or similar to it. However, it cannot be superior, because in that case it would have existed even earlier, nor can it be inferior, because in this case the Craftsman would prove unskilled, nor can it be similar, because then it would be in vain that the same world decays and comes into being again. Therefore the perceptible world is [both] eternal and incorruptible. To these arguments I have already responded that this way of arguing is not compelling. Given that we say that it is from itself that matter has non-existence, while it is from God that it is adorned with being and is brought to form, which is better [for it], thus, it is evident that what is composed of matter and form, on the one hand, does not exist, because of the former [i.e., matter], but on the other hand, exists because of the latter [i.e., form]. Yet, that which both exists and does not exist is not eternal but corruptible, and so the Maker is not the cause of the corruption, nor did He repent, destroy it and create it anew; rather, what He creates according to His nature does not have the nature to persist in matter, just as the eyes of bats do not have the nature to gaze at the sun. Thus, the world is from both non-being and being, and for this reason it is both being and non-being: being so that it will not be and non-being so that it will be.

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**120** compelling] Here the manuscripts do not place any punctuation mark, which would mean that the argument that is adduced here is the repetition of something said earlier. However, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, Italos might mean that this argument in favor of the eternity of the world falls under the refutation of section I.4. Here he adduces a different, though analogous, argument.

**122** form which is better for it] εἶδος βέλτιον: “the form, which is something higher”, or “higher form” is Plotinus’ expression. See Plotinus, II.4 [12], 3.4–5: οἷόν τι καὶ ψυχὴ πρὸς νοῦν καὶ λόγον πέφυκε μορφουμένη παρὰ τούτων καὶ εἰς εἶδος βέλτιον ἀγομένη· | “Just as the soul is so that it is formed according to mind and reason by these same principles and is brought to form, which is better [for it].” Our translation differs from that of A. H. Armstrong in the Loeb edition. It is noteworthy that Italos even follows the structure of the Plotinian sentence. **127** does...128 matter] The expression is ambiguous. It may mean that what the Craftsman creates will remain but not in matter, or that it will not remain because it is in matter.

Ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν εἴη τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἓν, ἀπορήσει ἂν τις. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ  
 φθειρόμενον καὶ αὖθις γινόμενον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σῶζόν ἐστι μεταβολήν.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ τεμνομένη καὶ πάλιν γιγνομένη  
 κίνησις – δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ αὐτό – 110  
 οὕτω καὶ τὸ φθαρὲν καὶ πάλιν γινόμενον οὐκ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό· οὐκ ἔσται ἄρα  
 ὁ κόσμος φθαρεῖς ἓν τι καὶ ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ πλείω. ἢ ἐν ἡδὴ καὶ ταυτόν, εἰ καὶ  
 μὴ ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ εἶδει· τοῦτο ἄρα τὸ ἀληθὲς ἓν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριθμῷ ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ  
 λέγεται εἶναι ἓν· ὃ δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ ὄντι· ὃ 115  
 δὲ τῷ μὴ ὄντι τί, οὔτε ἓν, οὔτε ὃν ῥηθήσεται· ἐν ἄρα τῷ εἶδει ἀπλῶς διὸ  
 καὶ οὗτος ὁ κόσμος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶδει οὐχ ἀπλῶς· καὶ γὰρ τετραχῶς κατὰ  
 τοῦτο Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἓν, καὶ ἄτερος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἴρηται περὶ κόσμου ἱκανῶς ὥς οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο μὴ φθαρῆναι,  
 εἶδος ἔνυλον ὦν καὶ καθέκαστον, φανερόν ὥς καὶ γενησόμενον αὖθις. ἢ  
 γὰρ φθορὰ οὐ παντελής· οὐδέ γε εἰς τὸ ἀπλῶς μὴ ὄν, ἀλλοίωσις δέ τις 120  
 φυσικὴ καὶ μεταβολή, ἣν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐπεκτήσατο· καὶ δεῖ αὖθις  
 γενέσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι τὰ ὄντα, τῆς αἰτίας κινουμένης ἀεὶ καὶ κινούσης καὶ  
 μὴ ἐώσης ἀργόν τι εἶναι καὶ ἄγονον, ἢ ἀνείδεον· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπείρως διὰ  
 τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φθαρῆναι ἔδει καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπείρως  
 εἶναί τε καὶ φθείρεσθαι – μάτην γὰρ ἔσται γιγνόμενος ἀεὶ καὶ αὖθις 125  
 φθειρόμενος – φανερόν ὥς ἔσται ποτὲ διαμένων τῆς πρώην ἀπαλλαγῆς  
 κακίας, ἣν δι' ἡμᾶς ὥς εἴρηται πέπονθε. καὶ οὐ δεῖ πάλιν ἡμᾶς διὰ γενέσεως  
 ἔσεσθαι – τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς φθορᾶς – ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἕτερον, ὃν ἀνάστασιν  
 ὀνομάζομεν. ἔσται ἄρα ἀνάστασις· καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων ἢ 130  
 κρίσις καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀνταπόδοσις.

110 δεῖ...αὐτό] Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*, 856.26–27 and 907.18–20  
 113 τὸ<sup>2</sup>... 114 ἓν.] Aristotle, *Metaphysica* V.6, 1016b31–33 116 τετραχῶς] Cf. Porphyrius,  
*Isagoge*, 12.13–22

107 ἀπορήσει] -ρήσειεν p, et mno in margine, et editores 109 γιγνομένη] γινομ- B  
 111 φθαρὲν] φθαρτὸν Jo et Ket sine teste, falso | γινόμενον] -μενόμενον e 116 τὸ...117  
 ἑαυτῷ] delevit Ts scribendo: "post κόσμος omnibus in codd. haec verba sine dubio  
 corrupta leguntur, quae expedire non possum." | τετραχῶς] τέτρως MVmnop; ἐτέρως B,  
 editores; emendavimus. Varians autem τέτρως ex abbreviatione pervenit, manifeste cum  
 corruptione accentus. Vide Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, 12.13–22. Hic Italus hoc principium  
 proprietati τὸ ἐν applicare videtur. 117 ἄτερος] ἕτερος Ket 119 ὦν] ὃν BVmnop,  
 editores 120 ἀλλοίωσις] ἀλλ' οἴωσις Vmno 129 ἄρα] γάρ op

[Arg. II.1 The world to come will be formally identical with the present world]

However, one would ask the question how the world can be one in number. For it is not true that that which decays and comes to be again is [a single subject] which preserves its own change. Just as the movement that is interrupted and then comes to being again is not one and the same – for [in order to be the same] it must belong to the same [moving agent] and [should be moving] at the same [time] and, again, in the same manner, – so also that which has decayed and comes to be again will not be the same. Thus, the world, once it has decayed, will not be one and the same, but will be more [than one]. However, it is one and the same, although not in number but in form. This, then, is the true one. For that which is one in number is said to be one according to its matter, and whatever is one according to matter is not one simply, but according to non-being; yet, whatever is something according to non-being will be called neither one nor being. Consequently, ‘one’ is that which is simply one according to its form; and so also this world. There are things that are one according to form but not simply. In fact, according to this [distinction], there are four ways in which Plato and Aristotle are one while both of them are identical to themselves.

[Arg. II.2 This world will end and will be transformed]

Since we have sufficiently argued concerning the world that it is not possible for it not to decay, since it is an enmattered and individual form, it is clear that it will come into being once again. For decay is not absolute, nor does it lead to absolute non-existence, but it is a certain natural change and transformation, which the world has acquired because of the transgression. So, it is necessary that the beings come into being and exist again, since the Cause is in constant movement and constantly moves and does not permit that anything may be either idle and infertile, or formless. However, this [i.e., the ceaseless change of generation and decay] will not go on infinitely, because the infinite does not exist. Since it is necessary that the world decays and comes into being yet does not exist and decay indefinitely – for it would exist in vain if it were perpetually coming into being and decaying again – therefore, it is clear that a time will come when it will endure permanently, having been set free from the previous evil that, as was stated, it suffered on account of us. And it is not necessary for us to come into existence again through birth [for this belongs to decay], but in another way, which we call resurrection. And so there will be a resurrection. And if so, then, there will also be a judgment for the way in which we conducted our lives, and a reward for our deeds.

**137** that which has decayed] At this place the previous editors have misread the text, reading φθαρτόν “that which is corruptible” for φθαρέν “that which has decayed.” Φθαρτόν would have been meaningless here, but the reading of all the manuscripts is unambiguous. **145** there... **146** themselves] Here we are translating an emended text. In most manuscripts one reads τέτρως, which can reasonably be interpreted as an abbreviation for τετραχῶς, “in a fourfold manner”, with an error of accent. In fact, errors in the accentuation are quite common in this text. *Jo* and *Ket* are following the version of B: ἐτέρως, which, however, does not match the meaning of the sentence. *Ket* notes that *Ts* emended τέτρως to τετραχῶς, which *Ts* has not done in his edition. In fact, *Ts* has omitted the sentence, writing (p. 52): “*post κόσμος omnibus in codd. haec verba sine dubio corrupta leguntur, quae expedire non possum: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶδει οὐχ ἀπλῶς καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρως (τετρως MZ) κατὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν καὶ ἄτερος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ.*” Apparently, Italos applies here to the property of oneness Porphyry’s fourfold taxonomy of a property according to form. See Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, 12.13–22.

Πρὸς οὖν ταύτην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρασκευαστέον τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἀρετῆς  
 ἐπιμελῶς ἀνθεκτέον, καὶ πειρατέον ὅσα βασιλεῖ ἐκμανθάνειν ἐπιτήδεια.  
 καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς θεῶ παραπλήσιος καὶ πῦρ κακίας ἀναλίσκον, ὅλος  
 ὀφθαλμός, καὶ οὖς ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, δικαιοσύνην τῶν ἄκρων καθαρὰν  
 διαφυλάττων, ἀνδρείαν οὐκ αἰεὶ φοβερὸν καὶ ἀμείλικτον ὀρώσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 135  
 μειδιῶσαν ἐνίοτε· ὡς ἂν μὴ – φοβερὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ ἄτεγκτος – μισητὸς  
 εἶναι νομίζοιτο καὶ φευκτός· ἀλλὰ καὶ σωφροσύνην, μήτε θεοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 χωρίζουσιν, μήτε κόσμου παντελῶς ἀποτέμνουσαν – τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβές, τὸ  
 δὲ βασιλεῦσιν οὐκ εὐσεβές – καὶ φρόνησιν, πᾶσαν συνιστῶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ  
 140  
 ἐπιτάττουσαν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐν πείρᾳ τυγχάνουσιν καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν ὄντων, ὡς τῇ μὲν πείρᾳ πρακτικὸς εἴη, τῇ δ' ἐπιστήμῃ  
 θεωρητικὸς. οὗτος ἄρα τέλειος, οὗτος βασιλεύς, οὐ μόνον ἑτέρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἑαυτοῦ. οὕτω τὰ οἰκεία εὖ διατιθέμενος, τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν αἴτιος πολλῶν  
 γενήσεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος πηγῆς ἀψοφητὶ ρέοντος ὕδατος,  
 καὶ ἅπασαν ἀρδεύοντος τὴν περίχωρον, ἐν ἣ δένδρα τεθηλότα, καρπὸς  
 145  
 ἄφθοнос, λειμῶνες ὠραῖσμένοι τοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ὀργάδες δροσεραὶ καὶ  
 κατάρρυτοι· ἐν ἣ οὐ θυμὸς πρὸς λόγον φιλονεικῶν ὑπερβαίνει, οὔτ' αὖθις  
 ὑποχαλῶν ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, αἰδούμενος μάλιστα ὡς  
 ἄριστον τὸν λόγον ἡνίοχον, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦν ὡς ἥδιστα  
 ἀπεργαζόμενος οὐκ ἐπιθυμία θολοῦσα τὸν λογισμὸν ἀλλοκότων ἡδονῶν·  
 150  
 οὐ μαλακία, οὐκ ἀκρασία, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως σπαράττουσαι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ  
 καρτερία καὶ ἐγκράτεια, αἱ ταύταις ἀντικείμεναι καὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοτέραν  
 ἀνάγουσαι τελειότητα, δεικνύουσαι τὸ ἐν καὶ ὄν καὶ ἀγαθόν· Πατέρα, οὗ  
 οὐκ ἔσται πατήρ ἕτερος, οὔτ' αὖθις αἴτιος ὑπερβεβηκώς, πάντων αἴτιον  
 ὄντα καὶ πασῶν, ἀφ' οὗ ταῦτα καὶ δι' οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὄν, οὐ τεμνόντων οὐσίας  
 155  
 τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲ γνωρισμάτων φύσεων ὑπαρχόντων· καὶ αὖθις Υἱόν,  
 ἐφ' οὗ τὰ τρία καὶ ὡσαύτως, καὶ γὰρ μὴ μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν· καὶ Πνεῦμα,  
 ὁμοίως δημιουργὸν ὄν, καὶ θεός, γεννήσεως ἅμα καὶ ἀγεννησίας χωρίς.

133 πῦρ...ἀναλίσκον] Dt 4:24; Heb 12:29 | ὅλος...134 νοῦς] Cf. Ps-Macarius, *Homiliae spirituales*, 2.41–48 (homilia 1) 139 φρόνησιν...142 θεωρητικὸς] Cf. Plotinus I.2 [19], 7.1–17 148 ὡς...150 ἀπεργαζόμενος] Plato, *Phaedrus* 254e. Cf. Plotinus I.2 [19], 5.21–31 155 οὐ...οὐσίας] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 39 (cap.12), 172.4. Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 29 (cap.2), 178.12 158 γεννήσεως...χωρίς] Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 9.18 (cap.2 [= liber I, cap.2])

132 βασιλεῖ] -λεῦ **Vmnop** 133 καί<sup>2</sup>...134 νοῦς] interductum alteravimus cum *Ts*; καὶ πῦρ κακίας ἀναλίσκον ὅλος, ὀφθαλμός καὶ οὖς ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, *Jo*, *Ket* | ἀναλίσκον] -σκων coniecit Tsereteli | ὅλος] ὅλον **Vmnop**; **B** ambo variantes exhibet 135 ἀνδρείαν] καὶ ἀνδρείαν coniecit *Ts*, accepit *Ket* 138 ἀποτέμνουσαν] -τέμνου **codd.** | τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ γὰρ μὲν *Jo* et *Ket*, sine teste 141 πρακτικὸς] -τηκὸς **n** 142 οὗτος] οὗτος/οὕτως **M**; οὕτως **Vmnop** 144 ἀψοφητὶ] ἀποφ- **e**, sed correxit in ἀποψοφ- 145 τεθηλότα] -θηκότα **op** 151 σπαράττουσαι] παρὰ- **op** 152 ὑψηλοτέραν] -τέρα **Vmnop**; ὑψολότερα **Me** 153 τελειότητα] -τητες **p** 154 αἴτιος] αἴτιον *Jo* et *Ket* | ὑπερβεβηκώς] coniecit *Ts*; -βηκὸς **codd.**, *Jo* et *Ket* 155 πρὸς ὄν] coniecerunt editores; πρὸς ὃ **codd.** 157 μὴ μεταπίπτειν] emendavimus ex Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 39, cap. 12; μεταπίπτειν **codd.**, editores

[Epilogue to the emperor: concerning virtue and the orthodox faith]

This is the day, then, O Emperor, for which one should prepare, and one should attend carefully to virtue and try to learn all things that befit the emperor. For the emperor, who closely resembles God, is a fire consuming evil, he is, in all his being, at once eye, ear and intellect; he preserves justice that is undefiled by extremes, courage that does not always stare dreadfully and inexorably, but also smiles from time to time, lest, being dreadful and implacable, he would be considered worthy to be hated and avoided. But he should also preserve temperance, which neither separates the soul from God nor severs it completely from the world, for the former is impious, while the latter is not pious in the case of emperors. He should also preserve prudence, which brings together all the virtue and truly commands the others, and both experiences and knows the beings, so that by experience he may be active and by knowledge he may be contemplative. Such a man is indeed perfect, such a man is an emperor, not only over others but also over himself. When he arranges well his own affairs in this way, he will become the cause of many good things to his subjects, just as when water flows quietly from a spring and irrigates the entire surrounding vicinity, in which there are blooming trees, abundant fruit, meadows beautified with flowers, and dewy and watered fertile lands. In this spring [i.e., in such a man] emotion does not rise above reason, contending with it, nor does it back down, proving [the man] weak and abnormal; rather, it respects reason as the best charioteer and gladly practices what the latter judges right. Nor does desire perturb reason with improper pleasures, nor is there effemination, nor is there intemperance, which in various ways and instances torments the soul, but perseverance and self-control, which are opposed to these, and which elevate to a higher perfection, showing forth the One, Being and Good, [namely] the Father, of Whom there will be no other father, nor, again, a higher cause, for He is the Cause of everyone, male and female, from Whom and through Whom and towards Whom are these, while the names neither mark off substances nor are they characteristics of natures; and again the Son, to Whom the three relate in like manner and hence do not interchange, as some have said; and also the Spirit, Who is equally Creator and God, being both without generation and without unbegottenness.

**177** Such... 180 subjects] This and what follows is a paraphrase of and expansion upon Ps-Dionysius, *Epistulae* VIII.3, 182.6–183.10. **191** male and female] It is difficult to identify the reference of πάντων ... καὶ πασῶν. It may be a reference to the words of the Anaphora in the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: καὶ ὧν ἕκαστος κατὰ διάνοιαν ἔχει καὶ πάντων καὶ πασῶν. | “The Eucharist is offered for all those whom those present have in mind, for men and women alike.” Here “male and female” alike may refer to all things, distributed according to real, or grammatical, or symbolic gender. | from...Whom<sup>3</sup>] All these: The three attributes that equally relate to the Son are ἀφ’ οὗ, δι’ οὗ and πρὸς ὃν “from Whom”, “through Whom” and “towards Whom”. See Rom 11:36, 1Cor 8:6 and Col 1:16–17. Yet, Paul uses similar but different expressions, namely ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν in Rom 11:36, ἐξ οὗ, δι’ οὗ and εἰς ὃν in 1Cor 8:6 and δι’ αὐτοῦ, εἰς αὐτόν and ἐν αὐτῷ in Col 1:16–17. **194** as some have said] This whole paragraph is a synopsis of Gregory of Nazianzus’ *Oratio* 39, Chapter 12. Italos closely follows here Gregory’s description of the Trinity. That is why it is apparent that the transmitted text lacks one essential negation: instead of the unintelligible καὶ γὰρ μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν the text should read καὶ γὰρ μὴ μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν.

Ἄλλ' εἰ θεὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ αὐθις θεός, πῶς πάλιν εἷς θεὸς καὶ φύσις μία καὶ μία δύναμις; ἢ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φύσεις ἀνθρώπων διάφοροι τυγχάνουσι· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν φύσις μονάς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμός.

Καὶ εἰ ἀπλοῦν, πῶς ἀριθμός; οὐκοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ εἰδέναι πεφύκαμεν· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀριθμῶ ὑποβέβληται, οὐ φύσει ὑποτέτακται, οὐ πλήθει ὀνομάτων, οὐκ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων λέγεται. ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλ' οὐ κυρίως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων· ἄναρχον, ἄϊδιον, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔχον καθ' ἑαυτό· φῶς καὶ ζωὴ καὶ αὐθις οὐ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν· οὐδὲ τί ὄν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα κἀκείνου ἐφίεται· ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσως καὶ τὰγαθόν, καὶ ταῦτα πεφυσμένως καὶ μονὰς τρισυπόστατος· ἥς Πατὴρ ἄναρχος, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπλῶς – χρόνῳ γὰρ καὶ αἰτία – καὶ Υἱὸς συνάναρχος οὐκ αἰτία, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς προελθόν. καὶ ταῦτα ἐν καὶ τρία πάλιν· τὸ μὲν φύσις, τὰ δὲ ὑποστάσει· καὶ αὐθις, τὸ μὲν οὐσία, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπα, οὐκ ἄθεεϊ συνταττόντων καὶ συναρμολογούντων καλῶς τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ γὰρ περιεκτικὰ ἄμφω· καὶ θεότης καὶ οὐ θεότης ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλὰ θεός, οὔτε τῶν προσώπων ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἐν θεότητι ταῦτα καὶ ταῦτα μιᾷ καὶ φύσει καὶ οὐσίᾳ καὶ θελήσει ὡσαύτως. ἀλλὰ καὶ θεότης ἄρα ταῦτα. οὐ γὰρ κατηγοροῦμεν ὡς Ἑλληνες τὰ μὴ ὄντα, οὐδὲ θεότητος τετράδα παρεισάγομεν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τριάς πρῶτος ἀριθμὸς τῷ μὴ μετρεῖσθαι ἐτέρῳ καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων μὴ συγκεῖσθαι· διὸ καὶ μονὰς εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα μέχρι τριάδος ἔσται.

Ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων τὸ κεφάλαιον, ταῦτα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἡ κρηπίς, ταῦτά σοι ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ μελέτη ὑπαρχέτω, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπων βασίλευε καὶ εὐθύμει, ὡς ἂν καὶ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσης καὶ τῶν ἀναφαιρέτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ αἰωνίων κληρονομήσης.

**167** φῶς] Cf. Jn 1:4–9; 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:36; 12:46; 1Jn 1:5 **168** ζωὴ] Cf. Jn 1:4; 11:25; 14:6; cf. Ps-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus* I.6, 118–119 **169** κἀκείνου ἐφίεται] Cf. Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea* I.1, 1094a1–3; X.2, 1172b14–15 et Proclus, *Elementatio theologica*, 10.4–6 (prop.8); 14.18 (prop.12); 34.32–33 (prop.31) **170** Πατὴρ...172 προελθόν] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 39 (cap.12), 174.10–15 **173** οὐκ ἄθεεϊ] Cf. *Odysseia* 18:353 **175** περιεκτικὰ ἄμφω] Cf. Plotinus III.7 [45], 2.10 **179** καὶ...180 συγκεῖσθαι] Cf. (Ps-)Iamblichus, *Theologoumena arithmeticae*, 8.16–9.3 **180** μονὰς...181 ἔσται] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 29 (cap.2), 180.13–14 et Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, 6 (Ambiguum I.1) (= PG 91, 1033D) **185** ἀναφαιρέτων] Cf. Jn 16:22

**159** καὶ<sup>2</sup>] omittit B **160** οἱ] εἰ coniecerunt Jo et Ket, sed non requiritur **161** τυγχάνουσι] -χάνου MBe **163** οὐκοῦν] οὐκ οὖν mnop **165** ἐπ ... 166 ἀνθρώπων] ὑπ' ἀνθρ- B **166** λέγεται. ἀπλοῦν] hic interductum alteravimus secundum codd.; λέγεται, ἀπλοῦν Ts; λέγεται ἀπλοῦν Jo et Ket **171** συνάναρχος] συναρχός ep **173** οὐσία] legimus in chiasmo; οὐσία editores. Nam duo formae nominis non differunt in codicibus | πρόσωπα] -πον Vemnop, editores **174** καὶ] codd.; ἀλλὰ coniecit Jo **176** ταῦτά] coniecimur; ταῦτα codd., editores **182** ἐμῶν] μῶν e **183** ἐνδιαίτημα] -τιμα op

But if there is God and God and again God, then how is there nevertheless one God and one nature and one power? This [difficulty] does not necessarily follow. In fact, the many people are not different natures of people, but rather, the nature is a monad, while number belongs to the hypostases.

However, if It [i.e., the Godhead] is simple, how is It a number? It is a number in relation to us, because this is how we can naturally understand and know It, but It is not subject to number, nor is It subordinate to nature, or to a plurality of names, or to anything else that is said concerning human beings. It is simple, but not in the proper sense, because this is also an attribute of those that have come to being by It. It is without beginning and eternal, yet has nothing like this in Itself. It is Light and Life, and again, It is not these, for these are from There. Nor is He some [concrete] being, for the beings are from It and desire It. However, perhaps, It is One and the Good, and It is these by its very nature. Also, it is a Monad in three Hypostases, to which belongs the Father, Who is without beginning, and is so absolutely, both in time and according to causality; and the Son, Who, together with the Father, is without beginning in time, but not in regard to causality; also, similarly, the Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father. And these are one and again three: the former as nature, while the latter according to hypostases; and again, the former according to substance, while the latter as persons, so that we are ordering [these names] not without divine help and are correctly arranging them, [that is, we place] nature with substance and the rest with the rest, as they are both inclusive. And the Son is Godhead and not Godhead, but God; nor is He any other one among the persons, but these are identical in the Godhead through the one nature, substance and will, equally. Therefore, these are also the Godhead. In fact, neither do we predicate, as the pagans do, the non-existent beings [i.e., the many gods], nor do we introduce a Tetrad of the Godhead. For the triad is the first number because it is not measured by another one, and is not composed of other numbers. This is why the Monad, having moved toward the Dyad, came to a halt at the Triad.

This, O Emperor, is the sum of my discourse, this is the foundation of philosophy. Let this be your pastime and meditation; rule considering all this and rejoice, so that you may be well pleasing to God and may inherit the goods that cannot be taken away and are eternal.

**206** from There] “There” (ἐκεῖ), “from There” (ἐκεῖθεν) are Plotinian expressions to denote the “realm” of the One **208** by its very nature] The Greek expression used here—πεφυσμένως—is a hapax, just like another hapax, πεφυμένως, in the 12th/13th-century author Nicholas of Otranto’s *Disputation against the Jews*, see Michael Chronz, ed., *Νεκταρίου, Ηγουμένου Μονῆς Κασούλων (Νικολάου Υδρουντινού), Διάλεξις κατά Ιουδαίων. Κριτική έκδοση* (Athens: Ιερά Μητρόπολις Θηβών και Λεβαδείας, Ιερά Βυζαντινή Μονή Οσίου Λουκά, 2009), 217.6. It is noteworthy that both Greek authors using these otherwise inexistent forms of the verb φύομαι are from Italy. **212** And...214 persons] That is, the Father, the Son and the Spirit are one and three. The One is their common nature, while they are three in their hypostases; again, they are one according to their common substance, while the Three means that they are persons. Note the chiasmic structure here, which will be discussed in the commentary to this section. **216** both inclusive] Cf. Plotinus III.7 [45], 2.10. The meaning is that both “nature” and “essence” are inclusive and of the same things, that is, of the persons, just like in Plotinos the intelligible world and eternity “are both inclusive and of the same things”.

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COMMENTARY ON ITALOS' *QUAESTIO* 71<sup>107</sup>

The treatise heading correctly indicates Italos' position, when it says that it will be shown "that the world is corruptible and that there will be a resurrection" (l.1, trans.).<sup>108</sup> The work begins with the advice to the emperor that he should be virtuous both through comprehension and habituation (ὦν αἱ μὲν λόγῳ, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐθίζεσθαι, l.13) and that he should, as a virtuous man, control his passions in order to achieve moral perfection.<sup>109</sup> As for the virtues themselves, Italos holds "that the precise sum of virtue is piety, and the sum of piety is that at the resurrection we will receive the recompense for our deeds" (ll.26–28, trans.). Piety, as the highest virtue, presupposes the belief in the final resurrection. He goes on (ll.31–34, trans.): "Claiming that the world is eternal, however, and supposing that our bodies will be shared with others too, constitutes an obstacle to such a demonstration. In fact, if the universe were eternal, and if our bodies were by their very nature always in generation, then the common talk about the resurrection would seem implausible." Without a temporal *eschaton*, the material of which our bodies consist would continue to reemerge in other bodies,<sup>110</sup> which would preclude any individualized corporeal resurrection and would thus negate Christianity itself. If there were to be no resurrection, there would also be no reward for our deeds, which is indispensable to any

<sup>107</sup> Line references of *Quaestio* 71 refer to the present edition or translation. References to any other *Quaestio* are to Joannou's edition.

<sup>108</sup> It is noteworthy that in other cases, section headings may be misleading, such as that of *Quaestio* 86, which claims that the treatise is about the resurrection of the coarse earthly body. While this question is not treated, the content indicates that the resurrection will be in a different body. For this reason, it can be assumed that the section headings are from a later compiler, not Italos. On *Quaestio* 86, see below n.184. Likewise, it may be assumed that also the title of *Ἀπορίαι καὶ Λύσεις* is not by Italos himself, as asserted by Theodor Nikolaou, "Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung des Traktats (87) De iconis der Quaestiones Quodlibetales und seine Bedeutung hinsichtlich der Verurteilung von Johannes Italos," in idem, *Glaube und Forsche. Ausgewählte Studien zur Griechischen Patristik und Byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 10 (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 2012), 375–392, at 375–376 [repr. of: *Μνήμη Μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου Ἰακώβου* (Athens: Ἑστία Θεολόγων Χάλκης, 1984), 279–294].

<sup>109</sup> Although both sets of virtues, namely contemplative as well as practical, are indispensable, Italos points out elsewhere that it is the former virtues that grant privileged access to divine knowledge. See Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 132.5–28 (Q81). See further Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre*, 33.

<sup>110</sup> This seems to refer to the food-chain (or cannibal) argument, which Porphyry promoted against the doctrine of the resurrection. See Porphyrius, *Contra Christianos*, 101–102 (frag. 93/2, frag. 94). Harnack is citing respectively the testimonies of Ps-Justin's *Quaestiones Gentiles ad Christianos* 15 (see von Otto, ed., *S. Iustini Opera*, CACSS 3/2, 320–322) and Makarios Magnēs' *Apocriticus* IV.24 (see Charles Blondel, ed., *Μακαρίου Μαγνήτος Ἀποκριτικός ἡ Μοινογενής: Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt* (Paris: Typographia Publica, 1876), 204–205, and more recently Ulrich Volp, ed./trans., *Makarios Magnes: Apokritikos. Kritische Ausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 169 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 404–407). Frag. 94 can be found in translation by R. Joseph Hoffmann, ed./trans., *Porphyry's Against the Christians. The Literary Remains* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 90–93. For the food-chain argument, see further Robert M. Grant, "Patristica," *VigChr* 3/4 (1949): 225–229, at 225 and Sorabji, "Waiting for Philoponus," 74–76.

teleological appeal for a virtuous life along Christian maxims. Any utilitarian mind would immediately ask: ‘Why should we behave as good Christians if there will be no recompense for our sacrifice?’ In short, without the belief in the resurrection, which is denied by the eternalist viewpoint, a virtuous life would be counterintuitive.

It is worth recalling that “[e]schatology is not just one particular section of the Christian theological system, but rather its basis and foundation, its guiding and inspiring principle, or, as it were, the climate of the whole Christian thinking. *Christianity is essentially eschatological* [...]”,<sup>111</sup> as G. Florovsky concisely put it. Italos concurs by saying that “we must first talk about the resurrection and try to demonstrate as much as possible, to those who listen attentively and with good-will, that it is necessary that all rise, [...] So we must first show that this world is not eternal [...]” (ll.28–36, trans.). Only then can one competently deliberate about any particular virtue.

It is notable that prior to addressing the issue of moral virtues Italos is explicit in setting out to do two precursory investigations: first, he intends to impugn the notion of an eternal world and second, he plans to “demonstrate” (ἐπιδεικνύναι) that there will be a resurrection. This argumentative strategy is a forceful approach, for it is not only apologetic but also affirmative by proposing a philosophical proof for the resurrection. At first, however, the idea of the eternity of the world needs a philosophical refutation, lest “the common talk about the resurrection would seem implausible” (ll.34–35, trans.).

#### REFUTING ARISTOTLE: THE ARGUMENT FROM INFINITY (ARG. I.1)

Italos starts his apologetic investigation on the eternity of the world with a reference to Plato’s *Timaeus*, whose factual interpretation he takes for granted. Accordingly, the world was created by the Demiurge at the beginning of time, which entails an absolute beginning of creation.<sup>112</sup>

Italos’ first argument is directed against Aristotle and is taken from Philoponos. It runs as follows: The first unmoved mover is indivisible and without a body, since no corporeal, that is, finite being could cause a motion that extends for an unlimited amount of time, as Aristotle had

<sup>111</sup> Georges Florovsky, “Eschatology in the Patristic Age,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 2 (1956): 27–40, at 27. See further idem, “The last things and the last events,” in *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, Vol.3: Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Co., 1976), 243–265.

<sup>112</sup> Technically speaking, it would be incorrect to talk about a “creation in time” or “temporal creation.” Christian Platonists such as Italos held with Plato that time was created together with the world. Cf. Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 115.26–28 (Q69). This point is also well expressed by Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1224D (cap. 24.21), which will be treated below, see n.226.

shown at the outset of *Physics* VIII.10 (266a12–23). In addition, Aristotle had shown in *Physics* III.5 and *On the Heavens* I.5–7 that there can be no infinite bodies. Therefore, since the kosmos is a material body, it cannot, by its nature, be infinite but only finite. Finite bodies, however, can hold only finite power.<sup>113</sup> Yet only a being with infinite power can be eternal. As Philoponos puts it:

Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 235.4–12 (Argument VI.29): ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ οἶδεν ὁ Πλάτων, ὡς πᾶν σῶμα ὑπὸ πεπερασμένης διοικεῖται δυνάμεως καὶ οὐδὲν σῶμα δύναμιν ἄπειρον ἔχει (ὡς ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ ὀγδόου λόγου τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκρόασεως ἔδειξεν), πᾶν δὲ τὸ μὴ ἄπειρον ἔχον δύναμιν ἐξαρκεῖν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἀδύνατον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν πάντα κόσμον σῶμα ὄντα καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχοντα δύναμιν μὴ ἂν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἰς διαμονὴν αἰδίων ἐξαρκέσαι [...]

Plato knows that every body is controlled by a finite power and that no body possesses an infinite power (as Plato’s pupil Aristotle shows towards the end of the eighth book on the *Physics*) and nothing that does not possess an infinite power can last in perpetuity, and for this reason both the heaven and the whole world, being body and possessing a finite power, would not on their own, [...], have the resources for an everlasting continuance [...] (Michael Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus’s ‘On the Eternity of the World 6–8’*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 82)<sup>114</sup>

Italos, too, asserts (II.50–52, trans.) that since the kosmos is “not infinite, it would be finite, and would have finite power. So, it will not be an eternal body, given that it possesses no eternal power.” Italos’ argument closely follows Philoponos in drawing attention to the Aristotelian premise that infinite capacity or power is required for being infinitely extended in time.

Philoponos fully developed this argument in two—now lost—works, which he wrote against the eternalist camp. The shorter of the two works was entitled *On the Contingency of the World*, fragments of which have survived in Simplicios’ *Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics*<sup>115</sup> and

<sup>113</sup> See Aristoteles, *Physica* VIII.10, 266a23–266b6. A different, yet related version of this argument is given by Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 37 (§30); see above p.18.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 1.18–2.3 (Argument I.2): εἰ οὖν κατὰ Πρόκλον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην δύναμις ἄπειρος ὁ αἰὼν ἐστὶν καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἰ τὸ αἰώνιον πάντως καὶ ἀπειροδύναμον, ὅπερ ἄρα μὴ μετέχει δυνάμεως ἀπείρου, τοῦτο αἰῶνος οὐ μετέχει, ὅπερ δὲ οὐδὲ μετέχει αἰῶνος, τοῦτο αἰώνιον οὐκ ἔστιν. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5*, 20: “So if, according to both Proclus and Aristotle, eternity is infinite power, and if, in a word, that which is eternal is in every case also infinitely powerful, then whatever does not partake of infinite power does not partake of eternity, and whatever does not even partake of eternity is not eternal.”

<sup>115</sup> Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*, 1326.38–1336.34, esp. 1326.38–1329.19. Translation in Furley and Wildberg, trans., *Place, Void, and Eternity*, 107–128, esp. 107–112 or alternatively McKirahan, trans., *Simplicius: On Aristotle, Physics 8.6–10*, 112–123, esp. 112–115

in an Arabic synopsis, which appears to present chapter summaries of the lost work.<sup>116</sup> In the latter, Philoponos is said to have argued that the world, by its very nature, cannot be everlasting for the world is a finite body, whose finitude precludes it from holding any infinite capacity (here translated as force). The Arabic testimony gives the following summary:

Troupeau, “Un épitomé arabe,” 79.20–22:

ثم قال: وإذا كان العالم جسما متناهيا، كما برهن أرسطاطاليس وذلك في المقالة الأولى من كتابه في السماء، وكان كل جسم متناه فقواه متناهية كلها، كما برهن ذلك أيضا أرسطاطاليس في آخر المقالة الثامنة من كتاب سمع الكيان، فوجب أن يكون العالم ممّا قلنا وممّا أقام أرسطاطاليس عليه البرهان، محدثا كان بعد أن لم يكن.

Then he said: If the world is a finite body, as has been demonstrated by Aristotle in the first treatise of his book on the Heaven and (if) the forces of every finite body are finite, as has been likewise demonstrated by Aristotle at the end of the eighth treatise of the Book of Physics, (then) because of what we have, and of what Aristotle has demonstrated, the world must have been created in time (and) have come into existence after not having existed. (Pines, “An Arabic summary,” 323–324)

The other lost Philoponian work bore the title: *Against Aristotle: On the Eternity of the World*. Almost all of its altogether 134 fragments have been preserved by Simplicios.<sup>117</sup> Fragment 49 presents essentially the same argument that we encounter in Italos. Philoponos is quoted to have said:

Heiberg, ed., *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo*, 79.2–6: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ, φησί, τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτὸς ἔδειξεν, ὅτι τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα πεπερασμένον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ πεπερασμένον πεπερασμένην ἔχει δύναμιν, ἄπειρος δὲ ἡ κυκλοφορία, ἀνάγκη ἄρα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἀπειροδυνάμου αἰτίου δίδοσθαι· ἡ δὲ φύσις ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οὕσα τῷ πεπερασμένῳ πεπερασμένη καὶ αὐτὴ ἐστίν·

And if <Aristotle> proved in the eighth book of the *Physics* that the heavens are a limited body, <and that> a limited body has limited capacity, and that circular movement is unlimited, then it is necessary that <the rotation> is provided by a cause of unlimited capacity. However, the nature in a limited substrate is limited itself. (Wildberg, trans., *Philoponus: Against Aristotle*, 66)

<sup>116</sup> The Arabic synopsis was identified and translated into English by Shlomo Pines, “An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 320–352. For the edited text and a French translation, see Gérard Troupeau, “Un épitomé arabe du ‘Contingentia Mundi’ de Jean Philopon,” in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. Enzo Lucchesi and Henri Dominique Saffrey (Geneva: P. Cramer, 1984), 77–88.

<sup>117</sup> Notably, in Simplicios’ *Commentary On the Heavens*, see Johan L. Heiberg, ed., *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo commentaria*, CAG 7 (Berlin: Reimer, 1894) and in his *Commentary On the Physics*, see Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*. For a collection and translation of the fragments, see Christian Wildberg, trans., *Philoponus: Against Aristotle, on the Eternity of the World*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (London: Duckworth, 1987).

In essence, Italos adopts from Philoponos one particular version of the infinity-argument that draws attention to the implicit contradiction between the Aristotelian notions of (1) heaven's limited capacity and (2) an everlasting kosmos.<sup>118</sup> He, thus, paraphrases Philoponos in arguing that a material kosmos cannot possess the infinite power that would be necessary to sustain its existence eternally. It is on the basis of this reasoning that Italos accuses Aristotle of being inconsistent and asserts (ll.45–46, trans.) that he “implies by his own words and demonstrations that the world is not eternal.”

### REFUTING PROKLOS: THE PARADIGM ARGUMENT (ARG. I.2)

After Aristotle, Italos takes on Proklos and refutes his second argument in favor of the eternity of the world, the so-called paradigm argument.<sup>119</sup> Italos' reconstruction of the argument runs as follows (ll.57–59, trans.): “However, they say that the model of the world is a stable and permanent thing, and its being is precisely in its being a model. Consequently, its image, which looks to the model, will also exist eternally and will be of unchanging nature.”

Italos counters this argument with a simple analogy, which presupposes Philoponos' refutation that negates the presumption that the model (παράδειγμα) of the world is a relative entity that correlates with its effect, i.e., the world. Philoponos points out that forms are, categorically speaking, substances and not relatives (i.e., accidents). Thus, the paradigm and the world do not mutually depend on one another.<sup>120</sup> Having this reasoning in mind, Italos advances an analogous argument, where he asserts that the world—being a substance like any corporeal human being—is perishable. He writes: “For just as the cause of our coming to be does not decay each time that we come to be and decay, but exists forever even though we are not eternal,<sup>121</sup> so

<sup>118</sup> On Philoponos' use of the infinity argument, see further Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum*, 210–224 and idem, *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and Their Sequel* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 254–258.

<sup>119</sup> A first version of the paradigm argument had already been advanced by Porphyry, which Proklos summarizes in his *Commentary on the Timaeus*, see Proclus, *In Timaeum*, Vol.1, 392.25–393.1. Translation in Runia and Share, trans., *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Vol.2, 265–266. Philoponos confirms that Proklos took many of his arguments from Porphyry, see Philoponos, *Contra Proclum*, 224.18ff. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponos: Against Proclus 6–8*, 76.

<sup>120</sup> See Philoponos, *Contra Proclum*, 34.13–35.12. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponos: Against Proclus 1–5*, 37–38.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Philoponos, *In Aristotelis De anima*, 7.11–19 (prooemium).

also the same holds true for this universe.”<sup>122</sup> If we, mortal human individuals, pass away without our ultimate divine cause to pass away simultaneously as well then, likewise, it is possible that the world perishes—being an individual substance—without its divine Creator to decay along with it.<sup>123</sup> That is, the statement that the world will eventually perish does not imply the decay of its cause.

### CREATION THROUGH AN ACT OF THE DIVINE WILL INVOLVES THE TEMPORALITY OF THE WORLD (ARG. I.3)

Italos realizes that Neoplatonist philosophers, such as Proklos, had taken the putative lack of atemporal correlation between the Creator and creation as a deficiency or weakness in the divine Demiurge, arguing that any kind of change in the Creator would amount to an imperfection.<sup>124</sup> According to Proklos’ eighteenth argument, the Demiurge has to be a divine and eternal being, which entails unchangeability. If He is never changing, then, either He creates eternally, or He never creates. As the latter is impossible, His creative act as well as its result has to be eternal.<sup>125</sup> Consequently, a temporal world would entail an imperfect Creator, which is absurd.<sup>126</sup> Italos’ objection to this line of argument is traditional. Instead of arguing from the nature of the Demiurge as Proklos had done, he argues from the nature of the world. Accordingly, if the world

<sup>122</sup> *Quaestio* 71, ll.62–64, trans. See also, *Quaestio* 71, ll.106–108, trans.

<sup>123</sup> An additional counter-argument, which Italos does not make explicit, rests on the notion that the Godhead holds the paradigms of all beings, as pointed out in Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 7.33–36 (Q5) and *ibid.*, 110.34–38 (Q68). These paradigms include the paradigm of the world, see *ibid.*, 111.5 (Q68). See further Perikles Joannou, “Metaphysische Problematik in der byzantinischen Philosophie,” in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ’ Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Θεσσαλονίκη 12–19 Ἀπριλίου 1953)*, Vol.2, ed. Stilpōn Kyriakidēs, Andreas Xyngopoulos, and Panagiōtēs Zepos, Ἑλληνικά Παράρτημα 9/2 (Athens: Τυπογραφεῖον Μυρτίδη, 1956), 133–138, at 135, *idem*, *Die Illuminationslehre*, 46–61, 140–146, Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 144, and Katerina Ierodiakonou, “John Italos on Universals,” *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 18 (2007): 231–247. That is, the paradigm of the world does not exist independently of its divine host and thus cannot be used as an independent cause in any argument. Italos might not have used this argument here as it would have come close to the fourth anathema that condemns those who teach the co-eternity of Platonic forms, see below pp.55–56. Although these are two different views, they could have invited misunderstandings.

<sup>124</sup> See Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 42.14–15 (Argument III): εἰ δὲ μὴ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν, δυνάμει ἔσται δημιουργικὸν πρὸ τοῦ δημιουργεῖν ὄν. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5*, 42: “And if it [i.e., the Demiurge] is not actual, it will be potential, being capable of creating before it creates.”

<sup>125</sup> See Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 605.17–21 (Argument XVIII): ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μηδέποτε ποιεῖν δημιουργὸν ὄντα τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀμήχανον· οὐ γὰρ δημιουργῶ τὸ ἀργεῖν ἀεὶ προσήκει· πότε γὰρ ἂν εἴη δημιουργὸς μηδέποτε τι ποιῶν; ἀνάγκη ἄρα ποιεῖν τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δημιουργεῖν ἀεὶ. Translation in James Wilberding, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus’ ‘On the Eternity of the World 12–18’*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 93, corrected: “But surely it is not feasible for the creator, being a *creator*, never to make. For it does not befit a creator always to be idle. For when would He be a creator if He never made anything? Therefore, it is necessary that the creator always be making and to create eternally the same thing.”

<sup>126</sup> An imperfect Creator would easily lead to the Gnostic idea of an evil world, which both Proklos and his Christian opponents strongly opposed.

is perishable, then there are two possibilities: (I.3a) either the Creator acts according to divine will and, therefore, does not need to be co-eternal with the world or (I.3b) according to the Neoplatonist argument, He creates also by His very nature (thus postulating the identity between nature and will). Italos reasons as follows:

*Quaestio* 71, ll.61–63: εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσει, καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἄρα, καὶ ἔτι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ στήσεται ἢ κάθοδος μέχρι τινὸς αἰδίου, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν αἶδιον.

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If it creates by nature, too, then, so also the next one and so on, and the regress will stop at something eternal, after which there is no [other] eternal [entity]. (ll.71–73, trans.)

Here (I.3b) Italos succinctly argues that if a cause created a perishable world by its intrinsic nature, then this would be only viable by postulating a leap between an eternal cause and a non-eternal effect somewhere along a finite causal chain (since an infinite regress is absurd). But how can a perfect Creator make by His very nature a perishable world? Italos might draw again on Philoponos, who in his refutation of Proklos' third argument objected to the notion that a perfect Demiurge has to be a perpetually actual cause, which brings about the world without intermissions or delays. In his refutation, Philoponos draws attention to the Aristotelian distinction between first and second actuality. Accordingly, the Demiurge has an intrinsic capacity (or first actuality) that allows Him to create. The actualization of this capacity (or second actuality) does not necessarily require any outside cause and thus does not entail any causal dependency, which would contradict divine perfection. Consequently, the Demiurge can be a creator according to the first actuality of the creative power, even if, in His pre-temporal eternity, He is not producing an effect.<sup>127</sup> Based on this counterargument, Italos could have agreed with Proklos that the Demiurge is by His nature an actual creator (first actuality) without the need to concede that He has to produce an effect (second actuality). Therefore, the generability and corruptibility of the world does not, in any manner, affect or even upset the dignity or rank (ἀξία) of the Creator.

Alternatively, instead of being created by the divine nature, a generable and corruptible world could have been brought forth by an act of divine volition (I.3a). The notion of a divine free will had been philosophically argued by Philoponos, most notably in his refutation of Proklos'

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<sup>127</sup> Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 46.3–49.8. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5*, 44–46.

sixteenth argument. The Athenian diadochos had argued that the double will of the Demiurge to remove the original chaos and to maintain the ordered kosmos must be eternal in order to avoid the subjection of the Creator to time and that, as a consequence, the world must be perpetually existent, too.<sup>128</sup> Philoponos was quick to point out that one can and needs to distinguish between the divine arbitration that a thing should exist eternally and the divine arbitration which eternally wills that a thing should exist. Simply put, “God causes all things to exist by willing alone, nevertheless, He also wills *when* they exist.”<sup>129</sup> The criteria of ‘when’ temporally existing individuals ought to come into being depend on their intrinsic natures that define their capacity to share in the good. Since God always wills the good, He brings to existence each and every being when it can fully share in the good.<sup>130</sup> Consequently, God’s will is eternal, while the changeability resides in the nature of the things created. Thus, the world as well as its parts exists in time, while God and His will remain eternal.<sup>131</sup>

#### THE MATERIALITY OF THE WORLD ENTAILS ITS CORRUPTIBILITY (ARG. I.4)

The next argument deserves particular attention as it invites misinterpretation. Italos addresses the eternalist argument that asserts that the world is everlasting because its form is eternal. This argument rests on two Aristotelian principles. First, forms do not decay, nor do they come into being.<sup>132</sup> Second, the world, just like any sensible object, is a composite of form and matter.<sup>133</sup> Thus, the eternalists argue that the never-decaying form of the world guarantees the everlasting existence of this world. Italos refutes this argument by drawing attention to yet another Aristotelian principle, which holds—as well expressed by Sir D. Ross—that “[f]orm is eternal only

<sup>128</sup> Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 560.1–563.9. Translation in Wilberding, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18*, 66–68.

<sup>129</sup> Wilberding, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18*, 70 (= Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 566.6–8: εἰ γὰρ καὶ μόνῳ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὑφίστησιν ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα, ἀλλ’ ὅτε καὶ εἶναι αὐτὰ βούλεται.) For this type of argument, see further Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 51–61, 68–76, esp. 69–70.

<sup>130</sup> See Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 566.17–568.5. Translation in Wilberding, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18*, 70–71, where Philoponus argues from the existence of evil to a gap between God’s will and the existence of the beings. Contrafactually: if, from the eternally self-identical divine will, there were to follow the immediate and unchangeable existence of the created beings, there would be no place for evil, as God wills all beings to participate in the good. Therefore, if God’s will is the good, then evil comes from external causes and God creates each being when and as it can participate most in the good. See also Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 79.16–81.28. Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5*, 64–65.

<sup>131</sup> Italos returns to this line of Philoponus’ argument in a later section (ARG. I.6.).

<sup>132</sup> See, for instance, Aristoteles, *Metaphysica* VII.8, 1033b5–7 and VIII.3, 1043b16–18.

<sup>133</sup> See, for instance, Aristoteles, *Metaphysica* VII.3, 1029a2–5.

by virtue of the never-failing succession of its embodiments.”<sup>134</sup> Put differently, forms cannot exist independently of matter. Accordingly, when a material object decays, the form inherent in it decays, too. Italos puts it as follows:

*Quaestio* 71, ll.72–74: οὐ γὰρ ἄϋλον τὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶδος, οὐδέ γε αὐθυπόστατον οὐδὲ παράδειγμα ἑτέρου, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὄν καὶ τούτου ὁσημέραι δεόμενον, φθαρτὸν ἂν εἶη καὶ ῥευστόν.

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For the form of the universe is neither immaterial, nor is it self-constituted, nor is it the model of something else but, since it exists in another [i.e., in matter] and is in continuous need of it, it would be corruptible and in flux. (ll.83–86, trans.)

In saying this, Italos, again, follows closely Philoponos, who upheld the Aristotelian doctrine of hylomorphism and drew the conclusion that one cannot deduce from the dependency of forms to inhere in matter the proposition that enmattered forms (ἐνυλα εἶδη) are everlasting. Quoting Philoponos:

Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 451.7–12, 451.23–452.1 (Argument XI.10): εἰ δ’ ὅλως καὶ δεῖται τινος ἢ ὕλης, ἵνα γένηται, εἶδους πάντως δεήσεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐνυλον εἶδος ἄνευ ὕλης εἶναι οὐ δύναται, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ ὕλη, καθὼς ὕλη ἐστίν, ἄνευ εἶδους εἶναι οὐ δύναται διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἄλληλα εἶναι τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, [...] τὸ ἕτερον οὖν τοῦ ἑτέρου δεήσεται καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ ὁμοίου. ὥς οὖν τὸ λέγειν τὰ εἶδη δεῖσθαι ὕλης, ἵνα γένηται, οὐκ εἰσάγει τὰ ἐνυλα εἶδη αἰδία (ἀρχὴν γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τέλος ἔχοντα ἐναργῶς ὁράται), οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῶν εἰδῶν τὴν ὕλην, εἴπερ γίνοιτο, αἰδίων εἶναι αὐτὴν εἰσάγει·

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If matter does need anything at all in order to come to be, it will certainly be form it has need of. For just as the enmattered form cannot exist without matter, in the same way neither can matter, *qua* matter, exist without form, because matter and form are relative to one another, [...]. So each will need the other and not itself or its like. So, just as to say that forms need matter in order to come to be does not imply that enmattered forms are everlasting (they are in fact clearly seen to have a beginning and an end to their existence), neither does the fact that matter needs forms if it is to exist imply that it is everlasting. (Michael Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus's 'On the Eternity of the World 9–11'*, *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* (London: Duckworth, 2010), 95–96)

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<sup>134</sup> David Ross, *Aristotle*, Sixth edition (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 181.

Italos thinks along similar lines. The mutual dependency between the form of the kosmos and the matter of the kosmos renders any appeal to the properties of forms futile. For although it is true that Aristotle taught that forms are ungenerated and eternal, yet these properties cannot guarantee the eternity of the universe, because the forms together with their properties depend on the matter in which they inhere.<sup>135</sup> When material objects decay, their enmattered forms perish along with them. As the kosmos is a material entity, it is subject to change and decay.

Italos sees matter in clear Plotinian terms: matter is constantly changing, it is unstable; moreover, it is privation and non-being. In *Quaestio* 92 Italos discusses the nature of matter and concludes that it does not belong among beings.<sup>136</sup> He confirms this position throughout *Quaestio* 71 as well as in *Quaestio* 86.<sup>137</sup> Matter is non-being and, thus, has no intrinsic capacity to exist or to bestow existence upon other entities, such as forms. In fact, matter, being a merely potential being, is in constant need of actualization.<sup>138</sup> That is to say, Italos rejects the presupposition—implicit in the eternalist argument—that matter is a self-constituted, eternal being.<sup>139</sup> As a result, Italos feels justified in pronouncing that the world “is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness].”<sup>140</sup> The weakness of the world lies in its material nature.

<sup>135</sup> On the remaining issue of how Aristotle thought that forms come to be even though they are strictly speaking ungenerated, see the insightful article by Christopher Shields, “The Generation of Form in Aristotle,” *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 7/4 (1990): 367–390.

<sup>136</sup> Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 145.18–20, 149.3 (Q92). Cf. Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 144.12–13 (Q91).

<sup>137</sup> *Quaestio* 71, ll.67–69, l.105, l.114. Cf. Sergei Mariev, “Neoplatonic Philosophy in Byzantium,” in *Byzantine Perspectives on Neoplatonism*, ed. Sergei Mariev, Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Philosophica 1 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 1–29, at 11. See also Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 134–135 (Q86).

<sup>138</sup> It seems that Italos credits the Godhead with functioning as this actualizing cause. See *Quaestio* 71, ll.98–100: ἐπεὶ τὴν μὲν ὕλην παρ’ αὐτῆς ἔχειν τὸ μὴ εἶναι φαμεν, παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι κοσμουμένην τε καὶ εἰς εἶδος ἀγομένην βέλτιον, [...] | “Given that we say that it is from itself that matter has non-existence, while it is from God that it is adorned with being and is brought to form, which is better [for it], [...]” (ll.120–122, trans.).

<sup>139</sup> For Italos’ doctrine on matter, see further Niarchos, *God, the World and Man*, 185–214 and Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre*, 68–78. I disagree with the reading proposed by Monica Marchetto, “Nikephoros Chumnos’ Treatise on Matter,” in *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium*, ed. Sergei Mariev and Wiebke-Marie Stock, Byzantinisches Archiv 25 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 31–55, at 52–55 and Michele Trizio, “A Late Antique Debate on Matter-Evil Revisited in 11th-century Byzantium: John Italos and His *Quaestio* 92,” in *Fate, Providence and Moral Responsibility in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought. Studies in Honour of Carlos Steel*, ed. Pieter d’Hoine and Gerd Van Riel, Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Series 1, 49 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), 383–394, likewise *ibid.*, “Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium,” 188, who argue that Italos did not advance his own understanding of matter in *Quaestio* 92 but merely refuted every attempt at defining it. Italos’ purpose in *Quaestio* 92 is to refute that matter is an eternal substrate. In so doing, he adopts a number of Plotinian notions, e.g., that matter is evil, see Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 146.4–5 (Q92). It seems that Italos accepted the Plotinian equation matter = non-being = evil, which permitted a Platonist interpretation of the dogma of *creatio ex nihilo* and also a theodicy denying that God could be the cause of evil, a doctrine closely related to the idea of the universal restoration (apokatastasis).

<sup>140</sup> *Quaestio* 71, ll.76–77, trans. Italos agrees with Philoponos as well as with Proklos that the decay of the world could not be attributed to the divine Creator but can only be due to the world’s own intrinsic inability to persist eternally.

This is Italos' refutation. On it depends not only the correct reading of the first two sentences of this section, but also our understanding of Italos' orthodoxy concerning the question of the eternity versus creation of the world. Much depends on the punctuation and the diacritical marks of the argument's first two sentences. The following reading of *Quaestio* 71, ll.64–66 appears to correspond best with Italos' line of reasoning in ARG. I.4:

Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἶδει φασὶν εἶναι αἰδία. οὐκ οὖν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενον.

However, they say that whatever is eternal is so with respect to its form. To this I would respond that the world is therefore not eternal, since it is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness]. (ll.75–77, trans.)

In contrast to this reading, all the manuscripts and, following them, the editions of Joannou and Ketschakmadze hold:

Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἶδει φασὶν εἶναι αἰδία· οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενος.<sup>141</sup>

However, they say that whatever is eternal is so in respect to its form, therefore also the world. To this I would respond as [the world] is decaying not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own.

This reading makes no grammatical sense. Instead of οὐκοῦν one ought to read οὐκ οὖν and to change the punctuation. These changes are supported by Italos' overall argument as presented above, namely that the form of the world cannot guarantee the world's imperishability since its very materiality necessitates that the world will perish.

It is important to note that the actual punctuation in all eight manuscripts gives yet another meaning: οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ: therefore, I say, also the world [is eternal]. If one reads the sentence like this, the passage would assert, not deny, that the world is eternal due to its form. The synodal condemnations of 1082, which are contained in the *Synodikon of*

This is apparent, for instance, in Philoponos' quotation of Proklos ninth argument, which begins with the statement: πᾶν τὸ φειρόμενον φθείρεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας. Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*, 313.7–8.

<sup>141</sup> Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 122.16–17 (Q71) and Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*, 194.15–17 follow here the reading by Tsereteli, ed., *Itali opuscula*, Vol.2, 50.5–8, which differs only with regard to the punctuation: [...] οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ἐρῶ, [...]

*Orthodoxy*, attribute to Italos the teaching that forms and matter are without beginning and, thus, co-eternal with God. The fourth anathema reads as follows:

Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 59.198–202: Τοῖς τὴν ὕλην ἄναρχον καὶ τὰς ἰδέας ἢ συνάναρχον τῷ δημιουργῷ πάντων καὶ θεῷ δογματίζουσι, καὶ ὅτιπερ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτισμάτων ἀΐδιά τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἄναρχα καὶ διαμένουσιν ἀναλλοίωτα, καὶ ἀντινομοθετοῦσι τῷ εἰπόντι· ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι, καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς κενοφωνοῦσι καὶ τὴν θείαν ἀρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἄγουσι κεφαλὰς, ἀνάθεμα.

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To those who teach that matter and the ideas are either without a beginning or that they are without beginning equally with God, the Maker of the universe, and also that heaven and earth and the other creatures are eternal, without a beginning and will remain without change and who set a law against the one who said: “Heaven and earth will pass away but my words will never pass away” [Mt 24:35], and to those who hold down-to-earth vain speeches and draw the divine curse upon their heads—anathema!<sup>142</sup>

This accusation comes close to the position that Italos explicitly rejects, namely that the hylomorphic composition of the world guarantees its eternity. As shown above, Italos denies the eternity of matter; but does he also deny the eternity of form? In a later section of *Quaestio* 71 (ARG. II.1), Italos upholds the eternity of the forms when discussing the *formal* identity between this enmattered world and the post-apocalyptic world, in which all bodies will be resurrected (an issue that will be discussed below). That being said, there seems to be no strict correspondence between Italos’ teaching and the fourth anathema: while Italos’ position upholds the post-eternity of forms, the *Synodikon* condemns the pre-eternity of forms. In fact, this anathema seems to be specifically directed against the Platonic theory of a tripartite creation, in which the Demiurge modelled the world out of pre-existent matter and form. This creation myth contradicts the Christian notion of *creatio ex nihilo*, which is explicitly vindicated in two other anathemas.<sup>143</sup> Italos’ repeated emphasis on the transitory nature of matter makes it clear that he did not subscribe to this Platonic theory. Moreover, as he pointed out at the outset of *Quaestio* 71, he reads the *Timaeus* as a factual (i.e., creationist) account.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> This translation differs from that of Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 143. Clucas’ translations and comprehension of the condemnations of the *Synodikon* have been harshly criticized by Jean Gouillard, “Book review of L. Clucas, *The trial of John Italos and the crisis of intellectual values in Byzantium in the eleventh century*,” *BZ* 76 (1983): 31–33.

<sup>143</sup> Notably in the eighth and tenth anathema, see Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 59.222, 61.235.

<sup>144</sup> *Quaestio* 71, l.34.

Therefore, Italos professed the dogma that the world was created at the beginning of time and, at the same time, taught the post-eternity of forms. The latter might indirectly be condemned in the fourth anathema given the Aristotelian principle that whatever is imperishable is also ungenerated.<sup>145</sup> That is, imperishable forms are also “without beginning” (ἄναρχος). Yet, the *Synodikon* is not explicit here and its terminology does not correspond to that of Italos. Moreover, it is far from obvious whether the continuous existence of the form of the world (ARG. II.1) would constitute a heterodoxy.

What is certain is that the reading given by the manuscript evidence suggests that Italos taught the world to be everlasting because its form is everlasting. This is a radical, Neoplatonic view, which Italos does not endorse either in *Quaestio* 71 or elsewhere. One has to assume that the manuscript evidence presents here a corrupted text, which may have been produced by the very knowledge that Italos had been condemned for teaching an everlasting world. Conversely, it is also possible that Italos’ wording at this point confused his contemporaries and provided material for the charges brought up against him in the fourth anathema. I will return to the relationship between *Quaestio* 71 and the anathemas of the *Synodikon* below.

#### REFUTING THE THEORY OF TWO TYPES OF MATTER (ARG. I.5)

The previous argument has shown that, according to Italos, it is corruptible matter which prevents the world from being eternal. However, according to Aristotle, not all matter is corruptible. He, as well as the author of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *On the World*, distinguished between two different kinds of matter: the sublunar matter, which consists of the four elements, and the extralunar or celestial matter, which Aristotle had called aether.<sup>146</sup> Based upon this distinction an eternalist would have argued that even if the sublunar matter was subject to corruption, the celestial matter would still be everlasting and therefore the kosmos, too, would be eternal. Italos’ refutation rests on a basic Porphyrian distinction:

<sup>145</sup> Aristoteles, *De caelo* I.10, 279b24–280a3, I.12, 282a21–283b22.

<sup>146</sup> Aristoteles, *De caelo* I.2, 268b11–269b17. It is noteworthy that Italos characterizes this celestial matter as pure (ἀκήρατος), which is reminiscent of Ps-Aristoteles, *De mundo*, 52 (392a5–9): Οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρον οὐσίαν μὲν αἰθέρα καλοῦμεν, [...], στοιχεῖον οὐσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεττάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον.

*Quaestio* 71, ll.79–80: εἰ γὰρ δύο, φανερόν ὡς ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς ἢ ἰδίως ἢ ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ.

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For if there are two [kinds of matter], it is clear that they differ from each other, and this, either through a common difference, or through a proper difference, or through a most proper difference. (ll.94–97, trans.)

Any attempt to distinguish between corruptible and incorruptible matter has first to account for the logical criterion that allows for any such distinction to be made. How can two kinds of matter be logically distinguished from one another? According to Italos, such a distinction can only be established according to “common,” “proper,” and “most proper” differences, as set down by Porphyry in his *Introduction*: “On difference: One should speak about difference commonly, properly, and most properly.”<sup>147</sup> *Common* difference is an accidental difference that can be either in the same subject or in different subjects, such as being old or young, which can distinguish two different persons or one and the same person; *proper* difference is one that distinguishes one thing from another by an inseparable but not essential quality, such as the white color of the seagull distinguishing it from the crow; finally, *most proper* difference (ἰδιαίτατα διαφορά) is the same as *differentia specifica* (εἰδοποιὸς διαφορά), a difference that makes a thing what it is, such as the difference of men from horses consisting in the gift of reason.

Italos’ argument runs as follows: A common difference is an accidental property, which is separable from a thing’s essence. Consequently, an accidental property could not account for the contradictory natures of the two types of matter since it only accounts for random changes. If incorruptibility was an accidental property, then a given thing could become corruptible at any given moment. Alternatively to an accidental or separable difference, one might consider incorruptibility to be an inseparable difference, which belongs either “properly” to the particular thing or “most properly” to the nature of that thing. However, inseparable differences are by definition stable and unchanging, which are characteristics that cannot be attributed to matter. If incorruptibility was an inseparable difference then incorruptible matter would possess formal characteristics, such as being ungenerated and eternal. Formless matter, however, is devoid of such characteristics. For these reasons, matter cannot be subdivided into two kinds that hold contradictory properties. The point made here is that only formless matter could, in theory, be

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<sup>147</sup> Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, 8.7–8: Περὶ διαφορᾶς. Διαφορὰ δὲ κοινῶς τε καὶ ἰδίως καὶ ἰδιαίτατα λεγέσθω. Translation in Jonathan Barnes, trans., *Porphyry: Introduction*, Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 8, slightly changed.

without change and decay. Italos' proof that a distinction between two kinds of matter is incompatible with the notion of formless matter appears to be a rare argument. Yet apparently it goes back, once again, to Philoponos, who had argued that there is no formless matter nor any kind of incorruptible matter (i.e., aether).<sup>148</sup> Matter always exists in correlation to form and constitutes a compound, which, by definition, cannot be incorruptible. In fact, Italos starts his characterization of matter with a reference to the *Chaldean Oracles*, which specify that "matter is begotten by the Father" (Il.78, trans.). Accordingly, matter is created and, as such, corruptible.<sup>149</sup>

#### REFUTING THE NOTION THAT THERE CAN BE NO OTHER WORLD AFTER THE PRESENT ONE (ARG. I.7)

Italos also refutes the classical eternalist argument that the world must be everlasting because no other world can come after it. This argument had already been presented by Philo of Alexandria in his treaty on the *Eternity of the World*<sup>150</sup> as well as in Zacharias of Mytilene's *Ammonius*.<sup>151</sup> The argument is straightforward. If there were a world following this one, then it would be either worse, similar, or better than the current one. It cannot be worse, nor better, for either case would imply a lack of divine efficiency or benevolence, which contradicts the attributes of the Creator. Nor could the world be similar, for this would entail redundancy, since there would be no need to recreate this world if the future world were to look like the present one. Italos' answer is equally straightforward. As he already mentioned before, the decay is not due to the agency of the Creator but due to the deficiency inherent in the material kosmos.

<sup>148</sup> Philoponos refutes the notion of formless matter in both his *Against Proklos* and *Against Aristotle*. See Philoponos, *Contra Proclum*, 405.1–445.18 (Argument XI.1–8). Translation in Share, trans., *Philoponus: Against Proclus 9–11*, 69–92. And see Heiberg, ed., *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo*, 131.17–136.1. Translation in Wildberg, trans., *Philoponus: Against Aristotle*, 83–86 (frag. 69–72). For an analysis of these fragments, see Christian Wildberg, *John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's Theory of Aether*, Peripatoi: Philologisch-Historische Studien zum Aristotelismus 16 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 192–195. It is noteworthy that frag. 72 denies the possibility of aether on logical grounds, but Simplicios' testimony fails to make the possibly Porphyrian argument explicit. Quoting Philoponos, Simplicios states (Heiberg, ed., *Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo*, 135.21–23): ἀλλ' εἰ διαφέρει, φησὶν, ἢ οὐρανία ὕλη τῆς ὑπὸ σελήνην, σύνθετοι ἔσσονται αἱ ὕλαι ἔκ τε τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ διαφορῶν.

<sup>149</sup> See above n.72. The *Chaldean Oracles* had already been used by Michael Psellos, who quotes them extensively; see Édouard des Places, "Le renouveau platonicien du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Michel Psellus et les Oracles chaldaïques," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 110/2 (1966): 313–324, largely reproduced in idem, ed./trans., *Oracles Chaldaïques, avec un choix de commentaires anciens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996), 46–52. See further Gouillard, "La religion des philosophes," 317–323. Apparently, Psellos and Italos both considered the *Oracles* to be an important philosophical source.

<sup>150</sup> See Philo, *De aeternitate mundi*, 210–215 (§41–44).

<sup>151</sup> Zacharias Scholasticus, *Ammonius*, 99.131–139. It should be noted that the argument can also be construed based on Proklean grounds (notably Argument I and VI), as shown by Bydén, "A Case for Creationism," 94–96.

## THE WORLD TO COME WILL BE FORMALLY IDENTICAL WITH THE PRESENT WORLD (ARG. II.1)

After having refuted all the above arguments, Italos shifts his focus from refuting the notion of an eternal world to supporting the doctrine of the resurrection. For this, he meets the challenge to identify the criterion that safeguards the identity of the present world with the future world. A future, post-apocalyptic world surely cannot be identical in number with this world, for Aristotle had defined identity in number with material identity<sup>152</sup> and since all matter will have perished (and arguably will have been created again, cf. Rv 21:5) there cannot be any material continuity. Italos answers this challenge by proposing to consider the formal identity as the criterion that assures the correspondence between the present and the future world. After all, true identity cannot be found in the material realm, which is characterized by persistent change and, thus, non-being. That is to say, the genuine identity of the present kosmos with the post-apocalyptic world will be guaranteed on formal grounds, which does not, in any way, preclude the prospect of a bodily resurrection. Italos does not specify how this formal continuity allows for the distribution of individualized rewards and punishments at the Last Judgment. Yet one might understand this on the basis of the Aristotelian concept of the soul being the form of the living body,<sup>153</sup> so that the reward or punishment comes when the form (the soul) acquires a newly created living body.

Italos supports his argument with yet another reference to Porphyry's *Introduction*, from whom he takes the fourfold (τετραχῶς) taxonomy of a property according to form and applies it to the property of oneness.<sup>154</sup> Accordingly, individual beings (like Plato and Aristotle, or even the kosmos) can be said to possess the properties of oneness in four different manners. From among

<sup>152</sup> Aristoteles, *Metaphysica* V.6, 1016b31–33: ἔτι δὲ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀριθμόν ἐστιν ἓν, τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος, τὰ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, ἀριθμῶ μὲν ὧν ἡ ὕλη μία, εἶδει δ' ὧν ὁ λόγος εἷς, [...]

<sup>153</sup> Aristoteles, *De Anima* II.1, 412a19–21.

<sup>154</sup> See Porphyrius, *Isagoge*, 12.12–22: Περὶ ἰδίου. Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διαιροῦσι τετραχῶς καὶ γὰρ ὁ μόνῳ τινὶ εἶδει συμβέβηκεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ παντί, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἰατρεῦειν ἢ τὸ γεωμετερεῖν καὶ ὁ παντὶ συμβέβηκεν τῷ εἶδει, εἰ καὶ μὴ μόνῳ, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ εἶναι δίποδι· καὶ ὁ μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ καὶ ποτέ, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παντὶ τὸ ἐν γήρᾳ πολιοῦσθαι. τέταρτον δέ, ἐφ' οὗ συνδεδράμηκεν τὸ μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ καὶ αἰεὶ, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ γελαστικόν· κἂν γὰρ μὴ γελᾷ αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ γελαστικὸν λέγεται οὐ τῷ αἰεὶ γελᾶν ἀλλὰ τῷ πεφυκέναι· τοῦτο δὲ αἰεὶ αὐτῷ σύμφυτον ὑπάρχει, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἵπῳ τὸ χρεμετιστικόν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κυρίως ἰδιά φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀντιστρέφει· εἰ γὰρ ἵππος, χρεμετιστικόν, καὶ εἰ χρεμετιστικόν, ἵππος. Translation in Barnes, trans., *Porphyry: Introduction*, 11–12: “Properties: They divide property into four: what is an accident of a certain species alone, even if not of it all (as doctoring or doing geometry of man); what is an accident of all the species, even if not of it alone (as being biped of man); what holds of it alone and of all of it and at some time (as going grey in old age of man); and fourthly, where ‘alone and all and always’ coincide (as laughing of man). For even if man does not always laugh, he is said to be laughing not in that he always laughs but in that he is of such a nature as to laugh—and this holds of him always, being connatural, like neighing of horses. And they say that these are properties in the strict sense, because they convert: if horse, neighing; and if neighing, horse.”

these four senses, Porphyry had argued, only the fourth one can be said to be a property in its proper sense, since such a property is connatural with the thing in question and is thus reversible.<sup>155</sup> Apparently, being “simply one according to its form [i.e., property]” (ll.143–144, trans.) corresponds to this fourth category in Porphyry’s fourfold division. This means that the simple or genuine oneness of a given thing is a substantial property, which is a connatural form that is independent of any matter. In this sense, the newly created world will not be one in number with our present world, yet, as it will have the same form/species, the genuine oneness of the two cannot be denied. It should be noted that this argument could be taken as establishing the eternity of the world on the basis of its form/species but only at the prize of severe distortion. The kosmos, according to Italos, is not eternal; merely its form has to persist in order to safeguard the continuity with the post-apocalyptic world. Arguably, this form/model/species has no autonomous existence given the hylomorphic principle mentioned above. Instead, we can assume that Italos considered this form to be an original idea in the mind of God.<sup>156</sup>

#### **AFFIRMING THAT THIS WORLD WILL END AND WILL BE TRANSFORMED (ARG. II.2)**

Italos sums up by saying that “we have sufficiently argued concerning the world that it is not possible for it not to decay, since it is an enmattered and individual form [...]” (ll.148–149, trans.). He then goes on to present a positive proof for a temporally limited world by demonstrating that there will be a resurrection. He points out that the end of this world does not mean total annihilation but rather a transformation into a post-parousial world, which—as we have just seen—will be formally identical to the present kosmos.

Italos argues that the natural process of generation and corruption cannot go on infinitely, since “the infinite does not exist.”<sup>157</sup> After all, Philoponos had shown that an infinite duration entails logical impossibilities such as the infinite being traversable and multiplicable.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, the kosmos would exist in vain if its transformations and changes would ceaselessly

<sup>155</sup> Reversibility here means that the property and the subject that holds it entail one another.

<sup>156</sup> See Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 7.1–8.15 (Q5), where Italos adopts the Platonist notion that the divine mind contains the genera and species of all beings. For further references see above n.123. Among Christian authors, Pseudo-Dionysios and Maximos the Confessor were the most notable representatives of this notion, see Ps-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, 188, 6–10 (cap. V.8) and Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 94–95 (Ambiguum 7; PG 91, 1080A).

<sup>157</sup> *Quaestio* 71, l.156, trans. Cf. Aristoteles, *Physica* III.5, 204a8–206a8 and *De caelo* I.5–7, 271b1–276a17.

<sup>158</sup> For references, see Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 86–94.

persist without a final *telos*. Similarly, the kosmos could not perish into absolute non-existence, for its existence would have been equally in vain. Therefore, there must be an end to the present world, after which the world will be transformed into a new state of existence that will not be characterized by generation and corruption.

So far Italos has been persistent in attributing the decay of the world not to an act of the divine will but to the intrinsic weakness of the world. Here, however, Italos does not refer to the material character of the world when upholding its corruptibility. Instead, he follows the orthodox tradition in referring to the original sin saying that it was Adam's Fall that corrupted the creation and made it perishable. This is an essential Christian axiom, which necessitates the arrival of a redeemer, who rectifies the fallen creation. That is to say, Italos combines in this treatise the philosophical view of matter's intrinsic weakness to exist eternally with the theological doctrine of the Fall. As he puts it (ll.159–160, trans.): “therefore, it is clear that a time will come when it [i.e., the world] will endure permanently, having been set free from the previous evil that, as was stated, it suffered on account of us.” There appears no contradiction between the two types of explanations, although one might wish to see in greater detail how Italos brought them together.

#### DEVELOPING THE IMPLICATIONS OF A CORRUPTIBLE WORLD (EPILOGUE TO THE EMPEROR)

After having refuted a number of eternalist arguments and having argued for the resurrection, Italos returns to the issue of virtues as he had promised to do at the outset of treatise 71. There he had laid down that the belief in the resurrection is a prerequisite to any talk about virtues. Knowing that the world is not eternal and knowing that there will be a resurrection is the fundamental know-how of any virtuous person, particularly so of the emperor, since he is “closely resembling God” (θεῶ παρὰ πλήσιος, l.133). Italos is emphatic in asserting that only on the basis of knowing that this world will come to an end can the emperor develop the cardinal virtues of justice (δικαιοσύνη), courage (ἀνδρεία), temperance (σωφροσύνη) and prudence (φρόνησις).<sup>159</sup> Only on the basis of this knowledge can emotions be tamed and moral perfection as well as orthodox piety achieved. In this section Italos employs classical ethical concepts referring

<sup>159</sup> For Italos' more elaborate treatment of these virtues, see Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 87–95 (Q63) and 132 (Q81). See further Niarchos, *God, the World and Man*, 381–388.

not only to the cardinal virtues of the *Republic*<sup>160</sup> but also to the Chariot Allegory of the *Phaedrus*.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, he hints at and paraphrases passages of Pseudo-Makarios<sup>162</sup> and of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite.<sup>163</sup>

As a result of proper moral conduct and custom, the virtuous person will come to understand the theological mysteries of the divine Trinity, namely the consubstantiality of the three hypostases, their inseparable unity, and their distinctive and non-interchangeable characteristics. It is noteworthy that when describing the relationship of the one divine nature to the three hypostases, Italos uses a chiasm:

*Quaestio* 71, ll.172–173: τὸ μὲν φύσις, τὰ δὲ ὑποστάσει· καὶ αὖθις, τὸ μὲν οὐσία, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπα [...]

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the former as nature, while the latter according to hypostases; and again, the former according to substance, while the latter as persons, [...] (ll.212–214, trans.)

This chiastic structure, unrecognized by the earlier editors, seems to indicate—unless one dismisses it as a mere rhetorical device—that Italos made a subtle distinction between nature (φύσις) and substance (οὐσία), on the one hand, and hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) and person (πρόσωπον), on the other. According to this distinction, the Godhead is One because this is Its nature but, in fact, one can only say that It is One according to Its substance, as Its real nature is above substance, or being. Similarly, the three-ness in the Godhead indicates three persons (πρόσωπα: the word was misread by the earlier editors), but one can only say that the threefold division is according to hypostases.

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<sup>160</sup> Plato, *Res Publica* 427e–435e (Book IV, 6–11).

<sup>161</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus* 246a–254e.

<sup>162</sup> *Quaestio* 71, ll.133–134: ὅλος ὁφθαλμός, καὶ οὖς ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, [...] | he is, in all his being, at once eye, ear and intellect; [...] (ll.168–169, trans.) Cf. Ps-Macarius, *Homiliae spirituales*, 2.41–48 (homilia 1): οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ ἢ καταλαμφθεῖσα τελείως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρρήτου κάλλους τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ προσώπου Χριστοῦ καὶ κοινωνήσασα πνεύματι ἀγίῳ τελείως καὶ κατοικητήριον καὶ θρόνος θεοῦ καταξιοθεῖσα γενέσθαι, ὅλη ὁφθαλμός καὶ ὅλη φῶς καὶ ὅλη πρόσωπον καὶ ὅλη δόξα καὶ ὅλη πνεῦμα γίνεται, οὕτως αὐτὴν κατασκευάζοντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἄγοντος καὶ βαστάζοντος καὶ φοροῦντος αὐτὴν καὶ οὕτως εὐτρεπίζοντος καὶ κατακοσμοῦντος κάλλει πνευματικῷ. | “So also the soul that is perfectly illuminated by the ineffable beauty of the light of the face of Christ, has entered perfect communion with the Holy Spirit, and has been deemed worthy to become a dwelling place and throne for God, becomes entirely eye, entirely light, entirely face, entirely glorification and entirely spirit, rendered such by Christ, who carries, leads, brings and moves her and who adorns and decorates her with spiritual beauty.” Translation in George A. Maloney, trans., *Pseudo-Macarius. The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, Classics of Western Spirituality 75 (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992), 38, with changes.

<sup>163</sup> *Quaestio* 71, ll.142–152. Cf. Ps-Dionysius, *Epistulae* VIII.3, 182.6–183.10.

In presenting what is essentially his confession of faith, Italos uses also the language of Gregory the Theologian and of John of Damascus ensuring the orthodoxy of his propositions. He makes it perfectly clear that any orthodox confession is directly dependent on the belief in a perishable world. The treatise closes with a dedication to the unnamed emperor, who has been instructed on two essential matters: (1) on what basis to be certain that the world will come to end and (2) on the wide-ranging implications of this knowledge, which ultimately results in a virtuous life and in a true understanding of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ITALOS' *QUAESTIO* 71

To sum up, treatise 71 of *Quaestiones quodlibetales* advances a twofold philosophical argumentation that is apologetic (ARG. I.1–I.7) and demonstrative (ARG. II.1–II.2). In it Italos rejects the philosophical theory of an eternal world by refuting a number of eternalist arguments, including the Porphyrian-Proklean paradigm argument (ARG. I.2) and Proklos' third argument of a Demiurge whose creative power should be unchangeably actualized (ARG. I.3). He borrows heavily and consistently from Philoponos' works *Against Proklos* and *Against Aristotle*, despite the fact that he never refers to him explicitly. In this respect, Italos was, once more, a man of his age, as Philoponian arguments appear to have been rediscovered in eleventh-century Byzantium.<sup>164</sup>

Italos presents his arguments in a greatly condensed manner. Their interpretation is further compounded by textual corruptions. One might pose the question whether Italos could have presupposed a good command of Philoponian thought in his audience or whether he merely intended to present a simplified discussion in his admonishment to the emperor. Since these options are not mutually exclusive, his condensed arguments might reflect an attempt to address more than one readership. After all, the overall argument of the treatise is well understandable even without grasping the whole weight of the specific arguments.

<sup>164</sup> See again, Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 37 (§30). The Byzantine reception of Philoponos remains largely unstudied, as correctly pointed out by Scholten, trans., *Philoponos: De aeternitate mundi*, Vol.1, 196. That said, Shchukin, "Matter as a Universal" and Varlamova, "Philoponos' Dispute" discuss Philoponos' influence on Maximos the Confessor and John of Damascus. Furthermore, Philoponos' 'Byzantine legacy' (with regard to ARG. I.1, which Börje Bydén calls—following the Arabic tradition—"John the Grammarian's argument") has been sketched by Bydén, "A Case for Creationism," 82–85 and idem, "'No prince of perfection,'" 168. Cf. Shchukin, "Matter as a Universal," 363. Thus, the statement by Garth Fowden, *Before and After Muhammad: The First Millennium Refocused* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 135 that Philoponos was forgotten by Christians following his anathematization in 680/681 is an oversimplification. For Philoponos' reception in Arab, Hebrew, and Scholastic philosophy, see, among others, Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum*, 202–203, *passim*, Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 86–116, Peter Adamson, *Al-Kindī, Great medieval thinkers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 74–105.

Yet, a superficial reading of specific passages may easily have led to grave misunderstandings. As indicated above, the first lines of ARG. I.4 may have been corrupted in the light of Italos' condemnation.<sup>165</sup> Alternatively, this may have been misread already during Italos' trials—provided, of course, that it had been composed beforehand. Such a misreading could have provided material to substantiate, for instance, the fourth anathema against Italos.<sup>166</sup> The question arises whether Italos wrote his treatise before or after his anathematization.

A synoptic reading of the condemnations and *Quaestio* 71 suggests that Italos was reacting to the anathemas. I have already pointed to resemblances between Italos' anti-eternalist exposition and the fourth anathema. Furthermore, the second anathema delineates a conflict between Christian piety and Neoplatonic doctrines.<sup>167</sup> In contrast, Italos mitigates any such clash by arguing that the cornerstone of Christian piety lies in the belief of the resurrection (ll.22–24) and, as long as this belief is upheld, Neoplatonic doctrines can be discussed and used. The eighth anathema condemns the denial of a divine free will.<sup>168</sup> However, in ARG. I.3 Italos refers to the divine arbitrary will (ARG. I.3a) in order to refute the charge of attributing a deficiency to the Creator. Admittedly, the succinctness of Italos' argument does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of his views on divine volition. Nonetheless, a divine arbitrary will is undoubtedly endorsed in the course of his creationist argumentation. The ninth anathema emphasizes how essential the belief of the resurrection is to the Christian faith by explicitly referring to Paul (presumably to 1 Cor 15).<sup>169</sup> Even though Italos does not refer to Paul, he concurs with him and the ninth anathema in stressing that the notion of the resurrection is the “sum of piety” (l.27, trans.) and the basis of a virtuous Christian life. Moreover, the third anathema condemns those

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<sup>165</sup> Similarly, many manuscripts (namely mnop) read in *Quaestio* 71, l.56: ἡμῶν καὶ ὄντων αἰδίων instead of ἡμῶν μὴ ὄντων αἰδίων. The omission of the negating μὴ inverts Italos' statement so that it appears as if he had indeed taught that all creatures are—in their *genera*—eternal, which is what the fourth anathema had attributed to Italos. See Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 59.198–202.

<sup>166</sup> One may think that Italos could have expressed himself more carefully. Not having done so is indicative of his unfeigned and candid approach. It appears that Italos' anti-eternalist position reflects his genuine conviction and is not merely a cunning but dishonest apology of his orthodoxy. *Pace* Niketas Siniosoglou, *Radical Platonism in Byzantium: Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 83, who argues that Italos was a crypto-pagan and a master at dissimulation; a similar opinion is voiced by Anthony Kaldellis, “Byzantine philosophy inside and out: Orthodoxy and dissidence in counterpart,” in *The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. Börje Bydén and Katerina Ierodiakonou, Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, Series 4, 1 (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2012), 129–151, esp. 142.

<sup>167</sup> Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 57.190–192.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.219–224, at 222.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.225–61.233, at 230.

who deny the Last Judgment and the resurrection, while Italos explicitly upholds these beliefs in even the very same words:

Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 59.193, 61.196–197: Τοῖς [...] διὰ τούτων ἀνάστασιν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀθετοῦσιν, ἀνάθεμα.	<i>Quaestio</i> 71, ll.129–130: ἔσται ἄρα ἀνάστασις καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡ κρίσις καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀνταπόδοσις.
To those [...] who deny because of these the resurrection and judgment and final reward for the way in which we conducted our lives—anathema! <sup>170</sup>	And so there will be a resurrection. And if so, then, there will also be a judgment for the way in which we conducted our lives, and a reward for our deeds.

It is true that this wording is inspired by the Cappadocian Fathers who, in various works, referred to the Last Judgment (ἡ κρίσις) and the final reward (ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις).<sup>171</sup> Yet it is striking that the wording in the third anathema of the *Synodikon* corresponds closely to that used in Italos’ *Quaestio* 71.<sup>172</sup> If Italos’ treatise had been written first and the anathema had reacted to it, then the latter would have literally contradicted Italos’ standpoint, which seems improbable. It is more likely that Italos reacted to the anathema by adopting its wording.

The various resemblances seem to indicate that Italos attempted to counter many of the charges brought up against him. Unfortunately, we do not know for certain when and how these condemnations were drawn up, but there are indications that most of them had been composed during Italos’ first trial in 1076/77 and were merely reproduced—and slightly extended—during the second trial in 1082.<sup>173</sup> *Quaestio* 71 is peculiar with respect to not naming the emperor who is

<sup>170</sup> This translation differs from that of Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 142.

<sup>171</sup> See, among others, Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, in PG 46, 149C: [...] καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν τῶν βεβιωμένων, ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη τῷ κριτῇ πάθος καὶ λώβην, καὶ νόσον, καὶ γῆρας, καὶ ἀκμὴν, καὶ νεότητα, καὶ πλοῦτον, καὶ πενίαν διερευνᾶσθαι and Basil of Caesarea, *De jejuniis* (*homilia* 1), in PG 31, 184C: νῦν μὲν τῆς ἀναμνήσεως τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρίσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

<sup>172</sup> The only other contemporary parallel that I was able to identify is in Symeon the New Theologian’s *Catechesis* 3, see Basile Krivochéine and Joseph Paramelle, eds., *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses 1–5*, SC 96 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963), 286.78–82: Εἰπέ μοι, ἐρωτῶ σε, ἀδελφέ, πιστεύων εἶναι κρίσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν βεβιωμένων, ἦλθες ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ὁμολογῶν εἶναι Θεὸν μέλλοντα ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ, ἢ οὐδὲ τίνα τούτων διέθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου; | “Tell me, brother, I beg you, did you believe in the [last] judgment and resurrection and reward for the way in which we conducted our lives and did you have faith in the existence of God, who will reward each one according to his deeds, when you came to the monastery? Or did you not set forth any of these in your heart?”

<sup>173</sup> See Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 189–192, who points to the marginal notes in cod. Vaticanus gr. 837, fol.216, saec. XV and cod. Casanatensis gr. 334, fol.362, saec. XV–XVII which attribute the first nine (of altogether eleven)

repeatedly addressed.<sup>174</sup> In all other instances, Italos never failed to name his imperial addressee, which was either Emperor Michael VII or his brother Andronikos Doukas.<sup>175</sup> Might it be that he intended to circulate this treatise as an open letter to the court in order to publicly vindicate his orthodoxy? After all, it is remarkable that in a treatise on the eternity of the world, Italos concludes by expounding Christian trinitology and ethics. The final section of his *Quaestio* 71 reads much like a personal confession of faith. In the light of all this, it seems probable that Italos wrote his *Quaestio* 71 in reaction to the anathemas in an attempt to free himself of continuous allegations after 1077. Moreover, it is quite possible that it was composed during or briefly after his renewed interrogation in 1082.<sup>176</sup>

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anathemas to the trial of 1076/77. See also Uspenskij, *Синодикъ*, 47–48, Gouillard, “Le procès officiel,” 133, Macdonald, *The Condemnation of John Italos*, 6, 33, and Nikolaou, “Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung,” 386, n.810. It is of little importance for our argument here, whether these condemnations are identical or not with those advanced by Michael Kaspakēs during the trial in 1082 as originally proposed by Fyodor Uspenskij, “Дѣлопроизводство по обвиненію Іоанна Итала въ ереси,” *Izvestiya russkago archeologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopole* 2 (1897): 1–66, at 59 but rejected by Pelopidas É. Stephanou, *Jean Italos: Philosophe et humniste*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 134 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1949), 71–72, Gouillard, “Le procès officiel,” 191, and Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 46–49.

<sup>174</sup> Natela Ketschakmadze, “Из истории общественной мысли Византии в XI в.,” *VV* 29 (1969) 170–176, at 176 proposed that the addressee was Emperor Alexios Komnēnos. In fact, the initial exhortation (to not only address military but also philosophical matters) applies much better to Alexios than to Michael VII, who never saw battle. However, it might also apply to Emperor Nikēphoros III Botaneiatēs, who briefly reigned after Michael before Alexios. Italos seems to model his addressee (in all likelihood either Nikēphoros or Alexios) in resemblance to the warrior emperor Basil II, given that his opening exhortation recalls Psellos’ encomiastic characterization of Emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025). Cf. *Quaestio* 71, ll.5–6 with Reinsch, ed./trans., *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, 20 (Book I, 32.7–14): τὰ δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδῶς (οὐ πλῆθους φημὶ τάξεις· οὐδὲ λόχους συνηρμοσμένους· οὐδὲ δεσμούς· τάξεως· καὶ λύσεις εὐκαίρους· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πρωτοστάτην· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν ἡμιλοχίτην· καὶ ὅποσα καὶ ἐς τὸν κατόπιν ἀνενεγκεῖν), εὐπετῶς τούτοις ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐχρήτο. ὅθεν οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλοις τὴν τάξιν τούτων ἐτίθετο· ἀλλ’ ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν φύσιν· καὶ τὴν τεχνικὴν ἀγωνίαν εἰδῶς· καὶ πρὸς ὃ ἡ τῷ ἦθει ἡ τῇ παιδείᾳ συνήρμοσται, πρὸς τοῦτο συνῆγε καὶ συνεβίβαζε. | “As he had a precise knowledge of military lore, (I do not mean [simply] that relative to the companies of the troops, or to the ordaining of the divisions, or to the question when it is convenient to combine or separate the divisions of a company, but also to the duties of the file-leader, or the squad-leader and the subordinate ranks) he used this knowledge dexterously in the wars. So, he did not entrust the task of the composition of these ranks to others but, knowing the nature and the technical skills of each one of his men, he appointed them to the tasks for which their character or training made them fit.” This translation differs from that Sewter, trans., *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, 46. See further *Alexias*, 493.15–17 (lib. XV.10.5), where Komnēnē likens Alexios to Tzimiskēs and Basil II. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 250 discerns that Basil II was “something of a role model for the Komnenoi.”

<sup>175</sup> Notably Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 53.20 (Q43): Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἀνδρόνικον [...] and 63.12 (Q50): Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μιχαήλ [...] and Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*, 1.1: Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἀνδρόνικον [...] – Tsereteli, ed., *Itali opuscula*, Vol.2, xiii–xiv believed that *Quaestio* 71, too, addresses Andronikos Doukas, since Italos refers at the beginning of his *De dialectica* to a treatise on the resurrection, which Tsereteli understood as a reference to *Quaestio* 71. See Ketschakmadze, ed., *Itali Opera*, 1.5–7: [...] λέγω δὴ περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε μετὰ τούτων τὸς τεθνεώτας ἀναστῆναι τῶν σωμάτων [...] – This reference, however, is not to *Quaestio* 71 but to *Quaestio* 86, which Tsereteli himself had edited in Tsereteli, ed., *Itali opuscula*, Vol.1, 32–33.

<sup>176</sup> Some support for such a view may be found in Italos’ confession of faith in *Quaestio* 71, ll.153–158, which can be read as a correction of his problematic and rather careless phrasing during his trial in 1082, see Gouillard, “Le Synodikon,” 145.164–168.

Could, then, this treatise be composed after Italos' partial rehabilitation, during his monastic career, which led him to fulfill the administrative position of *chartophylax* in the Church of Antioch? His, at least partial, rehabilitation pointed out by P. Magdalino would have allowed Italos to compose and/or redact works following his trial. Moreover, Anna Komnēnē remarks that "at a later time he changed his mind concerning [Church] dogma and repented of what he had formerly erred on."<sup>177</sup> Although possible, it is not necessary to assume that *Quaestio* 71 was written much later than 1082. In fact, its content corresponds to the thought system represented by Italos' other writings, especially *Quaestio* 86 and 92, and involves a Christian Platonist interpretation of creation and resurrection that must have been ultimately unacceptable to those who formulated the anathemas. It is interesting to note that the *Timarion*, a Lucianic satire composed in the first half of the twelfth century, lays great emphasis on Italos' Christian identity. It presents a fictitious narrative scene in which Italos is rejected by ancient Greek philosophers for his incorrigible "Galilaeen," i.e., Christian mindset.<sup>178</sup> For probably similar reasons, the archbishop of Thessalonikē, Eustathios (d. 1195/96), endorsed Italos' scholarship and went on to quote extensively from his *Quaestio* 43 in his *Commentary on the Odyssey*.<sup>179</sup> Apparently, while some Byzantines remembered him as a condemned arch-heretic, others recognized in him the Christian Platonist philosopher.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the anathemas are repetitive and often contradictory.<sup>180</sup> For instance, the third and ninth anathema attribute to Italos the mutually exclusive views of the transmigration of souls, annihilation of souls after death, and resurrection in different bodies, while the eighth and tenth anathema reiterate the condemnation of denying the *creatio ex nihilo*. Likewise, four out of the eleven condemnations address eschatological issues: the resurrection (third and ninth anathema), the notion of an eternal world (fourth

<sup>177</sup> *Alexias*, 167.21–23 (lib. V.9.7): καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς μετεβέβλητο περὶ τὸ δόγμα καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ποτε πεπλάνητο μεταμεμέλητο, [...]

<sup>178</sup> Roberto Romano, ed., *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione: Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico*, Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana 2 (Naples: Università di Napoli, Cattedra di Filologia Bizantina, 1974), 88.1077–1084 (§43). Translation in Barry Baldwin, trans., *Timarion, Byzantine texts in translation* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 72.

<sup>179</sup> Eustathios' dependency on Italos has been established by Andrew R. Dyck, "Philological Notes on Byzantine Texts," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 159–163, at 161–163.

<sup>180</sup> See Stephanou, *Jean Italos: Philosophe et humniste*, 50, Gouillard, "Le Synodikon," 192–196, Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 28, 53, Macdonald, *The Condemnation of John Italos*, 6. While it is plausible, as Rigo, "Giovanni Italo," 65 suggests, that these charges represent heresiological *topoi*, it seems more likely that the accusations represent not only *topoi* but also the actual thoughts and topics of discussion of Italos' circle, as suggested by Joan M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867–1185* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937), 93 and Stephanou, "Jean Italos: L'immortalité," 416.

anathema), the belief in universal salvation (apokatastasis) (tenth anathema).<sup>181</sup> That is, eschatological concerns stand at the center of the anathemas. Eschatology also forms the outspoken focus of treatise 71 of Italos' *Quaestiones*. By philosophically arguing against the eternity of the world, Italos not only attempted to vindicate his own orthodoxy but also to uphold the legitimacy of philosophical inquiry into eschatological matters. The *Synodikon* heavily restricted this legitimacy.<sup>182</sup> It appears that a major motivation behind Italos' condemnation was to oppose philosophical inquiries into eschatology.

In the final analysis, Italos' discourse stands out for its clear exposition of the ethical implications that are at stake in the debate over the eternity of the world.<sup>183</sup> These implications do not only pertain to the Christian dogma of the Last Judgment and the resurrection<sup>184</sup> but also to a virtuous lifestyle and even to privileged access to divine mysteries. Virtue is presented as a direct function of the demonstrable knowledge that the world will perish and that there will be a resurrection. Italos stresses at the outset of his treatise that the belief in the resurrection and concomitantly in the end of the world forms the basis of Christian piety, which, in turn, is the foundation of a virtuous life. Christian worship as well as properly understood philosophical ethics requires the apocalyptic expectation that the world will expire. In other words, Italos goes beyond Philoponos' exclusively (meta)physical arguments and asserts an ethical imperative to refute the Neoplatonic doctrine of an everlasting world. He makes clear that the world cannot be eternal because believing in an eternal world is antithetical to the virtuous and Christian life that

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<sup>181</sup> The second anathema might also refer to eschatological speculations, since it condemns pagan teachings concerning the heavens, see Gouillard, "Le Synodikon," 57.190–192.

<sup>182</sup> In this regard the seventh anathema is of particular importance, as it confines Greek learning to didactic instruction. It thereby disallows any independent research into pagan doctrines. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon," 59.214–218. See further Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 154–155.

<sup>183</sup> Italos explains the implicit logic of Christian teachings not only in the case of the eternity of the world but also with regard to other issues, see Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos*, 143.

<sup>184</sup> Although there is no doubt that Italos upheld the belief in the resurrection, there seems to have been objections against how he explained the resurrection in detail. The heading of *Quaestio* 86 (Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, 134.18–19) asks the question "how we will resurrect with our own coarse and material bodies." Italos' argumentation emphasizes, just as in *Quaestio* 71, the identity of the body's form, without saying anything about its materiality, which seems to allow for the idea of a spiritual, non-material body. In *Quaestio* 86 he also adopts the Plotinian doctrine of the non-existence of matter. In this sense, the doctrine attributed to Italos by the ninth anathema could indeed be his. See Gouillard, "Le Synodikon," 59.225–61.233, at 59.225–227. Cf. *Alexias*, 167.24–25 (lib. V.9.7). See further Stephanou, "Jean Italos: L'immortalité," 417–420 and idem, *Jean Italos: Philosophe et humniste*, 93. However, *Quaestio* 86 has also been attributed to Psellos, see Psellus, *Opuscula II*, 103–104 (Opusc. II.28). Yet, it seems that the author is indeed Italos, as the text attributed to him is more complete, clearer and in tune with *Quaestio* 71 and 92, although in some places it can be emended on the basis of the text attributed to Psellos. Despite its title, the text does not treat the question of the resurrection of the material body but rather refutes this idea implicitly. As a result, it seems to have been slightly emended in the version attributed to Italos but was also attributed to Psellos so as to preserve it under the name of a less controversial authority.

presupposes posthumous reward and punishment. This ethical line of reasoning is a new philosophical argument in its own right.<sup>185</sup>

It was obvious to everyone involved in this debate that the issue of the eternity qualifies God's relationship to the world.<sup>186</sup> An eternal world entails a necessary, mutually implicative relationship, in which there is no room for any personal arbitration on the part of God: miracles and divine redemption would be absurd. Likewise, divine arbitration and personalized providence would be denied. Conversely, a creation at the beginning of time implies an act of divine will and allows for individualized providence—a notion on which imperial ideology heavily depended. The Byzantine emperor was considered the appointed viceroy of Christ on earth. Italos calls the emperor “closely resembling God” (θεῶ παρὰπλήσιος).<sup>187</sup> Due to this close affinity it was the emperor's particular honor and duty to act in accordance with the divine mandate. The notion of an eternal world would obliterate any such political legitimacy.<sup>188</sup> What was a predominately exegetical dispute for Proklos and Philoponos, had—by the time of the eleventh century—grown into a controversy that was much more focused on its wide-ranging ethical and political ramifications.

Italos would have certainly agreed that the eternity of the world is a politically precarious issue, since he was accused of and condemned for having taught it. The irony is that he was actually teaching a Platonic creationist account, which he supported with traditional anti-eternalist philosophical arguments. On the one hand, this account stands in opposition to the Neoplatonic teaching of an eternal world. On the other hand, it differs from the ecclesiastically

<sup>185</sup> Of course, the importance of the resurrection and with it the expected end of the world was continuously upheld ever since Paul's exhortation in 1 Cor 15. It reverberates, for instance, in Ioannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 234.12–20 (100; IV.27), where John of Damascus points out that without the resurrection, absurdities would ensue including injustice going unpunished and divine providence being denied. While this line of reasoning was very common in religious parlance, it does not seem to have been used as a philosophical argument prior to Italos.

<sup>186</sup> See Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 1–2.

<sup>187</sup> *Quaestio* 71, l.133. On the notion of the emperor being Christ's viceroy, see, among others, Donald M. Nicol, “Byzantine Political Thought,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. James H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 51–79, at 52–53. For criticism against the exclusivity of this notion, see Anthony Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 165–198.

<sup>188</sup> Having the very same implications in mind, the Persian philosopher al-Ghazālī (ca. 1056–1111), a near contemporary of Italos, pronounced a *fatwā*, a legal judgment, which promoted the death penalty for those upholding the eternity of the world. In the epilogue of his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* al-Ghazālī accuses all those of unbelief or infidelity (*kufr*) who uphold (1) the pre-eternity of the world, (2) God's ignorance of sublunar particulars, and (3) the denial of bodily resurrection. Unbelief, if leveled against a Muslim, amounts to a charge of apostasy that is punishable by death, which al-Ghazālī explicitly endorsed. For al-Ghazālī's *fatwā*, see Michael E. Marmura, ed./trans., *Al-Ghazālī: Incoherence of the Philosophers*, Islamic Translation Series (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000), 226. For a contextualization of this *fatwā*, see Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 101–109.

sanctioned viewpoint (as voiced in the *Synodikon*) with regard to its philosophical terminology and the notion of imperishable forms. Italos appears as a Christian Platonist who argued in his *Quaestio* 71 against radical, neoplatonizing philosophers (whose identity has yet to be determined). He endorses the Middle Platonist interpretation of the *Timaeus* and opposes Neoplatonic emanationism.<sup>189</sup> He could have hardly been more explicit in his *diatribē* in cautioning about the ethical implications of the putative eternity of the world. Italos was absolutely clear on the point that there would be no room for Christian ethics in an eternal world.

### CHAPTER 3: THE ETERNALIST DEBATE IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

The debate over the eternity of the world seems to have been discontinued in the immediate aftermath of Italos' condemnation. Neither Ioane Petritsi nor Theodore of Smyrna appear to have made it a subject of discussion. Petritsi, who may have been Italos' student, does not provide any clear exposition on the eternity of the world in his Georgian translation and commentary of Proklos' *Elements of Theology*.<sup>190</sup> It has been argued that Petritsi had, in all likelihood, taught a factual creation of the world.<sup>191</sup> That said, it seems that he did not subscribe to Christian eschatology. He rather understood the final consummation and the Last Judgment in merely figurative terms.<sup>192</sup> If true, then his view would correspond to an Aristotelian reading of the *Timaeus*: the world is factually dependent on the Creator but this does not necessitate its eventual dissolution. Petritsi would have certainly discussed this very view while in

<sup>189</sup> In this regard, see the useful distinction drawn by Tuomo Lankila, "The Byzantine Reception of Neoplatonism," in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 314–324, esp. 314–318.

<sup>190</sup> German translation in Alexidze and Bergemann, trans., *Ioane Petrizi: Kommentar*, 59–370.

<sup>191</sup> This view is argued by Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, 241–242, whose main argument rests on the fact that Petritsi translated into Georgian Nemesios of Emesa's *De Natura Hominis*, which "clearly speaks about the *creation* and *completion* of the world at a certain moment." Cf. Moreno Morani, ed., *Nemesii Emeseni De natura hominis*, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1987), 31.25–27 (cap. 2). Translation in Philip van der Eijk and Robert W. Sharples, trans., *Nemesius: On the Nature of Man*, Translated Texts for Historian 49 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 70.

<sup>192</sup> Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, 225–263, 270–271. In support of this view, Alexidze, "Ioane Petritsi," 233 has drawn attention to chap. 13 of Petritsi's commentary, where Petritsi professes that the kosmos is endlessly moved by the infinite Good. For the German translation of the respective chapter, see Alexidze and Bergemann, trans., *Ioane Petrizi: Kommentar*, 126–127 (cap. 13).

Constantinople, as evidenced by the testimony of Michael Psellos' didactic prop. 157.<sup>193</sup> Yet this reading of Petritsi is a conjecture. What is certain is that he did not openly discuss the eternity of the world.

Theodore of Smyrna (d. after 1112), who followed Italos in the function of the "Consul of the philosophers" (ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων), did not revisit the eternalist debate either.<sup>194</sup> His *Epitome of Nature and Natural Principles according to the Ancients* (Ἐπιτομή τῶν ὅσα περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀρχῶν τοῖς παλαιοῖς διείληπται) gives an elementary introduction to natural philosophy in three parts that comprises sections on the heavens, on nature, on causes, on movement, on place, and on the elements.<sup>195</sup> Nowhere does he treat the eternalist debate. When discussing the heavens, Theodore stresses the goodness of the material world, sketches Aristotle's and Proklos' teachings on the fifth element, and explains the color of the sky.<sup>196</sup> Theodore does not sanction or comment on the contested theory of a fifth substance. He even avoids bringing out the obvious implication: the Aristotelian notion of aether (and similarly the Proklean notion of a fifth element) amounts to a strong eternalist argument, which Italos had refuted in ARG.I.5.

At a later section in the *Epitome*, Theodore emphasizes that eternity can only be attributed to the divinity.<sup>197</sup> Even incorporeal entities like angels and human souls cannot be called eternal, since they have a beginning and are being kept from decaying only by the grace of God.<sup>198</sup> One may infer from this statement that also the world is temporally limited. Yet this remains unvoiced. It is possible that the eternity of the world was treated in the now lost fourth section of the *Epitome*, which presented an exposition of the notion of time.<sup>199</sup> While this is certainly

<sup>193</sup> On Petritsi's life and the assumption that he studied in Constantinople, see Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, 12–19.

<sup>194</sup> On Theodore of Smyrna's life, see Linos G. Benakis, ed., *Theodoros of Smyrna: Epitome of Nature and Natural Principles According to the Ancients. Editio princeps. Introduction – Text – Indices*, CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 12 (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2013), 11\*–12\*. The *Epitome de natura et de principis naturalibus* represents the only philosophical work by Theodore that we know of. For his theological works, see *ibid.*, 14\*.

<sup>195</sup> For the textbook quality of this work, see *ibid.*, 15\* and Michele Trizio, "Ancient Physics in the Mid-Bizantine Period: The Epitome of Theodore of Smyrna, Consul of the Philosophers under Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 54 (2012): 77–99, at 89.

<sup>196</sup> Theodoros Smyrnaeus, *Epitome de natura et de principis naturalibus*, 4–7.

<sup>197</sup> Theodoros Smyrnaeus, *Epitome de natura et de principis naturalibus*, 28.2–6: πᾶν γὰρ γεννητὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ φύσει φθαρτὸν ἐστὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θείου μόνου κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται τὸ αἶδιον κατὰ τε τὸ μὴ ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι λαβεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μὴδὲ τέλος τοῦ εἶναι λαβεῖν. | "All that is generated is by its own nature corruptible. That said, eternity belongs to and can be properly and truly attributed only to the divinity on the grounds that it holds neither a beginning nor an end of its existence."

<sup>198</sup> Theodoros Smyrnaeus, *Epitome de natura et de principis naturalibus*, 27.24–28.2.

<sup>199</sup> The fourth section is missing from the *codex unicus*, cod. Vindobonensis theol. gr. 134, c. ann. 1300.

possible, it is unlikely, since its proper place would have been in the section dealing with the heavens, as it was the case in Michael Psellos' and Symeōn Sēth's doxographical compendia.

A former student of Italos, Eustratios of Nicaea (fl. c. 1100), seems to have paid even less attention to natural philosophy. Except for a didactic treatise entitled *On thunder and lightning*,<sup>200</sup> Eustratios restricted his written scholarship to theological, logical, and ethical topics.<sup>201</sup> His philosophical work consists mostly of commentaries on the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*.<sup>202</sup> Neither did Michael of Ephesos devote much attention to natural philosophy. To be sure, Michael commented on Aristotle's biological works, but he prudently shunned cosmological topics.<sup>203</sup> Eustratios and Michael seem to have been both part of the workshop initiated by the Kaisarissa Anna Komnēnē, who directed attention onto previously neglected Aristotelian works.<sup>204</sup> By doing so, she shifted the focus of philosophical inquiry away from Neoplatonic texts and thus eschewed such precarious issues as the eternity of the world.

Yet interest in Neoplatonic texts and in particular in Proklos continued throughout the first half of twelfth century, as proven by Nicholas of Methōnē,<sup>205</sup> who in the late 1150s composed his voluminous *Refutation of Proklos' Elements of Theology*.<sup>206</sup> Its purpose was to contain the utility of Proklos' handbook, which had served as "a quarry of philosophical categories."<sup>207</sup> By refuting Proklos, Nicholas ultimately hoped not only to thwart the principles of Neoplatonic inquiries but also to root out heretical movements, such as the ever-reemerging notion of

<sup>200</sup> See Anne-Laurence Caudano, "Eustratios of Nicaea on thunder and lightning," *BZ* 105/2 (2012): 611–634.

<sup>201</sup> For Eustratios' work, see Michele Trizio, *Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea*, Biblioteca filosofica di Quaestio 23 (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2016), 14–17.

<sup>202</sup> Michael Hayduck, ed., *Eustratii in Analyticorum posteriorum librum secundum commentarium*, CAG 21/1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1907), 1–270 and Gustav Heylbut, ed., *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in Ethica Nicomachea commentaria*, CAG 20 (Berlin: Reimer, 1892), 1–121, 256–406. On Eustratios, see further Trizio, "Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium," 190–201. For the reception history of his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, see Michele Trizio, "On the Byzantine fortune of Eustratios of Nicaea's commentary on Books I and VI of the Nicomachean Ethics," in *The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. Börje Bydén and Katerina Ierodiakonou, Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4/1 (Athens: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2012), 199–224.

<sup>203</sup> On Michael of Ephesos' various works, see Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Vol.1, *Byzantinisches Handbuch* 5/1 (Munich: Beck, 1978), 34–35 and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Revised edition (London: Duckworth, 1996), 182.

<sup>204</sup> See Robert Browning, "An unpublished funeral oration on Anna Comnena," in *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and their Influence*, ed. Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1990), 393–406.

<sup>205</sup> Nicholas of Methōnē died between 1160 and 1166. On his life, see Athanasios Angelou, "Nicholas of Methone: The Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979*, eds. Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1981), 143–148 and idem, *Nicholas of Methone: Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology*, CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), ix–xxiii.

<sup>206</sup> On the date of composition, see *ibid.*, xlii, lviii and Angelou, "Nicholas of Methone: The Life," 144.

<sup>207</sup> As well observed by Angelou, *Nicholas of Methone: Refutation*, lxii.

universal restoration.<sup>208</sup> Nicholas compared his *Refutation* of Proklos' intellectual edifice with the triumph over the Tower of Babel: both, Proklos' *Elements* and the Tower, were presumptuous and vainglory attempts that sought "to grasp the ungraspable."<sup>209</sup> Given this context, it is not surprising that the *Refutation* does not hold any dedicated rebuttal of the eternity of the world; the *Elements of Theology* does not require it. The most one can expect from Nicholas' work is to see a refutation of the principles upon which the Prokleian arguments for the eternity rest. Such a principle is prop. 55, where Proklos argues that the entirety of beings in perpetual generation (i.e., the physical world) (τὸ ἀεὶ γινόμενον) necessarily forms the intermediary between eternal beings (τὰ ἀεὶ ὄντα) and generated beings (τὰ ποτὲ γινόμενα). Nicholas objects to Proklos' allegedly naive understanding of procession through similarity (πρόοδος δι' ὁμοιότητος) and concludes that "one could not reasonably speak about the eternity of temporal beings, either in the sense of being without a beginning, or in that of endlessness," allowing for the factual creation and eventual destruction of the world.<sup>210</sup> Similarly, when closing his *Refutation* with a commentary on prop. 198, Nicholas stresses that it is absurd to call that which participates time to be ever-moving.<sup>211</sup> Temporality does not allow for everlastingness. The very concept of time, Nicholas asserts, implies infinitude. While arguments against the eternity of the world can certainly be construed on the basis of Nicholas' analyses, there is no open discussion about it.<sup>212</sup>

Sometime in the twelfth century, an anonymous compilation in the tradition of late antique *erōtapokriseis* was redacted. This compilation greatly resembles Psellos' *Omnifaria doctrina*, with which it shares similar topics that include astronomical, meteorological, medical, and mathematical subjects. Moreover, it appears to be textually dependent on Psellos' works. It has thus been argued that the anonymous compiler must have belonged to the polymath's

<sup>208</sup> See Nicolaus Methonaeus, *Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli*, 41.12–14 (cap. 31): Ὠριγένης δὲ τὴν πρόφασιν ἐντεῦθεν λαβὼν τῆς οἰκείας αἵρέσεως ἐκ τοῦ συνθέσθαι πᾶν τὸ προῖόν ἀπὸ τινος ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς τὸ ἀφ' οὗ προῆκται, τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐδογμάτισεν. Translation in Joshua M. Robinson, *Nicholas of Methone's Refutation of Proclus: Theology and Neoplatonism in 12th-century Byzantium*, Ph.D. dissertation (Notre Dame, IN, 2014), 235–236, slightly changed: "But Origen taught the [universal] restoration, finding a pretext of his own heresy in agreeing that everything that proceeds from something reverts to that from which it was brought forth."

<sup>209</sup> Nicolaus Methonaeus, *Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli*, 3.28–29 (prooemium): [...] τὸν ἀκατάληπτον καταλαμβάνειν ἐτόπασεν. Translation in Robinson, *Nicholas of Methone's Refutation*, 166. On the significance of such typological structures, see below chapter 6.

<sup>210</sup> Nicolaus Methonaeus, *Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli*, 58.24–26 (prop. 55): ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐν χρόνῳ οὐδ' ἂν αἰδιότης εὐλόγως λέγοιτο μήτε ἄναρχος μήτε ἀτελεύτητος οὐσα, [...] For an alternate translation, see Robinson, *Nicholas of Methone's Refutation*, 266.

<sup>211</sup> Nicolaus Methonaeus, *Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli*, 174. 3–4 (prop. 198): [...] Ἀδύνατον ὑπόθεσιν ὑποτίθῃσι, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ χρόνου μετέχον καὶ ἀεὶ κινούμενον λέγων. Translation in Robinson, *Nicholas of Methone's Refutation*, 458.

<sup>212</sup> Pace Browning, "Enlightenment and Repression," 17.

philosophical circle.<sup>213</sup> Despite this close affinity, the schoolbook avoids discussing the eternity of the world, which had previously been a standard topic in Psellos' and Sēth's handbooks. What is even more striking is that the first subject of the miscellany presents the astronomical notion of the 'great cosmic year,' which holds that the world will repeat itself once it will reach the 'great year' when all heavenly bodies will return to their initial position.<sup>214</sup> Ancient Greek philosophers commonly believed that this repetition would reoccur infinite times, thus postulating the eternity of the world. Yet the issue of the eternity of the world is neither explicitly mentioned nor alluded to in the twelfth-century discussion thereof. The idea of the 'great year' is presented and outright rejected, without much argumentation.<sup>215</sup>

The foregoing cases show that in the immediate aftermath of Italos' condemnation the eternity of world ceased to be explicitly addressed. It is true that philosophical investigation and instruction as well as commentary work continued unhindered after 1082.<sup>216</sup> However, twelfth-century philosophers appear to have consciously avoided touching openly upon the eternalist debate. Even the potshot remark by Theodore Prodromos in the middle of the twelfth century that criticizes Aristotle's eternalism does not seem to have triggered much of a response.<sup>217</sup>

A dedicated discussion was not penned until Nikēphoros Blemmydēs (d. c. 1269) completed his *Epitome of Physics*.<sup>218</sup> Blemmydēs revived the interest in natural philosophy in the Empire of Nicaea, the successor state in Asia Minor that was established in the wake of the *halosis* of 1204.<sup>219</sup> Although lacking in originality and accuracy,<sup>220</sup> his *Epitome* was a popular handbook

<sup>213</sup> Ilias N. Pontikos, ed., *Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica: A Miscellany in the Tradition of Michael Psellos (Codex Baroccianus Graecus 131)*, CPMA, Philosophi Byzantini 6 (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1992), xv–xl.

<sup>214</sup> On the ancient Greek notion of the 'great cosmic year,' see Bartel L. van der Waerden, "Das Grosse Jahr und die Ewige Wiederkehr," *Hermes* 80/2 (1952): 129–155 and idem, "The Great Year in Greek, Persian and Hindu Astronomy," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 18/4 (1978): 359–383, at 360–361.

<sup>215</sup> *Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica*, 1–2 (cap. 1). The chapter largely corresponds to Psellus, *De omnifaria doctrina*, 82 (§161) and to a letter penned by Psellos, see Paul Tannery, "Psellus sur la grande année," *Revue des Études Grecques* 5 (1892): 206–211, at 209. See further Pontikos, ed., *Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica*, xxxi–xxxiii. For Psellos' source on the 'great year,' see Franz Boll, "Psellus und das 'große Jahr'," *BZ* 7/3 (1898): 599–602.

<sup>216</sup> Trizio, "Ancient Physics in the Mid-Bizantine Period," 97.

<sup>217</sup> Theodorus Prodromus, *Epigrammata in Vetus Testamentum*, in PG 133, 1101A–1176B, at 1102A.

<sup>218</sup> With regard to the date of composition, the *Epitome* must have been finalized in or after 1258, given that the text refers to the lunar eclipse that occurred on 18 May of that year, see Nicophorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1265B–C (cap. 27.15). See further, Wolfgang Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *BF* 4 (1972): 157–169, at 162, who suggests the year 1260 as the date of composition. In a later article, Lackner identified an earlier draft version of the *Epitome* in cod. Vaticanus gr. 434, saec. XIII, see Wolfgang Lackner, "Die erste Auflage des Physiklehrbuches des Nikephoros Blemmydes," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. Franz Paschke, Texte und Untersuchungen 125 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981), 351–364.

<sup>219</sup> For Blemmydēs' life and a historical contextualization of his teaching activities, see Constantine N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)*, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus 11 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1982), 7–18.

that must have addressed the grave needs of higher education at the time.<sup>221</sup> Chapter 24 outlines the principle mechanisms of the heavens. Its final section discusses the eternity of the world.<sup>222</sup>

Blemmydēs presents three eternalist arguments followed by his responses.<sup>223</sup> The first argument consists of the objection that if the heavens were created then there would have been a time without them. This, however, is impossible since Plato had defined time to be coextensive with celestial movement.<sup>224</sup> There can be no time prior to the heavens.<sup>225</sup> Blemmydēs responds by affirming Plato’s definition and upholding that both the world and time came into being simultaneously. That is, “the heavens then did not come into being in time, but in the beginning of time.”<sup>226</sup> He implies that the difficulty is a mere pseudo-problem. The second argument revolves around the impossibility of a *creatio ex nihilo*. Blemmydēs responds by deducing the createdness of the world from its corruptibility. He points out that the body of the kosmos has but limited power and thus cannot be moving eternally. He then refers to the standard Aristotelian principle that whatever has an end, also has a beginning and draws the conclusion that the world is created *ex nihilo*.<sup>227</sup> Blemmydēs uses here Philoponos’ infinity argument, which both Symeōn Sēth and John Italos (ARG. I.1) had appropriated.<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, Blemmydēs refers to the daily rotation of the heavens, which is highly reminiscent of Sēth’s argument discussed above.<sup>229</sup> The

<sup>220</sup> David Pingree, “Gregory Chionides and Palaeologan Astronomy,” *DOP* 18 (1964): 133–160, at 135.

<sup>221</sup> Its great popularity is evidenced by the high amount of manuscripts. For an approximation, see the Pinakes entry that lists 120 manuscripts for the *Epitome physica* alone: <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/8853/> (last accessed 30/11/2018). The *Epitome physica* consists of 32 chapters. Chapters 1–10 introduce basic physical principles that include matter and form, motion and rest, generation and corruption, time and place. Chapters 11–23 treat mostly meteorological phenomena. Chapters 24–31 discuss astronomy. The work ends with an exegesis of Psalm 8.

<sup>222</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1224B–1228D (cap. 24.20–25). The chapter is entitled: Περὶ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κόσμος αἰδιος. | “On the heaven and that the world is not eternal.”

<sup>223</sup> The three arguments are also discussed in Nelly Tsouyopoulos, “Das Ätherproblem und die Physik-Abhandlung des Nikephoros Blemmydes,” in *Rechenpfennige. Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag Kurt Vogels, gewidmet von Mitarbeitern und Schülern* (Munich: Forschungsinstitut des Deutschen Museums für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik, 1968), 69–89, at 83–86 and in Wolfgang Lackner, “Aristoteleskritik im Physiklehrbuch des Nikephoros Blemmydes,” in *Πρακτικά Παγκοσμίου Συνεδρίου ‘Αριστοτέλης’, Θεσσαλονίκη, 7–14 Αυγούστου 1978*, Vol.2 (Athens: Έκδοσις Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού και Επιστημών, 1981), 35–39.

<sup>224</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 37d–e.

<sup>225</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1224B–C (cap. 24.20).

<sup>226</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1224D (cap. 24.21): Οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ τοίνυν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρόνου.

<sup>227</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1225A–D (cap. 24.22–23).

<sup>228</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1225C–D (cap. 24.23): Πᾶν ἄρα πεπερασμένον σῶμα πεπερασμένης μετέχει δυνάμεως. [...] Ἀδυνατήσκει τοίνυν λόγῳ φύσεως καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ παύσεται, τῆς δυνάμεως παυσαμένης. [...] Εἰ τοίνυν φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, πάντως καὶ γενητός. | “For every limited body shares in limited power. [...] Thus, [the world] will lose strength because of its nature and its activity will cease after its power will have ceased. [...] If then the world is corruptible, then it is certainly also generated.”

<sup>229</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1225B (cap. 24.23): Εἰ γὰρ κινηθεῖη, χρόνον ἄπειρον ἀνάγκη διέναι κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν. Ὁ δὲ περιστρέφεται σύμπας ἐν ἐλάτῳ χρόνῳ τοῦ νυχθημερινοῦ διαστήματος. Ὡστε πεπερασμένος ὁ

last argument is an adaptation of Proklos' third argument: if the Creator were not always to create, then He would be an imperfect Creator. Blemmydēs answers this challenge just as Italos had done in ARG. I.3, namely by following Philoponos in drawing upon the Aristotelian distinction between first and second actuality.<sup>230</sup> Other parallels with Philoponos have already been duly noted.<sup>231</sup>

Thus, it can be ascertained that Nikēphoros Blemmydēs revisited the classical dispute over the eternity of the world, which had laid dormant for over a century and a half since Italos' condemnation. His initiative was picked up in the fourteenth century by Nikēphoros Choumnos' (d. 1327) and Nikēphoros Grēgoras (d. c. 1360), who both restated Philoponos' infinity argument.<sup>232</sup> Prior to 1082, the eternity debate had become a high-profile subject of philosophical instruction and inquiry. Psellos' and Sēth's testimonies prove that the issue was deemed

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οὐράνιος. | "If [the heavens] were to be moved [infinitely], it would require infinite time to complete its [rotary] motion. But the universe turns around in less time than one day. Thus, the heavens are limited." The argument infers from the daily celestial rotation that the kosmos has a limited extension; if it were physically unlimited, it would take an unlimited amount of time to rotate around Earth. As a physically limited body, the kosmos can only have limited power and thus cannot be everlasting. The same line of reasoning had been presented by Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 37, §30. For an analysis of Blemmydēs' sources, see Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch der Physik," 164, who does not include Sēth. It is noteworthy in this regard that Sēth's/Blemmydēs' argument differs from the Philoponian argument cited by Simplicius, which draws upon the different time intervals celestial bodies require to circumambulate Earth. Accordingly, if the world were eternal, then the Moon, the Sun, Jupiter, Saturn, etc. would hold different factors of infinite rotations, which is absurd according to Philoponos, who held that the infinite cannot be multiplied, see Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity*, 88. For Philoponos' argument, see Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*, 1179.15–26. Translation in Wildberg, trans., *Philoponus: Against Aristotle*, 146.

<sup>230</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1225D–1228D (cap. 24.24–25).

<sup>231</sup> See Tsouyopoulos, "Das Ätherproblem und die Physik-Abhandlung," 81–87, Lackner, "Aristoteleskritik im Physiklehrbuch," 36–38, Börje Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis astronomike and the study of natural philosophy and mathematics in early Palaiologan Byzantium*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 66 (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2003), 182–184, idem, "A Case for Creationism," 83–84, idem, "'No prince of perfection'," 168, and Scholten, trans., *Philoponos: De aeternitate mundi*, Vol.1, 196–199. It should be noted that there is a brief discussion of another eternalist argument in an earlier chapter, see Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Epitome physica*, 1076D–1077B (cap. 5.18). This argument is based on the Aristotelian principle that there is no contrary to circular motion, as argued in Aristoteles, *De caelo* I.4, 270b32–271a33. If there is no contrary to the circular motion of the heavens, then the heavens are eternal; an argument that Philoponos painstakingly refuted in his now lost *Against Aristotle*. For the relevant fragments, see Wildberg, trans., *Philoponus: Against Aristotle*, 92–121 (frag. 81–107).

<sup>232</sup> Nicephorus Choumnos, *De mundo et de sua ipsius natura* (Περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν φύσεως). The text has been transcribed on the basis of cod. Patmiacus 127, saec. XIV by Iōannēs Sakkeliōn, *Πατμιακὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἢτοι ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον γεραρᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τεθησαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχῶν* (Athens: Τυπογραφεῖον Α. Παπαγεωργίου, 1890), 75–76. The infinity argument is at *ibid.*, 76.12–20. See further Bydén, "A Case for Creationism," 84 and idem, "'No prince of perfection'," 168. See also Marchetto, "Nikephoros Choumnos' Treatise on Matter," 52–55, who considers the possibility that Choumnos was influenced by Italos in a treatise that deals with the nature of matter. With regard to Choumnos' use of the infinity argument in *De mundo et de sua ipsius natura*, it is quite likely that he knew of Italos' ARG I.1. That said, direct dependency is hard to establish and rather unnecessary, given the common reference point of Philoponos' *Contra Proclum* and *Contra Aristotelem*. For Nikēphoros Grēgoras' use of the infinity argument, see Pietro L. Leone, ed., *Niceforo Gregora: Fiorenzo o intorno alla sapienza*, Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana 4 (Naples: Università di Napoli, 1975), 117.1467–119.1497.

important enough to be included in their compendia of introductory discourses, which were dedicated to the emperor. Likewise, Italos' treatise shows that the debate could serve as the point of departure for instructing the emperor on ethical matters and possibly for advancing an apologetic confession of faith. The fact that the *Synodikon* explicitly condemns the teaching of an eternal world further reinforces its high-profile nature. Moreover, the lack of any further discussion in the immediate aftermath of 1082 can be seen as an indication that this particular debate was a most sensitive issue that needed to be contained. The issue was revisited only once the Komnēnian dynasty had been dissolved. The question thus arises: why did the Komnēnoi and, in particular, Alexios I Komnēnos attribute such significance to the eternity debate?

Before this question can be properly addressed, it is necessary to examine the conceptual antithesis of an eternal world, namely the expectation of an impending end. What better way to refute eternalism than to promote apocalyptic thought? The same holds true for the reverse: what better way to deny apocalypticism than to prove the eternity of the world? To appreciate the implications of these opposing paradigms requires a survey of the apocalyptic tradition in Byzantium. Part II addresses this need and investigates how finite apocalyptic time was believed to be structured.

## PART II. NARRATING THE END:

## THE NARRATOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY OF THE END TIMES

Pseudepigraphic apocalypses offer to complement the Scriptures and the Church tradition on eschatological matters, on which the latter are extremely reticent. To fill this gap, late antique and medieval authors produced a wide range of pseudonymous writings that professed to disclose the historical developments of—what was anticipated to be—the near future. Innumerable pseudepigrapha were composed targeting different sensitivities and different audiences: (1) *Historical apocalypses* presented forecasts concerning the political fortunes of the empire, while (2) *moral apocalypses* disclosed information concerning the personal fate of the deceased in the afterlife.<sup>233</sup> In this chapter I examine the former subgenre of Byzantine historical apocalypses, with the source material extending from the early sixth to the late fifteenth century. My main focus rests on the thirteenth century, which saw a great proliferation of apocalyptic literature following the Latin conquest and occupation of Constantinople in 1204. I largely omit to discuss moral apocalypses, as there already exist preliminary discussions on the perception of time in this literary subgenre.<sup>234</sup>

Historical apocalypses can be considered a kind of historiography;<sup>235</sup> they present accounts of the history of the future that covers the period up until the Last Judgment. This history of the future is structured, on the one hand, into a historical review consisting of *vaticinia ex eventu* and, on the other, into a predictive forecast that largely consists of standard motifs, oracular

<sup>233</sup> This generic categorization is based on the classical definition of the apocalyptic genre by John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979) 1–20, at 9. The term "moral apocalypse" was first introduced into Islamic studies by David Cook, "Moral Apocalyptic in Islam," *Studia Islamica* 86 (1997): 37–69 and idem, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 21 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 2002), 230–268. Apocalyptic writings have since been divided into "historical/political" and "moral/otherworldly" subgenres. See, for instance, Jane Baun, "The Moral Apocalypse in Byzantium," in *Apocalyptic Time*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 241–267, at 256, Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 20 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2005), 195–196, James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 11, and Petre Guran, "Historical prophecies from late antique apocalypticism to secular eschatology," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 52 (2014): 47–62, at 59. For a brief definition of historical apocalypses, see John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," in *The Harper Collins Bible Dictionary*, Second edition, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco, CA: Harper-San Francisco, 1996), 39. On moral apocalypses in Byzantium, see further Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 30–33.

<sup>234</sup> See Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 144–147 and Hedwig Röckelein, "Geschichtsbewußtsein in hochmittelalterlichen Jenseitsvisionen," in *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistorischer Quellen*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 143–160, at 150–153.

<sup>235</sup> According to Aziz Al-Azmeh, "God's Chronography and Dissipative Time: Vaticinium ex Eventu in Classical and Medieval Muslim Apocalyptic Traditions," *The Medieval History Journal* 7/2 (2004): 199–225, at 200, apocalypses advance ideal-type conceptions of history.

formulae, and typological patterns.<sup>236</sup> The dividing line between genuine historiography and futuristic statements is not always easy to detect. Yet it is often the only means for dating a given apocalypse,<sup>237</sup> since most textual witnesses come down in post-byzantine manuscripts.<sup>238</sup> As a rule of thumb I endorse L. DiTommaso's observation that historical descriptions tend to be more detailed than prophetic narratives.<sup>239</sup> Conversely, the vaguer and more general statements become, the more likely it is that one deals with events that had not (yet) occurred at the time of composition. Moreover, when reading Byzantine apocalypses with a historicist scope, one needs to acknowledge the compositional technique of inversion: historical data—derived from the Scriptures, written histories, or recent memory—are often inverted in the prophetic section. Such inversions can give additional guidance to the reader as to which historical events require a reversal, be that due to exegetical necessity, as in the case of the Antichrist (discussed below in chap. 6) or due to historical injustice, as in the case of Alexios Mourtzouphlos (argued below in chap. 9). Richness in detail and conceptual inversion are two kinds of subgeneric markers that guide the reader/listener along the often enigmatic references of Medieval Greek apocalyptic.<sup>240</sup>

On account of the close connection of apocalyptic writings with historiography, contemporary scholarship has often 'mined' pseudepigraphic prophecies for new, otherwise

<sup>236</sup> On the notion of oracular formulae, which are larger, coherent units of literary motifs, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, "The Armenian Seventh Vision of Daniel and the Historical Apocalyptic of Late Antiquity," in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective. Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 25 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 126–148, at 134–140, who proposes the designation of "apocalyptic oracles." See further Zaroui Pogossian and Sergio La Porta, "Apocalyptic Texts, Transmission of Topoi, and Their Multi-Lingual Background: The Prophecies of Agat'on and Agat'angel on the End of the World," in *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso, Matthias Henze and William Adler, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 26 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 824–851, esp. 825–826, who prefer the descriptive appellation of "text-blocks." The notion of typology will be discussed below in chapter 6.

<sup>237</sup> The approach to date an apocalypse by identifying its last historical allusion was set forth by Paul J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *American Historical Review* 73/4 (1978): 997–1018, at 999. The approach was anticipated by Wilhelm Bousset, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie," *Zeitschrift Für Kirchengeschichte* 20/3 (1899): 261–290, at 281.

<sup>238</sup> See the Appendix for a general estimation of the manuscript distribution across centuries.

<sup>239</sup> DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 106–107, 138 and idem, "The Armenian Seventh Vision of Daniel," 142. Elsewhere, I have called this exegetical rule of thumb the "principle of particularity," see András Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," *Byz* 82 (2012): 213–257, at 215–216.

<sup>240</sup> I borrow the term "subgeneric marker" from Indian studies, where it has been applied to describe "diagnostic elements that enable the reader to make distinctions within a genre" with regard to the historicity of particular statements, see Velcheru N. Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Pragmatic Response," *History and Theory* 46/3 (2007): 409–427, at 412. These markers are noticeable only to the adept reader. See Velcheru N. Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time. Writing History in South India 1600–1800*, Cultural studies (New York, NY: Other Press, 2003), 253: "Only the erosion of an entire sensibility, with its naturally available protocols of reading, can explain the failure to identify history when it is present and to distinguish it from the non-historical." The same observation appears to apply to the genre of Byzantine apocalypses.

unknown historical information, following in the footsteps of the pioneering work of P. Alexander.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, apocalypses have been examined as motivating causes behind political decision-making.<sup>242</sup> This fact-oriented, historicist concern is certainly valid. Yet to fully appreciate the historical value of prophetic literature, one ought to look beyond individual events and to recognize the overarching structure of historical time into which particular events are placed. In other words, while the historicist approach is certainly valid, its utility is dependent on an understanding of the unwritten rules of the genre. Before one can read apocalyptic narratives with positivist concerns, which I set out to do in Part III, one ought to appreciate the compositional methods, the pool of stock motifs, and the implicit theology of time that form the Alpha and Omega of the genre.

The following chapters investigate how Byzantine apocalypses convey the concept of apocalyptic time to their audiences. For this investigation, I have chosen a threefold approach: First, I survey attempts at predicting the absolute and relative date of the apocalypse. Second, I examine the narrative speed that is used in apocalyptic accounts. Third, I show on a few selected examples how end-time narratives are structured by typological patterns. When seen together, these approaches allow to reconstruct a rather detailed picture of the content and form of apocalyptic time. In the final analysis it is argued that this concept of time served as a prototypical reference system with a presentist focus.

#### CHAPTER 4: THE CHRONOLOGY OF APOCALYPTIC TIME

In Byzantium the consummation (συντέλεια) of the world was universally believed to correlate with the end of time. This is only logical, since time was understood to be a function of worldly motion and change.<sup>243</sup> Ironically, one of the most pressing questions concerning the end of times is—and always was—*when* it will occur. Any attempt at establishing the time of the *synteleia* can

<sup>241</sup> Alexander, “Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources.” See also Walter E. Kaegi, “Gigthis and Olbia in the Pseudo-Methodius Apocalypse and Their Significance,” *BF* 26 (2000) 161–167, at 163–164.

<sup>242</sup> For two notable case studies, see, Warren Treadgold, “The Prophecies of the Patriarch Methodius,” *REB* 62 (2004): 229–237 and Paul Magdalino, “Isaac II, Saladin and Venice,” in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 93–106.

<sup>243</sup> This persuasion seems to be reflected in Rv 10:6, as pointed out by Andrew of Caesarea’s exegesis thereof, see Josef Schmid, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. 1. Teil. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Text*, Münchner Theologische Studien, 1. Ergänzungsband (Munich: Karl Zink, 1955), 108 (cap. 28).

either aim at pinpointing its absolute date in terms of years or even days, or it can clarify its relative date by expounding the sequence of events that needs to take place beforehand. The Byzantines made ample use of both approaches.

## END-TIME CALCULATIONS

Despite the biblical assertion (Acts 1:7, cf. Mk 13:32, Mt 24:36, 1 Thes 5:1–2, Rv 16:15) that the precise time of the end is unknowable, Byzantine apocalypticists continuously professed to reveal the exact year of the Last Judgment. They supported their claims with various calculations. The most popular computational scheme was based on the presumption that the age of the world would not exceed 6000 (alternatively 6500 or 7000) years after the creation, which—according to the Alexandrian calendar—had taken place on 25 March 5493 BC.<sup>244</sup> The assumption that the world will last only 6000 years was based on a synoptic reading of Ps 90:4 (KJV): “For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.” (cf. 2 Pt 3:8) and Gn 1:1–2:3, where creation is said to have lasted six days.<sup>245</sup> Thus, the reasoning went: if God created the world in six days and if six days for God amount to 6000 years for mankind, then this world will come to an end after 6000 years will have lapsed, which early Christians expected to take place around the year 500 AD.<sup>246</sup> For instance, in the Greek redaction of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, named by its modern editor P. Alexander the *Oracle of Baalbek*, it is prognosticated that Constantinople will fall around the year 510 AD: “Do not boast, city of Byzantium, thou shalt not hold imperial sway for thrice sixty of thy years!”<sup>247</sup>

<sup>244</sup> On the Alexandrian calendar, see Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 85–97, esp. 95.

<sup>245</sup> This computation is well summarized (and rejected) in *Dioptra* III.6 (p.142, ll.25–31). See further Gerhard Podskalsky, “Marginalien zur byzantinischen Reichseschatologie,” *BZ* 67/2 (1974): 351–358, at 356, n.23.

<sup>246</sup> See Brandes, “Anastasios ὁ Δίκωρος.”

<sup>247</sup> *SibTibGr* ll.94–95: μὴ καυχῶ, Βυζαντία πόλις, τρίς γὰρ ἐξηκοστὸν τῶν ἐτῶν σου οὐ μὴ βασιλεύσεις. Translation by Alexander, trans., *Oracle of Baalbek*, 25. If one adds thrice sixty years (i.e., 180 years) to the year Constantinople was consecrated (i.e., 330 AD), one arrives at the date 510 AD. End-time trepidations continued well into the sixth century, being fueled by earthquakes, warfare, and plagues. It was events rather than end-time calculations that triggered anxieties, as pointed out by Paul Magdalino, “The End of Time in Byzantium,” in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder, Millennium-Studien 16 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 119–133, at 123–125. On apocalypticism during Justinian’s reign, see further Berthold Rubin, “Der Fürst der Dämonen: Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation von Prokops Anekdoten,” *BZ* 44/1–2 (1951): 469–481, Roger D. Scott, “Malalas, The Secret History, and Justinian’s Propaganda,” *DOP* 39 (1985): 99–109, esp. 107–109, and Nicholas de Lange, “Jewish and Christian Messianic Hopes in pre-Islamic Byzantium,” in *Redemption and Resistance: The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and James C. Paget (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 274–284, at 279–283.

Apocalyptic expectations did not only peak around the year 500 AD, but also around 750 AD and especially towards the year 1000 AD. The *Hexaemeron*, commonly attributed to Anastasios of Sinai (d. after 700), advanced an exegetical argument based on Mt 25:6 showing that a literal reading of the said Gospel verse places the arrival of the Messiah in the middle of the eighth century.<sup>248</sup> Mt 25:6 relates that the Messiah would arrive at midnight, which corresponds to the first quarter of the Byzantine day. Given the above-mentioned equivalence of one day with one thousand years, the first quarter of the seventh day equates to the year 6250 AM, that is, to the mid-eighth century.<sup>249</sup> Much more attention gained the midpoint of the seventh millennium, which is approximate to the year 1000 AD.<sup>250</sup> Nikētas David the Paphlagonian presented various calculations, of which one demonstrates that the end of the world would arrive around the significant number 6500 (= 991/992 AD according to the Byzantine calendar).<sup>251</sup> I. Ševčenko and P. Magdalino have published and discussed further evidence that explicitly promoted the view that the end of the world would occur a thousand years after Christ's incarnation (or resurrection).<sup>252</sup>

The *Dioptra of Philip the Monk* explicitly rejects this computation. It denies that the *synteleia* would transpire 6000 years after the creation, since this timeframe had already elapsed at the end of the eleventh century when the *Dioptra* was composed. For the same reason, it rejects the millenarian reading of Rv 20:1–6, according to which the end times would materialize

<sup>248</sup> See Clement A. Kuehn and John D. Baggarly, eds., *Anastasios of Sinai: Hexaemeron*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 278 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 2007), 210.119–139 (lib. VII, cap. II.1). See further Paul Magdalino, "The year 1000 in Byzantium," in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. idem (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 233–270, at 246, idem, "Το τέλος του χρόνου στο Βυζάντιο," 28, and idem, "The End of Time in Byzantium," 128.

<sup>249</sup> The year 6250 AM corresponds to 741/742 AD according to the Byzantine calendar and to 757/758 AD according to the Alexandrian calendar. It is unclear which calendar the author adopted.

<sup>250</sup> See Magdalino, "Το τέλος του χρόνου στο Βυζάντιο," 29–30 and Magdalino, "The year 1000 in Byzantium," who has demonstrated that Byzantium saw millenarian anxieties around the year 1000. See further Carolina Cupane, "The Heavenly City: Religious and Secular Visions of the Other World in Byzantine Literature," in *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Christine Angelidi and George T. Calofonos (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 53–68, at 57–58, who suggests that the significant increase of heavenly visions dating to the tenth century was due to millenarian concerns.

<sup>251</sup> Leendert G. Westerink, "Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World," in *Μελετήματα στη Μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα; Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessaloniki: Ἐκτύπωσις ὑπὸ Ε. Σφακιανάκη καὶ Υἱῶν, 1975), 177–195, at 192, ll.30–38. See further Cyril Mango, "Le temps dans les commentaires byzantins de l'Apocalypse," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIF–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris 9–12 mars 1981*, ed. Jean-Marie Leroux, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 604 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984), 431–438, at 435–436, Magdalino, "The year 1000 in Byzantium," 269, and Wolfram Brandes, "Endzeiterwartung im Jahre 1009 a.D.?" in *Konflikt und Bewältigung: die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*, ed. Thomas Pratsch, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 32 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 301–320, 314. For the Byzantine calendar, which was widely held by the end of the tenth century, see Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 111–128.

<sup>252</sup> Ihor Ševčenko, "Unpublished Byzantine texts on the end of the world about the year 1000 AD," *TM* 14 (2002): 561–578 and Paul Magdalino, "Une prophétie inédite des environs de l'an 965 attribuée à Léon le Philosophe (MS Karakallou 14, f.253r–254r.)," *TM* 14 (2002): 391–402.

a thousand years after the incarnation (or resurrection). It argues instead that the time of the end solely depends upon the number of the righteous souls being made full, following Rv 14:1–5.<sup>253</sup> A different interpretation is reported by John Tzetzēs, who—in the middle of the twelfth—testifies to the expectation that Constantinople would be destroyed prior to its millennial anniversary: “Woe you, o Seven-Hilled City, for thou shall not be a thousand years old.”<sup>254</sup> Once the turn of the eleventh century had left millenarian expectations unfulfilled,<sup>255</sup> the notion of a thousand-year rule was apparently transferred upon the Queen of Cities. This meant that the *synteleia* was postponed for about another 180 years. Yet the fall of Constantinople in 1204 shattered this interpretation.

By the late thirteenth century new apocalyptic expectations were voiced. Most notably, the *Prediction of Andritzopoulos* argues that the gematric value of the Greek word for cross (σταυρός), which amounts to 1271, has been fulfilled during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–1282). The fulfillment of this symbolic number indicates the irreversible destruction of the *basileia tōn Rhomaiōn* and the Church, unleashing the Antichrist and with him the end of times.<sup>256</sup> Finally, following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, apocalyptic speculations climaxed with even the Patriarch, Gennadios Scholarios, endorsing the view that the apocalypse was to occur shortly, namely at the end of the seventh millennium, that is, around the year 1492 AD.<sup>257</sup>

These largely computational predictions could, at best, propose a likely date, which, however, repeatedly failed to materialize. The New Testament advise, thus, remained valid insofar as the exact time of the end continued to be elusive. Since the *absolute* date of the end

<sup>253</sup> *Dioptra* III.6 (pp.142, l.4–144, l.24), esp. 144, ll.23–24: ὁπόταν τοίνυν πληρωθῇ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐκείνων [scil. τῶν ἀγίων καὶ δικαίων τε τῶν εὐσεβῶς βιούντων] ἐκδέχου τὴν συντέλειαν αἰῶνος τοῦ παρόντος. | “Whenever then the number of those [i.e., saints and just and who live piously] shall be made full, expect the consummation of the present age!”

<sup>254</sup> Tzetzēs, *Historia*, 370, l.663 and Pietro A. Leone, ed., *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972), 88, l.9 (Epist. 59): οὐαὶ σοι, ὦ ἐπτάλοφε, ὅτι οὐ χιλιάσεις. See further Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1980), 212.

<sup>255</sup> For apocalyptic expectations around the year 1000 AD in Byzantium, see also Wolfram Brandes, “Liudprand von Cremona (Legatio cap.39–41) und eine bisher unbachtete west-östliche Korrespondenz über die Bedeutung des Jahres 1000 a.D.,” *BZ* 93/2 (2000): 435–463 and idem, “Endzeiterwartung im Jahre 1009,” as well as Magdalino, “The year 1000 in Byzantium,” and idem, “Postscript,” in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. Jonathan Shepard, The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500 (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 61–63.

<sup>256</sup> *PraedAndritz* ll.2–8.

<sup>257</sup> Louis Petit, Martin Jugie and Xenophon A. Sidéridès, eds., *Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, Vol.4 (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Press, 1935), 511–512. See further Christopher J. G. Turner, “Pages from Late Byzantine Philosophy,” *BZ* 57/2 (1964): 346–373, at 369–371, Podskalsky, “Marginalien,” 357, and Antonio Rigo, “L’anno 7000, la fine del mondo e l’Impero cristiano. Nota su alcuni passi di Giuseppe Briennio, Simeone di Tessalonica e Gennadio Scolario,” in *La cattura della fine. Variazioni dell’escatologia in regime di cristianità*, ed. Giuseppe Ruggieri, Testi e ricerche di Scienze religiose, Nuova serie 7 (Genova: Marietti, 1992), 151–185.

could hardly be reckoned, many attempts were made to establish its *relative* date. A more authoritative and more reliable means to learn about the unknown time of the apocalypse was to study the signs of the end as well as their sequence.

## NARRATIVE SEQUENCES

The apocalyptic tradition in Byzantium provided its audience with a rather coherent chronology of the end times. Part and parcel of this chronology are the motifs pertaining to natural catastrophes and moral decay derived from canonical scripture. Natural calamities amount to phenomena such as earthquakes and famines (e.g., Mt 24:7, Lk 21:11), while moral decadence appears particularly in conjunction with pseudo-prophets, who pervert orthodoxy (e.g., Mt 24:11, Mk 13:22, Rv 19:20).<sup>258</sup> The potent imagery of the canonical signs of the end from *Revelation* and the synoptic apocalypse (Mt 24, Mk 13, Lk 21) were arranged into a successive account, which by the eighth century had developed into a standard narrative of the future. This narrative is most frequently put forward in pseudonymous prophecies attributed to the Church Father Methodios of Patara (d. 311), the Prophet Daniel or the Emperor Leo VI (d. 912).<sup>259</sup> Although this narrative was continuously refashioned and updated, its central themes remained stable, persisting even until today in some circles of the Byzantine orthodox tradition.

The narrative revolves around three major groups of protagonists: the ideal emperor(s), the eschatological peoples of the north, and the Antichrist. After an initial period of hardship, usually suffered at the hands of a Muslim foe, a series of Byzantine emperors is described to appear, who are to carry out a particular set of eschatological tasks, namely (I) to defeat all foreign enemies, usually the Muslim foe, with or without the help of the Blond Nations (i.e., the Latins); (II) to inaugurate a subsequent period of peace and prosperity, with benefactions granted to the populace and the Church; (III) to journey to Jerusalem, where the last emperor would abdicate his imperial dignity to Christ.

<sup>258</sup> For further references, see Brandes, “Anastasios ó Δίκτοπος,” 45.

<sup>259</sup> In general, it can be said that Leonine prophecies were written in verse (in emulation of the *Sibylline Oracles*), while visions attributed to Methodios or Daniel were most often composed in prose (in emulation of the canonical *Book of Daniel*). This literary distinction is of merely heuristic value and should not be taken as a firm rule. Titles of various prophecies conflate these three authoritative names, indicating that authors and manuscript copyists did not strictly differentiate among them.

It depended on each apocalypticist's discretion to reveal how many emperors would accomplish these tasks. While the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* refers to only one last emperor,<sup>260</sup> virtually all subsequent Medieval Greek apocalypses, such as the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool* or *Last Vision of Daniel*, describe a sequence of emperors.<sup>261</sup> From among these anticipated rulers excel a varying number of ideal monarchs who, in turn, realize the eschatological tasks. The focal point usually rests with the *basileus* who acts as a liberator and Savior-Emperor, thus fulfilling (I).<sup>262</sup>

Adjacent to the Savior-Emperor, either preceding or succeeding it, is the arrival and defeat of the eschatological peoples of the north. This apocalyptic *topos* had gradually evolved from the eschatological figure of Gog/Magog (Ez 38–39, Rv 20:8) starting in the fourth century.<sup>263</sup> By the seventh century, the biblical notion of Gog/Magog had been associated with Alexander the Great's northern peoples and identified with particular ethnic groups.<sup>264</sup> Subsequently, the identity of these peoples was variously established, ranging from the Huns and the Kök Turks to the Rus' and the Bulgars.<sup>265</sup>

<sup>260</sup> The Pseudo-Methodian motif of a Savior-Emperor markedly differs in its functions from previous descriptions of eschatological emperors, as can be found, for instance, in the *SibTibGr* ll.136–208. The debate whether this *topos* originated with Pseudo-Methodios or whether it originated in earlier, now lost, authors does not need to detain us here. For this issue, see esp. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 151–184, Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* 3 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2000), 39–53, and Lutz Greisiger, *Messias – Endkaiser – Antichrist: Politische apokalyptik unter Juden und Christen des Nahen Ostens am Vorabend der arabischen Eroberung*, *Orientalia Biblica et Christiana* 21 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 172–180.

<sup>261</sup> For the case of the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool*, see John Wortley, “The Life of St. Andrew the Fool,” in *Papers presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1967*, Vol.1, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970), 315–319, at 318. Since later Byzantine prophecies tended to divide the initially unitary motif of the Pseudo-Methodian Last Roman Emperor, it is often more correct to speak of a series of last emperors rather than of the Last Emperor. For further detail about the subsequent development of the ‘Last Roman Emperor’ motif, see Kraft, “The Last Roman Emperor Topos.” That said, it should be kept in mind that the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*—and with it the unitary last emperor motif—was continuously read, copied, and revised in Byzantium, as evidenced by the manuscript tradition. Consequently, the motif of the last emperor(s) remained ambiguous.

<sup>262</sup> John Wortley proposed the alternative term ‘warrior-emperor/king’. See John Wortley, “The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970): 45–59 and idem. “The Literature of Catastrophe,” *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 4 (1977): 1–17.

<sup>263</sup> See Emeri van Donzel and Andrea Schmidt, eds., *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Brill's Inner Asian Library 22 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), 16–31.

<sup>264</sup> See Lutz Greisiger, “Opening the Gates of the North in 627: War, Anti-Byzantine Sentiment and Apocalyptic Expectancy in the Near East Prior to the Arab Invasion,” in *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, ed. Wolfram Brandes, Felicitas Schmieder and Rebekka Voß (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 63–79.

<sup>265</sup> It is well known that Jerome identified the Huns with the peoples enclosed by Alexander the Great in his *Epistula* 77, in Isidor Hilberg, ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae, Vol.2: Epistulae LXXI–CXX*, CSEL 55 (Vienna/Leipzig: F. Tempsky/G. Freytag, 1912), 37–49, at 45–46 (cap. 8), while he identified the Scythians with the descendants of Gog in his *Commentary on Ezekiel*, in François Glorie, ed., *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera: Part I. Opera exegetica 4. Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*, CCSL 75 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), 522–535, at 525 (cap. 38, l.1477). See

Characteristic for Byzantine apocalypticism is the marked emphasis on the imperial capital. Many Medieval Greek apocalypses prophesy how Constantinople will be besieged yet saved from conquest.<sup>266</sup> Other texts focus on its final destruction in anticipation of the end of the world.<sup>267</sup> It has been duly noted that Byzantine apocalypses are, to a large extent, a Constantinopolitan genre and as such lay great importance on the future fate of the Queen of Cities.<sup>268</sup>

The final, climactic role in the end-time narrative was reserved for the Antichrist, whose origin, deeds, and eventual destruction would be described in varying detail. In general, it can be said that the later the prophecy, the shorter the descriptions of the Antichrist. In late Byzantine historical apocalypses, written after 1204, the attention rests most often with the fortunes of the empire and the emperor(s).<sup>269</sup> It appears that with the progressive decline of imperial power, the curiosities and anxieties concerning the arrival of the Antichrist were steadily reduced. One needs to remember that the Antichrist was generally believed to be a future emperor, as attested by the *Commentary on Revelation* by Andrew of Caesarea (d. 614),<sup>270</sup> by *Pseudo-Hippolytos on the End of the World*<sup>271</sup> as well as by a number of prophecies such as the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople*.<sup>272</sup> That is to say, the decrease of imperial power might have minimized the unease and ambiguity concerning the emperor to be both eventual savior and potential Son of Perdition.<sup>273</sup> With the defeat of the Antichrist the standard narrative of the future comes to an

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further, van Donzel and Schmidt, eds., *Gog and Magog*, 13 and Greisiger, “Opening the Gates of the North in 627,” 65. It is noteworthy that Andrew of Caesarea in his *Commentary on Revelation*, chap. 63 combines both interpretations testifying to “some who consider these to be the Scythians, the northmost peoples, which we call the Huns [...]” – see Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 223.8–9 (cap. 63): εἶναι δὲ ταῦτά τινες μὲν Σκυθικὰ ἔθνη νομίζουσιν ὑπερβόρεια, ἅπερ καλοῦμεν Οὐννικά, [...]. Furthermore, it has been shown that Gog/Magog were identified with the Kök Turks during the reign of Herakleios, see Greisiger, “Opening the Gates of the North in 627,” 74–78. On the identification with the Rus’, see Leo Diaconus, *Historia*, 148–150 (IX.6). See further, Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 46 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1946), 166–168 and Brandes, “Anastasios ὁ Δίκωρος,” 35–36. Cf. *Patria*, II, 176–177 (§II.47). Concerning the possible identification with the Bulgars, see W. Bousset’s interpretation of *UltVisDan* §§34–35 in Bousset, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,” 290.

<sup>266</sup> See, for instance, *ApcMeth* XIII.7–10 and *DiegDan* II.9–V.17.

<sup>267</sup> Among others, see *VisioDan* IV.21–23, *ApcAndr* ll.3989–3999 (864D–865A), *UltVisDan* §§69–70.

<sup>268</sup> Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des «Patria»*, Bibliothèque byzantine 8 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 328.

<sup>269</sup> A notable example is the *VisDanSanHom*.

<sup>270</sup> Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 137, ll.9–16 (cap. 36) and esp. 189, ll.14–21 (cap. 54). These references are discussed below in n.369.

<sup>271</sup> *Ps-Hippol* §20.

<sup>272</sup> *ApcLeonConst* §16, ll.430–435 and §20, ll.551–552.

<sup>273</sup> This reduction of anxiety stands in stark contrast to developments in the West, where the same ambiguity—associated with the papacy—intensified throughout the High Middle Ages due to the increase of papal authority. See Bernard McGinn, “Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,” *Church History* 47/2 (1978): 155–173.

end. Historical apocalypses seldom go beyond this point.<sup>274</sup> Some sequential variations notwithstanding, Byzantine apocalypticism presented a coherently structured history of the future. The following representative scheme can be drawn up.<sup>275</sup>

Source	Narrative succession of motifs					
<i>ApcMeth</i>	<b>A</b> (XIII.11–18)	<b>B</b> (XIII.19–21)	<b>C</b> (XIV.2–6)	/	<b>E</b> (XIV.1, 6–13)	<b>F</b> (XIV.14)
<i>ApcAndr</i>	<b>A</b> (ll.3824–3858)	<b>C</b> (ll.3913–3920)	<b>D</b> (ll.3989–3999)	<b>B</b> (ll.4050–4065)	<b>E</b> (ll.4069–4101)	<b>F</b> (ll.4118–4127)
<i>UltVisDan</i>	<b>B</b> (§§34–35)	<b>A</b> (§§47–59)	<b>C</b> (§§60–61)	<b>D</b> (§§69–70)	<b>E</b> (§§74–78)	<b>F</b> (§§83–85)
<i>ApcLeonConst</i>	<b>B</b> (§14)	<b>A</b> (§15)	/	/	<b>E</b> (§16–21)	<b>F</b> (§22–29)

ABBREVIATIONS:

**A** motif: Savior-Emperor's victory and benefactions

**B** motif: arrival of the eschatological peoples

**C** motif: imperial abdication

**D** motif: destruction of Constantinople

**E** motif: arrival and deeds of the Antichrist

**F** motif: resurrection / last judgment

In all likelihood, knowledge of this standard narrative conditioned the Byzantines' confidence to live in the end times. Imperial eschatology (*Reichseschatologie*) upheld that Byzantium was the last divinely ordained kingdom in history; it was the last of the four world empires known from Dn 2 and 7.<sup>276</sup> By placing the Byzantine emperorship adjacent to the Antichrist, Medieval Greek apocalypses implicitly vindicated this notion. This exclusivity must have evoked consolation if not altogether pride. In addition, the terror and horror of the anticipated calamitous events must have been reduced by the organized and meaningful flow of

<sup>274</sup> A notable exception being *ApcLeonConst* §§22–29.

<sup>275</sup> For an alternative reconstruction of the narrative sequences of ten Greek and Syriac apocalypses, see Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos," 245–249. This earlier reconstruction of mine contains some inaccuracies.

<sup>276</sup> See Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, 4–76, idem, "Représentation du temps dans l'eschatologie impériale byzantine," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, III<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris 9–12 mars 1981*, ed. Jean-Marie Leroux, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 604 (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984), 439–450, at 440–443, and idem, "La profezia di Daniele (cc. 2 e 7) negli scrittori dell'Impero romano d'Oriente," in *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1986), 309–320. On the Greek origin of the universal history in Dn 2, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Origins of Universal History," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie III*, 12/2 (1982): 533–560.

events, which allowed the audience some amount of cognitive control.<sup>277</sup> Based on the standardized sequence of events, a perceptive Byzantine would have felt competent to discern how close the end of times was and what to expect next. For instance, if there had not yet been an imperial abdication in Jerusalem, then the end was, arguably, not that imminent.

## CHAPTER 5: TEXTUAL VELOCITY AND TEMPORAL ANOMALIES

At a first glance, Byzantine historical prophecies present time as proceeding regularly in chronological order. Yet, upon a more careful inspection, the continuous flow of time is marked by phenomenological and physical distortions. For one, the perception of apocalyptic time that these prophecies advance is dependent upon the narrative speed with which the events and personages are presented. Furthermore, the end of time was expected to undergo physical distortions, with the natural duration of days and hours being suspended. In the following, I elaborate on these two aspects that pertain to the velocity of apocalyptic time.

### NARRATIVE SPEED

Byzantine historical apocalypses present narratives that describe events and characters at different lengths and therefore give the reader a different sense of magnitude in terms of significance as well as of the passing of time. In general, it can be said that the greater detail an author provides, the slower the narrative proceeds; conversely, the lesser detail is provided, the quicker events appear to pass. More precisely, the perception of time that a narrative evokes depends on the relationship of the (1) narrated time, the duration of an event within the narrative, to the (2) narrating time, the duration it takes the narrator to recount the event. The ratio of these two variables establishes the narrative speed, which accelerates when events are presented in summary and decelerates when events are depicted scenically.<sup>278</sup> Direct speech, for instance, is a scenic device that approximates the actual narrating time with the duration of the

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Paul J. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum* 37/3 (1962): 339–357, at 344–345.

<sup>278</sup> See Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay on Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 93–95 and Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin: Mouton, 1982), 54–59.

event and thus temporarily slows down the narrative speed.<sup>279</sup> While many Byzantine apocalypses present the reader/listener with direct speeches such as divine commands and prayers, the general mode of presentation consists of summaries.

Even within these summaries the narrative speed in Byzantine apocalypses can differ significantly. For instance, in the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool* the narrator prophecies the deeds of a series of eschatological rulers, for whom we are given the anticipated lengths of their reigns. Each reign is described in varying detail. If we quantify the narrating time of each description with its word count and divide it by the narrated time, then we can establish a ratio that indicates the respective narrative speed of each description. The lower the ratio, the higher the speed. By comparing the different narrative speeds one can establish the rhythm of the prophecy. The following chart can be drawn up for the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool*:

Reference	Motif	Narrated time	Word count	Ratio
ll.3824–3858	a victorious emperor rules	32 years	365	11,4
ll.3859–3884	a son of lawlessness rules	3 ½ years	270	77,1
ll.3885–3906	a pagan emperor rules	unspecified	219	N/A
ll.3907–3912	an Ethiopian emperor rules	12 years	61	5,1
ll.3913–3920	an Arabian emperor rules	1 year	82	82
ll.3921–3923	three young men reign in peace	150 days	20	48,8

The narrative continues, yet without providing further references to the narrated time. Although being merely partial, this chart shows a markedly irregular narrative speed that literally jumps between acceleration and deceleration. This irregularity is further amplified by the fact that within each narrated timeframe particular brief events are developed in greater detail. The question arises: which effect might these rapid shifts have had on its audience?

One might doubt whether these shifts are of any importance at all, since the narrated time periods used here comprise apocalyptically connoted numbers: 32, 12, 3 ½; they are *topoi*. I would respond that the validity, historicity, and phenomenological impact of a motif (such as a time period) are not *a priori* diminished by its topical nature. *Topoi* are rhetorical devices that contextualize events and characters that *can* be fictional; however, they are usually applied to

<sup>279</sup> See Irene J.F. de Jong and René Nünlist, eds., *Time in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*, Vol.2, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava 291 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), 11.

historical facts.<sup>280</sup> Moreover, the metatextual impact a narrative has is not affected by issues of historicity. Even an ahistorical, allegorical interpretation would have to account for the fluctuations in the narrative speed. That is to say, the topical durations can be taken *literally*, just as an unbiased Byzantine audience would have done.

The fluctuating narrative speeds result in an erratic rhythm that must have evoked a curious uncertainty about what expect next. Such a rhythm may have served the aesthetic means of enforcing a suspenseful anxiety with the future, as volatile shifts disorient an audience and, concomitantly, generate a climate of uncertainty that begs for clarification. Arguably, the urge to overcome this disorientation and ambivalence inflated the fascination with apocalyptic prophecies. Thus, the narrative speed of Byzantine apocalypses could influence the audience's interest in future time.

In addition to arousing interest, the capricious transitions in the narrative speed are potent in causing psychological bewilderment, which can evoke a sense of helpless vulnerability in one kind of audience, while it may provoke an exhilarating zeal for insurrection in another.<sup>281</sup> It is certainly a precarious endeavor to speculate about Byzantine reader responses given that such effects are not only culturally conditioned but also highly dependent on the individual reader. Among others, they depend on his/her intertextual horizon of expectations, his/her experience of reading a particular manuscript,<sup>282</sup> his/her reading a text for the first time (e.g., shock effects are ephemeral and disappear if a passage is reread)<sup>283</sup>, his/her personal tolerance

<sup>280</sup> I agree, in this respect, with Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit*, Millennium-Studien 6 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 364–371, esp. 367. Similarly, Olivier Delouis, “Topos et typos, ou les dessous vétérotestamentaires de la rhétorique hagiographique à Byzance aux VIII<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Hypothèses* 6 (2003): 235–248, at 240 and Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 135, 247 presume that a *topos* does not necessarily invalidate the reliability of a given passage, while Paul Magdalino, “Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik,” *Speculum* 58/2 (1983): 326–346, at 328–329 points out that *topoi* may serve to emphasize what was said and to convey a sense of order and security by repeating commonplaces. See further Paolo A. Cherchi, “Tradition and Topoi in Medieval Literature,” *Critical Inquiry* 3/2 (1976): 281–294.

<sup>281</sup> Kathryn Hume, “Narrative Speed in Contemporary Fiction,” *Narrative* 13/2 (2005): 105–124, at 119 argues that narrative rapidity can call forth a variety of audience responses “varying from irritation and bewilderment to exhilaration.” Although Hume discusses narrative speed in contemporary fiction novels, much of her analysis can be applied to Byzantine apocalyptic narratives. Her discussion is pertinent not because apocalypses can be viewed as fictions, but because the techniques of generating narrative speed that are at work in fiction novels can also be found in Medieval Greek apocalypses, namely (a) multiplying elements while, at the same time, (b) leaving out meaningful transitions, and (c) creating puzzling anomalies.

<sup>282</sup> The legibility of a manuscript, the amount of tachygraphic abbreviations, the ductus of the scribe, etc. are medium-specific characteristics that can influence the narrative speed, as correctly pointed out by Jan Baetens and Kathryn Hume, “Speed, Rhythm, Movement: A Dialogue on K. Hume’s Article ‘Narrative Speed,’” *Narrative* 14/3 (2006): 349–355, at. 351. A similar argument can be made with regard to the medium-specific characteristics of listening to a prophecy.

<sup>283</sup> Hume, “Narrative Speed in Contemporary Fiction,” 107, 120, Baetens and Hume, “Speed, Rhythm, Movement,” 350.

when losing control of events. The erratic rhythm of the narrative speed causes, in a first reading, irritation because it upsets the accustomed velocity of events. The irregular narrative speed puts into question the temporal order of the world by confronting its audience with a temporal anti-order.<sup>284</sup> How the Byzantines reacted to such a deliberate confusion can hardly be ascertained, although highly likely response patterns can certainly be drawn up. What seems certain, is that the proximate effect of radically alternating narrative speeds was to suspend and thus to criticize the accustomed order of worldly time.<sup>285</sup>

### SHORTENING OF DAYS

It can be argued that fluctuations in the narrative speed merely pertain to the subjective sensation of the flow of time. The objective passing of time is not affected. In fact, apocalyptic narratives appear to present the course of history as a succession of homogeneous years; the duration of future time is understood to be as uniform as the durations of the present time. There is, however, one exceptional occurrence that upsets this objective uniformity: the phenomenon of the “shortening of days,” which is based on the following Gospel account:

Mt 24:22 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ· διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι. (cf. Mk 13:20)

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And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened. (KJV)

This phenomenon is referred to in a number of Byzantine apocalypses as, for instance, in the early sixth-century *Oracle of Baalbek*, in the mid-thirteenth-century *Last Vision of Daniel*, the late eleventh-century *Dioptra of Philip the Monk*, and in the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople*, whose current form was probably redacted in the course of the thirteenth century.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Hume, “Narrative Speed in Contemporary Fiction,” 113. Cf. Kathryn Hume, *Aggressive Fictions: Reading the Contemporary American Novel* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 17, where narrative velocity is associated with inciting rebellious responses in the reader, who is compelled to escape the oppression and intimidation conveyed by the fast-paced narrative.

<sup>285</sup> It remains to be investigated if this thesis can be supported with other examples, which are, unfortunately, rare. In contrast to the analyzed section of the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool*, most apocalypses remain vague or altogether uncommitted on providing exact durations and thus frustrate such analysis.

<sup>286</sup> Concerning the date of composition of the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople*, see Riccardo Maisano, ed./trans., *L'apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli*, Nobiltà dello Spirito, Nuova Serie 3 (Naples: Morano Editore, 1975),

*SibTibGr* ll.178–180 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ γενεᾷ κολοβωθισόνται τὰ ἔτη ὥσπερ μῆνες καὶ οἱ μῆνες ὥσπερ ἑβδομάδες καὶ ἑβδομάδες ὥς ἡμέραι καὶ ἡμέραι ὥσπερ ὥραι.

In the ninth generation the years will be shortened like months, and the months like weeks, and the weeks like days, and the days like hours. (Alexander, trans., *Oracle of Baalbek*, 28)

*UltVisDan* §§78–80 (78) καὶ κρατήσῃ ὁ τρισκατάρατος δαίμων ἔτη τρία ἥμισυ. (79) τότε ὁ χρόνος ὥς μὴν διαβήσεται, ὁ μὴν ὥς ἑβδομάς, ἡ ἑβδομάς ὥς ἡμέρα, ἡ ἡμέρα ὥς ὥρα καὶ ἡ ὥρα ὥς στιγμή διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. (80) μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν τριῶν ἥμισυ χρόνων βρέξει ὁ θεὸς πῦρ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ κατακαήσεται ἡ γῆ πῆχεις τριάκοντα.

(78) And the thrice-accursed demon will rule for three and a half years. (79) Then the year will pass like a month, and the month like a week, the week like a day, and the day like an hour, and the hour like a moment for the sake of the elect and the servants of God. (80) After the completion of the three and a half years God will rain fire onto the earth and the earth will burn thirty cubits deep.

*Dioptra* III.6 (p.150, ll.27–31) χρόνους γὰρ τρεῖς καὶ ἥμισυ κρατήσῃ ὁ ἀλάστωρ, καί, εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσε Κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θέλων σωθῆναι πάντας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐκ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου, διὰ δὲ μὴν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κολοβώσῃ ταύτας γε·

For three and a half years the avenger [i.e., the Antichrist] will rule and were the benevolent Lord not to shorten those days, wanting all to be saved, there should no flesh be saved from the [wicked] wretch, but for the elect He will indeed shorten these [days].

*ApcLeonConst* §21, ll.562–567 ὁ δὲ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς κολοβώσῃν ἔχει τὰ ἔτη καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσει αὐτὰς ὀλίγας καὶ κωφάς, ὥς καὶ προεῖπον ἐγὼ Δανιὴλ καὶ προέθηκα, ὅτι ποιήσῃν ἔχει τὰ ἔτη τρία ὥς μῆνας τρεῖς, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας ὥς τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας ὥς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὥς ὥρας τρεῖς.

But the benevolent God will shorten his [i.e., the Antichrist's] years and days and will make them few and light, as I, Daniel, foretold and set forth that He will make three years as three months, and three months as three weeks, and three weeks as three days, and three days as three hours.

The *Dioptra* of Philip the Monk and the *Apocalypse* of Leo of Constantinople both reaffirm the reason for the shortening of days that is given in Mt 24:22 (Mk 13:20), namely that the days are shortened for the benefit of mankind.<sup>287</sup> This is the predominant explanation provided in the

20, who dates an early redaction to the ninth century and a later one to the twelfth century. Cf. Alexander Kazhdan, “Book review of Riccardo Maisano, *L’Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli*,” *VV* 38 (1977): 231–233, at 233, who argues for a twelfth-century date. However, the reference in *ApcLeonConst* ll.58–59 (καὶ κυριοῦσιν τὸν ἄζυμον | “and they will affirm the unleavened [bread]”) appears to allude to the Latin occupation of Constantinople. The final version—as edited by R. Maisano—seems thus to have been redacted in the later thirteenth century.

<sup>287</sup> The motif is briefly discussed in Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 209–211.

Byzantine tradition, which may come as a surprise since a cosmological explanation would appear easy to arrive at, given the imagery of the “rolling up of the heavens” in Rv 6:14. With the collapse of the heavens, time would have to change, since time was generally considered—following Aristotle—to be measured movement.<sup>288</sup> In particular, Plato had proposed that time is dependent upon the movement of the celestial spheres.<sup>289</sup> Thus, if the heavens were to disintegrate, time would have to change concomitantly. The Byzantine commentaries on *Revelation*, however, avoid any such explanation. Most notably, there is no connection being made between the “rolling up of the heavens” and the “shortening of the days” in the commentary by Andrew of Caesarea (d. 614), who was the most authoritative exegete on *Revelation* in Byzantium.

Andrew understands the “rolling up” in four possible ways: it can refer to (1) the unknown time of the Second Coming, (2) the convulsive anguish suffered by the heavenly powers on account of human sinfulness (which is how Oikoumenios had understood this verse a few decades earlier),<sup>290</sup> (3) a change for the better, or (4) the complete revelation of future blessings.<sup>291</sup> There was, therefore, not even the attempt to explain the shortening of days in cosmological terms. Instead, Andrew considers the shortening of days to refer to the five-month period of torture suffered by the apocalyptic locust plague of Rv 9:1–5.<sup>292</sup> If interpreted literally the five-month period indicates a rather short-term interval, which Andrew takes to correspond to the reduced timespan announced in Mt 24:22 and Mk 13:20.<sup>293</sup>

In contrast to the apocalyptic tradition, Simplicios had testified to the expectation that the heavens should show signs of old age if its end was anywhere near. In a well-known polemical passage directed against Philoponos, Simplicios objects that “[t]hat man [i.e., Philoponos] thinks that the heaven came to be over six thousand years ago and he is certainly pleased to suppose

<sup>288</sup> Aristoteles, *Physica* IV.11, 219b1–2.

<sup>289</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 37d–38d.

<sup>290</sup> Herman C. Hoskier, ed., *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 23 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1928), 94 or Marc de Groote, ed., *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, *Tractio Exegetica Graeca* 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 130.332–336 (cap. IV.15.6). Translation in John. N. Suggit, trans., *Oecumenius. Commentary on the Apocalypse*, *Fathers of the Church* 112 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 75.

<sup>291</sup> Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 70–71 (cap. 18). Translation in Eugenia S. Constantinou, trans., *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary on the Apocalypse*, *Fathers of the Church* 123 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 99.

<sup>292</sup> Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 97, ll.17–20 (cap. 26). Translation in Constantinou, trans., *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary*, 121.

<sup>293</sup> In contrast, Oikoumenios suggests a different, mystical (μυστικῶς τινι), i.e., non-literal interpretation. Accordingly, the five-month period denotes not an exact time interval but a short period of severe punishment, which will be followed by an eternity of less severe chastisement. See Hoskier, ed., *Commentary of Oecumenius*, 113 or de Groote, ed., *Oecumenii Commentarius*, 148.334 (cap. V.19.3). Translation in Suggit, trans., *Oecumenius*, 89.

that it is now in its last days. How is it, then, that it has given us no indication that it is past its prime and heading towards its end? In fact, even if nothing else, we should certainly notice at least that it is moving slower if it is reaching the extremity of old age. But as things are, it is not making the days or nights or hours any longer now.”<sup>294</sup>

A mathematically inclined mind might observe that the acceleration rates, implicit in the description of the shortening of days, are not constant and, therefore, introduce a contradiction. For if one shortens a year into a month, time is shortened by the factor of 12, while a month is shortened into a week by the factor of 4. There are no constant acceleration rates in the series of the shortening of days. The following chart serves to illustrate how a constant acceleration would behave in contrast to the variable acceleration presented in the sources.

Constant acceleration rate (hypothetical):			Variable acceleration rates (provided in apocalyptic narratives):		
Initial time interval	Acceleration factor	Reduced time interval	Initial time interval	Acceleration factor	Reduced time interval
1 year (= 12 months)	12	1 month	1 year (= 12 months)	12	1 month
1 month (= 4 week)	12	1/3 (= 4/12) week	1 month (= 4 week)	4	1 week
1 week (= 7 days)	12	0.58 (= 7/12) day	1 week (= 7 days)	7	1 day
1 day (= 24 hours)	12	2 (= 24/12) hours	1 day (= 24 hours)	24	1 hour

The descriptions of the shortening of days presuppose erratic acceleration rates. These irregular alterations may yet again serve to evoke a determined but capricious variability, similar to the erratic rhythm of the narrative speed discussed above. While linguistically the shortening of days suggests stability from *one* temporal unit to the next, arithmetically the motif portrays random variations of acceleration and deceleration. Unfortunately, the apocalyptic tradition remains silent on such an arithmetic reading and, thus, it remains unclear whether these chronometric fluctuations were noted and appreciated.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>294</sup> Richard McKirahan, trans., *Simplicius: On Aristotle, Physics 8.6–10*, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (London: Duckworth, 2001), 121. Edition in Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros*, 1335.5–11: ὁ τοίνυν οὐρανὸς πρὸ ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ πρὸς ἑνιαυτῶν, ὡς οὗτος οἶεται, γεγονῶς καὶ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτοις ὧν ἤδη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πάντως αὐτὸν ἀρέσκει, πῶς οὐδὲν παρακμαστικὸν καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν ὀδεῖον ἡμῖν ἐνεδείξατο; καίτοι κἂν μηδὲν ἄλλο, πάντως γε κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν ἀργότερος ὥφελε νοεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἔσχατον γῆρας τυγχάνων. καίτοι οὔτε τὰς ἡμέρας οὔτε τὰς νύκτας οὔτε τὰς ὥρας μακροτέρας ποιεῖ νῦν, [...]

<sup>295</sup> I thank Jan Kuijpers for having brought the arithmetical reading of the shortening of days to my attention.

What the sources do make explicit, is that the days will be shortened for the benefit of the elect, so that suffering shall be minimized.<sup>296</sup> The underlying assumption was that suffering causes the perception of time to slow down. To ease this suffering, time would speed up. There is ample evidence that the Byzantines experienced time to slow down in times of hardship. A good witness is John Kaminiatēs who, in his account on the sack of Thessaloniki in 904, talks about the stretching or prolongation of time (τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἐπίτασιν), which he came to experience amidst the horrors of carnage, exposure to the elements, thirst, and fear.<sup>297</sup> Conversely, the shortening, i.e., the speeding up, of time would diminish the suffering and was, therefore, understood as a philanthropic act of relief. As it was expected that the greatest hardship would be suffered during the Antichrist's reign, the shortening of days was most commonly applied to the three-and-a-half-year rule of the Antichrist. Both the *Last Vision of Daniel* and the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople*, reiterate this exegetical tradition, which goes back at least to *Ps-Hippolytos on the End of the World* §35.<sup>298</sup> In sum, it can be said that the shortening of days is a temporal anomaly that is explained in ethical, not in cosmological or mathematical terms.

## CHAPTER 6: TYPOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

Byzantine political apocalypses, as a rule, present an orderly flow of chronologically sequenced events. The narratives usually start either with creation or with a dramatic occurrence and end with the Second Coming. The sequence of events in-between is not merely structured along the linear thread of chronology but also—and arguably more importantly—along the overlapping pattern of typology.

Biblical typology is an interpretative system in which discrete characters and events are understood to semantically denote definite correspondences that constitute world-historical significance. A given correspondence amounts to a set of counterparts that are dispersed throughout time and that refer to one another in a reciprocal manner. This reciprocity is

<sup>296</sup> The same view can be found in the Church Fathers. For references, see Vasileios Tamiōlakēs, *Η διδασκαλία των Πατέρων της Εκκλησίας για τον αντίχριστο (δογματική διερεύνηση)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Thessaloniki, 2011), 271–272.

<sup>297</sup> Gertrud Böhlig, ed., *Ioannis Caminiatae de Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, CFHB 4 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), 49, l.91.

<sup>298</sup> It is noteworthy that in *Ps-Hippolytos'* treatise the notion of the shortening of days is already hinted at in *Ps-Hippol* §33, ll. 5–6: [...] καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας διαφανούσης ἐκδέχονται τὴν νύκτα, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν. | “[...] and when the day dawns they will receive the night, so that they shall repose from their toils.”

qualified insofar as earlier characters or events (*types*) adumbrate their subsequent counterparts (*antitypes*), which, in turn, complete their premonitory heralds.<sup>299</sup> Thus, a unidirectional trajectory towards the future is established, which carries an eschatological import: the later the counterpart, the higher its value and eschatological significance.<sup>300</sup> Put differently, typology is not merely a medium of restoration but of completion.<sup>301</sup> What is more, typological correspondences can be positive or antithetical.<sup>302</sup> Also, they can be extended to multiple protagonists and events allowing the final fulfillment to be repeatedly prefigured in earlier announcements. That said, typologies are most often established between only two counterparts.

Typology forms an essential part of biblical hermeneutics. It has been shown that typological structures had already been used in the Old Testament.<sup>303</sup> In the New Testament further typological correspondences were established that sought to prove the coherence between the Old and the New Testament. The focal point of all NT typologies is Christ, in whom the final consummation of the world was expected to take place. Accordingly, Christ has been presented and explained as a new Adam (Rom 5:14), as a new David (Mt 1:1–17, Acts 2:29–32), as a new Jonah (Mt 12:39–42, Lk 11:29–32) and the like. This coherence was vigorously challenged by Gnostic and Jewish dissensions, against which typological exegesis was further elaborated. But it was only in the course of the fourth century that Antiochene theologians developed typology as a rigorous hermeneutic system.<sup>304</sup> That being said, typology did not only serve apologetic and polemic means in the patristic period. It was also employed in catechetical instruction, in

<sup>299</sup> *Types* and *antitypes* are considered historical facts in biblical hermeneutics, see Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” in idem, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, Theory and History of Literature 9 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11–76, at 28–34 [repr. of: idem, “Figura,” *Archivum romanicum* 22 (1938): 436–489] and Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Vol.1 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 229–231.

<sup>300</sup> Leonhard Goppelt, “Apokalyptik und Typologie bei Paulus,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 89 (1964): 321–344, at 330, 334–344 and idem, *Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, ser. 2, 43 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), 18–19. For a useful overview and adequate defense of Goppelt’s understanding of typology, see Tibor Fabiny, “Leonhard Goppelt és Rudolf Bultmann vitája a tipológiáról,” in *Tanítványok: Tanítványai köszöntik a 85 éves Prőhle Károly professzort, aki - velünk együtt - maga is Tanítvány*, ed. Tamás Fabiny (Budapest: Evangélikus Teológiai Akadémia, 1996), 119–127 [repr. in: idem, “Bibliai tipológia többféle értelmezésben: Rudolf Bultmann, Gerhard von Rad és Leonard Goppelt írása elé,” in *Tipológia és apokaliptika: Rudolf Bultmann, Gerhard von Rad, Leonhard Goppelt*, ed. idem, Hermeneutikai Füzetek 11 (Budapest: Hermeneutikai Kutatóközpont, 1996), 3–14].

<sup>301</sup> Cf. Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities* (London/New York, NY: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997), 42.

<sup>302</sup> Goppelt, “Apokalyptik und Typologie,” 331.

<sup>303</sup> See Goppelt, “Apokalyptik und Typologie,” 334–337 and Goppelt, *Typos*, 23–69. See further Richard M. Davidson, “The Eschatological Hermeneutic of Biblical Typology,” *TheoRhēma* 6/2 (2011): 5–48, at 12–36.

<sup>304</sup> See Jean-Noël Guinot, “La typologie comme technique herméneutique,” in *Figures de l’Ancien Testament chez les Pères*, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 2 (Strasbourg: Centre d’analyse et documentation patristique, 1989), 1–34.

scriptural commentaries, in iconographical depictions as well as in liturgical homilies and hagiography.<sup>305</sup> By such means of habitual application, typology evolved into a mode of thought,<sup>306</sup> which was persistently employed.

Typological hermeneutics originated in biblical exegesis but was gradually extended to sacred history in general. Extra-biblical types were found in notable figures such as Alexander and Constantine the Great, as will be shown below. What is more, typological reasoning did not end with the last book of the Bible or with the patristic period.<sup>307</sup> It remained a living tradition throughout the Byzantine millennium and beyond, especially in prophetic writings. Byzantine apocalypticists continuously incorporated common typologies and devised new ones when (re)constructing the history of the future. In the following, I illustrate this point with a few representative examples.

#### MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS TYPOLOGY

The *Narrative of Daniel*, a prophecy composed in the eighth or ninth century,<sup>308</sup> begins with an oracle that probably relates events surrounding the second Arab siege of Constantinople in 717/718. In this prophecy, three Arab armies are said to approach the imperial capital on different routes. The following is said about one of these armies:

<sup>305</sup> Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 1–7. On the use of typologies in the hymnography of Romanos Melodos and Leontios the Presbyter, see Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects*, esp. 67–105 and Gador-Whyte, *Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium*, esp. 54–101. For its use in hagiography, see Delouis, “Topos et typos,” 246–247.

<sup>306</sup> Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York, NY/London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 80. Cf. Goppelt, “Apokalyptik und Typologie,” 332 (“pneumatische Betrachtungsweise”).

<sup>307</sup> For patristic typology, see esp. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*. For a bibliographical overview on patristic typology, see further Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 238–242.

<sup>308</sup> For the dating of this text, see Klaus Berger, ed./trans., *Die griechische Daniel-Dieges: Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Studia Post-Biblica 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 36, George T. Zervos, “The Apocalypse of Daniel (Ninth Century A.D.): A New Translation and Interpretation,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. by James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983), 755–770, at 756–757, DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 130–141, esp. 139, who all assign this text to the turn of the ninth century. Cf. Cyril Mango, “The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered,” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982): 297–313, 310–313, who dates it to the winter of 717/718 and Willem J. Aerts, “Hagar in the so-called Daniel-Diegesis and in other Byzantine Writings,” in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, ed. Martin Goodman, George H. van Kooten and Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), 465–474, at 468, who situates the *terminus post quem* at the later ninth century. I find Mango’s dating most convincing.

<i>DiegDan</i> II.5–8 (5) καὶ ὁ ἕτερος [scil. υἱὸς τῆς Ἁγάρ] ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, Ἀρμενίας τὸ ἄκρον καὶ πόλιν Τραπεζοῦντα. (6) καὶ ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς γῆς τῶν Μερόπων. (7) καὶ κατακόψει ἄρρενας παῖδας ἀπὸ διέτους καὶ τριέτους ἄνωθεν. (8) καὶ ἀναλώσει ἐν μαχαίρᾳ πλήθη πολλή.	Mt 2:16 τότε Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ἐθυμώθη λίαν, καὶ ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλεν πάντας τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλέεμ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἠκρίβωσεν παρὰ τῶν μάγων.
(5) and the second [i.e., son of Hagar] will attack the region of Persia and the land of Galilee, the mountain top of Armenia and the city of Trebizond. And he will attack the region of the land of the Meropes <sup>309</sup> and will cut down male children from two and three years of age and above. And he will kill by the sword a great multitude.	Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, <i>and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under</i> , according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men. (KJV)

The description of the Arab advance appears to evoke the massacre of the innocents as known from Mt 2:16. The wording associates the Arab invaders with King Herod claiming that both are perpetrators of infanticide.<sup>310</sup> Given the eschatological trajectory of typologies and the apocalyptic context of the *Narrative of Daniel*, the audience is being told that the Arab invasion is the final culmination of the killing of innocent children. One is left to wonder whether this motif was meant to suggest that the victims of the Arab onslaught were to expect eternal bliss, similarly to the Holy Innocents.<sup>311</sup>

The attentive reader will have noticed a slight difference: the NT type recounts that all male children *under* (κατωτέρω, i.e., younger than) two years were killed, while the Byzantine apocalypse foretells that all male children *above* (ἄνωθεν, i.e., older than)<sup>312</sup> that age are killed. It appears that the anonymous apocalypticist inverted here one element of the historical correspondence and turned it into its antithetical counterpart.

<sup>309</sup> Berger, ed./trans., *Die griechische Daniel-Diegeses*, 51 understands the “land of the Meropes” to designate the island of Kos. See further William R. Halliday, *Greek Divination: A Study of Its Methods and Principles* (London: Macmillan, 1913), 279. Alternatively, it could be an unprecedentedly early reference—or a later interpolation—to Thrace, which otherwise is attested only since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, see Peter Soustal, *TIB 6: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 221 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 354.

<sup>310</sup> The massacre of the innocents typology can also be found in other prophetic texts, e.g., in *OracLeon* #6, l.7.

<sup>311</sup> The somewhat later *Apocalypse of Anastasia* testifies to the belief that the Holy Innocents find eternal repose in front of the throne of God and adjacent to Abraham. See *ApcAnast*, 5 (§1). Translation in Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 403 and 416 (§13). An early version of this belief can already be found in Andrew of Caesarea’s *Commentary* on Rv 6:11, in Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 68.1–3 (cap. 17).

<sup>312</sup> In Byzantine Greek ἄνωθεν means “above,” as properly pointed out by Aerts, “Hagar in the so-called Daniel-Diegesis,” 469; *pace* Berger, ed./trans., *Die griechische Daniel-Diegeses*, 51, Zervos, “The Apocalypse of Daniel,” 763.

## EXODUS TYPOLOGY

The same kind of inversion can be observed at the beginning of the *Last Vision of Daniel*, which was almost certainly composed in response to the fall of Constantinople to the Latin crusaders in 1204.<sup>313</sup> This prophecy starts as follows:

*UltVisDan* §§1, 11–13 (1) *τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ· οὐαί σοι γῆ [...]* (11) καὶ οὐαί σοι γῆ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων ὧν μέλλει ἐξαποστεῖλαι κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐπὶ σε. (12) *ἀκρίδας ἀγρίας καὶ ἀναιμάκτους μέλλει πέμψαι ἐπὶ σε.*<sup>314</sup> (13) *καὶ οὔτε ζῶον οὔτε δένδρον μέλλουσιν ἄψασθαι εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὴ μετανοήσαντας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας.*

Ex 10:3–5 (3) εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ααρων ἐναντίον Φαραω καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ *τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν Εβραίων* “Ἔως τίνος οὐ βούλει ἐντραπήναί με; ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν μου, ἵνα λατρεύσωσίν μοι. (4) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃς σὺ ἐξαποστεῖλαι τὸν λαόν μου, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ταύτην τὴν ὥραν αὔριον ἀκρίδα πολλὴν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ὄριά σου, (5) καὶ καλύψει τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὐ δυνήσῃ κατιδεῖν τὴν γῆν, καὶ κατέδετα πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν τῆς γῆς τὸ καταλειφθέν, ὃ κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν ἢ χάλαζα, καὶ κατέδετα πᾶν ξύλον τὸ φυόμενον ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·

<sup>313</sup> Wortley, “The Literature of Catastrophe,” 9, correctly observed that this prophecy reflects conditions of the thirteenth century. Pace DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 97, 192, who cautiously dates it between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Wolfram Brandes, “Konstantinopels Fall im Jahre 1204 und ‘apokalyptische’ Prophetien,” in *Syriac Polemics. Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*, ed. Wout Jacques van Bekkum, Jan Willem Drijvers, and Alexander C. Klugkist, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 170 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 239–259, at 253 suggests a date of composition around the year 1204. In my view there are indications that point to the middle of the thirteenth-century. Arguments in favor of a mid-thirteenth-century date are (a) probable references to the fragmentation of the Byzantine empire into successor states immediately after 1204 (§31) and to the Battle of Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211 (or 1212), as already suggested by Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 115, 121 (§33, whereby the toponym “Κολωνία” probably refers to Kolōneia (Κολώνεια) in Cappadocia, see Friedrich Hild and Marcel Restle, *TIB 2: Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 149 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 207–208. Alternatively, it might also refer to Kolōneia in Pontus); (b) a reference to the Tatars, i.e., Mongols (§52), who became a decisive factor in Anatolia after the Battle of Köse Dağ in 1243; (c) the linguistically problematic duration of ἔτη ἐξάπεντε (§29), probably to be read as ἔτη ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε, which suggests that a rather long interim period had already elapsed since 1204. Thus, I disagree with Julian Petkov, *Altslavische Eschatologie*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 59 (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2016), 236, 388, who argues that the *Last Vision of Daniel* was translated already in 1204/05 into Slavonic. His philological comparison between H. Schmoldt’s Greek edition and the earliest Slavonic translation (Beograd, Narodna Biblioteka, cod.651, fols.240v–242r, saec. XIII<sup>2</sup>) is most useful but overlooks that the Slavonic *Last Vision of Daniel* depends on the thirteenth-century *Ps-Leonine Oracles*, most recently edited by Erich Trapp, “Vulgärorakel aus Wiener Handschriften,” in *Ἀκροθίνια. Sodalium Seminarii Byzantini Vindobonensis Herberto Hunger Oblata*, ed. Johannes Koder and Erich Trapp (Vienna: Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Wien, 1964), 83–120, esp. 90.80ff, 96.230f; the context of these sections unmistakably refers to John III Vatatzēs as well as to Michael VIII Palaiologos, see *AenigLeon* #1, ll.134ff and 170f and thus point to the middle of the thirteenth century as a *terminus post quem*. Although this kind of evidence is not outright conclusive, it is indicative: it suggests that the Slavonic redactor compiled and translated elements from the Greek *Last Vision of Daniel* and the *Ps-Leonine Oracles* during the second half of the thirteenth century.

<sup>314</sup> The oldest textual witness, cod. Vaticanus gr. 1700, fol.100v, ann. 1332/1333, does not contain this sentence. Those manuscripts that contain this sentence provide, at times, different adjectives, such as cod. Oxoniensis Baroccianus 145, fol. 61v and 96v, saec. XV/XVI reading: ἀκρίδας τρίας ἀναιμάκτους or cod. Guelferbytanus Gudianus gr. 9, fol.16v, saec. XVII reading: ἀκρίδας ἀγρίας καὶ ἀναιδεστάτους. These variations do not, however, affect the typology under examination here.

(1) *Thus saith the Lord Almighty*: Woe you earth [...] (11) And woe you earth because of the trials, which the Lord Almighty will send upon you. (12) He will send upon you wild and bloodless locusts. (13) *And they will not touch either animal or tree* but only those who did not repent for their great lawlessness and injustice.

(3) And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, *Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews*, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? Let my people go, that they may serve me. (4) Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, *tomorrow will I bring the locusts into thy coast*: (5) And they shall cover the face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, *and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field*. (KJV)

The opening lines of this Pseudo-Danielic prophecy paraphrase Rv 8–9. At first, the prophecy interprets the calamities brought on by the first four apocalyptic angels (Rv 8:7–13) with a reference to afflictions that different regions of the Byzantine Empire had suffered (§3–10). Then, it adopts (§§11–15) the motif of the fifth angel who brings about a locust scourge (Rv 9:1–11). The author of the *Book of Revelation* had introduced the notion of a second locust plague that was to typologically repeat the Egyptian scourge (Ex 10:3–6).<sup>315</sup> This typology inverts a central aspect of the original OT plague (Ex 10:5) insofar as the locusts are said *not* to destroy vegetation but only those unelected by God (Rv 9:4), which the *Last Vision of Daniel* §13 identifies with the sinful.<sup>316</sup>

By adopting the typology of a new locust plague and by placing it prior to the description of the fall of Constantinople (i.e., within the historical part of the prophecy), the Pseudo-Danielic author presents this NT prophecy as being fulfilled. It is significant to note that the typology was deliberately chosen in the context of the Latin sack of Constantinople. It should be remembered that already Komnēnē had associated the Latins with a locust scourge.<sup>317</sup> The locust typology suggests that the events surrounding 1204 were seen as the eschatological equivalence of Exodus. The similarities with the Egyptian captivity must have been apparent to anyone familiar with the *Book of Revelation* and *Exodus*. It is this typological perception of living in a period of captivity and expulsion,<sup>318</sup> in an age of a new Moses (and Zorobabel) that marked the thirteenth century.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>315</sup> The *Book of Revelation* presents various eschatological afflictions as repetitions of the plagues of Egypt. On this, see Goppelt, *Typos*, 238 and Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 164–165.

<sup>316</sup> *UltVisDan* §13 καὶ οὐτε ζῶον οὔτε δένδρον μέλλουσιν ἄψασθαι εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὴ μετανοήσαντας διὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας. – Rv 9:4 καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσι τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρὸν οὐδὲ πᾶν δένδρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. – Ex 10:5 [...] καὶ κατέδετα πᾶν ξύλον τὸ φυόμενον ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

<sup>317</sup> *Alexias*, 298 (lib. X.5.7–8).

<sup>318</sup> Cf. *UltVisDan* §31.

<sup>319</sup> Moses-typologies can also be found in other thirteenth-century prophetic texts, such as *NarrMend* l.20 and *AnonymChron* l.32. Moreover, this typology is regularly used by Chōniatēs in his *History* and panegyrics, see, among

## AHAB TYPOLOGY

Following the new Exodus typology, the pseudonymous apocalypticist continues the historical review of recent events (*vaticinia ex eventu*) and presents another notable typology, which associates the Latin conquest of Constantinople with the immoral behavior of the OT King Ahab. In §§19–30, the *Last Vision of Daniel* relates events surrounding the fall of Constantinople (1204) and its immediate aftermath. In this context it is said that during the rule of the blond nation (τὸ ξανθὸν γένος, i.e., the Latin crusaders), “vegetables will be planted in her [i.e., Constantinople].”<sup>320</sup> At first sight, this remark might appear at odds with the apocalyptic imagery of destruction and bloodshed. It fits, however, perfectly well into a typological framework that refers back to the OT figure of King Ahab, who acquired through murder a vineyard to plant vegetables. This typological reading is supported by the fact that the word “vegetable/herb” (τὸ λάχανον) is not used in and thus not borrowed from any other Medieval Greek prophecy.<sup>321</sup> It is rarely used even in the Septuagint, where, however, it features prominently in 1 Kings 21:2.

<i>UltVisDan</i> §§29–30 (29) καὶ κρατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑπτάλοφον τὸ ξανθὸν γένος ἔτη ἕξ καὶ πέντε. <sup>322</sup> (30) καὶ φυτευθήσονται ἐπ’ αὐτῇ λάχανα, καὶ φάγωσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἁγίων.	3 Kings 20:2 (LXX) καὶ ἐλάλησεν Αἰααβ πρὸς Ναβουθαὶ λέγων Δός μοι τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου καὶ ἔσται μοι εἰς κῆπον λαχάνων [...]
(29) And the blond nation will hold sway over the Seven-Hilled [City] for sixty-five [lit. six and five] years, (30) and <i>vegetables</i> will be planted in her and many will eat from them until the saints’ retribution.	1 Kings 21:2 (KJV) And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy <i>vineyard</i> , that I may have it for a garden of <i>herbs</i> [...]

others, Choniates, *Historia*, 356.33, 578.45 and Jan L. van Dieten, ed., *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae* (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 147.1–7 (Oratio 14), 160.19–20 (Oratio 15). For further references, see Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, “Introduction,” in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. iidem (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 1–38, at 25–26, n.105. See also Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium (1204–1330)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 86 and 99. It should be noted that the Exodus typology goes back to early Christian and Patristic traditions, as shown by Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 153–174. Also, *ApcMeth* V.3 uses the locust plague in its end-time narrative to describe the Midianites, the typological predecessors of the seventh-century Arabs. It was the fall of Constantinople in 1204 that gave new immediacy to the Exodus typology by substantiating it with current historical events.

<sup>320</sup> *UltVisDan* §30: καὶ φυτευθήσονται ἐπ’ αὐτῇ λάχανα [...]

<sup>321</sup> In fact, even within the manuscript tradition of *UltVisDan*, this sentence is often omitted as its typological basis might have been unintelligible to some copyists. Although plants and animals do feature prominently in prophetic writings, I have yet to find another instance when the term τὸ λάχανον was used in a historical apocalypse.

<sup>322</sup> *Lege* ἔτη ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

Although somewhat elusive, this section seems to claim that the conquerors of Constantinople planted vegetables within the city just as King Ahab had planted vegetables in the unlawfully acquired vineyard of Naboth. The question whether this typology is rooted in the actual cultivation of vegetables within the city walls following the fires and depopulation of 1204 has to remain unresolved, given the scarcity of information about Constantinopolitan horticulture in the thirteenth century.<sup>323</sup> In all likelihood, the vegetables stand for the illegitimate spoils of war. They are said to be consumed by many of the crusaders until the final reckoning would come at the hands of the saints.<sup>324</sup> It is noteworthy that the notion of the “saints’ retribution” recalls the impatient plea of the pious for revenge in Rv 6:9–11.<sup>325</sup> This allusion imports a sense of urgency and suggests the immediacy of the final consummation. To be sure, if the “vegetables” were the only common term between the *First Book of Kings* and the *Last Vision of Daniel*, then we could not prove any intertextual connection. There is, however, a second shared motif, namely that of the “vineyard.” Although the *Last Vision of Daniel* does not explicitly use the term “vineyard,” it does so implicitly when alluding to Is 1:8.

<i>UltVisDan</i> §20 καὶ τὰ ὠραῖα σου τείχη πεσοῦνται ὡς <i>συκιήλατα</i> . <sup>326</sup>	Is 1:8 ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιων ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηράτῳ, ὡς πόλις πολιορκουμένη·
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<sup>323</sup> For an overview of late Byzantine horticulture, see Costas N. Constantinides, “Byzantine Gardens and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period, 1204–1453: The Secular Sources,” in *Byzantine garden culture*, ed. Antony R. Littlewood, Henry Maguire, Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 87–103, esp. 91.

<sup>324</sup> I understand the preposition εἰς in *UltVisDan* §30 in the sense of “until.” Yet it can also be read in the sense of “in order to/for,” as suggested in Andrew of Caesarea’s *Commentary* on Rv 6:7, in Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 65.1–4 (cap. 16): Τὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ζώου, δηλαδή τοῦ ἀετοῦ, ὑψιπέτες καὶ ὄξυ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνωθεν ἤκειν ἐκ θεηλάτου ὀργῆς τὰς πληγὰς ἐμφαίνειν δύναται εἰς τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκδίκησιν καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ ταύταις βελτιωθέντες ἐπιστρέψωσιν. Translation in Constantinou, trans., *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary*, 94: “The fourth living *being*, that is, the eagle, its high flight and keen eyesight coming down upon its prey from above, can signify the wounds from the divinely led wrath of God for the revenge of the pious and the punishment of the impious, unless being improved by these <wounds> they return.” Here, Andrew of Caesarea suggests that the afflictions suffered at the hands of the fourth apocalyptic rider are to avenge the suffering of Christian martyrs. If the preposition εἰς in *UltVisDan* §30 is read in the same manner, it will give the meaning that the Constantinopolitans suffer legitimate hardship because of their previous impiety.

<sup>325</sup> Cf. Rv 19:2, 20:4.

<sup>326</sup> *Lege* σικυήλατα. Pace Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 49, who reads σικυήλατα as σικυή ήλάτω (“come fichi scossi”—like shaken figs), which is the reading given in cod. Harleiensis 5734, fol.42r, ann. 1580 and a few other manuscripts. This reading is due to textual corruption in the manuscript tradition. The same biblical allusion is contained in *VisioDanUrb* 1.59: [...] πῦρ κατακάψει αὐτήν [scil. τὴν Ἑπτάλοφον] καὶ ὡς σικυήλατον ἀπεργάσεται. | “[...] fire will burn her [i.e., the Seven-Hilled City] down and [she] will be finished as a garden of cucumbers.” The meaning of this unusual term is revealed by Basil the Great’s *Commentary on Isaiah*, see Pietro Trevisan, ed./trans., *San Basilio: Commento al profeta Isaia*, 2 vols., Corona Patrum Salesiana, Series graeca 4–5 (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1939), Vol.1, 65 (cap. 1.21; PG 30, 153C): Σικυήλατον οὖν ἐστὶ τόπος προσκαίρων καὶ ὀλιγοχρονίων καρπῶν οἰστικὸς, τέρψιν τινὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ ὠφέλειαν παρεχομένων. Translation in Nikolai A. Lipatov, trans., *St. Basil the Great: Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, Texts and Studies in the History of Theology 7 (Mandelbachtal/Cambridge:

And your beautiful walls will fall  
as a *garden of cucumbers*.

And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a *vineyard*, as a  
lodge in a *garden of cucumbers*, as a besieged city. (KJV)

The description of the fall of Constantinople in the *Last Vision of Daniel* recalls Isaiah's vision (Is 1:8) of the besieged Jerusalem. By the thirteenth century the motif of a "vineyard" (ὁ ἀμπελὼν/ἡ ἀμπελος/τὸ ἀμπέλιον) had become a customary appellation for Constantinople.<sup>327</sup> Previously, the vision of Is 1:8 had been understood to refer to the Church and not to any city.<sup>328</sup> But by the early thirteenth century Isaiah's prophecy about the future tribulations of Zion (ἡ Σιών) appeared to better apply to the siege and capture of Constantinople not least because the imperial capital was generally considered to be the New Jerusalem.<sup>329</sup>

If the *Last Vision of Daniel* is read together with the key passages of Is 1:8 and 1 Kings 21:2 (KJV) it becomes clear that Constantinople was, on the one hand, the "vineyard" from Is 1:8: a godforsaken and besieged city. On the other hand, it was the "vineyard" from 3 Kings 20:2 (LXX): a city unrightfully seized by King Ahab. This exegetical framework suggests that the Latin crusaders were cast into the typological mold of the wicked King Ahab, who unjustly and profanely obtained possession of a vineyard, for which divine retribution was due. Likewise, the Latins, as the new Ahab, could expect similar chastisement, although the prophecy does not specify it. This typological construct allows to rationalize the *halosis* of 1204 as a just divine punishment (cf. Is 1:8) and, at the same time, to accuse the Latins of unlawful acquisition of the Queen of Cities (cf. 3 Kings 20:2, LXX).<sup>330</sup>

Edition Cicero, 2001), 26: "The garden of cucumbers therefore is a place producing transitory and short-lived fruits providing enjoyment rather than benefit."

<sup>327</sup> For further examples in prophetic literature, see *AenigLeon* #1, 95.209, 100.318, *passim*.

<sup>328</sup> *Ps-Hippol* §3. While Pseudo-Hippolytos interpreted the 'besieged Jerusalem' from Is 1:7–8 to refer to the Christian congregation, the (probably mid-tenth century) *Disputation of Gregentios with the Jew Herban* (*Dialexis Gregentii cum Herbano Iudaeo*, CPG 7009) understands the prophecy to refer to the Jewish congregation. See Albrecht Berger, ed./trans., *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar: Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation*, Millennium-Studien 7 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 450–803, at 582–584. Another interpretation is suggested by Chōniatēs, who alludes to Is 1:8 when criticizing the brutality shown by Andronikos I Komnēnos during the capture of Prusa (1184), see Choniates, *Historia*, 289.89.

<sup>329</sup> On the Jerusalemization of Constantinople, see Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Jérusalem et Constantinople dans la littérature apocalyptique," in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident: Études comparées*, ed. Michel Kaplan, Série Byzantina Sorbonensia 18 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001), 125–136, esp. 130–131 and Jelena Erdeljan, *Chosen Places: Constructing New Jerusalems in Slavia Orthodoxa*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (450–1450) 45 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 72–143.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. Choniates, *Historia*, 581.19–20, and 581.31–582.46, where Chōniatēs predicts how the Latins will be punished by God for their excessive and impious behavior during the conquest and occupation of Constantinople.

## ANTEDILUVIAN TYPOLOGY

A more standard typology can be found in Mt 24:37–38 and Lk 17:26–27, where the eve of the end times is likened to the peace and quiet of the period preceding the Great Flood (Gn 6–9). The apocalyptic section in the *Life of Andrew the Fool*, which is a fictitious hagiographic work from the mid-tenth century,<sup>331</sup> reverberates and expands the NT flood typology. The visionary foretells the following:

*ApcAndr*, ll.3824–3830, 3855–3858 (853B–C, 856C) (853B): Ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις βασιλείαν ἀπὸ πενίας καὶ πορεύσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ πολλῇ καὶ πάντα πόλεμον παύσει καὶ τοὺς πένητας πλουτίσει καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε τὰ ἔτη. [...] ἔσονται γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ πλούσιοι σφόδρα καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπεύρω τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, γαμοῦντες καὶ ἐκγαμίζοντες [...] (856C) Καὶ ἔσται πολλὴ χαρὰ τότε καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνατελεῖ πλούσια. Καὶ ἔσται ὃν τρόπον ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ εὐφραινόμενοι μέχρις οὗ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός.

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(853B) In the last days the Lord God will raise up an emperor from poverty and he will walk in great righteousness and put an end to every war and make the poor rich, and *it will be as in the years of Noah*. [...] For in his days men will become very rich and eat and drink in deep peace, marrying and giving in marriage [...] (856C) There will be great joy then and gladness, and good things will come up from the earth, and from the sea riches will rise. And it will be as when *in the days of Noah* men enjoyed themselves in peace until the flood came. (Rydén, trans., *Andrew the Fool*, Vol.2, 261, 263)

A blissful period in the presumably near future will see the repetition of the joys known from the antediluvian age, only to be succeeded by a period of hardship and suffering. The reader is transferred from his/her contemporary world of the middle Byzantine period back to the age of the Patriarchs. This visionary account goes beyond the NT typology by specifying that the time of peace and prosperity, reminiscent of Noah's age, would be ushered in by an ideal emperor. The reference to the emperor is an extrabiblical component, which derives from the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* XIII.17–18, where this NT typology was first applied to a future Byzantine

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<sup>331</sup> On the mid-tenth-century dating, see Lennart Rydén, “The Date of the ‘Life of Andreas Salos,’” *DOP* 32 (1978): 127–155, at 155, idem, “The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 568–586, at 586, idem, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, 2 vols., *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 4 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), Vol.1, 41, and Paul Magdalino, “‘What we heard in the lives of the saints we have seen with our own eyes’: the holy man as literary text in tenth-century Constantinople,” in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul A. Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 83–112, at 86.

emperor.<sup>332</sup> Another example of this foreboding typology can be found in the *Prediction of Andritzopoulos*, a late thirteenth-century apocalyptic prognostication, which likens the anticipated end times to the age of Noah.<sup>333</sup> All of these examples point to the cataclysm of the Great Flood but refrain from making it explicit. The reader/listener is thus left with a sense of suspense and premonition.

## CHRISTOLOGICAL TYPOLOGIES

Typological constructions pertaining to the anticipated future relate to events as well as to individual actors. As indicated above, NT typologies are most often Christocentric; they focus on indicating correspondences between Christ and OT precursors. Apocalyptic prophecies faithfully continue this Christocentrism. In fact, the most apparent and pervasive typologies in the apocalyptic genre revolve around the literary figures of the Savior-Emperor and the Antichrist, both individual actors that are constructed in explicit correspondence to Christ. The *Anti*-christ is always presented as an antithetical antitype, insofar as the Antichrist's deeds are an inversion Christ's genuine miracle-workings and teachings. In contrast, the Savior-Emperor is portrayed in close congruence with Christological characteristics that include, among others, righteousness, piety, humility, and associations with the resurrection. The Savior-Emperor was conceptualized as Christ's positive antitype. The following examples serve to illustrate these typological correspondences.

### SAVIOR-EMPEROR

The Christ-like nature of the Savior-Emperor is a preeminent typological feature in Byzantine prophecies. The following tables juxtapose the most apparent parallels between the biblical accounts of Christ's death/resurrection and cases of miraculous divine intervention, on the one hand, with Byzantine prophetic descriptions of the Savior-Emperor's appearance and victorious career, on the other.

<sup>332</sup> As already noted by Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 160, 169 and Rydén, trans., *Andrew the Fool*, Vol.2, 346, n.10.

<sup>333</sup> *PraedAndritz*, 200, ll.15–17: οὐ γὰρ ἐξάπινα παρελεύσονται [scil. ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐτ ἡ βασιλεία], ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ γέγονε καὶ ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ οὐκ ἐξάπινα διὰ τὴν κατ' ὀλίγον ἔλευσιν τῆς ὀργῆς, [...] | “They [i.e., the Church and the empire] will not pass away suddenly but little by little, just as in the time of Noah the Flood happened little by little and not suddenly, since the [divine] anger came little by little [...]”

Apocalyptic descriptions of the Savior-Emperor's appearance	Biblical accounts of Christ's resurrection
<p><i>ApcMeth</i> XIII.11 τότε αἰφνίδιον ἐπελεύσονται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς [scil. τοὺς Ἰσμαηλίτας] θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία, καὶ ἐπαναστήσεται<sup>334</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων, ἥτοι Ῥωμαίων, [...]</p> <p>Then all of a sudden affliction and distress will come upon them [i.e., the Ishmaelites] and the king of the Greeks, that is of the Romans, <i>will rise against</i> them [...]</p> <p><i>AnonymVatic</i> p.48, ll.27–28: [...] καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται αἰφνίδιος<sup>335</sup> βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, [...]</p> <p>[...] and suddenly a righteous king <i>will rise up</i>, made like unto the Son of God, [...]</p> <p><i>ApcAndr</i> ll.3824–3825 (853B) Ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις βασιλείαν ἀπὸ πενίας [...]</p> <p>In the last days the Lord God <i>will raise up</i> an emperor from poverty [...] (Rydén, trans., <i>Andrew the Fool</i>, Vol.2, 261)</p>	<p>Mk 16:9 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρωτὶ πρώτη σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, [...]</p> <p>Now when Jesus <i>was risen</i> early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, [...] (KJV)</p> <p>Lk 24:46 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,</p> <p>And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and <i>to rise</i> from the dead the third day: (KJV)</p> <p>Jn 20:9 οὐδέπω γὰρ ᾔδεισαν τὴν γραφὴν ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι.</p> <p>For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must <i>rise</i> again from the dead. (KJV)</p>
<p><i>DiegDan</i> V.5 καὶ ἐγείρει κύριος βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, (ὃνπερ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα,) ὃνπερ νομίζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀποθανόντα.</p> <p>And the Lord <i>will raise up</i> a king of the Romans, who people say is dead and useful for nothing, who people think died many years before. (Zervos, “The Apocalypse of Daniel,” 764)</p>	<p>Mt 28:7 καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, [...]</p> <p>And go quickly, and tell his disciples that <i>he is risen</i> from the dead; [...] (KJV)</p> <p>Mk 16:6 ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς· μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἡγέρθη, [...]</p> <p>And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: <i>he is risen</i>; [...] (KJV)</p>

<sup>334</sup> I agree here with A. Lolos' edition (Anastasios Lolos, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Ps.Methodios*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 83 (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1976), 122.55) in preferring the reading ἐπαναστήσεται, which is the term used in the oldest dated manuscript, cod. Vaticanus gr. 1700, fol.148v, ann. 1323/1333. In contrast, Aerts chose the alternative reading of ἐξελεύσεται, as testified by later manuscripts, see Willem J. Aerts and George A. Kortekaas, eds., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen. I. Einleitung, Texte, Indices Locorum et Nominum*, CSCO 569 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 174. Moreover, the expression ἐπαναστήσεται ἐπί seems to serve better the apocalyptic tone, as it is potent in echoing the prophecy of Is 31:2. Given this slight change in the text, I refrain from using the English translation provided by Benjamin Garstad, trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 57, which is based on the Aerts/Kortekaas' edition.

<sup>335</sup> *Lege* αἰφνίδιον vel αἰφνιδίως.

	Lk 24:34 λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως <i>ἡγέρθη</i> ὁ κύριος [...] Saying, The Lord <i>is risen</i> indeed, [...] (KJV)
<p><i>VisDanSepCol</i> II.5–6 τότε σεισμός γενήσεται, καὶ ὁ λέων πτωχὸς ἐμφανισθήσεται ὀνόματι Ἰωάννης. καὶ αὐτὸς &lt;ὡς&gt; ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμφανισθήσεται [...]</p> <p>Then an <i>earthquake</i> will happen and the poor lion with the name John will appear. And he will appear &lt;like&gt; from the dead [...]</p>	<p>Mt 28:2 καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβάς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. And, behold, there was a great <i>earthquake</i>: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. (KJV)<sup>336</sup></p>
<p><i>SibTibGr</i> I.163 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως <i>κεκρυμμένον</i> ἐστὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, [...]</p> <p>The name of the king is <i>hidden</i> from the Gentiles, [...] (Alexander, trans., <i>Oracle of Baalbek</i>, 27)</p> <p><i>NarrMend</i> II.35–36 τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως <i>κεκρυμμένον</i> ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν·</p> <p>The name of the emperor is <i>hidden</i> from the gentiles; (Brokkaar, trans., <i>The Oracles</i>, 93)</p> <p><i>ApcLeonConst</i> §15, II.417–419 τότε ἀναστήσεται σκῆπτρον ἅγιον ἰσχυρὸν <i>κεκρυμμένον</i>, ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας, ἐκ πόλεως Αὐσίτιδος·</p> <p>Then will rise a holy, strong, <i>hidden</i> scepter, which will arrive from Arabia, from the city of Ausis.<sup>337</sup></p>	<p>Jh 7:27 [...] ὁ δὲ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται <i>οὐδεὶς γινώσκει</i> πόθεν ἐστίν. [...] but when Christ cometh, <i>no man knoweth</i> whence he is. (KJV)</p>
Apocalyptic descriptions of the Savior-Emperor's death	Biblical accounts of Christ's death
<p><i>ApcMeth</i> XIV.6 καὶ ἅμα ὑψωθήσεται ὁ σταυρὸς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ παραδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς [...]</p> <p>And as soon as the cross will be lifted into heaven, the king of the Romans <i>will give up his ghost</i>. [...]</p>	<p>Mt 27:50 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ <i>ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα</i>. Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, <i>yielded up the ghost</i>. (KJV)</p> <p>Mk 15:37 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀφείς φωνὴν μεγάλην <i>ἐξέπνευσεν</i>. And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and <i>gave up the ghost</i>. (KJV)</p>

<sup>336</sup> On the motif of earthquakes, which often accompany theophanies but which can also serve as a sign of the end, see Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (London/New York, NY: T&T Clark, 1993), 199–209. For early and middle Byzantine views on earthquakes, see further Gilbert Dagron, “Quand la terre tremble...,” *TM* 8 (1981): 87–103.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Jb 1:1, 32:2, 42:17b.

*ApcAndr* II.3919-3920 (860C): Παραδώσει δὲ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σὺν τούτοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.  
With them *he will* also *surrender his soul* to the Lord God. (Rydén, trans., *Andrew the Fool*, Vol.2, 269)

*VisDanSanHom* II.528-530: [...] καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς παραδώσει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ  
[...] and with them the king *will* also *give up his soul into the hands of his God*.

Lk 23:46 καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμά μου. τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν.

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, *into thy hands I commend my spirit*: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost. (KJV)

Jn 19:30 [...] καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

[...] and he bowed his head, and *gave up the ghost*. (KJV)

Apocalyptic descriptions of the Savior-Emperor's deeds	Biblical accounts of divine intervention
<p><i>ApcMeth</i> XIII.11: [...] καὶ ἐπαναστήσεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων, ἥτοι Ῥωμαίων, μετὰ μεγάλου θυμοῦ καὶ ἐξυπνισθήσεται καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ ὕπνου πίων οἶνον πολύν, ὃν ἐλογίζοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὥσει νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα [...] and the king of the Greeks, that is of the Romans, will rise against them with great anger and <i>he will awake like a man [awaking] from sleep after drinking much wine</i>, whom people considered to be dead and useful for nothing.</p> <p><i>AnonymVatic</i> p.49, II.23-24 ἀναστήσεται δὲ ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ οἶνου κραιπαλικός, [...] He will rise <i>as if from sleep and drunk from wine</i> [...]</p> <p><i>OracLeon</i> #13, I.4 ὡς ἐκ μέθης δὲ φανεῖς ἀθρόως Suddenly emerged <i>as if from an intoxication</i>, (Brokkaar, trans., <i>The Oracles</i>, 83)</p>	<p>Ps 77:65 (LXX) καὶ ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν κύριος, ὡς δυνατὸς κεκραίπαλιν ἐξ οἴνου, <i>Then the Lord awakened as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine</i>. (KJV)</p>
<p><i>ApcMeth</i> XIII.10 [...] καὶ στραφέντες ἐκδιώξουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων συγκόπτοντες ἀφειδῶς. τότε πληρωθήσεται τὸ γεγραμμένον· “πῶς διώξεται εἰς χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας”,<sup>338</sup> [...] they will turn about and chase them from their homes cutting [them] down without mercy. Then that which was written will be fulfilled: “<i>How will one pursue a thousand and two remove myriads?</i>”</p>	<p>Dt 32:30 πῶς διώξεται εἰς χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτούς; <i>How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight</i>, except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up? (KJV)</p>

<sup>338</sup> Here, again, I follow A. Lolos' reading (Lolos, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Ps.Methodios*, 122.52-53), which is based on cod. Vaticanus gr. 1700, fol.148v. Cf. Aerts and Kortekaas, eds., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, 172.

*DiegDan* VI.7–8 πληρωθήσεται γὰρ ὁ λόγος ὁ προφητικὸς ὅτι πῶς διώξεται ὁ εἷς χιλίους καὶ οἱ δύο μετακινήσουσιν μυριάδας εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἀπώσάτο αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτούς.

And then the prophetic word will be fulfilled (that says): “*How will one pursue a thousand and two remove myriads unless the Lord God rejected them and the Lord gave them over?*” (Zervos, “The Apocalypse of Daniel,” 765)

*DiegDan* V.16 καὶ διώξει ὁ βασιλεὺς μόνος χιλίους καὶ τὰ δύο μειράκια μυριάδας.

And the king alone will pursue a thousand and the two small boys myriads. (Zervos, “The Apocalypse of Daniel,” 765)

*AnonymChron* II.28–29 καὶ ὁ εἷς διώξει χιλίους καὶ οἱ δύο μετακινήσουσιν μυριάδας ὑπὸ ὀρθοδόξου βασιλέως [...]

And one will chase a thousand and two will pursue ten-thousands under an orthodox emperor [...]

*VisDanSepCol* II.14–15 καὶ διώξουσι τοὺς Ἰσμηλίτας. καὶ πληρωθήσεται ἡ προφητεία ἡ λέγουσα· εἷς διώξεται χιλίους, καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας.

And they will pursue the Ishmaelites and the prophecy will be fulfilled that says: *one will pursue a thousand, and two will remove myriads.*

The Pseudo-Methodian narrative describes a future Byzantine emperor who appears all of a sudden in great glory, similarly to Christ’s unexpected (although not unforeseen) resurrection and epiphany to His disciples. At least one apocalypse states that the messianic emperor’s revelation will be announced by an earthquake; other prophecies stress his previously hidden nature, thereby conveying the motif of a Christ-like epiphany. Moreover, the Greek translation of the originally Syriac Pseudo-Methodian apocalypse, as well as later prophetic writings, used the verbs of raising/rising up and waking up/awakening (i.e., ἀνίστημι/ἀνίσταμαι and ἐγείρω/ἐγείρομαι) to describe the appearance of this emperor thereby emulating the terminology of the Gospels to describe the resurrection. To be sure, these verbs were also used to describe other eschatological emperors, who are to appear prior to or following the ideal emperor. However, when viewed together with the additional qualifications provided, these verbs acquire a

Christological dimension. Such a qualification is, for instance, the belief that the Christ-like emperor “is dead and useful for nothing,”<sup>339</sup> which undoubtedly refers to the death of the crucified Christ. The same notion is advanced in the fifteenth-century *Vision of Daniel on the Seven Hills* II.6, which reads: “and he will appear like from the dead.”<sup>340</sup> This characterization became a shorthand expression that univocally refers to the legendary emperor and that can be found in most Byzantine and post-Byzantine apocalypses.<sup>341</sup>

Further qualifications include his humble origin,<sup>342</sup> associations with the crucifixion,<sup>343</sup> and, most significantly, his death scene, which is described in close resemblance to the Gospel accounts of Christ’s death. In addition, this Christ-like emperor is associated with God rushing to the protection of the people of Israel (Ps 77:65) and with distributing divinely sanctioned punishment (Dt 32:30).<sup>344</sup> Furthermore, some prophecies portray the miraculous appearance of the Savior-Emperor through a revelation by a divine or angelic voice, which announces the emperor to the Constantinopolitan people<sup>345</sup> and commands him to do battle with the enemy.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>339</sup> *ApcMeth* XIII.11: [...] ὡσεὶ νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα.

<sup>340</sup> *VisDanSepCol* II.6: καὶ αὐτὸς <ὡς> ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐμφανισθήσεται [...] – Internal evidence suggests that this prophecy was composed around the year 1470, as correctly pointed out by Wolfram Brandes, “Der Fall Konstantinopels als apokalyptisches Ereignis,” in *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, ed. Sebastian Kolditz and Ralf C. Müller (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2005), 453–470, at 461.

<sup>341</sup> See, among others, *DiegDan* V.5: καὶ ἐγείρει κύριος βασιλέα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, (ὅνπερ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα,) [...] – *Ps-Chrys* V.2: καὶ τοῦτον κρατήσαντες ἀπάξουσιν [αὐτὸν] μέχρι δίνης, κάκει χρίσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα, ὃν εἶχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡσεὶ νεκρὸν καὶ οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα. – *VisioDan* II.5: ἀναβιβάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἄρματι [καὶ] χρίσονται αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ὃν ἐδόκουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς νεκρὸν εἶναι καὶ οὐδὲν χρησιμεύειν. – *OracLeon* #13, l.2: ὁ νεκρὸς ἤδη [*lege* εἶδει] καὶ θεά [*lege* θέα] λελησμένος – *NarrMend* II.39–40: ὃν ἐδόκουν οἱ ἄν(θρωπ)οι ὡς οὐδὲν ὄντα, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα.

<sup>342</sup> See, for instance, *Ps-Chrys* V.1: [...] οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἦν ἔλαττον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. – *ApcAndr* II.3824–3825 (853B): Ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις βασιλείαν ἀπὸ πενίας [...] – *NarrMend* I.1: Περὶ τοῦ θρηλλουμένου πτωχοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτοῦ βασιλέως – *AenigLeon* #1, II.335: ὁ πτωχὸς ὁ Πτωχολέων, – *VisDanSanHom* II.401–402: [...] ὅτι μετὰ τὸν ἔκδημον βοῦν, ἦτοι τὸν ἐκ πενίας ἀνασπασόμενον βασιλέα τοὺς μεταξὺ ρηθέντας [...] – *VisDanSepCol* II.5: [...] καὶ ὁ λέων πτωχὸς ἐμφανισθήσεται [...]

<sup>343</sup> Most notably, see *UltVisDan* §47: [...] ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα μέσον τοῦ καλάμου ἡλον. It is striking that such a first allusion to the marks of the crucifixion occurs in a prophecy of the thirteenth century, after the Franciscans had just established communities in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. On the Franciscan involvement in the imperial, ecclesiastical, financial, and cultural life of the Latin Empire, see Robert L. Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans,” *Traditio* 2 (1944): 213–237.

<sup>344</sup> For a chart listing these and other attributes, see Kraft, “The Last Roman Emperor Topos,” 245–249.

<sup>345</sup> For instance, *VisioDan* II.3: [...] καὶ <εὐ>ροῦσιν αὐ<τὸν> δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ. – *IntrpGenSch* II.38–44: Καὶ φωνὴ βοήσσει τρίτον· Στήτε, στήτε μετὰ φόβου· σπεύσατε πολλὰ σπουδαίως εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τὰ μέρη. Ἄνδρα εὗρητε γενναῖον, θαυμαστὸν καὶ ῥωμαλαῖον. τοῦτον ἔζητε δεσπότην.

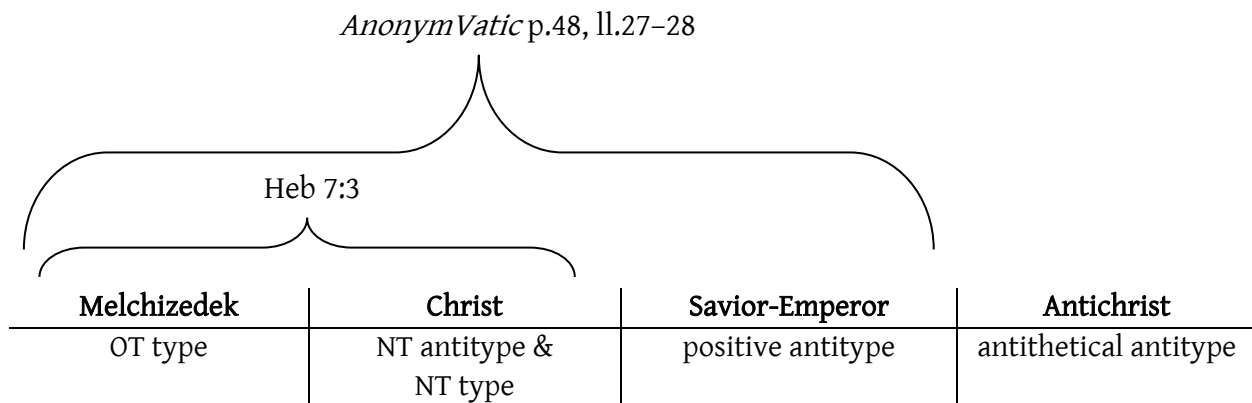
<sup>346</sup> Among others, see *UltVisDan* §§50–51: καὶ δώσουσιν εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα ῥομφαίαν λέγοντες αὐτῷ· ἀνδρίζου καὶ νικά τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου. The subject of the sentence is τέσσερες ἄγγελοι. – *VisDanSepCol* II.8: καὶ τὴν ῥάβδον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάχαιραν δώσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἴπωσι· λαβὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ νικά τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου. The subject of the sentence is δύο ἄγγελοι. – unpublished post-byzantine prophecy (BHG 1875b), diplomatic transcription from cod. Meteorensis, Hagiaou Stephanou 85, fol.151r: κὶ νὰ τὸν ἡπῆ, με τοῦτῶν | θέλεις νηκάη τοὺς εχθροὺς (σ)ου· τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς νὰ ὀρῆσσι τὰ ξανθὰ γέννη· The subject here, too, is an angel representing the divine will.

These military campaigns always end in marvelous victories and result in the final recovery and peaceful prosperity of the empire. Hence, he is also styled as “the peaceful and holy emperor” (ὁ εἰρηνικὸς καὶ ἅγιος βασιλεὺς),<sup>347</sup> who is “marvelous and virile” (θαυμαστὸς καὶ ῥωμαλέος).<sup>348</sup>

Amid the various developments of the *topos*, Byzantine apocalypses remained persistent in justifying the soteriological character of the Savior-Emperor through a typology with Christ’s resurrection and/or with biblical cases of direct divine intervention. A most succinct expression of this typological reference system can be found in a little-known prophecy that was probably composed in the early ninth century:<sup>349</sup>

<i>AnonymVatic</i> p. 48, ll.27–28 [...] καὶ ἔξανα- στήσεται αἰφνίδιος <sup>350</sup> βασιλεὺς δίκαιος <i>ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ</i> , [...]	Heb 7:3 ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, <i>ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ</i> <i>υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ</i> , μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.
[...] and suddenly a righteous king will rise up, <i>made like unto the Son of God</i> , [...]	Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; <i>but</i> <i>made like unto the Son of God</i> ; abideth a priest continually. (KJV)

This prophetic pronouncement likens the ideal emperor to the Son of God evoking Heb 7:3, where the OT priest Melchizedek is likened to Christ.<sup>351</sup> This means, the typological correspondence is continued into the future. One is presented with the following scheme:



<sup>347</sup> Cod. Meteorensis, Hagiau Stephanou 85, fol.151r.

<sup>348</sup> *IntrpGenSch* l.43. For an English translation and a solid historical contextualization of this prophecy, see Christopher J. G. Turner, “An Oracular Interpretation Attributed to Gennadius Scholarius,” *Hell* 21 (1968): 40–47.

<sup>349</sup> The same typology is also used in the *NarrMend* ll.62–64.

<sup>350</sup> *Lege* αἰφνίδιον vel αἰφνιδίως.

<sup>351</sup> On the NT typology of Melchizedek-Christ, see Goppelt, *Typos*, 196–205.

The Savior-Emperor motif is constructed as the positive antitype of Christ, who, in turn, is the positive antitype of Melchizedek.<sup>352</sup> Moreover, the resemblance is continued to the Antichrist, who is fashioned as Christ's antithetical equivalent, as demonstrated by the following examples.<sup>353</sup>

## ANTICHRIST

The Antichrist is the ultimate antagonist in Christian eschatology. The main sources of the Antichrist motif were the canonical works of the Johannine and Pauline epistles,<sup>354</sup> the *Book of Revelation*<sup>355</sup> as well as patristic treatises, most notably Hippolytos of Rome's discourse *On the Antichrist*.<sup>356</sup> A definitive characterization of the Antichrist was given by the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*. The pseudonymous apocalypticist asserted—following Paul's *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* (2 Thes 2:6–7)—that the Antichrist would only appear once the withholding force (τὸ κατέχον/ὁ κατέχων), has been removed.<sup>357</sup> Pseudo-Methodios follows a long tradition in identifying this withholding force with the Roman Empire.<sup>358</sup> The Antichrist would only arrive once the Roman Empire will have been removed making him the last agent prior to Christ's return. Moreover, with reference to Gn 49:17 Pseudo-Methodios specifies the Jewish descent of

<sup>352</sup> The Savior-Emperor is, at times, also characterized as a New Moses (e.g., *NarrMend* ll.19–20) or as a New Constantine (see the examples from n.346 above). That is to say, the resemblances between the Savior-Emperor and Christ are, particularly in later Byzantine apocalypses, supplemented with additional typological layers of Christian heroes and prophets.

<sup>353</sup> It should be noted that the *Anonymous prediction* does not mention the Antichrist. It abruptly ends in the middle of fol.163v in cod. Vindobonensis phil. gr. 162, saec. XV<sup>1</sup>, which is the *codex unicus* of this prophecy. This abrupt end is hardly noticeable, since the text continues with the *Last Vision of Daniel* without any indication that a new prophecy begins. The manuscript thus suggests a continuous text. As a result, the Antichrist motif, contained in the *Last Vision of Daniel*, would be read together with the Melchizedek typology from the *Anonymous prediction*. Reading the manuscript, not the modern editions, generates the typological scheme outlined here.

<sup>354</sup> 1 Jn 2:18–22, 4:2–3, and 2 Jn 7 as well as 2 Thes 2:1–12. The passages from Mt 24:24 and Mk 13:22 have generally been taken to refer to the Antichrist as well.

<sup>355</sup> One of two beasts of Rv 13 was generally understood to represent the Antichrist. For the various possible identifications, see Andrew of Caesarea's *Commentary* on Rv 13:1–17, in Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 135–144 (cap. 36–37).

<sup>356</sup> Edition in Hans Achelis, ed., *Hippolytus' Werke. Erster Band, zweite Hälfte: Kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 1/2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 3–47 (= PG 10, 725–788). For a more recent critical edition, see Panagiotis C. Athanasopoulos, *Ιππολύτου Ρώμης Περί Του Αντιχρίστου – Κριτική Έκδοση*, Ph.D. dissertation (Ioannina, 2013), 136–194.

<sup>357</sup> For an analysis of the historical context of this Pauline motif, see Otto Betz, "Der Katechon," *New Testament Studies* 9 (1962/1963): 276–291 and Paul Metzger, *Katechon: II Thess 2,1–12 im Horizont apokalyptischen Denkens*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 135 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

<sup>358</sup> See Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie*, 55. Byzantine prophecies, as a rule, understand the removal of this withholding power as the willful abdication of the Savior-Emperor. Notable exceptions are *DiegDan* and *ApcLeonConst*, which do not mention the abdication scene.

the Antichrist.<sup>359</sup> All these elements drew on earlier traditions to be sure, but it was the authority and eloquence of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* that elevated these exegetical motifs to quasi-canonical status.<sup>360</sup>

Once appeared, the Antichrist was believed to perform a variety of pseudo-miracles in order to deceive Jews and Christians. Fashioned on the Gospel accounts, Byzantine prophecies disclose that the *Anti*-christ would perform some of the very same miracles that Christ had performed, including the healing of the sick and walking on water.

Apocalyptic descriptions of the Antichrist's false miracle-workings	Biblical accounts of Christ's miracles
<p><i>ApcMeth</i> XIV.8 Ποιήσει γὰρ τότε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀδρανῇ καὶ ἐξίτηλα· τυφλοὶ γὰρ ἀναβλέψουσι, χωλοὶ περιπατήσωσι, κωφοὶ ἀκούσονται καὶ δαιμονιῶντες ἰαθήσονται. [...] καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ψευδοσημείοις καὶ φαντασιώδεσι τέρασι πλάνης πλανήσει, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς, καθὼς ὁ κύριος προηγόρευσεν.</p> <p>For at that time he will perform many signs and wonders, powerless and fading, over the earth. <i>For the blind will receive their sight, the lame will walk, the deaf will hear,</i> and the demon-possessed will be healed. [...] in these false signs and fantastic wonders of deceit he will deceive, if possible, the very elect, just as the Lord foretold. (Garstad, trans., <i>Apocalypse</i>, 67)</p>	<p>Mt 11:5 τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσι, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται (Cf. Lk 7:22)</p> <p><i>The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.</i> (KJV)</p>

<sup>359</sup> *ApcMeth* XIV.6. The Antichrist was believed to be of Jewish pedigree at least since Irenaeos (d. c. 200) and Hippolytos (d. c. 236), see Irenaeos' *Against Heresies* V.30.2 in Norbert Brox, ed./trans., *Irenäus von Lyon. Adversus Haereses: Gegen die Häresien*, Vol.5, FC 8/5 (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 2001), 224–226 and Hippolytos' *On the Antichrist* §15 in Achelis, ed., *Hippolytus' Werke*, 11–12 (= PG 10, 737C–740A; Athanasopoulos, *Ἰππολύτου Ρώμης Περί Του Αντιχρίστου*, 147–148). In this respect the study by Andrew Gow, “La tradition de «l'Antéchrist» juif en occident,” in *Les Chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin: Approche comparative: Actes du colloque organisé les 14-15 juin 1999 à des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris)*, ed. Mikhail Dmitriev, Daniel Tollet, and Élisabeth Teiro (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 43–58, esp. 51–57, which argues that the Byzantines did not promote the Jewish identity of the Antichrist, needs to be amended with a reading of Byzantine apocalypses. For some critical remarks regarding the ambiguity of the eschatological fate of the Jews in Byzantium, see Paul Magdalino, “‘All Israel Will Be Saved’? The Forced Baptism of the Jews and Imperial Eschatology,” in *Jews in Early Christian Law: Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th–11th Centuries*, ed. John Tolan, Nicholas de Lange, Laurence Foschia and Capucine Nemo-Pekelman, Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 231–242, esp. 231–235.

<sup>360</sup> On the incipient development of the Antichrist legend, see the still insightful study by Wilhelm Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apocalypse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895), esp. 76–83. See further Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 59 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1991) and Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*, Second edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 33–78. On the Antichrist in Byzantium, see ODB, s.v. “Antichrist,” Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 193–225, and Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, 86–98, *passim*.

*Ps-Chrys* VI.4–7 ποιήσει γὰρ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀ[ν]δρανῇ καὶ ἐξίτηλα· *τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέψουσι καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατήσουσι, κωφοὶ ἀκούσονται* καὶ δαιμονιῶδαι[ς]<sup>361</sup> ἰασθήσονται. [...] καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ [τοῖς] σημείοις καὶ φαντασιώδεσι· τέρασι πλανήσ<ει> καὶ ἀπατήσῃ εἰ δυνατόν καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, καθὼς γέγραπται.

For he will perform signs and wonders, powerless and fading, over the earth. *The blind will receive their sight, the lame will walk, the deaf will hear*, and the demon-possessed will be healed. [...] And by these signs and illusory wonders of his he will deceive and trick, if possible, the very elect, just as it is written.

*VisioDan* V.10–12 καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας ποιῶν σημεῖα φαντασιώδη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· *τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέψουσι, χωλοὶ περιπατήσουσι, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται*. καὶ ταῦτα ἔσονται ψευδοσημεῖα.

And then the son of perdition will appear performing illusory signs over the earth. *The blind will receive their sight, the lame will walk, the lepers are cleansed*. But these will be false signs.

*UltVisDan* §74 καὶ οὕτως βασιλεύσει ὁ ἀντίχριστος καὶ πράξει θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα πράγματα.

And in this way the Antichrist will rule and will perform marvelous and stupendous deeds.

*VisDanSanHom* ll.681–686 δῆλον ὅτι εἰς τὰς φαντασίας καὶ εἰς τὰ ψεύδη καὶ ἀπατηλὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ ἀμέλει ποιεῖ πρὸς ἀπάτην, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ σημείοις καὶ φαντασιώδεσι τέρασι δυνατόν πλανήσῃ[ν] καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, ποιήσει δὲ ὅσα καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησε· *τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέψαι, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, κωφοὺς ἀκοῦσαι, δαιμονιοῦντας ἰαθῆναι*.

It is clear that he will perform illusions and false and deceptive signs to cheat and by these signs and illusory wonders of his he will deceive—if possible—even the elect; he will perform whatever Christ has performed: *the blind to receive their sight, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear*, the demon-possessed to be healed.

<sup>361</sup> *Lege* δαιμονιώντες vel δαιμονιώδεις.

*Ps-Hippol* §26, ll.11–12 *Μεταστήσει ὄρη ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν θεωρούντων, περιπατήσει τὴν θαλάσσαν ἀβρόχοις τοῖς ποσὶ, [...]*

*He will move mountains before the eyes of those watching, he will walk on the sea with unwetted feet, [...]*

*ApcLeonConst* §19, ll.520–525 καὶ πάλιν ὑπαίρεται ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, βασταζόμενος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης περιπατήσιν ἔχει, ποιῶν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ φαντασίας πολλὰς ὑποδεικνύων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν, περιπατῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν καὶ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ἀβρόχως

And again, he is raised by demons when being lifted up in the air by the people; and *he will walk on the sea*, performing great signs and showing many apparitions to the Jews and to those who believe in him, walking from east to west and *walking on the sea* without getting wet.

*DiegDan* XIII.11 σοὶ λέγω τῇ ἀκροτόμῳ πέτρᾳ· γένου ἄρτος ἐνώπιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

I tell you, flinty rock: *Become bread* before the Jews!<sup>362</sup>

Mt 17:20 [...] ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· *μετάβα ἔνθεν ἐκεῖ*, καὶ μεταβήσεται [...] [...]

[...] If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, *ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place*; and it shall remove; [...] (KJV)

Mt 14:25 τετάρτῃ δὲ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*. (cf. Mk 6:48, Jn 6:19)

And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, *walking on the sea*. (KJV)

Mk 2:11 σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. (cf. Mk 5:41; Lk 5:24; Lk 7:14)

*I say unto thee*, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house. (KJV)

Mt 4:3 καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, *εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται*. (cf. Lk 4:3)

And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, *command that these stones be made bread*. (KJV)

Various further examples could be presented, which construct the Antichrist's actions as false emulations of Christ's miracle-workings. Possibly the most succinct expression of this mimetic relationship can be found in the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople*, where the Antichrist is said to imitate even the voice of Christ.<sup>363</sup>

<sup>362</sup> My translation differs from the one given by Zervos, "The Apocalypse of Daniel," 769, as his translation follows here the text provided in cod. Oxoniensis Canonicianus gr. 19, as opposed to Berger's critical edition, which follows—in this sentence—the text from cod. Montepessulanus gr. 405.

<sup>363</sup> *ApcLeonConst* §18, ll.502–503: [...] μιμούμενος τοῦ Μεσσία τὴν φωνὴν [...] This notion can already be found in Romanos the Melodist's celebrated *Kontakion On the Second Coming*, see José G. de Matons, ed./trans., *Romanos Le Mélode: Hymnes*, Vol.5 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1981), 234–267, at 248.13: τούτου γὰρ μιμεῖται τὴν φωνὴν [...]

There existed different exegetical interpretations as to which miracles the Antichrist would perform. None of the Byzantine prophecies surveyed here mentions any attempt by the Antichrist to resurrect the dead. The prophecies, thus, argue *ex silentio* that this miracle cannot be emulated.<sup>364</sup> Most often, miracle accounts of the Antichrist are concerned with healings, exceptional natural phenomena, and with the bringing about of specious periods of prosperity. The *Narrative of Daniel* stands out with transmitting an otherwise unknown tradition of the Antichrist, who attempts to transform a stone into bread. The attempt fails. Instead of turning into bread, the stone transforms into a dragon, who denounces the Antichrist for trickery and lawlessness.<sup>365</sup> Although the exact provenance of this story is unclear, it appears to reverberate the language of the Gospel accounts of Christ's healing miracles (Mk 2:11)<sup>366</sup> and to invert Christ's rejection to perform this very miracle when being tempted by the devil in the desert (Mt 4:3).<sup>367</sup> While Christ refuses to turn stones into bread, the Antichrist attempts to accomplish it but utterly fails, which presents a further, good example of an antithetical typology.<sup>368</sup>

The Antichrist figure is not only the typological inversion of Christ but also of the Savior-Emperor. This is a direct consequence of the notions that (i) the Antichrist is the antagonistic counterpart of Christ and that (ii) the Savior-Emperor is Christ's positive antitype. In addition to the Christological aspect, the antagonistic juxtaposition of the ideal emperor with the Antichrist needs to be seen against the background of a longstanding anxiety, namely the fear that the Antichrist would be a future Byzantine emperor. This expectation is clearly voiced by Andrew of Caesarea in his *Commentary on Revelation* and reiterated in various Medieval Greek apocalypses.<sup>369</sup> That is why the Antichrist is, at times, said to be "dead and useful for nothing"—a

<sup>364</sup> On this issue, see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 116–119. It is telling that an early Syriac adaptation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*, the so-called *Edessene Apocalypse*, does mention the resurrection of the dead among the Antichrist's false miracles; see Harald Suermann, ed./trans., *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalyptik des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Europäische Hochschulschriften (Reihe XXIII) 256 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1985), 93. It also predicts that the Savior-Emperor would not rise in a Christ-like fashion, while the abdication scene would follow (and not precede) the destruction of the Antichrist. These differences signify that the *Edessene Apocalypse* belongs to a different exegetical tradition. For the Syriac original of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*, on which the *Edessene Apocalypse* depends, see Gerrit J. Reinink, ed./trans., *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, 2 vols., CSCO 540–541 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993),

<sup>365</sup> *DiegDan* XIII.9–14. Cf. *ApcLeonConst* §19, l.517.

<sup>366</sup> As already observed by Berger, ed./trans., *Die griechische Daniel-Diegeese*, 141.

<sup>367</sup> For the typological significance of this motif within the *Gospel of Matthew*, see Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 158.

<sup>368</sup> An additional layer of this inverted typology can be identified in the expression "flinty rock" (ἀκρότομος πέτρα), which refers to Dt 8:15, where Moses is said to have brought forth water from a "flinty rock."

<sup>369</sup> See Andrew of Caesarea's comments on Rv 13:2, in Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 136–137 (cap. 36): [...] ὁ ἀντίχριστος ὡς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐλευσόμενος [...] as well as on Rv 17:11, in *ibid.*,

characterization that is denied about the Savior-Emperor.<sup>370</sup> Various other examples could be highlighted.<sup>371</sup> It is noteworthy that this juxtaposition becomes less frequent in later prophecies, which reflects a lack of anxiety that a Byzantine emperor could shortly rise to the dominant position of the Antichrist. Given that the empire was severely weakened after 1204, the general expectation that the Antichrist would rule as emperor must have been curtailed. Even though the antagonism between the Christ-like emperor and the Antichrist became less emphatic over time, the notion that the Antichrist constitutes the typological inversion of Christ was never suspended.

These examples should suffice to demonstrate that numerous protagonists and events in Byzantine apocalypses are typologically informed motifs. When weaving the fabric of providential history, Byzantine apocalypticists used typological (be they positive or antithetical) constructs that reverberated past events of salvation history (particularly Christological events) in order to contextualize and interpret contemporary and anticipated occurrences in conjunction with the use of standardized apocalyptic motifs. Typological links were the threads onto which historical events and characters could be sewn, together with the apocalyptic elements from canonical/extracanonical scriptures.

189 (cap. 54): οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου ἔθνους παρὰ τὰ προλεχθέντα, ἀλλ' ὡς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ καταλύσει καὶ ἀπωλεία τῶν αὐτῷ πειθομένων ἐλεύσεται [...] – The same notion can already be found in Oikoumenios, see Hoskier, ed., *Commentary of Oecumenius*, 189 or de Groote, ed., *Oecumenii Commentarius*, 224.290–294 (cap. IX.13.8). Translation in Suggit, trans., *Oecumenius*, 149–150. See further, Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 203–206. For a rich survey of this tradition in late antique sources, see the notable study by Berthold Rubin, “Der Antichrist und die ‘Apokalypse’ des Prokopios von Kaisareia,” *ZDMG* 110 (1961): 55–63. For later apocalyptic references, see *Ps-Hippol* §20, ll.2–4, *ApcLeonConst* §16, l.434 and §20, ll.551f as well as *VisDanSanHom* l.731. It is noteworthy that the various redactions of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* reject—by means of silence—any such speculation to identify the Antichrist with a future Byzantine emperor.

<sup>370</sup> Compare, for instance, *ApcMeth* XIV.11: Παρουσία οὖν πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐλέγξουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀναδείξουσιν αὐτὸν [scil. τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας] ψεύστην ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ *μηδὲν ὄντα* [...] with *ApcMeth* XIII.11 [...] ὃν [scil. τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων] ἐλογίζοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡσεὶ νεκρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς *οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα* and *VisioDan* V.16: ἐνώπιον πάντων ἐλέγξουσιν αὐτὸν [scil. τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας] ὡς ψεύστην καὶ *οὐδὲν χρησιμεύοντα*. with *VisioDan* II.5: [...] [καὶ] χρίσονται αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ὃν [scil. τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων] ἐδόκουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς νεκρὸν εἶναι καὶ *οὐδὲν χρησιμεύειν*.

<sup>371</sup> One further example is the contrast between the genuinely prosperous period inaugurated by the Savior-Emperor and the ephemeral prosperity provided by the Antichrist. Cf. *DiegDan* VI.24 with XI.36–37, XII.6. The antithetical correspondence is brought out here by the juxtaposition of sustainable prosperity with short-lived and, thus, false abundance. See further Berger, ed./trans., *Die griechische Daniel-Diegesse*, 31.

## CHAPTER 7: INFERENCES WITH REGARD TO APOCALYPTIC TIME

The notions of a new Massacre of the Innocents, a new Exodus, a new Flood, and the various Christological typologies share the common emphasis of eschatological emulation. Typological eschatology runs equally through the historical and prophetic sections of any given Medieval Greek apocalypse. Typology is an essential constituent of the apocalyptic genre; it is a compositional method and literary device, which complements other elements of the apocalyptic repertoire. Its focus is inherently ambiguous: it rests with the present but also with the projected future. While the present represents a heightened eschatological stage in the end-time narrative, it does not yet signify the final culmination, when events—known from Byzantine historiography—were understood to become fully realized.<sup>372</sup> Typology is an exegetical method, used to express the progressive climax of salvation history. It thereby conveys a hermeneutical approach that interprets and revises biblical historiography by first singling out historiographical markers (such as the OT locust plague or the OT King Ahab in the case of the *Last Vision of Daniel*), which saturate biblical narratives. These markers are then paired with contemporary equivalents (such as the devastation of Byzantine lands or the capture of Constantinople), which are thereby given meaning within an all-encompassing, universal history.

Concomitantly, a sense of cumulative fulfillment is attributed to the contemporary antitypes. The climax of fulfillment is a function of the eschatological import that typologies impart. Typologies construct history as a narrative that, on the one hand, proceeds in linear but gradual succession from the past through the future.<sup>373</sup> On the other hand, it transcends the chronological order through mimetic reoccurrences that repeat and surpass earlier soteriological events. That is, typologies superimpose supplementary meaning into the linear thread of chronology. To quote J. Daniélou: “prophecy is the typological interpretation of history.”<sup>374</sup>

The typological exposition of history is prone to yield a particular perception of time. Despite the fact that the various typologies refer back to disparate events, they converge in the

<sup>372</sup> Cf. Oscar Cullmann’s renowned formula ‘already but not yet’ in Oscar Cullmann, *Christus und die Zeit: Die urchristliche Zeit- und Geschichtsauffassung*, Second edition (Zollikon-Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1946), esp. 188.

<sup>373</sup> See Angenendt, “Die liturgische Zeit,” 107–109.

<sup>374</sup> Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 157. Arguably, these characteristics do not only apply to the apocalyptic genre but to any given literary genre that employs typologies. It should not be surprising that this applies particularly to the historical genre, which employs typologies more commonly than other kinds of literature, as shown by Ian Michael, “Typological Problems in Medieval Alexander Literature: The Enclosure of Gog and Magog,” in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross*, ed. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, Claire Isoz (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publication, 1982), 131–147, esp. 144.

singular interval of the *synteleia*. The agglomeration of chronologically diverse typologies within the fugacious apocalyptic period gives the impression that history is being reduced to its key soteriological events; it is condensed to its very basic, i.e., typological patterns, from which historical redundancies are subtracted. As a result, diachronic history appears to collapse into a singular culmination that, to some extent, resembles the atemporal divine perspective in which past, present, and future are indistinguishable and singular. By applying the NT motif of the shortening of days (Mt 24:22/Mk 13:20), the apocalypticist further reinforces the perception of the collapse of time. It can be argued that by condensing history and, concomitantly, by converging on divine atemporality, typological eschatology neutralizes time.<sup>375</sup>

Typologies neutralize the lapse of time, as they focus on the incessant and, thus, synchronic presence of soteriological markers. It neutralizes time but does not annihilate it. The focus of typologies rest with the eternal present of God's providence, which prophetic revelations claim to uncover. Only in revelations do the hidden semantic connections between disjointed events and characters become apparent.<sup>376</sup> It is the task of the inspired apocalypticist to uncover these signifiers and to identify the temporal coordinates in the typological grid of history.

The coordinates are not always binary; they can also be manifold.<sup>377</sup> Christological typologies are of particular importance in this respect. Christ-like figures can appear innumerable times as they do not represent mere historical repetitions but rather express the continuous manifestation of the already realized eschatology achieved through Christ's incarnation and sacrifice. This is well expressed in the above quoted *Anonymous prediction*,

<sup>375</sup> Sergej S. Averintsev, *Поэтика ранневизантийской литературы* (St. Petersburg: Азбука–классика, 2004), 102.

<sup>376</sup> Byzantine prophecies receive their legitimacy from their pseudonymity as well as from their claim to be revelations, as is clearly indicated by their respective titles. Historical apocalypses usually profess to be a prophecy (προφητεία), vision (ὄρασις), oracle (χρησμός) or revelation (ἀποκάλυψις). At times, they also use the less revelatory categories of narrative (λόγος) and narration (διήγησις). Occasionally, they might also be labeled as an exposition (ἀπόδειξις) or prediction (πρόγνωσις). It is noteworthy that there are subtle differences between these appellations. Most importantly, prophecies (προφητεῖαι) were believed to express the divine volition, while predictions (προγνώσεις) were considered to be natural or man-made (i.e., scientific/technical) forecasts. On this distinction, see Eleōnora Kountoura-Galakē, “Προρρήσεις μοναχών και ανάδειξη αυτοκρατόρων στη διάρκεια των «σκοτεινών αιώνων»,” in *Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (7ος–9ος αι.)*, Διεθνή συμπόσια 9 (Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, 2001), 421–441, at 437.

<sup>377</sup> Cf. Guinot, “La typologie comme technique herméneutique,” 10–11, 21, who points out that declarative, verbal prophecies (διὰ λόγου, διὰ ῥημάτων)—which are to be distinguished from prophecies through historical events (διὰ τύπου, διὰ πραγμάτων)—could be realized more than once, given that an earlier realization was incomplete and, thus, needed subsequent fulfillment. This theory of repeated typological realization—as elaborated by the fourth-century Antiochene theologians—suggests that typologically habituated minds, which the Byzantines arguably had, could have understood Isaiah's prophecies to have been partially fulfilled in the old Jerusalem while expecting the same calamities to befall the new Jerusalem in an intensified and, thus, more woeful fashion. Although this reading can be well accommodated in the *Last Vision of Daniel*, it can hardly be proven, since typological models are rarely explicated in the apocalyptic genre.

which likens the Savior-Emperor to Christ in exactly the same words as Christ is likened in Heb 7:3 to the OT priest Melchizedek.<sup>378</sup> This correspondence continues in the figure of the Antichrist, who is a typological inversion. Christological typologies can be instantiated again and again because eschatology has already been realized in Christ, the Church as well as the Empire.<sup>379</sup> Put differently, Christ-like typologies are present at all times; they are the most synchronic phenomenon in Byzantine apocalypses. Therefore, the ideal of the eschatological Christ-like emperor could be indefinitely repeated and its several functions could be spread out among numerous figures. This can be well seen in the *Last Vision of Daniel* §§47–59, 60–61, where the function of (I) politically reconstituting the empire and the function of (III) imperial abdication, which are central elements of the Pseudo-Methodian last emperor *topos*, have been distributed between two successive emperors.<sup>380</sup>

Typology transcends diachronic time and is governed by the logic of the eternal present. By situating historical events that stretch from Moses to Constantine I to the present in a typological grid, the *Last Vision of Daniel* reiterates that eschatology has already been realized, even if not fully completed. While typologies are past-based and future-oriented their literary as well as theological focal point lies with the present. The eschatological typology of Byzantine apocalypses conveys a pronounced presentism that—by mimicking God’s atemporal synchronicity—draws the reader/listener to the reticular present moment as it unfolds along timeless (i.e., incessant) typological patterns. Hence, the significance of the *vaticinia ex eventu*, which provide not only auctorial legitimacy but also guides the audience along historiographical markers to the present moment. In this respect the often ambiguous character of many *vaticinia* only facilitates their pertinence.<sup>381</sup>

<sup>378</sup> *AnonymVatic* p.48, ll.27–28. This typology is reiterated in *NarrMend* ll.62–64.

<sup>379</sup> On realized eschatology, see John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 1974), 219. On the distinctiveness of Christological typologies, see further Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 77, 85–95. Concerning the notion that the Kingdom of Heaven is immanent in the Christian Roman Empire, see Paul Magdalino, “The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda,” in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueché, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King’s College London, Publications 1 (Aldershot/Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1993), 3–34, at 10–15.

<sup>380</sup> A similar observation can be made for *ApcAndr* ll.3824–3920.

<sup>381</sup> What is more, anachronisms and chronological inconsistencies make good sense in a literary genre that claims (1) ancient provenance, (2) contemporary relevance, and (3) timeless revelation. See Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 217–222. See further Anthony Kemp, *The Estrangement of the Past: A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991), 49–50.

The apocalyptic temporality of the *Last Vision of Daniel*, and arguably of Medieval Greek apocalypticism in general, is predominately presentist in character.<sup>382</sup> This presentist focus contributes to a notion of an open-ended future that can be negotiated. Moral apocalypses, in particular, emphasize the idea of negotiating punishment;<sup>383</sup> but also historical apocalypses advance pleas and prayers that demonstrate how to placate the divine wrath.<sup>384</sup> Accordingly, the *synteleia* could be rewritten, which was also necessary, given the continual deferral of the end.<sup>385</sup> The Byzantines' readiness to update or altogether rewrite prophecies is well testified by the copious manuscript tradition, as shown in the Appendix. In whatever way the *synteleia* would be transacted, an orderly transition into a post-apocalyptic world depended on typological continuities.<sup>386</sup> To favorably navigate the present meant to recognize, negotiate, and act on the continuous soteriological markers, revealed in typological manifestations.

The focus on the present is not only conveyed by the typological superstructure, but also through linguistic means. We have seen how the temporal monotony of apocalyptic narratives is qualified by fluctuations in the narrative speed and by the chronometric anomaly of the shortening of the days. In these cases, normal, diachronic temporality is suspended both subjectively and objectively. In both cases, diachronic time is made to approximate its antithesis, which is the synchronous, eternal present. Medieval Greek apocalypses also express this convergence through the verb tenses.

H. Schmoldt's edition of the *Last Vision of Daniel* holds 130 conjugated verbs (not counting the participles). 10 verbs are in the present tense, 33 in the aorist, 1 in the perfect and the 86 in

<sup>382</sup> A comparable observation has been made in connection with Byzantine iconography, see Roland Betancourt, "Prolepsis and Anticipation: The Apocalyptic Futurity of the Now, East and West," in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), 177–205.

<sup>383</sup> See Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 267–318.

<sup>384</sup> A noteworthy example is the people's prayer in the ninth-century *VisioDan* IV.17–19: [...] μὴ καταποντίσῃ ἡμᾶς ἡ ὀργή σου, κύριε, ἕως τέλος, ὅτι ἐκύκλωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐσχάτη ἄβυσσος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν <ἡμῶν>. σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς δάκρυσιν αὐτῶν ἐρεῖ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἄρον τὴν ὁδύνην <ἀπὸ> τῆς γῆς ἕως καιρῶν τινῶν. | "[...] May Your wrath not submerge us completely, Lord, since the deepest abyss of [our] sins has encircled us. Save Your people, our God. And because He is moved to compassion by their tears, He will say to the angel: Take away the agony from the earth for some time." See also *AnonymVatic* p.49, ll.17–18: καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ἡ προσευχὴ αὐτοῦ [scil. τοῦ βασιλέως] εἰς τὰ ὦτα Κυρίου Σαβαώθ, [...] | "And his [i.e., the emperor's] prayer will come into the ears of the Lord Sabaoth [...]" and *NarrMend* ll.46–47: καὶ τότε εἰσακούσεται κ(ύριος) τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν· καὶ θήσει τὰ ὦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν | Translation in Brokkaar, trans., *The Oracles*, 93: "Then the Lord will hear their prayer and will turn his ears to those who inhabit the earth."

<sup>385</sup> Concerning the paradox that apocalypticism, in particular millennialism, is in constant need to postpone the end in order to perpetuate itself, see Cathy Gutierrez, "The Millennium and Narrative Closure," in *War in Heaven/Heaven on Earth: Theories of the Apocalyptic*, ed. Stephen D. O'Leary and Glen S. McGhee, *Millennialism and Society* 2 (London: Equinox, 2005), 47–59.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire," 344–345.

the future tense (including periphrastic structures of μέλλω with the present infinitive or aorist infinitive).<sup>387</sup> Most verbs stand in the future tense or aorist subjunctive, which together with the numerous temporal conjunctions convey a diachronic account. The diachronicity of historical developments is contrasted with the use of the present indicative and the aorist imperative, which are almost exclusively reserved for divine actions and direct speech.<sup>388</sup> Medieval Greek apocalypica are, on the whole, consistent in describing God's actions in the present tense, thereby expressing His independence from any temporal succession. Divine commands are expressed in the aorist imperative, conveying the specificity of the command and the expectation of its complete implementation. The present tense, used in direct speech, lends vitality and temporal immediacy to the narrative. Moreover, it expresses synchrony and presentism. The temporal shifts away from the future tense enforces the notion that divine providence had already preordained specific events to happen and, thus, operates outside diachronic time.<sup>389</sup> The verb tenses support the impression that synchronous elements proliferate at the end of time. The conglomeration of diverse typologies only reinforces this tendency.

Apocalyptic time is characterized by the transformation of diachronic mutability into synchronous stasis. The *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople* is a good witness for this view. It states the following: “All will resurrect with the same stature, all [will have] the same height, all

<sup>387</sup> For the use of this periphrastic structure in the later Byzantine period (11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.), see Theodore Markopoulos, *The Future in Greek: From Ancient to Medieval*, Oxford Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 121–140. Markopoulos establishes that the structure of μέλλω with infinitive was used less frequently in this period than it had been previously. When still used, it seems to denote a prediction with a “strong undertone of certainty about the future” (ibid., 123). The linguistic evidence from *UltVisDan*—not used in Markopoulos’ study—may further support his observation that formulas of μέλλω with infinitive came to convey a notion of a “destiny future” (ibid., 138, *passim*), before eventually developing into a notion of deontic obligation.

<sup>388</sup> *UltVisDan* §§1–10, 46–51. In one instance the present imperfect is used in the direct speech of a villain protagonist, see *UltVisDan* §68. In another instance, the present tense of εἶμι is used to convey a temporally indefinite situation, see *UltVisDan* §34.

<sup>389</sup> Cf. Baun, “The Moral Apocalypse,” 258 and eadem, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 144–147, who argues that the shifts in verbal tenses that moral apocalypses regularly employ are a deliberate literary device to convey the notion of the eternal present, in which no regulated temporal succession exists. Furthermore, Vanya Nikolova, “Ἐπεσε, ἔπεσε Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη” (Rev 14:8). Prophetic past or remembered future,” in *Memory and oblivion in Byzantium / Памет и забрава във Византия*, ed. Albena Milanova, Vesselina Vatchkova and Tsvetelin Stepanov (Sofia: Военно издателство, 2011), 14–23, at 22 argues that the canonical *Revelation of John* uses specific verbal tenses to express particular truth claims: the present tense expresses timeless truths, the future tense signifies changeability, and the past tense suggests predetermined facts. It would be worthwhile to follow up her suggestion that the future tense conveys mutability. See further Thomas Söding, “Der Kairos der Basileia,” in *Zeit und Ewigkeit als Raum göttlichen Handelns: Religionsgeschichtliche, theologische und philosophische Perspektiven*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 390 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 233–252, who argues that the frequent use of the perfect tense in the New Testament conveys a ‘perfective eschatology’ that signifies a unique soteriological action in the past whose effect continues into the present.

[will be] thirty years of age, they will recognize nothing in each other on account of their [outward] appearance [...] but by the clear-sighted eye of the soul [...] And then all will be awakened equal [...]”<sup>390</sup> The post-apocalyptic stage is an isochronic environment, in which temporal disparities have been largely eliminated. The notion of post-parousial stasis can also be found in patristic writings.<sup>391</sup> What is particular to the apocalyptic genre is that the transition to isochronic stasis was imagined to be transacted via acceleration; speed was understood to condense diachronic time and to approximate it to the eternal present of the afterlife.<sup>392</sup> In this regard, the literary technique of narrative speed, the *topos* of the shortening of days, and the exegetical method of typology all serve the same end: the transformation of dissipative time into an immutable stasis.

<sup>390</sup> *ApcLeonConst* §22, ll.613–622: πάντες ἀναστήσονται μία ἡλικία, ὅλοι ἰσοκέφαλοι, ὅλοι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, οὐδὲν γνωρίζουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ θεωρίᾳ [...] ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ διορατικὸν ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς [...] καὶ τότε ἐγερθήσονται ὅλοι ἴσοι [...]. A similar notion is expressed in the apocalyptic vision of the *Life of Saint Niphon* §90, most recently edited and translated by Vasileios Marinis, “The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon (BHG 1371z),” *DOP* 71 (2017) 193–227, at 221: Ὑπῆρχον δὲ πάντες τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσει τριῶν ἔτων. | “All were about three years of age.” It is of little significance which age the resurrected children have; whether three (as suggested by V. Marinis) or thirty years (as in A. Rystenko’s edition). What matters is the homogeneity of the age.

<sup>391</sup> See, for instance, Justin Mossay and Guy Lafontaine, eds./trans., *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 24–26*, SC 284 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1981), 252.7–10 (Oratio 26.11; PG 35, 1241C): δέξεται τὴν διάλυσιν, ὡς προθεσμίαν ἀναγκαίᾳς ἐλευθερίας· ἵλεως πρὸς τὰ ἐξῆς μεταβήσεται, ἔνθα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄωρος οὐδὲ πρεσβύτης, ἀλλὰ πάντες τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡλικίαν τέλειοι. Translation in Martha Vinson, trans., *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations*, The Fathers of the Church 107 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 184: “He will welcome the hour of his release as the time appointed for the liberation vouchsafed to him; he will go in gladness to the world beyond, where no one is too young and no one old, but all are perfect in the age of the spirit.” See also Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, 278–279 (Amb. 10.33; PG 91, 1169D–1172A): Ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ὁρωμένων ὑπεράνω γενόμενοι μεγαλοφυῶς τοῦ πάντως ἐσομένου τῶν ὄλων κατεστοχάσαντο πέρας, ἐν ᾧ τι τῶν ὄντων οὐκέτι φέρον ἐστὶ καὶ φερόμενον, οὐδέ τις οὐδενὸς τὸ σύνολον κίνησις παγιότητος ἀρρήτου, τὴν τῶν φερομένων τε καὶ κινουμένων φορὰν τε ὀρισαμένης καὶ κίνησιν. | “In passing from visible things to what is beyond them, the saints brilliantly foresaw the end of all things, which is bound to come at some point in the future, ushering in a condition in which no beings will move or be moved, for there will be no movement at all, but rather an ineffable stillness that will contain the flow and motion of whatever is carried along and moved.” See further above n.34. Cf. Keller, *Apocalypse Now and Then*, 101, who illustrates the post-apocalyptic state with the imagery of frozenness.

<sup>392</sup> For a pertinent example, see *ApcLeonConst* §22, ll.588–592: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, γεννηθήσεται παιδίον ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν βασιλέων ὥρα πρώτη τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ὥρα τετάρτη λαλήσει, καὶ ὥρα ἑβδόμη γενήσεται ἀρχηγένειος, καὶ ὥρα δευτέρα τῆς ἡμέρας ζητήσει λαβεῖν γυναῖκα· – In way of a paraphrase it can be said that the *Apocalypse of Leo of Constantinople* prophesizes the birth of a boy of imperial descent, who—following the annihilation of the Antichrist—will be born shortly after nightfall, who will start talking and growing a beard throughout the night, and who will be seek a bride shortly after sunrise. The scene presents the last earthly event in the apocalypse. It shows a grotesque contraction of natural time, after which time is said to collapse into isochronic inertia.

## PART III. UTILIZING THE END:

## APPROPRIATIONS OF THE APOCALYPTIC HORIZON FOR POLITICAL USE

Medieval Greek apocalyptic literature defined a horizon of expectations that outlined the historical sequence of end-time events as well as the phenomenological experience associated with them. Apocalyptic narratives primed their audiences for what to expect and for how to act in the face of the inevitable disintegration of worldly existence. While the sequence of the history of the future was believed to be rather well known, the actual experience thereof was anticipated to be of unknown intensity.<sup>393</sup> The presentist focus of apocalyptic literature exhorts its audience to psychologically ready itself for unfamiliar qualities of not so unfamiliar events. It thereby communicates an element of stability that serves as a consoling if not emboldening reference point amidst the experiential novelties of climactic agony and hope.

The focus on apocalyptic presentism was instrumental in shaping political discourses and in interpreting contemporary socio-political conditions. In fact, historical apocalypses are mostly—although not exclusively—concerned with reflecting upon the *status quo*. This is a function of the Christian teleological view of history, which presupposes that every event and action derives its ultimate meaning from the Last Judgment. The teleological view of history establishes a cognitive horizon of expectations in which any major change in societal or political arrangements necessitates apocalyptic validation.<sup>394</sup> As a result, the apocalyptic horizon shaped the political present of the respective audiences. Prophecies were potent in announcing divinely sanctioned transformation, especially at moments of crisis.<sup>395</sup> Furthermore, the various narrative motifs, such as the typologically constructed Savior-Emperor, were earnestly expected to be realized and, thus, carried a normative character. These “normative fictions” can be shown to have been indeed influential.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>393</sup> See, for instance, *DiegDan* VI.1, XI.29, XI.37: οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. | “such as has not happened since the foundation of the world.” Cf. Mt 24:21, Mk 13:19, Rv 13:8, 17:8.

<sup>394</sup> McGinn, “Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,” 157.

<sup>395</sup> Kountoura-Galakē, “Προρρήσεις μοναχών,” 425.

<sup>396</sup> The term “normative fictions” was coined by Évelyne Patlagean, “Byzance et son autre monde. Observations sur quelques récits,” in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes de table ronde de Rome (22–23 juin 1979)*, Collection de l’École Française de Rome 51 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), 201–221, at 213, who used it for moral apocalypses and for the historical apocalypse contained in the *Vita S. Andreae Sali*. I consider the term “normative fictions” to be applicable to historical apocalypses in general because they usually contain genuinely prophetic sections that convey aspects of normativity.

Part III seeks to demonstrate that the apocalyptic horizon of expectations informed Byzantine political and ideological developments in the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries. This time frame has been chosen because Byzantine eschatological attitudes of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries have not yet been investigated.<sup>397</sup> This scholarly *lacuna* is, to a large extent, due to the scarcity of source material. Almost no apocalyptic narrative from the Komnēnian era has survived.<sup>398</sup> Yet historiographical testimonies evince, beyond any doubt, that the Komnēnian era was at least as apocalyptically sensitive as any other period in Byzantine history. Reasons for the lack of apocalyptic sources should be sought in an imperial censorship that was extremely successful in penalizing the production and distribution of apocalyptic pamphlets as well as in the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, which overshadowed earlier petty prophecies.<sup>399</sup> The following chapters address the *desideratum* to investigate eleventh to thirteenth-century Byzantine apocalypticism by presenting three case studies. The first study highlights the apocalyptic orientation of Alexios I Komnēnos in order to exemplify the historical relevance of the apocalyptic horizon and, concomitantly, to better understand the motivations behind Italos' second trial in 1082. The next chapter demonstrates the apocalyptic significance of the execution of the dethroned Alexios V Doukas. To the best of my knowledge, no such argument has yet been made. In the final chapter, I examine the Byzantine apocalyptic response to the Latin conquest of Constantinople and establish how thirteenth-century Byzantine irredentism was a logical necessity of the typologically structured horizon of expectations.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>397</sup> As pointed out by Magdalino, "The End of Time in Byzantium," 130.

<sup>398</sup> A notable exception is the late eleventh-century *Dioptra Philippi Monotropi*, which contains an exposition of the Last Judgment and a short treatise on the Antichrist. Another exception may be the *Prophetia de insula Cypri*, which I would date—following Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 47—around 1191. This oracular prophecy seems to have been preserved largely due to its inclusion in later texts, such as the *Aenigmata Leonis*. With regard to the *Leonis Constantinopolitani de fine mundi homilia*, I am hesitant to date it to the twelfth century, as suggested by Maisano, ed./trans., *L'apocalisse apocrifa*, 20 and Kazhdan, "Book review," 233. See my above comment thereof in n.286. For these text, see the respective entries in the Appendix. It has yet to be resolved when the second and third redactions of the Greek *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* were compiled. It may be that at least one of them was redacted during the Komnēnian period. The second redaction holds an interpolation that talks about a military campaign in Anatolia, in which the emperor "will gather a people of Gentiles" (συνάξει λαὸν ἔθνων)—a likely allusion to the crusaders, see Lolos, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Ps.Methodios*, 125.41 (cap. XIII.11).

<sup>399</sup> Imperial censorship of apocalyptic literature will be discussed below, see pp.141–142. The cardinal study for this topic is by Wolfram Brandes, "Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat: Apokalyptische Schriften und Kaiservaticinien als Medium antikaiserlicher Propaganda," in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder, Millennium-Studien 16 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 157–200.

<sup>400</sup> The last chapter can be seen as a continuation and expansion of the contributions by Paul Magdalino, "Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople," in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences; la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, Réalités byzantines 10 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 41–53 and by Dimiter Angelov, "Byzantine Ideological Reactions to the Latin Conquest of Constantinople," in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its*

## CHAPTER 8: THE APOCALYPTIC PROFILE OF ALEXIOS I KOMNĒNOS

When Alexios I Komnēnos seized the throne in 1081, he faced difficulties on many fronts. The Seljuq occupation of much of Anatolia and an imminent Norman invasion were the militarily most dangerous threats. These were soon followed by Pecheneg incursions at the Danubian frontier.<sup>401</sup> But Alexios also faced domestic challenges. He inherited a debased coinage and had to overcome ecclesiastical opposition to his confiscation of church treasures as well as the hostility against his brutal usurpation. One way to address such daunting challenges was to create the image of a common internal enemy, which—according to M. Angold—was quickly found in John Italos.<sup>402</sup> By having Italos condemned as heterodox, Alexios could expect to establish himself as the defender of orthodoxy. While this argument is surely valid, it does not explain why Italos, and not someone else, was handpicked to serve as Alexios' 'whipping boy.'

Deflecting attention was undoubtedly effective when it came to appeasing the Constantinopolitan populace, but not the ultimate judge in heaven, about whom Alexios—as will be shown—was conspicuously anxious. The emperor needed not only worldly distraction from but also heavenly absolution of his misdeeds. Moreover, he required divine sanction to legitimize his violent seizure of the throne. A most effective means of legitimization was the apocalyptic frame of reference. Legitimacy could be derived from a reference to the divine plan, which was relatively well known with regard to the apocalyptic future. As pointed out in Part II, the Byzantines possessed an apocalyptic script that could serve as an 'étalon' for emperors; materializing the expectations of humility, benevolence, piety, mature age, military victory—characteristics all known from the apocalyptic tradition—could serve as proof for divine sanction.<sup>403</sup> However, if the apocalypse and the Last Judgment were to be questioned, for instance with reference to an eternal world, this source of legitimacy would be denied. In fact, any change or innovation would lose its teleological validation.

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*Consequences; la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou, *Réalités byzantines* 10 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 293–310. While Magdalino discussed prophecies on the fall of Constantinople that predate the *halosis* of 1204, Angelov explored, among others, the notion of thirteenth-century Byzantine irredentism.

<sup>401</sup> See Alexander Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*, 2 vols. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), Vol.2, 380–389, Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A political history*, Second edition (London/New York, NY: Longman, 1997), 124–135, and Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 612–619.

<sup>402</sup> Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204*, 137–141.

<sup>403</sup> See further Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos," 250.

These apocalyptic and political concerns came to a point of convergence with the trial of John Italos, who undoubtedly continued the scientific inquiry—evidenced by Psellos’ and Sēth’s compendia—concerning the possibility of eternalism. Could it be that Italos was singled out in the show trial of 1082 because he had investigated a philosophical topic that was seen to have the politically precarious implication of calling into question the apocalyptic horizon? Could it be that for the same reason the debate over the eternity of the world was subsequently discouraged? In order to answer this question, I have scrutinized in Part II the conceptual opposite of an eternal world, which is the notion of an imminent end. The underlying assumption is that stringent opposition to any particular debate betrays the opposing party’s interest in vindicating the antithesis of the respective debate. It remains to be proven that Alexios was appreciative of the apocalyptic horizon, before the question can be finally answered. As a matter of fact, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that he entertained an apocalyptic orientation. The following sections discuss this evidence and thereupon contextualize Italos’ condemnation.

#### CLAIMING THE MANTLE OF THE LAST EMPEROR

The notion that Alexios Komnēnos embraced an apocalyptic worldview is not new. P. Magdalino pointed out decades ago that Alexios was identified with the apocalyptic figure of the last emperor.<sup>404</sup> More recently, P. Buckley and D. Mamagkakis have presented a substantial amount of indirect testimonies that show the emperor’s eschatological, if not apocalyptic mindset.<sup>405</sup> It is worthwhile to summarize their rich findings—looking first at Mamagkakis then at Buckley—in order to fathom to what extent Alexios was seen as the messianic last emperor.

In his dissertation, Mamagkakis reconstructs the imperial image of Alexios I Komnēnos, paying due attention to the apocalyptic tradition. After having shown that Alexios was emulating Emperor Hērakleios (r. 610–641) as the champion of orthodoxy,<sup>406</sup> Mamagkakis goes on to demonstrate the intimate connection between Hērakleios and the motif of the last emperor. One

<sup>404</sup> Magdalino, “The History of the Future,” 26 and Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 34. For a general discussion of the relation between historical characters and the last emperor motif, see Vassilka Tapkova-Zaimova and Anissava Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria* (Sofia: Исток-Запад, 2011), 87–118.

<sup>405</sup> Penelope Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene: Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 245–284 and Dionysios A. Mamagkakis, *Ο αυτοκράτορας, ο λαός και η Ορθοδοξία: Αλέξιος Α΄ Κομνηνός (1081–1118). Κατασκευάζοντας την δημόσια αυτοκρατορική εικόνα*, Ph.D. dissertation (Athens, 2014), 258–343.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, 187–257.

of Mamagkakis' central arguments is that one can infer from Alexios' attempt to emulate Hērakleios and from the latter's apocalyptically charged propaganda that Alexios cast himself into the role of the last emperor. He supports this inference by pointing out that both emperors shared a number of circumstantial factors that included the need to confiscate church treasures, the accusation of committing incestuous marriage, and the dire military situation.<sup>407</sup> From a typological point of view, the late eleventh century appeared to be the climactic fulfillment of the early seventh century, when the end had seemed to be at hand but was inexplicably postponed.<sup>408</sup>

We have to rely on indirect evidence since no apocalyptic narrative has come down to us that contains allusions to Alexios Komnēnos—either as messianic savior or as diabolic antichrist. It has been shown that at least two late eleventh-century Latin rulers aspired to assume the mantle of the last emperor.<sup>409</sup> Benzo of Alba reports a prophecy in his *Seven Books To Emperor Henry IV* that foretold how the German emperor (r. 1084–1105) would subdue Constantinople before going on to conquer Jerusalem, where he would pay homage at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>410</sup> The Norman Duke Robert Guiscard (d. 1085) seems to have aspired to conquer Jerusalem as well.<sup>411</sup> There can be no doubt that the conquest of Jerusalem was charged with apocalyptic significance; the conquest was part of the standard apocalyptic script, as shown above in chapter 4. In fact, the very notion of the reconquest of Jerusalem from the Muslims was first promulgated in apocalyptic literature, namely in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*.<sup>412</sup> Furthermore, the Latin accounts place Henry IV's and Robert Guiscard's eventual conquest of Jerusalem into a prophetic setting, which makes the apocalyptic trajectory utterly clear. However, not only Latin rulers sought to fulfill the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy. It has been

<sup>407</sup> Ibid., 274–276. Cf. *Alexias*, 114–115 (lib. III.11.1) with Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 299.32–300.4, where Komnēnē describes the grave situation of 1090/91 in a similar way to how Theophanēs had described the hardships of the early seventh century, as pointed out by Mamagkakis. Moreover, the very title of the *Alexias* is not only reminiscent of the *Ilias* but also of the *Heraclias*, the panegyric written by George of Pisidia. On the *Heraclias*, see David M. Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 58–64 and James Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 22–23, 30–33.

<sup>408</sup> Cf. Magdalino, “The History of the Future,” 31: “In a word, Byzantium never really got over the fact that the world did not end with the Arab conquests.” Given the manifold correspondences with the reign of Hērakleios, Alexios Komnēnos could be viewed as the last emperor, who brings about the postponed *synteleia*.

<sup>409</sup> The following evidence has been discussed by Magdalino, “Prophecies on the Fall,” 47–49 and Mamagkakis, *Ὁ αυτοκράτορας*, 297–300.

<sup>410</sup> Hans Seyffert, ed./trans., *Benzo von Alba: Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV. (Ad Heinricum IV. imperatorem libri VII)*, MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 65 (Hanover: Hahn, 1996), 144 (lib. I.15).

<sup>411</sup> Marjorie Chibnall, ed./trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 4, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 34 and *Alexias*, 179–180 (lib. VI.6.1–2).

<sup>412</sup> As well observed by Magdalino, “Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople,” 41.

argued that the early twelfth-century *Russian Primary Chronicle* (Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ) portrays the Grand Prince of Kievan Rus', Svyatopolk II (d. 1113), as well as his successor Vladimir II Monomakh (d. 1125) as the last emperor, too.<sup>413</sup> Given these competitive claims by neighboring potentates,<sup>414</sup> it is unlikely that Emperor Alexios would not have advanced a claim of his own.<sup>415</sup>

There are at least two testimonies that associate Alexios with the messianic emperor. The most explicit reference is given by John Zōnaras. He relates in a well-known account how Alexios believed a prediction by certain monks, who had told him that he was to fulfill the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy of abdicating in Jerusalem.<sup>416</sup> The authenticity of Zōnaras' report is corroborated by the fact that Alexios' son and successor, John II, aspired to put into practice the very same prophecy.<sup>417</sup> A similar, although less explicit testimony can be found in Anna Komnēnē's portrayal of the decisive victory at the Battle of Levounion in April 1091, where her father, Alexios, defeated the Pechenegs.<sup>418</sup> Komnēnē presents the victory as follows:

*Alexias*, 240.36–41 (lib. VIII.2.5): περὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκεῖνο ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ Δευτερονομίου τότε καὶ τελούμενον καὶ ὀρώμενον· πῶς διώξεται εἰς χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας; μονονουχὶ γὰρ <μόνος> κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος πρὸς τοσοῦτον βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἑαυτὸν ἀντικαταστήσας τὸ βάρος ὅλον τοῦ πολέμου μέχρι καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτῆς καλῶς διωκονομήσατο.

As for the emperor, one might say that on this occasion the verse of Deuteronomy was visibly fulfilled in him: 'How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight?' For in that crisis the Emperor Alexius, by opposing himself to so great a multitude of barbarians, gloriously bore almost the whole brunt of the war, up to the moment of victory itself. (Edgar R. A. Sewter, trans., *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, Penguin classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 250–251)

<sup>413</sup> Mari Isoaho, "The Last Emperor in the Primary Chronicle of Kiev," in *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, Collegium: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 17 (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015), 43–81. For an introduction to and English translation of the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, see Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, eds./trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 60 (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953).

<sup>414</sup> In Armenian apocalypticism, such claims began to be voiced only in the twelfth century, as shown by Zaroui Pogossian, "The Last Emperor or the Last Armenian King? Some Considerations on Armenian Apocalyptic Literature from the Cilician Period," in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective. Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 25 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 457–503.

<sup>415</sup> Mamagkakakis, *Ὁ αυτοκράτορας*, 304.

<sup>416</sup> Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, 760.8–18 (lib. XVIII.28), discussed in Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 34, idem, "Prophecies on the Fall," 49–50, Mamagkakakis, *Ὁ αυτοκράτορας*, 313–314. On the expectation that the last emperor will abdicate in Jerusalem, see further Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 164–165.

<sup>417</sup> For references, see Magdalino, "Prophecies on the Fall," 50, n.46.

<sup>418</sup> As far as I know, this passage has never been read as an allusion to Alexios' messianic aspirations.

Here, Emperor Alexios' victory is associated with the divine intervention from Dt 32:30, which carried apocalyptic connotations, as was pointed out above in chapter 6. The God-like accomplishment at Mount Levounion is given an eschatological dimension, linking Alexios to the Christ-like figure of the Savior-Emperor. Shortly beforehand, Komnēnē describes the stunning victory as a sheer miracle (θαῦμα).<sup>419</sup> By the time she wrote, it was obvious that Alexios had not been the last emperor. Yet he could be credited with being one of the last rulers of Byzantium. Moreover, given the alternating apocalyptic series of good and bad emperors, he could be credited with having manifested the proto-messianic Savior-Emperor, who would be followed by a number of foul rulers.<sup>420</sup>

Moreover, Buckley has recently argued that Komnēnē portrays her father not only as a new Constantine but also as the last Constantine; she detects an eschatological crescendo in the *Alexias*.<sup>421</sup> Whereas earlier parts of Komnēnē's history invoke Eusebian models such as Constantine's generalship, clemency, and wakefulness and draw up typological layers, such as Anna Dalessēnē as a second Helena,<sup>422</sup> the last book builds up literary tropes that cast Alexios' philanthropic benefactions and judicial administration into an apocalyptic perspective.

Indicative of an apocalyptic mindset are also Alexios' ecumenical tendencies. These should be seen as efforts to claim the apocalyptic dignity of preparing for the *synteleia* by means of unifying Christendom, following the biblical assertion of universal conversion.<sup>423</sup> Ecumenical claims were voiced by Alexios himself in his *Muses*; they were also attributed to him in the Latin *Chronicle of Montecassino*.<sup>424</sup> His son and grandson would further advance these claims.<sup>425</sup>

<sup>419</sup> Pace my earlier remark to the contrary in Kraft, "Miracles and Pseudo-Miracles in Byzantine Apocalypses," 126. See *Alexias*, 240.31 (lib. VIII.2.5).

<sup>420</sup> See, for instance, the narrative sequence in *ApcAndr* ll.3824–3988.

<sup>421</sup> Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene*, 245–284.

<sup>422</sup> The typology with Constantine the Great is most clearly expressed in *Alexias*, 457.12–21 (lib. XIV.8.8), where Komnēnē dignifies her father with the epithet "thirteenth apostle" (τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπόστολος). A clear typological reference to Helena can be found in *Alexias*, 103 (lib. III.7.1), where Alexios bestows executive power on his mother; cf. Friedhelm Winkelmann, ed., *Eusebius Werke: Vol.I/1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, GCS (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975), 102 (III.43.4), as aptly pointed out by Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene*, 251.

<sup>423</sup> Mt 24:14, Mk 13:10, Jn 17:21, Rv 7:9.

<sup>424</sup> Paul Maas, "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I.," *BZ* 22/2 (1913): 348–369, at 351–352 (ll.105–108). Concerning the authenticity and reliability of the *Muses* as a historical source for Alexios, see Leonora Neville, *Anna Komnene: The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian*, Onassis series in Hellenic culture (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 146–149. For the *Chronicle of Montecassino*, i.e., the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, see Georg H. Pertz, ed., *Chronica et gesta aevi Salici*, MGH, Scriptorum 7 (Hanover: Hahn, 1846), 574–844, at 785 (lib. IV.46). Both sources are discussed in Mamagkakis, *Ο αυτοκράτορας*, 304–305.

<sup>425</sup> See Ninoslava Radošević, "L'Oecumène byzantine dans les discours impériaux du XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993): 156–161, Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 460–463, and Angeliki Papageorgiou, "The political ideology of John II Komnenos," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the Shadow of Father and*

In addition, Mamagkakis draws attention to an iconographical novelty, which is contained in Vaticanus gr. 666.<sup>426</sup> This manuscript contains the *Dogmatic Panoply* by Euthymios Zigabēnos. Both—manuscript and text—were commissioned by Alexios, who is lavishly portrayed on the first folios of the manuscript.<sup>427</sup> The second portrait—on fol.2v—deserves particular notice. In this painting, the emperor offers, in a remarkable way, the codex to Christ. The standing Alexios is depicted as reaching the same height as the enthroned Christ. As a result, the emperor is rigidly looking Christ straight in the eye, without any suggestion of hierarchical arrangement. In fact, in the accompanying epigram above the painting, Christ addresses the emperor in what appears to be a graciously condescending gesture. Alexios is heralded as the mightiest of emperors, who deserves to attain eternal life.<sup>428</sup> Such extolling language conveys the message of typological climax; Alexios is the greatest fulfillment of imperial power, extending literally to the height of the heavenly Lord. The virtual equality with Christ is a genuine novelty, which expresses a deliberate convergence upon the messianic model. Alexios is depicted as an emperor after whom no greater Christ-like monarch could possibly follow. The same claim is inherent in the last emperor motif, where the superlative equation with Christ is only resolved by means of the last emperor's abdication and willful transmission of power. Alexios' depiction as an isochrist ruler carries clear apocalyptic connotations.

If Alexios had considered himself the last emperor, then one would expect to find apocalyptically phrased invectives against his rivals.<sup>429</sup> Apocalyptic villainization often comprises allusions to the Antichrist.<sup>430</sup> One such example can be found in a letter attributed to Alexios and addressed to Robert I, Count of Flanders. The letter, which comes down only in Latin, appeals for Western aid against the Turkish and Pecheneg invasions of the Holy Land and the Byzantine

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*Son*, ed. Alessandra Bucossi, Alex R. Suarez, Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College 17 (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 37–52, esp. 37–40.

<sup>426</sup> See Mamagkakis, *Ο αυτοκράτορας*, 306–307.

<sup>427</sup> For the date of the manuscript, see Ioannis Spatharakis, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 127 and Georgi Parpulov, “Six scribes of the early Comnenian period,” *Estudios bizantinos* 5 (2017): 91–107, at 97.

<sup>428</sup> For the edition and translation of the epigram, see Spatharakis, *The portrait*, 126: πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς εἰργάσαντο δυνάμεις, σὺ δ' ὑπερήρας πάντας ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. ἡ παγκρατὴς μου δεξιὰ σε κρατύνει. ἔντεινε, βασιλεῦε, ζῶν αἰωνίως. | “Many kings have performed powerful deeds, but you have surpassed all in deed and word; My almighty right hand strengthens you, carry on, rule, living eternally.”

<sup>429</sup> Apocalyptic rhetoric was often used to express political opposition, see Alexander, “Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques,” 7.

<sup>430</sup> The most famous apocalyptic villainization is probably by Prokopios on Emperor Justinian, see Jacob Haury and Gerhard Wirth, eds., *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Vol.3, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), 52, 79–84, 111–119 (cap. 8.13, 12.14–32, 18.1–45). Translation in Anthony Kaldellis, ed./trans., *Procopios: The Secret History with Related Texts* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2010), 37, 58–61, 80–86.

Empire. The end of the letter associates these semi-nomads with the motif of Gog and Magog as well as with the figure of the Antichrist.<sup>431</sup> Although this apocalyptic parlance fits well into Alexios' general orientation, the authenticity of this letter has been called into question. Other elements of the letter make it clear that this Latin document is either a forgery or a translation that had undergone revision of some sort.<sup>432</sup>

A more reliable source, although somewhat later, is again the *Alexiad*. P. Buckley has drawn attention to a passage where Komnēnē quotes an audacious message allegedly sent by Bohemond to Emperor Alexios. In it, Bohemond is said have been thought dead but was, in fact, alive and planning to wreak havoc upon the Byzantine Empire.<sup>433</sup> Buckley reads the latter notion of destroying the empire as an allusion to the Antichrist. While this reading is valid, there seems to be yet another apocalyptic allusion in Bohemond's purported message. The notion of being considered dead yet being actually alive is a standard *topos* associated with the last emperor.<sup>434</sup> Bohemond is presented here as claiming the mantle of the last emperor. Given the context of his illegitimate attack on Byzantium—highlighted by Buckley—this claim is inverted to portray Bohemond as an antichrist, who merely claims to be alive but, in fact, is dead and useful for nothing. Such inversions are well attested in the apocalyptic tradition.<sup>435</sup> The denial and reversal of Bohemond's claim may well have derived from Alexios himself.

While politically expedient, apocalyptic rhetoric had also precarious side effects. Not only could apocalyptic characterizations be easily inverted and turned against their original advocate, they could also precipitate the *synteleia*. Certain events and behaviors were viewed to expedite

<sup>431</sup> Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901), 129–136, at 135 (Epistula Alexii I Komneni imperatoris ad Robertum I comitem Flandrensem): [...] ne talis thesaurus in manus Turcorum et Pincinatorum cadat, quia, dum sint *infiniti* [...] | so that such treasure shall not fall into the hands of the Turks and Pechenegs, since while they may be *infinite* [in number] [...] (my italics) – Cf. Rv 20:8. The association with the Antichrist can be found in the subsequent lines, in *ibid.*, 136.

<sup>432</sup> Regarding its authenticity, see Henri Pirenne, “À propos de la lettre d’Alexis Comnène a Robert le Frison, comte de Flandre,” *Revue de l’instruction publique en Belgique* 50 (1907): 217–227, Einar Joranson, “The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Court of Flanders,” *The American Historical Review* 55/4 (1950): 811–832, Carol Sweetenham, trans., *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade. Historia Iherosolimitana*, Crusade Texts in Translation 11 (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 215–218, and Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 60–62, as well as the relevant literature cited therein.

<sup>433</sup> Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene*, 211, 228, referring to *Alexias*, 357–358 (lib. XI.12.5–6).

<sup>434</sup> *Alexias*, 358.74–76 (lib. XI.12.6): [...] αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἄπειμι χώραν, σοὶ μὲν νεκρὸς φημιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ζῶν καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δεινὰ βουλευόμενος | “[...] I myself, however, am going to my own land, being considered dead by you and your kind, but alive by myself and my kind and planning against you terrible things.” – See above pp.106, 108, 110.

<sup>435</sup> Cf. *ApcMeth* XIV.11 and *VisioDan* V.16, cited above in n.370.

the apocalypse. As mentioned above in chapter 4, an imperial abdication or the defeat of the eschatological peoples of the north was viewed as such a watershed event. When reading Byzantine apocalypses it is striking how much emphasis is given to delaying the ultimate end.<sup>436</sup> Likewise, Romanos the Melodist pleads in his renowned *Kontakion On the Second Coming* for the postponement of the Last Judgment in order to have enough time to repent.<sup>437</sup> It is quite possible that Alexios would have followed this tradition when faced with acute apocalyptic expectations.

To name just one example, Alexios' reluctance to assume the leadership of the crusader army at Antioch was tantamount to apocalyptic retardation. Alexios' insistence to have each crusader leader swear an oath of allegiance to him in Constantinople (1097) meant that they nominally served under his command. He even adopted each ruler as part of the oath-swearing ceremony.<sup>438</sup> Seen from the apocalyptic script, the crusaders had become the last emperor's sons assisting him in the reconquest of the Holy Land.<sup>439</sup> When the emperor set out to join the crusader forces in the spring of 1098 it must have seemed that the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy was about to be fulfilled. Unexpectedly, Alexios aborted his expedition after having captured Philomēlion, a locality that had been associated with prophecy-making centuries earlier.<sup>440</sup> Yet the historical narratives on Alexios do not relate any supernatural events. Quite to the contrary, Komnēnē emphasizes that her father's decision to abandon the campaign was motivated purely by military concerns.<sup>441</sup> Pragmatic considerations notwithstanding, Alexios' decision implied that he postponed his assumed commission of salvation history to recapture Jerusalem. As a result, crusader expectations were greatly disappointed.<sup>442</sup> Being emperor and nominally in charge of the crusade, Alexios enjoyed a regulative position that allowed him to negotiate the speed of the

<sup>436</sup> Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos," 252–253. See further Magdalino, "The Year 1000 in Byzantium," 266 and Gutierrez, "The Millennium and Narrative Closure," 55–56.

<sup>437</sup> De Matons, ed./trans., *Romanos Le Mélode: Hymnes*, Vol.5, 266.7 (#24): ἀλλά, σὲ καθικετεύω, δὸς καιρόν μοι μετανοίας.

<sup>438</sup> For a brief overview of the oath-taking, see Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge*, Kohlhammer Urban-Taschenbücher 595 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 45–49.

<sup>439</sup> See *ApcMeth* XIII.11 and *DiegDan* V.10–16, where the sons of the last emperor are said to assist the campaign against the Ishmaelites. Later prophecies replace the sons with the blond nations, which were initially viewed as Byzantine allies, see *Ps-Chrys* V.9–10 and *VisioDan* II.13–14.

<sup>440</sup> For references, see Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich, *TIB 7: Phrygien und Pisidien*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 211 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 359–361, at 360, n.21–28.

<sup>441</sup> *Alexias*, 338–340 (lib. XI.6.1–5).

<sup>442</sup> See Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, 168–170.

*synteleia*.<sup>443</sup> It cannot be known whether the retardation effect was Alexios' main concern but it should not be doubted that it was one among many concerns involved. After all, it would have been negligent of the emperor if he had not also considered the apocalyptic horizon.<sup>444</sup>

#### KALLIKLĒS' TESTIMONY OF THE LAST JUDGMENT DEPICTION

Testimonies of Alexios' appreciation of apocalyptic traditions are not only to be found in historiography but also in poetry. The twelfth-century court physician and poet Nicholas Kalliklēs provides an epigram that, in some unknown format, accompanied a now lost Last Judgment scene in the imperial palace, presumably in the Blachernae Palace.<sup>445</sup> The epigram is written in the first person. It focuses on Christ, the ultimate judge, and on Alexios who is undergoing punishment. The punishment scene demonstrates the emperor's penitence while exhorting judicial officials to be just in their arbitrations. The value of Kalliklēs' testimony lies in providing insights into Alexios' deliberate self-representation at court, to which he shows a mural painting that constructs a typological connection between Christ as heavenly judge and the emperor as the supreme earthly arbiter. The poem deserves to be quoted in full.<sup>446</sup>

<sup>443</sup> Alexios' legal claim to the mantle of the last emperor may explain why Latin sources of the First Crusade are so reticent on the last emperor motif, as pointed out by Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit*, 164–175, esp. 166–167. On the apocalyptic dimension of the First Crusade, see Carl Erdmann, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932): 384–414, Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, Revised edition (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), 61–70, Bernard McGinn, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders," in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. Bede K. Lackner and Kenneth R. Philp, The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures 12 (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1978), 33–71, André Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade," in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23–25 juin 1995)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 236 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 233–243, Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la Fin des temps: L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale*, L'univers historique (Paris: Seuil, 2007), 226–281, Brett E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 42–71, Robert Chazan, "Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape': Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade," *Speculum* 84/2 (2009): 289–313, and Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2011).

<sup>444</sup> A similar point has been made concerning Charlemagne by Brandes, "»Tempora periculosa sunt«,," 79.

<sup>445</sup> On the Blachernae Palace, see Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Second edition, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 4 A (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1964), 123–128 and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977), 223–224.

<sup>446</sup> Roberto Romano, ed., *Nicola Callicle: Carmi*, Collana di Studi e Testi 8 (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1980), 101–102 (carmen 24). I provide a revised version of the translation by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *BF* 8 (1982): 123–183, at 124–125. The paragraph structure and the headings are my additions.

Θρόνοι τεθέντες, ἔξανοιγεῖσαι βίβλοι,  
 σάλπιγξ ἀναστομοῦσα πᾶν τάφου στόμα  
 καὶ ζωοποιοῦν πνεῦμα τοὺς τεθνηκότας  
 λειτουργικῶν τε πνευμάτων χιλιάδες  
 καὶ προσκυνούντων ἀγγέλων μυριάδες  
 δηλοῦσι, Χριστέ, σὴν ἔλευσιν ἐσχάτην·

φρικτὸς κριτὴς ἐνταῦθα καὶ βῆμα ξένον,  
 παγκόσμιον τὸ βῆμα καὶ Θεὸς κρίνει·  
 τίνες κατηγοροῦσιν; αἱ πράξεις μόναι,  
 τίνων κατηγοροῦσι; τῶν ἐπταικότων.  
 Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸς δειλιῶ σου τὴν δίκην,  
 νεφρῶν ἑταστά, καρδιῶν ζυγοστάτα·

ἀριστερά με τάξις ὡς φλόξ ἐσθίει·  
 αἰ! αἰ! ποταμὸς τοῦ πυρός με συγχέει,  
 σκώληξ ἄυπνος ἔστι μοί, ‘σὴς ὀστέων’.  
 Ὅντως καπνὸς τὰ σκῆπτρα, χοῦς ἢ πορφύρα,  
 πᾶς ὄλβος οὐδέν, κόμπος ἐστὶ τὸ στέφος·  
 ἂν συμφλεγῇ μοι τοῦργον, ἔξω ζημίαν,  
 σωθήσομαι δέ, πλὴν διὰ φλογὸς μέσης.

Ταῦτα κριταὶ σκοποῦντες εὐθύνοισθέ μοι  
 καὶ λῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον ἐκτρέποισθέ μοι  
 τὰ ζυγὰ συντηροῦντες ἴσα τῆς δίκης·  
 ‘ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ κρινεῖτε, κριθήσεσθέ’ μοι·  
 Θεοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πιστευτέον.

Ἵμῖν τοσαῦτα προσλαλῶ τε καὶ γράφω  
 Κομνηνὸς Ἀλέξιος, Αὐσόνων ἄναξ.

[‘in medias res’: starting from the center]

The thrones set up, the opened books,  
 the trumpet raising the lid of every tomb,  
 and the Spirit giving life to the dead;  
 the thousands of serving spirits  
 and the myriads of worshipping angels  
 indicate, O Christ, your final coming.

[‘zooming in’: focusing on Christ, the judge]

Here is a dread judge and a strange judgement seat.  
 the judgement seat is universal and God judges.  
 Who are the accusers? Deeds alone.  
 Whom do they accuse? The fallen.  
 Henceforth, I stand in fear of your judgement,  
 tryer of reins and weigher of hearts.

[‘leftwards orientation’: beholding the sinful emperor]

The left hand order consumes me like a flame. [Mt 25:33]  
 Ai! Ai! A river of fire swirls around me,  
 A sleepless worm is in me, “devourer of bones” [Prv 14:30].  
 Indeed, scepters are but smoke, the purple but dust,  
 all splendor but nothing, and the crown but a bauble.  
 If my work shall burn with me, I will suffer loss;  
 but I shall be saved, yet so as through a flame. [1 Cor 3:15]

[‘zooming out’: learning the moral lesson]

Judges, as you consider these things, fix your gaze on me,  
 and turn aside all profit and favoritism for me,  
 while keeping the scales of justice balanced.  
 “In what measure ye judge, ye shall be judged” [Mt 7:2] by me;  
 the saying is God’s and to be believed.

[signature]

This is what I have to say and paint for you,  
 I, Alexios Komnēnos, King of the Ausonians.

The epigram is characterized by the repeated use of *chiasmi* and by the prevalent use of the present tense. The presentist perspective gives this Last Judgment description a sense of vitality and a scope of perpetual validity. As for the structure of the epigram, it is noteworthy how the description develops: it starts *in medias res* with the Thrones (*sic*) of Preparation (ἡ ἐτοιμασία), which were located presumably in the middle of the fresco.<sup>447</sup> It then proceeds upwards and describes the circular surroundings of Christ, before zooming in on Christ, the judge. Next, the

<sup>447</sup> See the likely parallels in cod. Parisinus gr. 74, fols.51v, 93v, saec. XI<sup>2</sup> (tetraevangelion); for an analysis of its illuminations and other contemporary Last Judgment depictions, see Marcello Angheben, “Les Jugements derniers byzantins des XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles et l’iconographie du jugement immédiat,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 50 (2002): 105–134.

focus is directed to the right, that is, to the left of Christ and then downwards along the river of fire, to rest with the emperor's lamentation over his sins and hope for redemption. Finally, the description zooms out from the fresco and ponders upon the implicit moral lesson. The epigram closes with an imperial signature.

These movements are characteristic of experiencing images iconically. When viewing icons one does not proceed in a linear fashion, as it is the case when reading texts. Instead, the spectator is drawn first to the center of the image and then proceeds from there to the periphery and eventually back.<sup>448</sup> All scenes are simultaneously available to the viewer; they are given in a timeless fashion without any temporal sequence.<sup>449</sup> Kalliklēs' epigram provides a rather authentic description of how a spectator would have viewed this Last Judgment scene. It is noteworthy in this regard that the first-person narrator displays Christ's perspective, which is made clear by stating that the river of fire flows to His left. In other words, the narrator, who is Alexios, accommodates or at least approximates Christ's position.

The adoption of Christ's perspective is a significant detail in view of the fact that the epigram ends with a signature of Emperor Alexios in the first person. Christ's perspective is conflated with Alexios' dedicatory voice, which suggests some degree of identification. This identification is further strengthened by the parallelism of "fix your gaze on me!—turn aside [...] for me!" (εὐθύνοισθέ μοι—ἐκτρέποισθέ μοι), me referring to Alexios, on the one hand, and "ye shall be judged by me!" (κριθήσεσθέ μοι), me referring to Christ, on the other. The epigram expresses a congruence between Christ and emperor in terms of spatial perspective and moral exhortation. One is reminded of Alexios' depiction in the codex Vaticanus, where he is portrayed to reach the same height as Christ.

In terms of terminology, Kalliklēs' poem uses the standard vocabulary and pool of motifs known from canonical and apocryphal apocalyptic sources. The canonical sources comprise the *Psalms*, the *Book of Daniel*, the *Book of Isaiah* as well as the synoptic apocalypse, *Revelation* and the Pauline letters. Textual parallels can be found in the *Apocryphal Apocalypse of John* and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*—as aptly indicated in R. Romano's *apparatus fontium*.<sup>450</sup> Among the few

<sup>448</sup> See Baun, "The Moral Apocalypse," 262–264 and eadem, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 154–156.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>450</sup> For instance, the combination of the notions "river of fire" and "sleepless worm," known from Is 66:24 and Mk 9:48, reverberate in *ApcAnast*, 16–17 (§3) as well as in *Iohannis apocalypsis apocrypha* §24 (in Konstantin von Tischendorf, ed., *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio* (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1866), 70–94, at 90). See also *ApcLeonConst* §29, ll.791–799.

textual parallels that Romano did not note is the allusion implicit in the first line of the poem, which describes an unprecedented image of prepared thrones. Mamagkakis assumes that the plural denotes two thrones, one reserved for the heavenly judge and the other for His worldly surrogate, Alexios. Mamagkakis supports this reading with a reference to Rv 3:21, where Christ invites him who is victorious over all temptations to join Him on the celestial throne.<sup>451</sup> Accordingly, the two thrones represent the sharing of the celestial throne and thereby underpin the virtual equivalence of the emperor with Christ.<sup>452</sup> An alternative and more plausible reading will point to Mt 19:28, Lk 22:30 (cf. Dn 7:9, Rv 4:4, 20:4), where Christ is prophesied to be surrounded by His apostles on twelve thrones, who will serve as His co-judges.<sup>453</sup> According to this interpretation, the motif of the prepared thrones does not only refer to the *hetoimasía* but also to the enthroned judges; two iconographical scenes are merged into a single verse.<sup>454</sup> Such a literary combination may well reflect the experience of perceiving images iconically.

Be that as it may, the intertextual panorama leaves no doubt as to Alexios' intimate knowledge and sincere appreciation of the apocalyptic horizon of expectations. It comes as no surprise that the central message of the poem concerning the vanity of worldly goods is echoed in his *Muses*.<sup>455</sup> Moreover, he seems to have deliberately promoted the image of a penitential, pious, orthodox believer. He was shown to entreat divine clemency and to grant benefactions to monasteries and orphanages.<sup>456</sup> Alexios surrounded himself with holy men and sought their advice.<sup>457</sup> A virtuous life-style of this sort could be considered potent in slowing down the *synteleía*.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>451</sup> *Revelation* has been used in Byzantine iconography as least since the ninth century, see Nicole Thierry, "L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe–XIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hardt, 29 février–3 mars 1976*, Section d'histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève 11 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), 319–339.

<sup>452</sup> Mamagkakis, *Ο αυτοκράτορας*, 330–335.

<sup>453</sup> The enthronement of the twelve apostles can be seen in cod. Parisinus gr. 74, fols.51v, 93v, saec. XI<sup>2</sup> as well as in the Last Judgment mosaic in the Torcello Cathedral.

<sup>454</sup> I thank Prof. Magdalino for having drawn my attention to this interpretation.

<sup>455</sup> Maas, "Die Musen," 355.247–253. Likewise, the notion of Mt 7:2 is echoed in *ibid.*, 352.109–110.

<sup>456</sup> For Alexios' reconstruction of the *Orphanage of St. Paul*, see *Alexias*, 482–485 (lib. XV.7.3–9). See further Rodolphe Guiland, "Étude sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: L'orphantrophe," *REB* 23 (1965): 205–221, Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, Rutgers Byzantine Series 4 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 243–247, Timothy S. Miller, "The Orphanotropheion of Constantinople," in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, ed. Emily A. Hanawalt and Carter Lindberg (Kirkville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1994), 83–104, and *idem*, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 1–3, 51, *passim*. Almsgiving and benefactions to the needy were considered "an afterlife insurance policy," as pointed out by Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 378 and Wortley, "Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell," 64–65.

<sup>457</sup> See, for instance, Étienne Sargologos, ed./trans., *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin*, Subsidia hagiographica 39 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1964), 154, 380–381 (cap. 36). For a critical evaluation of Alexios' relationship to holy men, see Pamela Armstrong, "Alexios Komnenos, holy men and monasteries," in *Alexios I*

The religious component of his image was based on the assumption that Alexios had privileged access to Christ, the judge. That is why, Kalliklēs' poem can place Alexios among the damned and assert that he nonetheless will be saved. The epigram probably refers here to an unspecified crowned subject, a placeholder figure, who was depicted together with other types of imperial or ecclesiastical dignitaries in the river of fire. Alexios seems to be identified with such an anonymous placeholder and is said to overcome the punishment.<sup>459</sup> Years later, Alexios went so far as to translate this apocalyptic imagery into a 'novel' form of execution, administered to Basil the Bogomil.<sup>460</sup> The isochrist Alexios could force a heretic to undergo the punishment that was reserved for the apocalyptic future. By burning Basil to death, Alexios had advanced beyond the claim of being the last emperor; he had assumed the role of judge of the world.<sup>461</sup>

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*Komnenos, Vol.1: Papers. Papers of the second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14–16 April 1989*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 4/1 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 219–231.

<sup>458</sup> See Adriaan H. Bredero, "The Announcement of the Coming of the Antichrist and the Medieval Concept of Time," in *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael Wilks, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 10 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 3–13, at 7, who points to virtue as an impediment to end of the world. His remark refers to Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia* but it can also be applied to the Byzantium. Cf. Magdalino, "The year 1000 in Byzantium," 266, who suggested that Basil II's pious behavior may have been motivated by the desire to postpone the expected end around the year 1000. The same suggestion can be voiced for Alexios.

<sup>459</sup> For the notion of purgatory in Byzantium, see Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 211, 258, 306–308, Dragoș-Gabriel Mîrșanu, "Dawning Awareness of the Theology of Purgatory in the East: A Review of the Thirteenth Century," *Studii Teologice* 4 (2008): 179–193 and Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, 74–81. It ought to be stressed that the Byzantines never systematized their views on life after death. The main reason why purgatory was met with outspoken opposition in Byzantium was that it resembled the 'Origenist' heresy of hell not being everlasting. That said, Byzantines moral apocalypses do promote the notion of preliminary post-mortem punishment. Moreover, some texts, such as the *Visio Kaiōumi de Philentolo fornicatore*, advance the view that there must exist a 'middle state' between heaven and hell, see further Wortley, "Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell," 65, 68–69.

<sup>460</sup> See *Alexias*, 485–493 (lib. XV.8–10). See further Apostolos Spanos, "Was Innovation unwanted in Byzantium?" in *Wanted, Byzantium: The Desire for a Lost Empire*, ed. Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 15 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2014), 43–56, at 49, who points out that the term innovation (καινοτομία) is not necessarily a pejorative expression. With reference to *Alexias*, 96.89–93 (lib. III.4.3), Spanos argues that Komnēnē uses the term positively. The same argument applies to her description of the novelty (καινοπραγία) of Basil's execution, in *Alexias*, 493.91–92 (lib. XV.10.5). On a different note, Alexios was not the first emperor who had a dualist heretic burnt alive. Already Justinian II (r. 685–695, 705–11) had unrecanting Paulicians be put to death by fire, see Constance Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 63–64 and Janet Hamilton, Bernard Hamilton, Yuri Stoyanov, trans., *Christian dualist heresies in the Byzantine world, c. 650–c. 1450: Selected Sources*, Manchester medieval sources series (Manchester/New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1998), 13.

<sup>461</sup> The execution scene described by Komnēnē portrays more apocalyptic elements than the notion of punishment by fire; it would be worthwhile to analyze the apocalyptic significance of this 'final' and 'daring' act of Alexios' reign. Only a partial analysis thereof is given by Buckley, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene*, 270–277.

## POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS OF THE APOCALYPTIC HORIZON

The foregoing examples establish that Alexios adhered to an apocalyptic mindset throughout his reign. He envisioned a long-term program of imperial restoration, a grand strategy of sorts, which was informed by an apocalyptic script.<sup>462</sup> Key elements of this script have been highlighted above in Part II. By claiming typological resemblance with Christ and by assuming the miraculous aura of the last emperor, he projected into the presumably near future the retroactive justification of his rule. The implicit argument was that if he brings forth the *synteleia* then he must have a divine mandate.<sup>463</sup> His usurpation and new policies necessitated such a proleptic validation.<sup>464</sup>

Alexios Komnēnos' apocalyptically asserted legitimacy faced at least three types of opposition: heretical deviations, philosophical eternalism, and apocalyptic *Kaiserkritik*. Much attention has already been paid to Alexios' policies regarding heresies.<sup>465</sup> The one thing that needs further emphasis is that heresies challenged the prerogative of interpretation of the *eschaton*. Different confessions also hold different eschatologies, whereby it ought to be remembered that it is usually the conceptualization of the end that justifies political reform. The Bogomils did not think any different. Much work remains to be done with regard to Bogomil eschatology, even if the extant source material may only allow for a sketchy reconstruction. Suffice it to say that dissenters—such as the Bogomils—who reject the Church and resist all authorities, who, in essence, renounce the material world, hold an apocalyptic vision that abnegates the utility of the last emperor. When Alexios ordered Basil to be put to death by fire, he emulated the Last

<sup>462</sup> See Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 27–34.

<sup>463</sup> Cf. Magdalino, “The History of the Future,” 3, who points out that the Byzantines were generally dismissive of innovative change. Yet political changes that prepare for the Second Coming were considered most admissible.

<sup>464</sup> On the notion of prolepsis in Byzantine apocalypticism, particularly with regard to iconography, see Betancourt, “Prolepsis and Anticipation,” esp. 181–188.

<sup>465</sup> For Alexios' handling of the Bogomils, see Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), 70–79, Dmitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 190–219, David Gress-Wright, “Bogomilism in Constantinople,” *Byz* 47 (1977): 163–185, Dimitar Angelov, *The Bogomil Movement* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1987), 33–34, Angold, *Church and Society*, 477–487, and idem, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204*, 141–143. For his policies against heretics in general, see Smythe, “Alexios I and the heretics,” Jonathan Shepard, “Hard on heretics, light on Latins: The balancing-act of Alexios I Komnenos,” *TM* 16 (2010): 765–777, Mamagkakis, *Ο αυτοκράτορας*, 137–186 and Michele Trizio, “Trials of Philosophers and Theologians under the Komnenoi,” in *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniosoglou (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 462–475, at 463–468, 470–472.

Judgment and thereby vindicated orthodox eschatology.<sup>466</sup> He defended the apocalyptic horizon from which he derived legitimacy.

Philosophical eternalism can also be viewed as a challenge to teleologically constructed claims of legitimacy. Speculations about an eternal world contest the possibility of the *eschaton*. The prevalence of eschatological topics in the anathemas of the *Synodikon* show that Italos' school was considered to contest the traditional apocalyptic horizon. If the world were eternal, then Alexios' usurpation and imperial restoration program would lack apocalyptic validation. This is not to suggest that the vindication of the apocalyptic horizon was the sole motivating cause behind Italos' trial and condemnation. Yet it is to be considered one of the causes; it complements various other motivations that have been mentioned above.<sup>467</sup> Italos eventually affirmed the veracity of the apocalyptic horizon in his treatise against the eternity of the world, which he explicitly dedicated to the emperor, probably after his condemnation in 1082.<sup>468</sup> Moreover, the subsequent silence on the purported eternity of the world in philosophical writings until well into the thirteenth century further reinforces the impression that discussions about eternalism were repressed.

A third challenge that Alexios' apocalyptic orientation had to contend with was prophetically articulated *Kaiserkritik*.<sup>469</sup> An increasingly eulogistic rhetoric of messianic rulership usually went hand in hand with an increasingly vitriolic invective thereof. If an emperor promoted the image of being a messianic ruler, then the oppositional party was likely to portray

<sup>466</sup> This is not to say that Basil's execution was only motivated by the apocalyptic horizon. In all likelihood, the execution served multiple ends and audiences. It is quite possible that it was also directed at the Latins, to whom the Bogomil heresy could be presented as a common enemy, as argued by Shepard, "Hard on heretics, light on Latins," 774–775.

<sup>467</sup> See p.23 above. In addition to the political reasons outlined above, it has been argued that Italos' condemnation was due to his uncompromising use of dialectic, which upset the Byzantine balance of rhetoric and philosophy, see Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*, 331 and idem, "Deux philosophes italiens," 9. Cf. Vasileios N. Tatakēs, *Θέματα Χριστιανικής και Βυζαντινής Φιλοσοφίας*, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας 37 (Athens: Τυπογραφεῖον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας, 1952), 180–182 and Effi Gazi, "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative," *Historein* 6 (2006): 144–149, esp. 148.

<sup>468</sup> As argued above, at the end of chap. 3.

<sup>469</sup> On the subversive role of apocalyptic and especially patriographic literature, see Paul Magdalino, "Generic subversion? The political ideology of urban myth and apocalyptic prophecy," in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the Forty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*, ed. Dimiter Angelov and Michael Saxby, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 17 (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 207–219. For further analysis of subversive strategies, see the other contributions of the just-cited collected volume. A related discussion can be found in Magdalino, "Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik," who surveys the political criticism in Zōnaras' and Chōniatēs' histories. Likewise, see Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Fourth Kingdom and the Rhetoric of Hellenism," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 117–156, who argue that twelfth-century Hellenism was a 'laboratory' for criticism.

him as an antichrist.<sup>470</sup> This dialectic is blatantly apparent in the genre of Byzantine apocalypses, where the expectation is persistently voiced that the messianic ruler and the Antichrist are both Roman emperors.<sup>471</sup> Yet it is rare that apocalyptic invectives have survived. This lack of transmission is due to the fact that the production, promotion, and possession of invectives was a punishable offense. Since late antiquity, the circulation of defamatory writings (*libelli famosi*) targeting the emperor was a capital crime that could be punished by death.<sup>472</sup> Anti-imperial invectives were tantamount to high treason. Apocalyptic prophecies presented an opportune medium to frame political invectives; such prophecies were less interested in the eventual end of the world than in short-term political gain. Throughout the Byzantine millennium innumerable apocalyptically phrased invectives must have circulated, of which only few traces have survived. The more effective state censorship was, the fewer testimonies have survived.<sup>473</sup> The lack of apocalyptic invectives from Alexios' reign suggests that his state apparatus for rooting out dissidents must have been extremely efficient.

Due to the lack of evidence from Alexios' reign, I am compelled to present a later case study from the reign of Andronikos I Komnēnos, which should be considered indicative for other periods as well. During his short rule from 1183 to 1185, Andronikos had to face a number of contenders to the throne. When uncovering a plot by the *sebastokrator* Alexios, Manuel I's illegitimate son, he had Alexios blinded and exiled. He treated even more harshly one of Alexios' secretaries, a man by the name of Mamalos, whom he had burnt alive in the Hippodrome. His crime was to have instructed the young Alexios on so-called *basileiographie*, books with regnal lists that specify various lengths of reign.<sup>474</sup> While these books were certainly consulted by some emperors, it was illegal for anyone else to consult them.<sup>475</sup> By studying *basileiographie*, Mamalos

<sup>470</sup> The same assumption has been voiced with regard to Emperor Justinian by Scott, "Malalas, The Secret History," 107–109.

<sup>471</sup> See above pp.116–117, n.369.

<sup>472</sup> The section *De famosis libellis* of the *Codex Theodosianus* forms the legal background against defamatory writings, see Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, Vol.I/2: *Textus cum apparatu* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), 486–489 (lib. IX.34). See further idem, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Systematisches Handbuch der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft 1/4 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1899), 565, 794–795, cited and discussed in Brandes, "Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat," 158.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. Kountoura-Galakē, "Προρρήσεις μοναχών," 436.

<sup>474</sup> See Brandes, "Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat," 161–172 and Paul Magdalino, "Prophecy and Divination in the History," in *Niketas Choniates, A Historian and a Writer*, ed. Alicia J. Simpson and Stephanos Efthymiadis (Geneva: La Pomme d'Or, 2009), 59–74, at 69.

<sup>475</sup> The intention was probably to monopolize eschatological knowledge. Cf. Wolfram Brandes, "»Tempora periculosa sunt«: Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen," in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15.*

was guilty of high treason.<sup>476</sup> At the same time, rumors circulated at Andronikos' court prophesying the reunification of East and West, which would be followed by a period of apocalyptic prosperity and peace, echoing Is 2:4, 11:6-9, 65:25.<sup>477</sup> Moreover, Andronikos was associated with the messianic figure of the "scythe-bearer."<sup>478</sup> That is, Emperor Andronikos I was both hailed and vilified in apocalyptic terms. The same can be assumed for Alexios I.

W. Brandes is probably right in assuming that the legal situation is largely responsible for the fact that so late and so few testimonies of apocalyptic texts have survived.<sup>479</sup> Moreover, this assumption can explain why so many prophecies from the thirteenth century have survived. With the collapse of imperial authority in 1204, state-sponsored censorship and prosecution weakened. As a result, prophecy-making thrived. Once Michael VIII Palaiologos recaptured Constantinople in 1261 and began to reclaim the imperial past, stringent censorship resumed. In fact, Brandes has shown that Michael VIII issued austere laws against *basileiographie* and that he went so far as to persecute certain groups associated with those writings.<sup>480</sup> Emperor Michael Palaiologos' methods appear harsh—even to Geōrgios Pachymerēs, our only source<sup>481</sup>—because beforehand little such censorship had existed. What seemed harsh in Michael VIII's time must have been the common practice during Alexios I's reign. That is why no apocryphal prophecy from the early Komnēnian period has survived.<sup>482</sup>

Once imperial censorship was removed with the fall of Constantinople in 1204, repressed apocalyptic tendencies could surface virtually unhindered. Furthermore, a radical change, such as the *halosis*, required apocalyptic justification. Numerous prophecies were penned to do just that. This apocalyptic upsurge also saw Latin expectations being voiced. In fact, one can say that

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*Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Vol.1: Politik und Kirche*, ed. Rainer Berndt, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 80 (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelhochrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997), 49–79, at 79, who posits such monopolization at the court of Charlemagne.

<sup>476</sup> The episode is narrated by Choniates, *Historia*, 310.64–312.8. The term βασιλογράφια is used in cod. Monacensis gr. 450, provided in the *appatus criticus* of Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, CSHB 35 (Bonn: Weber, 1835), 405 and discussed in Brandes, "Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat," 164.

<sup>477</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 309.39–310.49.

<sup>478</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 332.22–28 and 351.72. These passages and the motif of the "scythe-bearer" are discussed below, see pp.158–161.

<sup>479</sup> Brandes, "Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat," 198.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, 157–161, 178–184.

<sup>481</sup> Pachymeres, *Historia*, Vol.2, 615.22–621.5 (lib. VI.24).

<sup>482</sup> While apocryphal apocalypses were rigorously censored, the canonical *Book of Revelation* appears to have gained in popularity. See Josef Schmid, ed., *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. 2. Teil. Die alten Stämme*, Münchner Theologische Studien, 1. Ergänzungsband (Munich: Karl Zink, 1955), 31, who established that the number of manuscript copies containing *Revelation* started to grow markedly from the eleventh century. See further James K. Elliott, "The Distinctiveness of the Greek Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation," *JTS* 48/1 (1997): 116–124.

thirteenth-century apocalypses became a battleground of pro-Latin and anti-Latin factions. All factions involved essentially worked from the same script that functioned as the teleological reference system to evaluate current political events. Just as Alexios Komnēnos had used the apocalyptic horizon to justify his reign, so did pro-Latin factions exploit prophetic traditions to legitimize the Latin rule over Constantinople; a topic to which I turn next.

## CHAPTER 9: THE EXECUTION OF ALEXIOS V DOUKAS MOURTZOUPHLOS

On 12 April 1204, the Latin besiegers of Constantinople burst into the imperial capital. The then reigning emperor, Alexios V Doukas, nicknamed Mourtzouphlos,<sup>483</sup> was unable to rally the populace and to organize the defense of the inner city. Realizing that Constantinople had fallen, he fled the city under cover of night.<sup>484</sup> In the immediate aftermath, he attempted to establish a power base in Thrace but with little success.<sup>485</sup> Eventually, he sought refuge in Mosynopolis with his father-in-law, the dethroned Alexios III.<sup>486</sup> However, instead of providing shelter to Mourtzouphlos his relative-in-law took him captive and blinded him.<sup>487</sup> Deprived of his sight and most of his companions, Mourtzouphlos must have tried to go underground. When planning to cross over into Asia Minor in November 1204, he was captured by the Latins and brought to Constantinople where he was put on trial for treason by a crusader court for having strangled his patron and previous emperor, Alexios IV. He was found guilty and “condemned to an unprecedented and most violent death: placing him atop the lofty column standing in the Forum of the Bull, the Latins cast him down; falling feet first and then tumbling headlong, he shortly crashed aslant and died a most pitiable death.”<sup>488</sup> The Forum of the Bull (Forum Tauri) is an alternate appellation for the Forum of Theodosios, which was located in the center of Constantinople.<sup>489</sup>

<sup>483</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 561.23–25 relates that Alexios’ sobriquet was due to his bushy eyebrows meeting at the midline.

<sup>484</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 570.39–571.54.

<sup>485</sup> Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 74–78 (§§266–270).

<sup>486</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, 9.11–13 (§5). Alexios V Mourtzouphlos’ was married to Eudokia, one of Alexios III’s daughters, see Choniates, *Historia*, 608.53–54. See further Benjamin Hendrickx and Corinna Matzukis, “Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign and Death (? - 1204),” *Hell* 31 (1979): 108–132, at 127–128.

<sup>487</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 608.58 and Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 80, (§271).

<sup>488</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 609.68–72: [...] καταψηφίζονται θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καινότροπόν τε καὶ βιαιότατον. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἐν τῷ Ταύρῳ ἱστάμενον ὑπὲρ κίονα τοῦτον ἀνενεγκόντες βάλλουσιν ἐκεῖθεν κάτω· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πόδας μέχρι τινὸς κατιῶν, εἴτα ἀνατραπὲς κατωκάρα καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καταρραγεὶς δόχμιος ἐξέρρηξεν οἰκτρότατα τὴν ψυχὴν.

In contrast to the just quoted report by Nikētas Chōniatēs, the Latin accounts do not identify the exact location of the execution. Geoffrey of Villehardouin specifies that the marble column from where Mourtzouphlos was tossed down was located “in the middle of the city.”<sup>490</sup> Robert of Clari relates that the column was one of the two on which prophecies had been depicted and engraved.<sup>491</sup> These two columns can be identified with the pillars standing on the Forum of Arkadios in the Xērolophos region and on the Forum of Theodosios (Forum Tauri), respectively. Yet it remains unclear from his account, which of the two columns served as the place of execution. Neither does Gunther of Pairis provide any topographical identification.<sup>492</sup> To compensate for this lack of information, the *Chronicle of Morea*, which is not a contemporaneous source but was penned over a century after the events, erroneously situates the column “in front of Hagia Sophia.”<sup>493</sup> In short, the Latin sources do not specify the precise location of the execution and thus do not contradict Chōniatēs’ explicit identification with the Forum of Theodosios. Given Chōniatēs’ general reliability as a historical source, there seems little reason to doubt that Alexios

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Translation by Harry J. Magoulas, trans., *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Byzantine Texts in Translation (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 334.

<sup>489</sup> On the Forum Tauri, see Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 64–68 and Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 258–265.

<sup>490</sup> Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 114 (§307): [...] que il avoit une colonne en Costantinoble *en mi la ville* auques, qui ere une des plus haltes et des miels ovrees de marbre [...]. Translation in Frank Marzials, trans., *Memoirs of the Crusades by Villehardouin and De Joinville* (London/Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1908), 80: “There was in Constantinople, towards *the middle of the city*, a column, one of the highest and the most finely wrought in marble [...]” (my italics).

<sup>491</sup> Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, 204 (§109): [...] il a en chele vile deus hautes colombes, n’i a chelui qui n’ait tost soisante toises ou chinquante de haut; si le fache on monter en som l’une, et puis si le faiche on tresbuskier jus a tere. Translation in Edgar H. McNeal, trans., *Robert of Clari: The Conquest of Constantinople*, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 23 (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1969), 124: “In this city there are two high columns, each of which is at least fifty or sixty *toises* in height. Let us make him mount to the top of one of them and then have him thrown down to the ground.” See further, Peter Schreiner, “Robert de Clari und Konstantinopel,” in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999*, ed. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 337–356, at 342.

<sup>492</sup> Guntherus Parisiensis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, 60–62 (cap. 20–21). Translation in Alfred J. Andrea, trans., *The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 115–117. In his commentary on note 282 (ibid., 176), the translator identifies the column with the one in the Forum of Theodosios. Yet, Gunther’s description of the column and, in particular, of the defacement of the column’s prophetic depictions at the hands of a Constantinopolitan mob do not allow for a secure identification. To my knowledge it has not yet been resolved why Gunther uses the unusual term “pyramid” when referring to the column.

<sup>493</sup> *Chronicon Moreae*, 60.887–888: Λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ πλησίον ὁμπρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν ἔστηκεν κίονιν φοβερόν, μέγα, ψηλὸν ὑπάρχει (my italics) The quoted text is based on cod. Havniensis, Fabr. 57, 4°, saec. XIV<sup>2</sup>. In terms of content, the text does not differ from the version contained in cod. Parisinus gr. 2898, saec. XVI<sup>in</sup>. The chronicle “by mistake places the column in front of St. Sophia,” as correctly pointed out by Cyril Mango, “The Legend of Leo the Wise,” *ZRV* 6 (1960): 59–93, at 73 [repr. in: idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London: Variorum, 1984), no. XVI]. With regard to its date of composition, see Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 43–47, 51, who dates the work to the mid-1320s.

Mourtzouphlos was executed at the Column of Theodosios, which stood in the eponymous Forum of Theodosios.<sup>494</sup>

Despite the various nuances in describing the execution, all crusader accounts agree on two points. First, Mourtzouphlos' death sentence was followed by deliberations on how to best execute the convict. Second, the decision was reached to throw him off a prominent column that bore prophetic inscriptions and/or depictions.<sup>495</sup> With regard to the latter, it is worthwhile to quote our three major crusader sources:

Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 116 (§308): Or oïez une grant merveille: que, en cele columpne dont il chaï aval, avoit ymages de maintes manieres ovrees el marbre; et entre celes ymages si en avoit une qui ere laboree en forme d'empereor, et cele si chaït contreval. Car de lonc tens ere profiteicié qu'i avroit un empereor en Costantinoble qui devoit estre gitez aval cele columpne: et ensi fu cele semblance et cele prophetie averee.

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Now hear of a great marvel! On that column from which he fell were images of divers kinds, wrought in the marble. And among these images was one, worked in the shape of an emperor, falling headlong; for of a long time it had been prophesied that from that column an emperor of Constantinople should be cast down. So did the semblance and the prophecy come true. (Marzials, trans., *Chronicles of the Crusades*, 81)

Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, 204 (§109): [...] Or estoit cho de ches deus colombes ou sus li hermite manioient, et la ou les aventures de Coustantinoble estoient escrites, si com je vous ai dit par devant. [...]

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[...] Now these were the two columns I told you about before, on top of which the hermits used to dwell, and on which the events of Constantinople were written. [...] (McNeal, trans., *Robert of Clari*, 124)

Guntherus Parisiensis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, 62 (cap. 21): [...] cui [scil. columnae] etiam, ut aiunt, diverse rerum imagines ab antiquo insculpte sunt, que Sibylle vaticinia, et maxime superiorem regno, variis dicuntur figuris exprimere; inter quas erant et navium figure, et quasi scale de navibus erecte, per quas viri armati ascendentes, civitatem nihilominus ibi sculptam expugnare et capere videbantur. [...]

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<sup>494</sup> The identification is reaffirmed in *Chronica de captivitate Constantinopolis*, 377.350: ἀναβιβάσαντες δ' αὐτὸν πρὸς κίονα τοῦ ταύρου [...] | "They led him up at the Column of the Bull." – However, the value of this reaffirmation is marginal, as this late fourteenth-century text uses Chōniatēs as its main source, as pointed out by Hendrickx and Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos," 109.

<sup>495</sup> Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 114–116 (§306–308), Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, 204 (§109), Guntherus Parisiensis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, 60–62 (cap. 20–21). Also, *Chronicon Moreae*, 60.874–899 (= reading of cod. Havniensis, Fabr. 57, 4<sup>o</sup>; the codex Parisinus contains a shortened version of the account).

[...] Also, so they say, various representations of events since antiquity were sculpted on it [i.e., the column], which are said to depict in sundry scenes the prophecies of a Sibyl, largely concerning their kingdom. Among these were scenes of ships, with ladders of a sort projecting from them, on which armed men were climbing. They seemed to be storming and capturing a city which was also sculpted there. [...] (Andrea, trans., *The Capture of Constantinople*, 117)

All three accounts agree on associating the place of Mourtzouphlos' execution with prophetic warnings. The *Chronicle of Morea* again supplements the account with a short oracle that allegedly was engraved on the column. The oracle reads: "From this column they ought to throw down the faithless basileus of the city of Constantine."<sup>496</sup> No such oracular pronouncement has come down to us, either in text or image. Although this prediction seems to be a later fabrication, the prophetic context in which it stands is confirmed by every contemporary Latin account.<sup>497</sup>

Considering, on the one hand, the setting of a public execution, which was designed to address and to persuade the Constantinopolitan populace and, on the other, the consistency of the Latin sources concerning the prophetic association, it seems highly unlikely that the prophetic context is entirely fictional. The question arises: What is the relationship between the alleged prophecies associated with the location of the execution and the unparalleled form of capital punishment? Why was Alexios Mourtzouphlos executed in this peculiar way? To answer this question, I discuss three related topics: (I) the apocalyptic significance of the Column of Theodosios, (II) indirect testimonies about the alleged prophecy provided by the *Chronicle of Morea*, and (III) Greek reactions to Mourtzouphlos' "unprecedented" execution.

#### THE APOCALYPTIC CONTEXT OF THE COLUMN OF THEODOSIOS

The tradition to associate Constantinopolitan fora with apocalyptic importance had existed at least since the early eighth century. An early testimony can be found in the first redaction of the

<sup>496</sup> *Chronicon Moreae*, 60.890–891: "Ἀπέδω ἐτοῦτο τὸ κίονι ὀφείλου ἐγκρεμίσαι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἄπιστον τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Πόλης." My translation differs slightly but significantly from the one given by Harold E. Lurier, trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 69 (New York, NY/London: Columbia University Press, 1964), 93.

<sup>497</sup> The oracular pronouncement in the *Chronicle of Morea* can be assumed to be spurious, given its late date and the lack of corroborative evidence. That said, it is not inconceivable that the column held a Greek inscription or later added graffiti. The reverse is attested in Gunther of Pairis, who relates that some Constantinopolitans defaced pictorial scenes on the Column of Theodosios in an attempt to avert what they believed to be ominous prophetic announcements, see Guntherus Parisiensis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, 62 (cap. 21).

Greek *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*, which holds an interpolation that can be dated—rather securely—to the year 717/718.<sup>498</sup> The interpolation relates how the city walls would be breached and the Muslim besiegers would manage to storm the city only to be beaten back at the Forum of Arkadios (Xērolophos region) and the Forum Bovis.<sup>499</sup> This prophecy enjoyed much authority in the centuries to come. Its prominence is testified by Nikētas Chōniatēs during the reign of Isaakios II as well as—a few decades earlier—by John Tzetzes.<sup>500</sup>

Tzetzes recounts how he interpreted a frightful dream of the wife of a high-ranking official. In this dream she saw “at first that the City of Constantine had a brick wall, around the Forum Bovis, that is at the place [called] cow, she seemed to see an army and a multitude of armor and around the Forum Tauri a yellow-colored [i.e., blond] man, who was seated clapping his hands and screaming mournfully.”<sup>501</sup> Tzetzes tried his best to confute any negative interpretation of this dream and to alleviate the general anxiety that prevailed in the 1140s concerning the possibility of a crusader army besieging Constantinople.<sup>502</sup> In his interpretation the Forum Tauri corresponds to a Latin army, which should be greatly afflicted by the Byzantine emperor if it did

<sup>498</sup> For discussions on the dating, see Hans Schmoldt, *Die Schrift „Vom jungen Daniel“ und „Daniels letzte Vision“. Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte*, Ph.D. dissertation (Hamburg, 1972), 173, Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1997), 296–297, and Wolfram Brandes, “Die Belagerung Konstantinopels 717/718 als apokalyptisches Ereignis. Zu einer Interpolation im griechischen Text der Pseudo-Methodios-Apokalypse,” in *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Klaus Belke, Ewald Kislinger, Andreas Külzer, Maria A. Stassinopoulou (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 65–91, at 71. Cf. Willem J. Aerts, “Zu einer neuen Ausgabe der „Revelationes“ des Pseudo-Methodius (syrisch-griechisch-lateinisch),” in *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. Werner Diem and Aboldjavad Falaturi, ZDMG, Supplement 8 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1990), 123–130, at 130 and Willem J. Aerts and George A. A. Kortekaas, eds., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen. II. Anmerkungen, Wörterverzeichnis, Indices*, CSCO 570 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 48 (n.[13] 7,1ff), who propose an early ninth century date.

<sup>499</sup> *ApcMeth* XIII.7–10.

<sup>500</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 404.2–6, discussed in Magdalino, “Prophecy and Divination,” 65–69. Another usage can be found in Choniates, *Historia*, 570.26, where Chōniatēs refers to Dt 32:30, as indicated by van Dielen in the *apparatus fontium*. As shown above in chap. 6, this Old Testament verse had carried an apocalyptic connotation at least since the early eighth century, owing to *ApcMeth* XIII.10. This passage will be discussed below in chap. 10. With regard to Tzetzes, see Tzetzes, *Historia*, 369–370 (Chil. IX.608–648). French translation in Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, “Textes apocalyptiques annonçant la chute de Constantinople,” in *Constantinople 1453: Des Byzantins aux Ottomans. Textes et documents*, ed. Vincent Déroche and Nicolas Vatin (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2016), 983–1024, at 1005–1006. Cf. Leone, ed., *Tzetzae Epistulae*, 87–88 (Epist. 59), discussed in Magdalino, “Prophecies on the Fall,” 50–51 and in Maria Mavroudi, “Occult Science and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research,” in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva: La Pomme d’Or, 2006), 39–95, at 79.

<sup>501</sup> Tzetzes, *Historia*, 369 (Chil. IX.620–624): τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πρῶτα μὲν πλίνθινον ἔχειν τεῖχος, περὶ βοὸς δὲ ἀγορὰν ἦτοι πρὸς βοῦν τὸν τόπον. Ἐδόκει βλέπειν καὶ στρατὸν καὶ πλήθη πανοπλίας, περὶ τὸν ταῦρον δ’ ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον κιτρόχρουν συμπλαταγόντα χεῖρας τε καὶ σύνθρηνον βοῶντα.

<sup>502</sup> The fear of a Latin conquest may well have been the primary cause of twelfth-century latinophobia, as argued by Alica J. Simpson, “Byzantine «latinophobia»: some explanations concerning the central aspect of Byzantine popular attitudes towards the Latins in the XII century,” *Mésogeios* 3 (1999): 64–82, at 71, 77.

not heed his commands. The Latin affliction is substantiated with a reference to a renowned oracular pronouncement.<sup>503</sup> More importantly, it is personified by an unspecified yellow-colored, that is, blond man at the Forum Tauri.<sup>504</sup> The dream and its interpretation testify to the anticipation of a military engagement with the Latins at the Forum of Theodosios, in which the latter are said to be vanquished. That is to say, the locality where Mourtzouphlos was executed had been associated, already decades beforehand, with a Latin defeat.

It is well known from the Greek patriographic tradition that various Constantinopolitan artefacts and *spolia* were believed by the local populace to hold prophetic inscriptions or depictions.<sup>505</sup> One particular tradition stands out. The late tenth-century *Patria Kōnstantinou-poleōs* relates that the Column of Theodosios was believed to hold engraved depictions of the final conquest(s) of Constantinople.<sup>506</sup> Yet the report is silent about any prophecy foretelling an emperor tumbling from a column. Neither the *Patria* nor its antecedent the *Parastaseis* contains any hint at such a prophetic tradition.<sup>507</sup>

<sup>503</sup> Tzetzes, *Historia*, 369 (Chil. IX.633): τοῦ βοῦς—λέγω—βοήσῃ τε καὶ ταῦρος δὲ θρηνήσῃ. | “I say, of [the oracle that] the cow will bellow and the bull will wail.” – This oracle goes back to *ApcMeth* XIII.9: τότε Βοῦς βοήσῃ σφόδρα καὶ Ξηρόλαφος κραυγάζῃ, [...]

<sup>504</sup> The term κιτρόχρους (yellowish, pale) connotes the image of the blond nation(s), a traditional appellation for the Latins.

<sup>505</sup> See Charles Diehl, “De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople,” *BZ* 30 (1929/30): 192–196, Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*, 211–212, Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 146–156, Albrecht Berger, “Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel. Topographisches in apokalyptischen Schriften der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit,” in *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder, Millennium-Studien 16 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 135–155, and idem, “Magical Constantinople: statues, legends, and the end of time,” *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016): 9–29.

<sup>506</sup> *Patria*, II, 176–177 (§II.47): Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ κοῦφος κίων ὁ μεγαλῖαιος ὁ ἐκεῖσε καὶ ὁ Ξηρόλαφος τὰς ἐσχάτας ἱστορίας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἀλώσεις ἔχουσιν ἐνίστορας ἐγγεγλυμμένας. Translation in Albrecht Berger, trans., *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, DOML 24 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 83: “Similarly, both the huge, hollow column there and the Xerolophos have the story of the final days of the city and its conquests depicted as reliefs.” It is noteworthy that Robert of Clari reproduces this passage in his description of the two historiated columns, see Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, 182 (§92): Par dehors ches columbes si estoient pourtraites et escrites par prophetie toutes les aventures et toutes les conquestes qui sont avenues en Coustantinoble, ne qui avenir i devoient. Translation in McNeal, trans., *Robert of Clari*, 110: “On the outside of these columns there were pictured and written by prophecy all the events and all the conquests which have happened in Constantinople or which were going to happen.” – The parallel has been noted by Ruth Macrides, “Constantinople: the crusaders’ gaze,” in *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, ed. eadem, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 10 (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 193–212, at 205, yet without drawing attention to the almost verbatim correspondence, which further supports Macrides’ argument that Robert of Clari drew upon Constantinopolitan attitudes and views, which included elements from the patriographic tradition. Likewise, André Deisser, “Les oracles de Léon VI le Sage, leurs origines et leur postérité,” *Kernos* 3 (1990): 135–145, at 140 proposed that Robert of Clari’s description reflects the Constantinopolitan attitude to rationalize the *halosis* by presenting it as a fulfilled prophecy. See further Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 146, 149.

<sup>507</sup> With regard to the Forum Tauri, a close parallel with the description in *Patria*, II, 175–177 (§II.47) can be found in *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, 64–65 (§66), which, however, lacks any reference to an apocalyptic significance. Translation and commentary in Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds./trans., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth*

The Columns of Theodosios and of Arkadios both held pictorial representations of military campaigns, which they developed into helically arranged narratives of imperial triumph. The former was erected between 386 and 394 during the reign of Emperor Theodosios I (r. 379–395).<sup>508</sup> Although nothing but a few fragments remains of this column, it is assumed that it depicted Theodosios' victories over the Goths in the Balkans.<sup>509</sup> Construction of the latter started in 402/403 under Theodosios' eldest son and successor, Arkadios (r. 395–408). The column was completed in 421.<sup>510</sup> We have drawings only from this column, which were made prior to its demolition in the early eighteenth century. The most reliable drawings are found in the so-called Freshfield Album made in 1574.<sup>511</sup> These drawings depict narrative scenes from the east, south, and west faces of the pillar, which show military engagements on land and on sea, supposedly representing the victories over the Gothic general Gainas.<sup>512</sup> None of the depictions contain a

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*Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 147–149 (§66), 260.

<sup>508</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 70.20–21 relates that the Column of Theodosios was set up in 386 (AM 5878). It was completed in 394 according to *Chronicon Paschale*, 565.6–8. On this column, see further Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 12 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1941), 3–16, Giovanni Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata: problemi storici iconografici stilistici*, Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano 6 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1960), 8, and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 81–82.

<sup>509</sup> Fragments of the Theodosian column had been built into the *Beyazit Hamamı*, some of which are still visible *in situ* while others have been moved to the *Istanbul Archaeology Museums*. See Siri Sande, "Some new fragments from the column of Theodosius," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia. Serie altera in 8°* 1 (1981): 1–78. It is controversial whether the drawing in the Louvre (Invent. 4951, 32264) depicts scenes from the Column of Theodosios, as suggested in the title of its publication by Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Description de la belle et grande colonne historiée, dressée à l'honneur de l'empereur Théodose par Gentile Bellin* (Paris: G. Vallet, 1702) and republished in idem, *Columna Theodosiana quam vulgo historiatam vocant ab Arcadio imperatore Constantinopoli erecta in honorem imperatoris Theodosii junioris a Gentile Bellino delineata* (Venice: J. Baptista Pasquali, 1765). The authenticity of this drawing has been upheld by Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, 114–117 and Sande, "Some new fragments," 73–77 but disputed by Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 21–22 and John H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 274, who argue that the Louvre drawing is a free adaptation of a now lost sketch from the Column of Arkadios.

<sup>510</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 77.24 relates that it was constructed by Arkadios in 402/403 (AM 5895). The column was inaugurated in 421 according to *Chronicon Paschale*, 579.15–18. On the Column of Arkadios, see further Josef Strzygowski, "Die Säule des Arkadius in Konstantinopel," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 8/4 (1893): 230–249, Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 17–62, Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, 151–187, Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 82–84, Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 250–253, Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 79–81, Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, 273–278 and plates, John Matthews, "Viewing the Column of Arcadius at Constantinople," in *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. David Brakke, Deborah Deliyannis and Edward Watts (Farnham/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 211–223.

<sup>511</sup> Cod. Cantabrigiensis O.17.2, fols.11–13, ann. 1574. Published and discussed in Edwin H. Freshfield, "Notes on a Vellum Album containing some original sketches of public buildings and monuments, drawn by a German artist who visited Constantinople in 1574," *Archaeologia* 72 (1922): 87–104 and plates.

<sup>512</sup> Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 28–29. This view is contested by André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin: recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 75 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936), 42–43 and Sande, "Some new fragments," 73–74, n.111, who argue that the figure

scene with an emperor or any other individual falling off an elevated structure. If such a narrative scene ever existed, then it was probably engraved on the Column of Theodosios. This, however, cannot be verified, since its precise pictorial program is unknown.

Although the reputed narrative scene cannot be confirmed, it is beyond doubt that the Column of Theodosios, like the Column of Arkadios, enjoyed apocalyptic connotations. Their pictorial reliefs had come to be understood by the middle Byzantine period to contain encoded prophecies about the fate of the Queen of Cities. Popular prophecies such as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* and folkloric traditions such as those contained in the *Patria* testify to the association of Constantinopolitan fora with apocalyptic events. Therefore, it can be established that Alexios Mourtzouphlos was executed at—what was believed to be—an apocalyptic hotspot.

#### THE ORACULAR CONTEXT OF THE EXECUTION

Apart from the alleged prophetic depictions of the execution, it is necessary to consider the oracular context of the execution. To begin with, it ought to be assessed whether there exists any witness to a prophecy foretelling the execution of an emperor at the Forum of Theodosios prior to 1204. As mentioned above, the *Chronicle of Morea* quotes an oracular inscription that was purportedly engraved on the Column of Theodosios, presaging Mourtzouphlos' execution:

*Chronicon Moreae*, 60.890–891: “Ἀπέδω ἐτοῦτο τὸ κιόνι ὀφείλουν ἐγκρεμνίσαι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἄπιστον τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Πόλης.”<sup>513</sup>

“From this column they ought to throw down the faithless basileus of the city of Constantine”.<sup>514</sup>

A possible parallel can be found in a late antique oracle that reads: “[...] And He will be hanged up high as [a man] condemned to death and He will obey to bear all willingly and meekly.”<sup>515</sup> This

exiting the gate in the lower section of the southern frieze (S2) shows not Gainas but the Roman emperor being crowned by a personification of victory.

<sup>513</sup> Cod. Parisinus gr. 2898 holds the following reading, *Chronicon Moreae*, 61.890–891: Ἀπέδω ἐκ τούτου τοῦ κιονίου ὀφείλουσιν κρεμνίσαι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἄπιστον τῆς Κωνσταντίνου Πόλης.

<sup>514</sup> In his translation, Lurier mistakes ἐγκρεμνίσαι (ἐγκρεμνίζω, to throw down) for ἐγκρεμᾶσαι (ἐγκρεμάω, to hang), see Lurier, trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 93.

<sup>515</sup> *TheoGrFrag*, 124 (corpus μ.2): καὶ πρὸς ὕψος κρεμασθήσεται ὡς θανάτου κατάδικος καὶ πάντα πράως πείσεται ἐκὼν φέρειν. Cf. *TheoGrFrag*, 102, (corpus ω.11) and 118 (corpus π.4). The adjective πρᾶος/πραῦς (meek, gentle) is commonly used as an attribute of Christ, based on Mt 11:29, 21:5. E.g., see *Historia Ecclesiastica* §31, commonly attributed to Patriarch Germanos I, in Paul Meyendorff, ed./trans., *On the Divine Liturgy: Germanus of Constanti-*

oracular prophecy attributes a prediction about the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ to the Athenian statesman Solōn. The subject of the sentence is Christ, who “will be hanged up high.” Although the image of an execution above the ground resembles the oracle quoted in the *Chronicle of Morea*, the subject as well as the verb is different.<sup>516</sup>

Another, possibly closer textual parallel is given by Chōniatēs, who relates the anecdote of how Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos (r. 1143–1180) had been threatened by his cousin Andronikos, who pointed to two columns in the Hippodrome indicating that Manuel would be executed at that place.<sup>517</sup> The respective passage reads:

Choniates, *Historia*, 352.79–82: [...] ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα Ἀνδρόνικος δακτύλῳ ὑπέδειξε τῷ ἑξαδελφῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ Μανουὴλ τοὺς κίονας, ὧν μέσον αὐτὸς ἀνηρτήθη, εἰπὼν ὡς ἐκεῖσε μέλλει ποτὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπαιωρηθῆναι Ῥωμαίων κακῶς παθὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας πληρώματος

[...] Andronikos extended his hand and pointed out to his cousin Emperor Manuel the columns between which he himself was to be suspended and said that some day an emperor of the Romans would be hanged there and ill-treated by the entire City’s populace. (Magoulas, trans., *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 194, slightly changed)

Chōniatēs’ report shows that hanging from pillars was not an unparalleled kind of capital punishment in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>518</sup> Moreover, this episode well illustrates the ambiguous nature of prophecies; they can become fulfilled either to the benefit or to the detriment of the subject associated with the prediction. In this particular case, Chōniatēs relates that Andronikos’ reign was ended in the way he had predicted Manuel’s reign to end. Changes in the protagonists and conceptual inversions are common features of prophecies, which are inherently ambiguous.<sup>519</sup>

*nople*, Popular Patristics series 8 (Crestwood, NY: St Valdimir’s Seminary Press, 1999), 80. It is also used in prophetic writings, e.g., *UltVisDan* §47 [...] τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ πρᾶυν [...], where the Savior-Emperor is modeled as a Christ-like figure.

<sup>516</sup> Regarding the verb, ἐγκρεμνίσαι derives from ἐγκρεμνίζω/ἐγκρημνίζω, to thrown down while κρεμασθήσεται derives from κρεμάζω, to hang.

<sup>517</sup> The episode has been discussed by Magdalino, “Prophecy and Divination,” 62.

<sup>518</sup> The same anecdote is recounted in *Chronica de captivitate Constantinopolis*, 370.129–135: ὁ δηλωθεὶς δ’ Ἀνδρόνικος τοῖς παλαιτέροις χρόνοις ἔτι τὰ σκήπτρα Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Μανουὴλ κρατοῦντος, μιᾷ πρὸς τὸν ἵππόδρομον τούτους ἀπερχομένους ἔδειξεν οὗτος βασιλεῖ τοὺς κίονας τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὄντας εἰς ἵππόδρομον, ἐν οἷς κατεκρεμάσθη, εἰπὼν αὐτόν, ὡς βασιλεὺς μέσον αὐτῶν κίωνων ἐκκρεμασθεὶς ἀνηλεῶς μέλλει κακῶς τεθνάναι. | “Andronikos made known [the following] one day in the earlier years, while Manuel Komnēnos still held the scepter and when they were arriving to the Hippodrome: he showed to the emperor the two columns that were standing in the Hippodrome—on which he was hanged—saying to him that an emperor will be hanged in the middle of the columns and will die unmercifully and badly.”

<sup>519</sup> On the ambivalent nature of apocalyptic motifs, see András Kraft, “Miracles and Pseudo-Miracles in Byzantine Apocalypses,” in *Recognizing Miracles in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Maria Gerolemou, Trends in Classics, Supple-

Even if the oracular inscription testified by the *Chronicle of Morea* is spurious, it correctly reflects earlier associations of public execution with notable columns in the Constantinopolitan cityscape. That is, the notions of (1) apocalyptic sentiments in connection with the Forum of Theodosios and of (2) a public killing at a column are well attested prior to Mourtzouphlos' execution.

Notwithstanding this circumstantial evidence, one ought to find a textual witness prior to 1204 that associates the Byzantine emperor with the Column of Theodosios in order to confirm the Latin accounts of the alleged prophecy that stipulated Mourtzouphlos' execution. There is one possible witness to such an association in the *Tale of the True Emperor*. This presumably thirteenth-century text presents an eclectic mosaic of diverse apocalyptic motifs that revolve around the expectation of the emergence of a messianic Savior-Emperor. One particular oracular formula (or text-block) deserves our attention, which comes down in Greek as well as in Latin.<sup>520</sup>

*NarrMend* ll.85–90 (cod. Amstel-  
odamensis gr. VI.E.8, fols.11v):  
ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ,  
ἴδρυμα θεανδρικὸν θυόμενον  
καὶ προσκυνούμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.  
ἔχον ζώνην μίαν· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
αὐτοῦ γλυπτὸν· φέρων τε τὸν  
πόλεμον καὶ τῶν ξανθῶν τὰς  
μηχανὰς· τὰς χύσεις τῶν  
αἱμάτων· εἰς κυλίκιον ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ἐστρωμένον, ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ  
νώτου τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν θηρίων·  
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τὸν τοῦ  
σταυροῦ τύπον· (my italics)

Cod. Atheniensis 2187, fol.33r:  
[...] ἀπέναντι τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ·  
ἔχον<sup>521</sup> ζώνην μίαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
αὐτοῦ γλυπτὸν· φέρων τε<sup>522</sup> τῶν  
πολέμων τὰ τόξα καὶ τὰς  
μηχανὰς· τὰς χύσεις τῶν  
αἱμάτων εἰς κυλίκιον ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ἐστρωμένον· ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον  
τοῦ ἄρχοντος θηρίων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
στήθους τούτου θανάτῳ  
θάνατον· ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς  
εἰκόνα κρυπτὴν κατέχων· καὶ ἐπὶ  
τὴν ἀριστερὰν κατέχων  
σταυρόν. (my italics)

*Verus imperator* ll.67–72 (cod.  
Yalensis Marston 225, fol.25v):<sup>523</sup>  
Contra habitationem eius  
figmentum hominis et dei  
sacrificatum et adoratum ab eo.  
*Columna Theodori stat contra  
habitationem, habens unam  
zonam et nomen eius scriptum,*  
portans bellum et flavorum  
ingenia et effusiones sanguinum  
in cilicium stratum in terram.  
*Habens super lumbum  
principem ferarum et super  
pectus mortis mortem et super  
manum dextram iconam  
absconditam et super sinistram  
crucem.* (my italics)

mentary Volumes 53 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 111–130, esp. 125. Ambivalence was a typical feature of the medieval worldview, as pointed out by Alexander Kazhdan, “Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers,” in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 73–82, at 82.

<sup>520</sup> In the following, I will refer to oracular formulae as “text-blocks;” a term that has been introduced by Pogossian and La Porta, “Apocalyptic Texts, Transmission of Topoi, and Their Multi-Lingual Background.” An apocalyptic “text-block” is a rather coherent unit of various motifs.

<sup>521</sup> Cod.: ἔχων

<sup>522</sup> Cod.: φέροντα

<sup>523</sup> Katelyn Mesler, “Imperial Prophecy and Papal Crisis: The Latin Reception of the Prophecy of the True Emperor,” *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 61/2 (2007): 371–415, at 409.

In front of his dwelling place there is a God-man statue to which he brings offerings and which he worships. <i>It has a frieze and his name is carved [on it]:</i> he brings the war, the devices of the blond [peoples], and the shedding of blood in a cup set up in the ground, <i>and on his back he has the lord of the beasts and on his chest the sign of the cross.</i> (Brokkaar, trans., <i>The Oracles</i> , 97, changed, my italics)	[...] in front of his dwelling place. <i>It has a frieze and his name is carved [on it]:</i> he brings the arrows and the [siege] engines of war [and] the shedding of blood in a cup set up in the ground. <i>On the back of the prince there is a wild beast and on the chest death by death; in his right hand he has a hidden image and in his left he holds a cross.</i>	In front of his dwelling place there is a statue of man and God to which he offers sacrifice and which he worships. <i>The Column of Theodorus stands in front of his dwelling place, it has a frieze and his name is written [on it]:</i> it brings the war and the [siege] engines of the blond [peoples] and the shedding of blood in a cup set up in the ground. <i>On his loin it has the lord of the beasts and on his breast the death of death and on his right hand a hidden image and on his left the cross.</i>
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The first column presents the Greek text that has been published on the basis of cod. Amstelodamensis gr. VI.E.8, fols.10r–12v, saec. XVI.<sup>524</sup> This recension differs slightly from the oldest Greek witness contained in cod. Atheniensis 2187, fols.31v–34v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>, transcribed in the second column. Both recensions are shorter than the Latin translation presented in the third column. It can be assumed that the Latin translation preserves an older, more original text than both Greek versions.<sup>525</sup> All witnesses of the Greek text date to the post-byzantine period, while the oldest Latin manuscript can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>526</sup> Furthermore, the Latin translation combines the readings of both Greek versions and thus seems to depend on an earlier, unabridged original. The Latin text is not only more complete but also makes better sense, as it specifies that it is the “Column of Theodorus” (*sic*) and not a nearby dwelling place

<sup>524</sup> Published and translated by Walter G. Brokkaar et al., *The Oracles of the Most Wise Emperor Leo & The Tale of the True Emperor (Amstelodamensis graecus VI E 8)* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002), 90–101.

<sup>525</sup> It is a general fact that Latin translations often allow important conclusions to be drawn about Greek prophecies that otherwise come down only in late manuscripts, as aptly pointed out by Brandes, “Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat,” 177–178, 199.

<sup>526</sup> Cod. Yalensis Marston 225, fols.23r–28r, c. ann. 1328–1330. The dating is by Mesler, “Imperial Prophecy and Papal Crisis,” 383, 397. The manuscript is described in Jean Leclercq, “Textes et manuscrits cisterciens dans des bibliothèques des États-Unis,” *Traditio* 17 (1961): 163–183, at 166–169, Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Volume III: Marston Manuscripts*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 100 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), 424–431, Martha H. Fleming, *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The Genus nequam Group*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 204 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 70–77, and Mesler, “Imperial Prophecy and Papal Crisis,” 380–387.

that holds the frieze with the Savior-Emperor's name inscribed in it. With regard to the column's appellation, it may be assumed that the "columna Theodori" is a corruption of "columna Theodosii."<sup>527</sup> If this emendation is accepted, one arrives at a motif that identifies the Column of Theodosios with the *locus revelationis* of the Savior-Emperor.

The dating of the text is elusive. The *Tale of the True Emperor* has been variously dated ranging from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries.<sup>528</sup> However, in view of the Latin translation a safe *terminus ante quem* can be assigned to the late thirteenth century.<sup>529</sup> Moreover, the reference to "the siege engines of the Latins" (τῶν ξανθῶν τὰς μηχανὰς) can be read as a *vaticinium ex eventu* referring to the siege(s) of Constantinople in 1203/1204.<sup>530</sup> Hence, it can be surmised that the motif that associates the appearance of a messianic emperor with the Column of Theodosios originated around the time of the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade.

There are three possible interpretations of this prophetic text-block, which need to be considered in turn. (1) The motif may simply represent a *vaticinium ex eventu*, which postdates the events of 1204. According to this reading, Mourtzouphlos' undignified execution would have been inverted to the end that the future messianic emperor would be revealed at the very column where the last Byzantine emperor had been killed. This reading runs into the difficulty of explaining the overall optimist tone of the text-block: the Savior-Emperor is portrayed to be triumphant despite him bringing about the crusaders' siege engines. In fact, one searches in vain to find any allusion to the fall of Constantinople.

(2) One way to explain the lack of references to the *halosis* of 1204 and, at the same time, to maintain reading the text-block as a *vaticinium*, is to read it as a pro-Latin source, which withholds any anti-Latin sentiments and instead promotes a crusader-friendly ruler. Such a reading can be supported with the ensuing description of the messianic ruler having "on his back

<sup>527</sup> Ibid., 373, n.10: "Perhaps the Latin text retains a remnant of an original reference to the Column of Theodosius."

<sup>528</sup> For the various dating attempts, see the Appendix, s.v. "Narratio mendici regis."

<sup>529</sup> Mesler, "Imperial Prophecy and Papal Crisis," 374. Pace Brokkaar et al., *The Oracles*, 30, who assumes a post-byzantine date of composition and pace Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Les Oracula Leonis," in *Gioachimismo e profetismo in Sicilia (secoli XIII-XVI): Atti del terzo Convegno internazionale di studio Palermo-Monreale, 14-16 ottobre 2005*, ed. Cosimo D. Fonseca (Rome: Viella, 2007), 79-91, 83 and eadem, "Textes apocalyptiques annonçant la chute de Constantinople," in *Constantinople 1453: Des Byzantins aux Ottomans. Textes et documents*, ed. Vincent Déroche and Nicolas Vatin (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2016) 983-1024, at 1012, who assigns the text to the fourteenth century.

<sup>530</sup> I roughly agree with Jeannine Vereecken and Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, eds., *Les Oracles de Léon le Sage illustrés par Georges Klontzas. La version Barozzi dans le Codex Bute*, Oriens graecolatinus 7 (Venice: Institut Hellénique de Venise & Bibliothèque Vikelaia d'Hérakleion, 2000), 31, who propose a date of composition around the year 1200.

[...] the lord of the beasts and on his chest the sign of the cross.”<sup>531</sup> The crusader cross on the chest and the Lion of Saint Mark on the back are unmistakable allusions to a Latin attire.<sup>532</sup> Yet this depiction is of a later date. In earlier versions (columns two and three) the cross is placed on the left hand, while the chest holds “death by death” (θανάτῳ θάνατον), which is a typological reference to Christ’s resurrection.<sup>533</sup> More importantly, a pro-Latin reading would have to account for the earlier reference to the Doukas family, by which the Savior-Emperor’s Byzantine lineage is vindicated.<sup>534</sup> Even if the lineage motif were derived from a different text-block, one would need to explain why such a motif was integrated into a supposedly pro-Latin prophecy.

(3) Finally, the motif of associating the Savior-Emperor with the Column of Theodosios might not be a *vaticinium ex eventu* after all. Instead it might predate Mourtzouphlos’ execution. Accordingly, it found its way into the early version of the *Tale of the True Emperor*, from where it was subsequently omitted. The omission can be seen as a reaction to the crusaders having falsified the belief that the Savior-Emperor would emerge at the Forum Tauri. In fact, this might have been the very intention behind Mourtzouphlos’ public execution.

The hypothesis thus is: the Latin translation of the *Tale of the True Emperor* contains a Constantinopolitan motif that testifies to the expectation that the messianic emperor shall be revealed at the Column of Theodosios. By throwing Mourtzouphlos from this column, the prophecy was nullified, as was the veracity of previous Greek prophecies. Even more importantly, by inverting the prophetic expectation, the Latin accounts (as well as the pro-Latin *Chronicle of Morea*) appropriated the motif whereby they claimed divine sanction not only for the execution

<sup>531</sup> *NarrMend* ll.89-90: ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν θηρίων· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον·

<sup>532</sup> Regarding the crusader cross on the chest, see Robertus monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 729-730 (l.2): [...] signum Dominicae Crucis in fronte sua sive in pectore praeferat. Translation in Dana C. Munro, *Urban and the Crusaders*, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History 1/2 (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1895), 8: “[...] shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast.” For an alternative translation, see Sweetenham, trans., *Robert the Monk’s History*, 82: “[...] shall wear the sign of the Cross on his forehead or his chest.”

<sup>533</sup> The expression recalls the Paschal troparion: Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, ζῶν ἡν χαρισάμενος. | “Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down *death by death*, and upon those in the tombs, bestowing life!”

<sup>534</sup> *NarrMend* ll. 56-57: ὁ ἐκ μοίρας δουκικῆς καὶ ἐκ γένους βασιλικοῦ καταγόμενος. | “He is part of the Doukas family and descends from an imperial dynasty.” In contrast, cod. Atheniensis 2187, fol.32v reads: ὁ ἐκ μήτρας (*lege* μητέρος) δουλικῆς καὶ ἐκ γένους βασιλικῆς (*lege* βασιλικοῦ) καταγόμενος. | “He descends from a slave mother and the imperial family.” However, the Latin translation confirms the reading of the later Amsterdam manuscript, see Mesler, “Imperial Prophecy and Papal Crisis,” 406.42-43: [...] a sorte imperatoria et ducatoria derivatus [...] – Stefanos Dimitriadis has recently advanced a relevant argument in his talk on “Late 12th-century Imperial Decision-Making: The Case of Isaac II Angelus,” given at the 43rd annual *Byzantine Studies Conference* in Minneapolis, where he argued that the said reference to the Doukas family, together with adjacent topographical motifs, identifies the messianic figure as Isaakios II (r. 1185-1195, 1203-1204). This amounts to saying that the text-block in *NarrMend* ll.56-59, 76-79 is a *vaticinium* that promoted Isaakios’ rise to the throne and was thus circulated prior the *halosis*.

but also for the conquest and occupation of the imperial capital. In contrast, Byzantine historical sources, most importantly Chōniatēs and Akropolitēs respectively, remained silent on any prophetic context. Their silence is probably due to their refusal to endorse the Latin counter-narrative.

Alexios Mourtzouphlos did not only serve as a scapegoat in the attempt to legitimize the Latin rule of Baldwin of Flanders;<sup>535</sup> his execution also served to invalidate and to reconfigure the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations. Moreover, such a radical change as the occupation of the imperial capital necessitated divine validation. The fulfillment of a local prophetic tradition must have appeared as an opportune source of political legitimacy. The apocalyptic horizon determined the crusaders' decision-making on how to execute the dethroned Emperor Mourtzouphlos.

#### REACTIONS TO THE EXECUTION IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY APOCALYPTICISM

If the Latins really challenged the Constantinopolitan apocalyptic horizon, then one would expect to find Byzantine counter-narratives in the subsequent tradition. Apocalyptic counter-narratives could be used as indirect proof to show that Byzantine expectations were upset and needed to be rectified by inverting Mourtzouphlos' "unprecedented" and "most deplorable" execution.<sup>536</sup> The following motifs, all contained in thirteenth-century apocalyptic texts, appear to do just that:<sup>537</sup>

<i>ProphMagCon</i> 11.44–45: [...] ὃς ἐπὶ στήλης ἔσται καὶ ἐν στρογγύλῳ λίθῳ καθήμενος [...]	<i>UltVisDan</i> §47: [...] καὶ εὐρήσετε ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ δύο κίονας ἰστάμενον συγκατηφῇ, [...]	<i>OracLeon</i> #13, 1.6: [...] στύλος γὰρ ὀφθεῖς, ἐν πόλῳ κεκλωσμένος [...]	<i>OracLeon</i> #14, 1.4–5: [...] γυμνὸς πρόεισιν ἐκ πέτρας ἀνηλίου καὶ δευτέρου λάμποντος ἄρχεται βίου [...]
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<sup>535</sup> Hendrickx and Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos," 130–131 point out that by convicting Mourtzouphlos as a traitor, Baldwin of Flanders was presented as the legitimate successor of Alexios IV. In addition, Villehardouin uses Mourtzouphlos' mutilation at the hands of Alexios III as a moral argument to justify the conquest of Constantinople, see Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 80, (§§271–272), where he remarks that people who portray such cruel, treacherous behavior do not deserve to hold sway over the region.

<sup>536</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 609.68–72: [...] καταψηφίζονται θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καινότροπόν τε καὶ βιαίωτατον. [...] ἐξέρρηξεν οἰκτρότατα τὴν ψυχὴν. (my italics)

<sup>537</sup> Although these prophecies come down in manuscripts that postdate the thirteenth century, they can be securely dated to the thirteenth century based on internal evidence. Moreover, in the case of the *Prophecia Magni Constantini de Constantinopoli* and the *Oracula Leonis Sapientis* we can establish firm *termini ante quem* based on their Latin translations, which date to the late thirteenth century. See Pertusi, "Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli," 15 and Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," 62. For further detail, see the respective entries in the Appendix.

[...] who will be <i>on a pillar</i> sitting <i>on a round stone</i> [...]	[...] And you will find a man standing on two <i>columns</i> , downcast, [...]	[...] For when a <i>column</i> predestined by fate will be seen in the sky, [...] (Brokkaar, trans., <i>The Oracles</i> , 83)	[...] emerges naked <i>from a sunless rock</i> and starts a second life in full light [...] (Brokkaar, trans., <i>The Oracles</i> , 85)
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These examples identify the *locus revelationis* of the Savior-Emperor with a lithic object. Its precise location is not defined and remains unresolved.<sup>538</sup> This ambiguity can be seen as a reaction to the unfulfilled expectations associated with the Column of Theodosios; the expectations persisted but in a less definitive and less committing manner. It is indicative that the motif of an unspecified column structure is not attested in earlier apocalyptic sources. Only following Mourtzouphlos' execution on the Column of Theodosios do pillars, rocks, and stones become prominent hallmarks of the messianic emperor. This trend further intensified in the following centuries giving rise to the myth of the petrified emperor (μαρμαρωμένος βασιλιάς).<sup>539</sup>

Thirteenth-century apocalyptic texts uphold not only the legitimacy of the imperial office by inverting the execution; they also uphold the legitimacy of Mourtzouphlos himself, as a historical figure. More often than not, post-1204 prophecies cast him in a positive light. Yet, his post-humous legacy is not devoid of ambivalence. The *Prophecy of Constantine the Great* contains one of the earliest Byzantine reactions to the *halosis*. It gives the following justification for the fall:

*ProphMagCon* II.33–42: Οἱ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἑξάρχαι φονοκτονῆσαι ἔχουσιν ἄνδρα δίκαιον ἀδίκως, ἐκ μιᾶς κραυγῆς λέγοντες ‘ἀποκτανθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής, ὃν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκφοβηθήσονται καὶ τρομάξουσιν, ὅτι δρεπανηφόρος ἐστὶ καὶ τετράμηνος’. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ὑπὸ μείρακος βασιλέως σὺν τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν ἀνερχομένου ζητήσουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐχ εὕρησουσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐλεῶν αὐτούς· ἐκ δὲ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀναζητῆσαι ἔχει <τις> τὸν μόρον αὐτοῦ, διὸ καὶ παράκλητον <καλέ>σουσιν οἱ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀρχηγὸν καταστήσουσιν· ἀνελεῖ γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὰ ἐναπομείναντα ἔθνη, καὶ οἱ φυγόντες τῆς πόλεως σωθήσονται ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀνὴρ δὲ τότε οὐ κυριεύσει τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, [...]

<sup>538</sup> By 1453, the Column of Constantine was believed to bring forth the Savior-Emperor, as famously reported by Lucas, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, 365 (cap. 39.18).

<sup>539</sup> On the notion of the “sleeping” or “marble” emperor, see Nikos Beēs, “Περὶ τοῦ ἱστορημένου χρησιμολογίου τῆς κρατικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Βερολίνου (Codex Graecus fol. 62=297) καὶ τοῦ θρύλου τοῦ ‘Μαρμαρωμένου Βασιλιᾶ’,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 13 (1936–1937): 203–244λς, at 244γ–244λς, Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 101–108, and Marios Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus (1404–1453): the last emperor of Byzantium* (Abingdon/New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), 317–327, 337–345.

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The leaders of this City will unjustly kill a just man by saying with one shouting voice: “the impious has to be condemned to death, whom all the nations would fear and tremble,<sup>540</sup> since he is the scythe-bearer and [has] four months.” And in the last days when a youthful emperor will ascend together with our nation, the people of the City will seek him but will not find him, and no one will be merciful with them. But from his side <someone> will search out his corpse, wherefore the people of the City will call him the consoler and will appoint him [their] leader. For he will kill the ruling one and the remaining nations, and those who had left the City will be saved in the time of war; but then no man will rule this City, [...]

The anonymous apocalypticist blames the unjust execution of the death-dealing yet righteous “scythe-bearer” for the calamities that befell Constantinople. The question arises: who is this scythe-bearer? A. Pertusi assumed that this apocalyptic word-image refers to Alexios Mourtzouphlos, since he had killed his predecessor Alexios IV (r. 1203–1204) and had ruled for about four months from late January until mid-April. Furthermore, he saw in the ruler who was believed to be the Paraclete a reference to Michael VIII Palaiologos.<sup>541</sup> This interpretation faces a number of difficulties. First, Mourtzouphlos ruled for just about two months.<sup>542</sup> Second, Mourtzouphlos’ execution followed the *halosis* and can thus hardly be considered a preceding cause. Third, the identification with Michael VIII is highly conjectural; the notions of him being associated with the Paraclete and of him killing the ruler as well as the Latin population (τὰ ἐναπομείναντα ἔθνη) of Constantinople are hard to match with historiographical accounts.

Alternatively, the passage can be read strictly chronologically: following the arrival of Alexios IV, at the head of the Fourth Crusade, there was a futile search for an emperor, who would take up arms against the Latins.<sup>543</sup> Eventually, Alexios Mourtzouphlos gained a large following among the populace. He had Alexios IV killed and engaged the Latins.<sup>544</sup> In the aftermath of Mourtzouphlos’ execution, the Constantinopolitans who rejected the legitimacy of Latin rule could have considered the imperial office to be vacant. This reading runs into the difficulty of identifying the “scythe-bearer,” whose execution is identified as the first cause of the series of calamities that beleaguered the Queen of Cities.

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<sup>540</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 2:3, 2 Cor 7:15, Eph 6:5, Phil 2:12.

<sup>541</sup> Pertusi, “Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli,” 40–41 and Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 57–58. Yet, Pertusi does not explicitly discuss the remarkable reference to the παράκλητος (Jn 14:16, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7, and 1 Jn 2:1).

<sup>542</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 571.53–54 relates that Mourtzouphlos “reigned two months and sixteen days” [...] βασιλεύσας μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ πρὸς ταῖς δέκα.

<sup>543</sup> Cf. Choniates, *Historia*, 561.33–34.

<sup>544</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 564.14–19 and 566.27–34.

The term “scythe-bearer” denotes an emperor who deals death yet rules with legitimacy. It derives from Rv 14:14–19, where the judging Christ is depicted as wearing a golden crown and holding a sharp scythe.<sup>545</sup> Accordingly, the notion of the death-dealing “scythe-bearer” has clear messianic connotations. This epithet applies not only to Mourtzouphlos but also to Andronikos I Komnēnos (r. 1183–1185), who had executed his underage protégé, Alexios II, and had himself suffered a most violent death. His execution was instigated by the usurpation of Isaakios II, who inaugurated the short-lived rule of the Angelid dynasty (1185–1204). Having Chōniatēs’ *History* in mind, one may object to seeing a “just man” in the usurper and tyrant Andronikos.<sup>546</sup> However, seen from the post-*halosis* perspective, most of the blame for the fall of Constantinople was bestowed upon the Angeloi, at least in contemporary apocalypses.<sup>547</sup> It is not inconceivable that the horrors of the *halosis* led some Byzantines to retroactively exonerate Andronikos.

It is not of primary importance to decide which of these two interpretations is more persuasive or even more veritable. What matters to our investigation is to appreciate that Alexios Mourtzouphlos was subsequently portrayed either as the messianic “scythe-bearer” or as the messianic “Paraclete.” In either case, it is his individual character and not only his imperial dignity that is being given credit. Another short oracular prophecy reaffirms that the execution of the “scythe-bearer” was a sinful transgression. Unfortunately, this short text does not give any clear indication as to his identity. It is worthwhile to provide the whole text of the so-called *Oracle of the Prophet Daniel on Byzantium*.<sup>548</sup>

<sup>545</sup> The image is inspired by Jer 27:16 (LXX) and Mk 4:29.

<sup>546</sup> Identifying the scythe-bearer with Andronikos I Komnēnos is not without precedent, as evidenced by Chōniatēs’ testimony, see Choniates, *Historia*, 351.71–72: [...] οἷεσθαι τοὺς πλείστους τὸ παλαιάφατον λελέχθαι τοῦτο χρησιμώδημα „δρεπανηφόρε, τετράμηνόν σε μένει“ [...] | “[...] most thought that what the oracle declared of old, ‘O Scythe-bearer, you have four months left,’ was said of him [...]” Translation by Magoulias, trans., *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 194. The oracle alluded to is contained in the *Oracles of Leo the Wise*, see *OracLeon* #6, l.6. See also Choniates, *Historia*, 433.89–92, cf. *OracLeon* #6, l.9. Moreover, Chōniatēs described a (today much-debated) mural painting on the northern outer wall of the Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs in Constantinople, which showed a depiction of Andronikos holding a scythe. See Choniates, *Historia*, 332.22–28. Translation in Magoulias, trans., *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 183. For a summary of the various views about the painting as well as for a new interpretation, see Michael Grünbart, “Die Macht des Historiographen – Andronikos (I.) Komnenos und sein Bild,” *ZRVI* 48 (2011): 77–87, who draws attention to a conceptual link between scythe (τὸ δρέπανον) and crown (ὁ στέφανος). It should be added that these notions carried apocalyptic connotations, following Rv 14:14.

<sup>547</sup> *ProphMagCon* ll.17–18, *UltVisDan* §1, *VisDanSanHom* ll.138–153. See also *OracDan*, l.7. An exception might be *OracLeon* #8, l.4 and #10, ll.2–3, where the Komnēnoi appear to be mentioned in connection with the *halosis*. Yet it should be noted that the Angeloi could be subsumed under the Komnēnoi, since the former were a branch of the Komnēnian imperial house. See ODB, s.v. “Angelos.” Cf. Choniates, *Historia*, 529.25–31, who likewise blames the Komnēnoi for the imperial collapse. The passage has been translated and discussed by Alicia J. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates: A Historiographical Study*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 291–292.

<sup>548</sup> To the best of my knowledge, this text has not yet been edited. There only exists a German and partial Italian translation, see the Appendix, s.v. “Oraculum prophetae Danielis de Byzantio.”

## MANUSCRIPTS

H = Codex Hafniensis, GKS 2147 4°, fol.11v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>

W = Codex Vindobonensis, suppl. gr. 172, fols.38v–39r, saec. XVI

## [ORACULUM PROPHETAЕ DANIELIS DE BYZANTIO]

Χρησμός Δανιήλ τοῦ προφήτου περὶ τῆς Βυζαντίδος  
καὶ σημείωσαι πρὸ τοῦ κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου  
5 μάλλον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῦ Βύζα

οὐαὶ σοι ἐπτάλοφε, ὅτ' ἂν τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σκῆπτρον  
κρατήσῃ καὶ βασιλεύσῃ ἐν σοὶ μεράκιον ξανθὸν καὶ  
10 παρακαθήσῃ σοι μετὰ τοῦ ξανθοῦ ἔθνους καὶ πεινάσῃς  
καὶ διωχθήσονται οἱ ἐπὶ σὲ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἣν ἔποιήσας  
εἰς τὸν δρεπανηφόρον. Ἄλλ' ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς  
αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν καὶ καταναλώσει μετὰ τῶν  
Ἀγαρηνῶν τὸ ξανθὸν ἔθνος· ἄλλ' οὐ κρατήσῃ τῆς  
βασιλείας καὶ αὐτὸς συνθελισθῇ.

7 οὐαὶ...ἐπτάλοφε] Cf. Rv 18:10–19 et 17:9 8 μεράκιον] Cf.  
*ProphMagCon* ll.17–18, *UltVisDan* §1, *VisDanSanHom* ll.138–152  
11 δρεπανηφόρον] Cf. Zec 5:1–4, Mk 4:29, Rv 14:14–19; *OracLeon* #6,  
l.6, *ProphMagCon* l.35 | ἐκ...12 αὐτοῦ] Cf. 3 Kgs 8:19 (LXX)  
14 συνθελισθῇ] Cf. Jer 27:16 (LXX), Mk 4:29, Rv 14:15–16

7 σοι] σε W 8 κρατήσῃ] -ήσει HW 9 παρακαθήσῃ] -ήσει HW  
ἔθνους] γένους W 11 τὸν] τὸ HW 14 συνθελισθῇ] -στη HW

## [ORACLE OF THE PROPHET DANIEL ON BYZANTIUM]

Oracle of the Prophet Daniel concerning Byzantium  
and note [that this was] prior to its foundation by  
Constantine, or rather one should say Byzas

5

Woe you, Seven-Hilled [City], when a blond lad will  
hold the angelic scepter and will reign in you and will  
camp next to you together with the blond nation and you  
will starve. And your inhabitants will be chased away  
10 because of the sin that you committed against the  
scythe-bearer. But one will come forth from his side,  
from the East, and will annihilate the blond nation  
together with the Hagarenes. But he will not hold sway of  
the empire but he also will be reaped.

10

15

The first line of this short prophecy seems to refer to 1204, since it echoes the woe of Rv 18:10–19. Earlier, pre-1204 prophecies had juxtaposed this woe with the submergence of Constantinople, emulating the original context of this canonical verse.<sup>549</sup> However, thirteenth-century prophecies interpreted the verse in reference to the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>550</sup> Given that the oracle does not mention any deluge, it is probable that the first line refers to the fall in 1204. Much less certain is the identity of the “scythe-bearer.” The short prophecy does not provide enough information to identify the motif with either Mourtzouphlos or Andronikos I.<sup>551</sup> All that can be deduced is that the notion of the “scythe-bearer” was common currency in the apocalyptic jargon of the early/mid thirteenth century, which is when this oracle was most likely composed.

An unequivocal allusion to Mourtzouphlos can be found in the *Last Vision of Daniel*. The historical section of this mid-thirteenth-century apocalypse relates how a “young lad” (τὸ μεράκιον) reigned in Constantinople prior to its conquest.<sup>552</sup> C. Mango and W. Brandes correctly deciphered the reference to the “young lad” as an allusion to the juvenile Alexios IV (c. 1182–1204).<sup>553</sup> Yet, no one has offered a more complete resolution of this *vaticinium ex eventu* than W. Bousset over a century ago: the lad refers to Alexios IV Angelos and the sleeping snake (ὁ ὄφις ὁ κοιμώμενος, §25) to Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos.<sup>554</sup> The *Last Vision of Daniel* recounts how

<sup>549</sup> *DiegDan* IX.3–4, *VisioDan* III.10 (see below n.565, where these passages are quoted) as well as *ApcAndr* II.3997, 4046.

<sup>550</sup> *OracLeon* #10, ll.2–5: Οὐαὶ σοι πόλις ἐπτάλοφε· ὅταν τὸ εἰκοστὸν στοιχεῖον εὐφημίζεται εἰς τὰ τεῖχη σου· τότε ἡγγικεν ἡ πτώσις ἢ ἡ ἀπώλεια τῶν δυναστῶν σου, καὶ τῶν ἀδικίᾳ κρινόντ(ων): | “Woe you, City of seven hills: when the twentieth sign is acclaimed along your walls. Then your downfall is near, or the loss of your rulers and of those who judge unfairly.” – *UltVisDan* §19: καὶ οὐαὶ σοι Ἑπτάλοφε ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ὀργῆς, ὅταν κυκλωθῇς ὑπὸ στρατοπέδου πολλοῦ καὶ κυριευθῇς ὡς διὰ μικροῦ πράγματος. | “Woe to you, Seven-Hilled [City] because of such wrath, when you will be encircled by a great army and will be ruled because of a small matter.”

<sup>551</sup> If it refers to Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos, then the prophecy may well represent a pro-Doukid agenda, since it specifies that the future Savior-Emperor “will come forth from his side” (*OracDan* ll.11–12: ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ). The phrasing is reminiscent of 3 Kgs 8:19 (LXX) and suggests that the relationship between the scythe-bearer and the future Savior-Emperor emulates the relationship between King David and King Solomon. If the reference is to Andronikos I Komnēnos, then the prophecy may present a pro-Komnēnian stance and may be associated with David Komnēnos, Andronikos’ grandson and ruler of the Empire of Trebizond (r. 1204–1212). The curtness of the prophecy does not allow this issue to be resolved.

<sup>552</sup> *UltVisDan* §§1–33, at §21–25.

<sup>553</sup> Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*, 212 and Brandes, “Konstantinopels Fall im Jahre 1204,” 254. In fact, τὸ μεράκιον was a common appellation for Alexios IV in thirteenth-century prophecies, see *ProphMagCon* ll.18, 36, *VisioDanUrb* l.55, *UltVisDan* §§21–25. See also *VisDanSanHom* ll.42–68. Furthermore, this identification is confirmed in case of the *Last Vision of Daniel* by what seems to be a reference to Alexios IV having devotional objects confiscated and melted down to pay off his debt to the crusaders, see *UltVisDan* §§23–24: καὶ βάλη τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστήρια. καὶ τὰ ἅγια ἀποχρήσουσι καὶ δώσουσι τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπωλείας. | “And he will place his hands upon the holy altars of God. And they will abuse the holy things and give them to the sons of perdition.” Cf. Choniates, *Historia*, 551.61–552.76 and Acropolites, *Historia*, 6–7 (§3).

<sup>554</sup> Bousset, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,” 290. The term ὁ ὄφις ὁ κοιμώμενος denotes a common curiosity about snakes, which sleep with their eyes wide open, as attested by the contemporaneous *Lexicon* of Pseudo-Zōnaras, s.v. “ὄφις,” in Johann A. H. Tittmann, ed., *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*,

Alexios V killed Alexios IV before himself suffering what is said to have been a blessed death (θάνατον ὄσιον, §28), which indicates the apocalypticist's sympathies for Alexios V, probably due to his anti-Latin stance.<sup>555</sup> In short, Mourtzouphlos is characterized as saintly even if tragic and demonic figure.<sup>556</sup>

In marked contrast to these positive appraisals stands the condemning voice of the *Oracles of Leo the Wise*. Oracle #8 casts the murderer of Alexios IV into the following invective: “the dragon who killed the southwesterly wind.”<sup>557</sup> Due to its brevity, this allusion needs to be read intertextually. The southwesterly wind is a word-image that almost certainly refers to Alexios IV. It presumably alludes to the favorable winds that carried the crusader fleet—with Alexios IV on board—to Constantinople in May/June 1203.<sup>558</sup> This reading is corroborated by another contemporary oracle.<sup>559</sup> Hence, the oracular verse condemns Mourtzouphlos as a dragon-like, demonic murderer for having killed Alexios IV.<sup>560</sup> It forms an antithesis to other contemporaneous prophecies which presents word-images that despite their ambivalence lean towards appraisal. Notwithstanding this exception, Mourtzouphlos' legacy in the apocalyptic imagination appears to have been rather favorable.

The chapter can be summarized as follows: the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations influenced the decision on how to execute the dethroned Emperor Alexios Mourtzou-

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Vol.2 (Leipzig: Crusius, 1808), 1489: Ὅφης. παρὰ τὸ ὄπτω, τὸ βλέπω· ὁ γὰρ ὄφης κοιμώμενος ἀνεωγμένους ἔχει τοὺς ὤπας. The implied meaning here seems to be that a dormant snake is indistinguishable from a wakeful one, while the motif of the snake may allude to Alexios V's deceptiveness and betrayal of Alexios IV. The snake motif is also potent in evoking the image of the Antichrist. It is noteworthy that the snake motif features prominently in the *Oracles of Leo the Wise* (see *OracLeon* #1), which were reinterpreted and revised during the thirteenth century.

<sup>555</sup> On the anti-Latin attitude of Alexios Mourtzouphlos, see Hendrickx and Matzukis, “Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos,” 121–127.

<sup>556</sup> Again, the notion of ὁ ὄφης (snake) connotes a satanic or demonic image.

<sup>557</sup> *OracLeon* #8, l.8: δράκοντα [...] τὸν λιβοκτόνον. My translation follows the LBG, s.v. “λιβοκτόνος.” It is worth mentioning that ὁ δράκων is interchangeable with ὁ ὄφης. Cf. *UltVisDan* §25–28, which—as has been argued—alludes to Mourtzouphlos.

<sup>558</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 541.57–58, Acropolites, *Historia*, 5.26–27 (§2), Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, I, 122 (§119) and Maximilian Treu, ed., *Nicephori Chrysobergae Ad Angelos orationes tres* (Breslau: Druck von Otto Gutsmann, 1892), 27.17–19 (Oratio 3) all relate that the crusader fleet enjoyed favorable winds on its passage from Corfu to Constantinople.

<sup>559</sup> *VisioDanUrb* ll.55–56: Ἀναστήσεται μεῖράκιον ἐξ ὀσφύος κώνωπος καὶ ἀπὸ Λιβύης μετὰ τοῦ ξανθοῦ γένους ἐν τῇ Ἑπταλόφῳ εἰσελεύσεται, [...] | “A young lad will rise from the loin of a gnat and will enter the Seven-Hilled [City] from Libya together with the blond nation [...]” – In all likelihood, the reference to Libya has to be understood as a reference to the southwesterly wind of the Aegean Sea, also called Lips (λίψ), see Paul Moraux, “Anecdota Graeca Minora II: Über die Winde,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 41 (1981): 43–58, at 47 and 55.25–26. This wind was feared by sailors as it can reverse the surface current that is, for the most part, dominated by northerly winds. The same context ought to be assumed for *OracLeon* #8, l.8: [...] τὸν λιβοκτόνον.

<sup>560</sup> It is possible that *OracLeon* #10, ll.6–8 also applies to Mourtzouphlos, but there is little to no contextual evidence to prove such a reading. Alternatively, Brokkaar et al., *The Oracles*, 32 unhesitatingly identifies the emperor “having sickle-shaped fingers” (ἔχει τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ δρεπανωτούς) with Baldwin of Flanders.

phlos. Patriographic traditions had shaped the Forum of Theodosios into an apocalyptically connoted locality within the urban landscape of Constantinople, as evidenced by the *Patria*. Furthermore, Tzetzēs' dream interpretation shows that the Forum was associated with a Byzantine victory over a Latin invasion, while Chōniatēs testifies that a Constantinopolitan column had been associated with a public execution. What is more, the Latin translation of the *Tale of the True Emperor*, which probably contains a more original redaction than the extant Greek versions, suggests that the Column of Theodosios was associated with the messianic Savior-Emperor.

The consistent emphasis that the crusader accounts lay on Alexios Mourtzouphlos' execution reflects a forceful agenda that aims at superseding the Byzantine prophetic legitimacy. The Latin sources advanced a counter-narrative that essentially inverts local apocalyptic traditions: instead of being revealed at the Column of Theodosios, the Byzantine emperor is foretold to be executed at this column. Moreover, by carrying out the foretold execution, the Latins professed to operate within the divine providential plan and thereby validated their rule over Byzantium.<sup>561</sup> It is remarkable that Byzantine historical sources remain silent on this narrative, presumably because they repudiated it. The authenticity of this counter-narrative was quickly called into question by Byzantine prophetic writings of the thirteenth century, which inverted the Latin counter-narrative by proposing that the Savior-Emperor will *a fortiori* appear on/at a column.

The Latins designed Mourtzouphlos' execution as a revision of Byzantine imperial eschatology.<sup>562</sup> The very legitimacy of such an eschatology was not questioned. In fact, the crusaders evidently shared the view of the conquered that the history of Constantinople was nothing but a progressively developing apocalyptic narrative.<sup>563</sup> All that needed to be done was to revise this narrative. Prevalent Greek prophecies and the *modus operandi* of topical inversion

<sup>561</sup> With the same intention in mind, a number of thirteenth-century Latin accounts advanced the claim that prophetic columns in Constantinople had long foretold the crusader conquest, see Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 66 (London: Longman & Co., 1875), 150–151. Translation in Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, Revised edition, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 29 (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), 286. See also Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum*, MGH, *Scriptorum* 32 (Hanover/Leipzig: Hahn, 1905–1913), 546–547, 612. Translation in Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi and John R. Kane, trans., *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 40 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1986), 554–555, 619.

<sup>562</sup> On Byzantine imperial eschatology, see Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*.

<sup>563</sup> Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 324: “[...] le sentiment subsiste que l’histoire de la capitale chrétienne n’est qu’une apocalypse progressivement réalisée.” Further proof for the Latin receptiveness of Constantinopolitan apocalypticism can be found in Choniates, *Historia*, 643.11–644.40, who relates how the Latins destroyed the city’s *palladia* in 1206 in an attempt to repel the Bulgars. Among the destroyed *palladia* was also the equestrian statue situated in the Forum of Theodosios, which had, for a long time, enjoyed prophetic significance, as evidenced by Choniates, *Historia*, 649.58–78 and *Patria*, II, 177 (§II.47).

provided the resources for such revisionism. The decision on how to execute Mourtzouphlos was made in view of the apocalyptic horizon of expectations. Mourtzouphlos' execution was a narrative performance that followed an apocalyptic script, which subsequent Byzantine apocalypses inverted in order to contest the prerogative of interpretation that the Latins had assumed. What is more, various *vaticinia* characterize Mourtzouphlos as a demonic yet heroic figure, thereby further underlining the anti-Latin disposition. While the experts or informants behind this decision-making process remain unknown, the technique of producing eschatological counter-narratives can be fairly reconstructed.

## CHAPTER 10: BYZANTINE IRREDENTISM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Byzantine prophetic reactions to Alexios Mourtzouphlos' execution were important for reclaiming the apocalyptic horizon. In the aftermath of the *halosis* of 1204, a bitter contest over the prerogative of interpretation was fought in the apocalyptic domain. The abrupt proliferation of prophetic texts after 1204 attests to the heightened interest in the apocalyptic genre. The most poignant issue that needed to be addressed was what function the fall of Constantinople served in salvation history.

Byzantine apocalypses had announced the destruction of Constantinople centuries prior to the momentous year of 1204. The fall of Constantinople was not merely a logical necessity given the eventual dissolution of the world, it was also an exegetical requirement ever since Constantinople had been identified with the Seven-Hilled Babylon of the *Book of Revelation*.<sup>564</sup>

<sup>564</sup> First alluded to by Andrew of Caesarea, see Schmid, ed., *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, 181.3–14 (cap. 53). See further, Wolfgang Brandes, "Sieben Hügel: Die imaginäre Topographie Konstantinopels zwischen apokalyptischem Denken und moderner Wissenschaft," *Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (2003): 58–71 and Berger, "Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel," 139–146. The importance of the *Book of Revelation* for the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition can hardly be overestimated. Concerning its problematic reception history in Byzantium, see Isbon T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1919), 341–343, Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 7–8, Brandes, "Endzeitvorstellungen und Lebenstrost," 50–51, n.108, and Eugenia S. Constantinou, *Guiding to a blessed end: Andrew of Caesarea and His Apocalypse Commentary in the Ancient Church* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 35–46. See also Stephen J. Shoemaker, "The Afterlife of the Apocalypse of John in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 301–316, at 313–315, who markedly downplays its significance. Shoemaker's estimation of the Byzantine reception of *Revelation* needs to be handled with caution, as it largely ignores Byzantine apocalypses. His account is unbalanced at best. With regard to the reception history among the Slavs, see Thomas H. Oller, *The Nikol'skij Apocalypse Codex and its place in the textual history of medieval Slavic apocalypse manuscripts*, Ph.D. dissertation (Brown University, 1993), 489–551.

Key passages like Rv 18 were variously fleshed out in the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool* and in several Pseudo-Danielic prophecies that apply the imagery of the submergence of Babylon to Constantinople.<sup>565</sup> Medieval Greek apocalypses presented the destruction of Constantinople as an inevitable sign of the end, being followed only by the appearance and rule of the Antichrist who forms the climatic closure of world history.

While the eventual destruction of Constantinople was a truism in Byzantium, its conquest and subsequent occupation was hardly, if at all, conceivable. To be sure, patriographic traditions reflect anxieties that the Queen of Cities may fall to invaders, most notably to the Rus', who were readily associated with the eschatological peoples of the north.<sup>566</sup> Precisely such anxieties were addressed in the *Life of Basil the Younger*, where it is made explicit that Constantinople will never be conquered, not even by the Rus', since the city stands under the personal protection of the Theotokos.<sup>567</sup> Similar concerns reemerged in the twelfth century in connection with the Second Crusade, as attested by John Tzetzes' testimony discussed above.<sup>568</sup> Such concerns were

<sup>565</sup> See *ApcAndr* ll.3989–3999 (864D–865A) and 4040–4043 (868B): Πάσης τῆς πόλεως βυθιζομένης [...] μένει δὲ μόνος ὁ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ στῦλος, καθότι κέκτηται τοὺς τιμίους ἥλους. Translation in Rydén, trans., *Andrew the Fool*, Vol.2, 277: “When the whole city sinks into the sea, [...] although it is only the column in the Forum that will remain, because it contains the precious nails.” See also, *DiegDan* IX.3–4: οὐαὶ σοὶ ταλαίπωρε Βαβυλῶν, ἡ μήτηρ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι κλινεῖ Θεὸς τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ γέμουσαν πυρός. Καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ σοῦ τείχη καταποντισθήσεται. | “Woe you, wretched Babylon, mother of all cities, since God directs [to you] His wrath, which is filled with fire. And your high walls will be submerged.” *VisioDan* III.10: [...] οὐαὶ σοι, Ἑπτάλοφε, ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἀπὸ ὑδάτων καταποντισθήσῃ. | “Woe you, Seven-Hilled [City], since you, too, will be submerged by the waters.” Cf. *VisioDan* IV.21–23. The same imagery continued to be applied in the thirteenth century, see *UltVisDan* §§69–70: καὶ εὐθὺς σεισθήσεται ἡ Ἑπτάλοφος καὶ καταποντισθήσεται σύμψυχος ἐν βυθῷ. καὶ μόνος ὁ Ξηρόλοφος ἔσται φαινόμενος. | “And forthwith the Seven-Hilled [City] will quake and will be completely submerged into the depths. And only the Xērolophos will be visible.” For this motif, see further Wolfram Brandes, “Das ‘Meer’ als Motiv in der byzantinischen apokalyptischen Literatur,” in *Griechenland und das Meer. Beiträge eines Symposions in Frankfurt im Dezember 1996*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos, Dimitrios Letsios, Heinz A. Richter and Reinhard Stupperich, Peleus – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns 4 (Mannheim/Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 1999), 119–131.

<sup>566</sup> *Patria*, II, 176 (§II.47): Τὸ δὲ τετράπλευρον τοῦ ἐφίππου τὸ λιθόξεστον ἔχει ἐγγεγλυμμένας ἱστορίας τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς πόλεως, τῶν Ῥῶς τῶν μελλόντων πορθεῖν αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν. Translation in Berger, trans., *The Patria*, 83: “The four-sided stonecut plinth of the rider has relief narratives of the final days of the city, of the Rhos (Russians) who will conquer this city.” The appellation of the Rus' (Ῥῶς) echoed the name Ρως from Ez 38:2, 39:1, bringing about the association with Gog und Magog, as evidenced by Leo Diaconus, *Historia*, 150 (IX.6). For the developing image of the Rus' in the Byzantine and especially post-Byzantine imagination, see Nikolas Pissis, *Russland in den politischen Vorstellungen der griechischen Kulturwelt 1645–1725*, Ph.D. dissertation (Berlin, 2017), esp. 300ff.

<sup>567</sup> Denis F. Sullivan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Stamatina McGrath, eds./trans., *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger. Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version*, DOS 45 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014), 312–313 (III.22): Βάρβαρον ἔθνος ἐλεύσεται ἐνταῦθα λυσσῶδως καθ' ἡμῶν, προσαγορευόμενον Ῥῶς καὶ Ὅγ καὶ Μόγ. [...] Ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἑάσει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν παραληφθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῆς· εἰς γὰρ κλῆρον αὐτῆς δέδοται αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἱκανῶς αὐτῆς ὑπερασπίζεται. | “A barbarian nation, called Ros and Og and Mog, will attack us here like rabid animals. [...] The Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ will never allow this city to be surrendered into the hands of its enemies, for it has been given to her by God as her inheritance and is greatly protected by her.”

<sup>568</sup> See above n.500.

time and again curbed with soothing arguments that highlighted the conceptual implausibility of an occupation of Constantinople. At most, Medieval Greek apocalypses had toyed—in the ninth century—with the notion of a Savior-Emperor arising in the Byzantine West and marching on Constantinople, which he would seize, however, peacefully.<sup>569</sup> There is no indication in the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition prior to the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade that a sustained foreign occupation of the imperial capital was conceivable.<sup>570</sup>

If the conquest *and* occupation of Constantinople had been inconceivable, then how did the Byzantines come to terms with the fact of the *halosis* of 1204? The *lacuna* thereof did not invalidate the veracity of the apocalyptic tradition. If it had, the thirteenth century would not have seen such a tremendous outpouring of prophetic writings. It appears that the occupation of Constantinople necessitated further prophesy-making to assimilate into the Byzantine theology of time what had previously been thought of as unimaginable.

The general expectation was that the destruction of Constantinople would correlate with the demise of the *basileia tōn Rhomaiōn*. The *basileia*, in turn, was believed to be the force that withholds (τὸ κατέχον/ὁ κατέχων) the appearance of the Antichrist.<sup>571</sup> Consequently, the fall of Constantinople was expected to precipitate the arrival of the Antichrist. The non-materialization of this expectation even decades after 1204 indicated that the *basileia tōn Rhomaiōn* was, in fact, still functioning, as clearly pointed out in the *Prediction of Andritzopoulos*.<sup>572</sup> It was the apocalyptic horizon of expectation that substantiated the political continuity of Roman imperial power.

<sup>569</sup> *Ps-Chrys* V.15–16: καὶ ἐξέλθῃ [scil. ὁ βασιλεὺς] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετὰ πλείστου λαοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλθῃ διὰ τῆς στερεᾶς ἐν τῇ Ἑπταλόφῳ πόλει. καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντικείμενος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. | “And he [i.e., emperor] will march out from Rome with the greatest number of people and will arrive by land in the Seven-Hilled City. And he will have no opponent, since God the Lord was [sic] with him.” *VisioDan* II.33–34: καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μετὰ ὄχλου πολλοῦ διὰ στερεᾶς καθυποτάσσων τὰ ἔθνη. καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντισούμενος [lege ἀντισούμενος] αὐτοῦ, διότι κύριος ὁ θεός ἐστι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. | “And he will come from Rome with a great crowd by land, subduing the nations. And he will have no opponent, because the Lord God is with him.” For a discussion of these two apocalypses, see Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 72–95. It should be added that this end-time ruler ought to be considered a properly Byzantine monarch, although he is said to appear in the geographic west. The two Sicilian prophecies make this clear by attributing to him the exclusively Byzantine title of βασιλεὺς and by differentiating him from the blond nations, with whom he enters into alliance. This Byzantine monarch is said to arrive from the Western periphery. Other prophecies, such as *DiegDan* V.6, promote the notion of the Savior-Emperor coming from the Eastern periphery.

<sup>570</sup> As tentatively suggested by Magdalino, “Prophecies on the Fall,” 45. Conversely, the Latins could very well imagine to conquer Constantinople, as evidenced by the testimony of the English chronicler Roger of Hoveden—writing around the year 1200—who reports that a prophetic inscription on the Golden Gate foretold the entry of a western monarch, see William Stubbs, ed., *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, Vol.2 (London: Longmans, 1869), 356. See further Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 30, 66 and Magdalino, “Prophecies on the Fall,” 51. Cf. Holder-Egger, ed., *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam*, 612. Translation in Baird, Baglivi, Kane, trans., *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, 619.

<sup>571</sup> 2 Thes 2:6–7. See above n.358.

<sup>572</sup> *PraedAndritz* II.8–14, esp. II.8–9: καταλυομένου δὲ τούτου [scil. τὸ σκῆπτρον τῶν Ῥωμαίων] καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρουσία γενήσεται. | “Once it [i.e., the scepter of the Romans] is dissolved, the Antichrist will appear.”

The Byzantines, who understood themselves to be the new Israelites, could accommodate the temporal loss of Constantinople with reference to the biblical accounts of the Egyptian and the Babylonian exile. Just as Jerusalem had been lost in ancient times, so too was Constantinople, the new Jerusalem, lost in the last days. This correspondence was self-evident and taken for granted, as the following examples demonstrate.

One of the most popular Byzantine prophecies was the *Last Vision of Daniel*, which establishes a number of typological correlations between early thirteenth-century events and Old Testament prefigurations.<sup>573</sup> In chapter 6 above, I have discussed its use of the Exodus and King Ahab typology. Essential to the latter is the identification of Constantinople with the “vineyard” of the *Book of Isaiah*. This identification was not an idiosyncrasy of the *Last Vision of Daniel*. It appears in other contemporary prophecies<sup>574</sup> as well as in panegyrics and commentary works.<sup>575</sup>

The purpose of the “vineyard” typology was to establish that Constantinople needed to be reconquered. Being the new Jerusalem, the City had fallen but needed to be reclaimed by the new Israelites. The *Book of Isaiah* presented an authoritative script from which this history of the future could be drafted. In order to do so, key notions of the OT prophecy needed to be typologically applied to thirteenth-century events. Accordingly, the devastation of the vineyard in Is 1:8 was applied to the fall of Constantinople and the vision of eschatological peace in Is 2:4 was applied to the anticipated future.<sup>576</sup> In another early thirteenth-century prophecy the restoration of Jerusalem from Is 61:4 was projected upon the eventual restitution of the Queen of Cities.<sup>577</sup>

<sup>573</sup> The manuscript evidence suggests that the *Last Vision of Daniel* was the most frequently copied Pseudo-Danielic prophecy and among the most popular historical apocalypses in general, only eclipsed in number of textual witnesses by the renowned *Oracles of Leo the Wise*, the prominent *Apocalypse of Andrew the Fool* and the all-pervasive *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 366–369 lists twenty-five copies of the Greek text, to which at least nine further witnesses can be added. See the Appendix, s.v. “Ultima visio Danielis.”

<sup>574</sup> See, for instance, *AenigLeon* #1, 95.209, 100.318, *passim*.

<sup>575</sup> See, for instance, George Akropolitēs’ *Funeral Oration on John Doukas*, in August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, eds., *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, Vol.2, BSGRT (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978), 14.19–22 (Epitaphius in Ioannem Ducam) and Akakios Sabaitēs’ *Commentary on Andrew of Crete’s Great Canon*, in Antonia Giannouli, *Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Grossen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta. Eine quellenkritische und literarhistorische Studie*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 26 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 380.37–39 (Interpretatio in Troparion 253).

<sup>576</sup> Is 2:4 [...] καὶ συγκόψουσιν τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα [...] | “and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks” (KJV) – *UltVisDan* §58 καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τὰ πολεμικὰ γενήσονται εἰς δρέπανα. | “And the weapons of war will turn into pruninghooks.”

<sup>577</sup> Is 61:4 καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν ἐρήμους αἰωνίας, ἐξηρημασμένας πρότερον ἐξαναστήσουσιν· καὶ καινιοῦσιν πόλεις ἐρήμους ἐξηρημασμένας εἰς γενεάς. | “And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations.” (KJV) – *VisioDanUrb* ll.61–63: καὶ τότε ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσεται ἐκκαυθείσας ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀνεγερῇ αὐτάς. | “And then God the Lord will raise up His just man and he will rebuild the burned out churches by himself and will rouse them.”

These typologies interpreted the events surrounding the *halosis* as the apocalyptic anti-types of the Babylonian captivity, the Egyptian exodus as well as their soteriological resolution. Thirteenth-century Byzantines saw themselves as the typological focal point of salvation history in which the notions of captivity and exile coalesced into an expectation of a new Moses, a new Joshua and a new Zorobabel. One good example of this exile perception can be found in the miniature *Anonymous world chronicle*.

#### EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF AN ANEPIGRAPHIC PROPHETIC CHRONICLE (S. XII<sup>EX</sup>/XIII<sup>IN</sup>)

Codex Hierosolymitanus S. Sabae 697, fols.115v–117r is the *codex unicus* of an anepigraphic world chronicle, which enumerates the timespans from creation until the year 6700 AM (1191/92 AD ?). The text is followed by the canonical *Book of Daniel*, which it serves as a sort of up-to-date prologue.<sup>578</sup>

There have been two attempts at dating the text, both of which are problematic. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus' attempt fell victim to an arithmetical *lapsus* when equating the year 6700 AM to 1291/92 AD rather than to 1191/92 AD.<sup>579</sup> P. Schreiner's attempt deviates from the manuscript, which he emends to read 6719 (Ϸψιθ') although the codex unambiguously reads 6700 (Ϸψ'), as correctly indicated in Schreiner's *apparatus criticus*. It is noteworthy that the text provides the correct dates for Constantine X's death (6575 AM/1067 AD) as well as for the Battle of Manzikert (6579 AM/1071 AD). Given this accuracy, there seems little reason to support an emendation of the last specified date (i.e., 6700).

The manuscript reading points to a date of composition during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). If this is the case, the name Theodōros (in l.29 of the edition below)<sup>580</sup> could refer to the insurgent Theodore Magkaphas (fl. c.1188–1205).<sup>581</sup> However, this interpretation appears

<sup>578</sup> It should be kept in mind that world chronicles present narratives of salvation history and as such have an eschatological trajectory. See Michael B. Simmons, *Universal Salvation in Late Antiquity: Porphyry of Tyre and the Pagan-Christian Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 195.

<sup>579</sup> Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus. *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, Vol.2 (St. Petersburg: B. Kirschbaum, 1894), 653.

<sup>580</sup> It is somewhat unusual that the name of the prophesied leader is spelled out; names are normally indicated by their initial letters only. This oddity may suggest that a later scribe emended an earlier version of the text.

<sup>581</sup> On Magkaphas, see ODB, s.v. "Mankaphas, Theodore." See further Alexis G. C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, A.D. c. 1192–1237* (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 17) (Thessaloniki: Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, 1981), 60–63.

problematic as Magkaphas used Turkmen mercenaries in the 1190s in his bid for the throne, which seems to contradict the outright anti-Muslim message of the chronicle's ending.<sup>582</sup> One could speculate that the text presents an early prophetic propaganda leaflet from the late 1180s in which Magkaphas was promoted as an orthodox Christian champion who would use crusader forces to humble the Seljuqs Turks; a policy that he would later reverse. There is, however, no further evidence to corroborate such a reading.

The notion of using Latin forces against the Seljuqs in Asia Minor applies better to Theodore I Laskaris, who used Latin mercenaries in his campaigns.<sup>583</sup> The provided details can easily be read as *vaticinium ex eventu* alluding to the battle at Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211 (or 1212).<sup>584</sup> This is how Schreiner, followed by Savvides,<sup>585</sup> understood the text; they read the world chronicle as a purely historiographical account. That is why they felt compelled to emend the text. Yet it remains to be explained why the text would specify a date that falls twenty years short of the event.<sup>586</sup> However that be, according to this reading, the Turks are cast into the typological mold of the Old Testament Sodomites, while Emperor Theodore Laskaris is presented as a new Moses and Joshua on the one hand,<sup>587</sup> and as the Savior-Emperor on the other.<sup>588</sup>

The difficulty to clearly assign the prophecy to either Theodore Magkaphas or Theodore Laskaris may well be due to its recycled nature. It is possible that the prophecy was originally referring to Magkaphas before having been reworked for Laskaris, without, however, updating

<sup>582</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 400.81–85. Translation in Magoulias, trans., *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 220.

<sup>583</sup> See Acropolites, *Historia*, 16 (§§9–10). Translation in Ruth Macrides, trans., *George Akropolites: The History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 130–131.

<sup>584</sup> See Filip van Tricht, “La politique étrangère de l’empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d’interprétation (1<sup>re</sup> partie),” *Le Moyen Age* 107/2 (2001): 219–238, esp. 227 and idem, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, trans. Peter Longbottom (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 361, who argues that the battle at Antioch-on-the-Maeander took place in c. April/May 1212. This date seems to roughly correspond to the notion—provided in *AnonymChron*—that a great battle would be fought on Easter, which in 1212 fell on March 25, see Grumel, *La Chronologie*, 258. However, the battle has been traditionally dated to the year 1211. See, most recently, Dimitri Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 149, who dates the battle to 17 June 1211. If we assume this dating to be correct then the said passage in *AnonymChron* is unlikely to be a *vaticinium*. As a result, Schreiner’s textual emendation would seem unfounded.

<sup>585</sup> Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 106 and idem, “The Kleinchroniken on Byzantium’s Relations with the Seljuks and on the Oriental Frankish Kingdom’s Relations with Saladin and the Mameluks (A.D. 1067–1291),” *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 1 (1989): 30–40, at 36.

<sup>586</sup> The *codex unicus* holds an unequivocal reading of ϣψ; there is no palaeographic support for reading ϣψιθ’ or ϣψκ’.

<sup>587</sup> Cf. van Dieten, ed., *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, 147.1 (Oratio 14), where Chōniatēs associates Theodore Laskaris with a new Moses.

<sup>588</sup> The reference to Dt 32:30 gives an unequivocal association with the Savior-Emperor, as outlined in chap. 6 above.

the last year number of 6700 AM.<sup>589</sup> If this is the case, then Laskaris may well have used the prophecy to justify his deployment of Latin mercenaries in his campaigns against the Seljuqs.

By all means, this miniature world chronicle presents a good example of how the typological model of a new Exodus was employed to support the prophetic message of imminent imperial restoration. This prophetic quality applies to the early thirteenth just as it does to the late twelfth century.<sup>590</sup> Hereafter, an edition of the full text is given together with an English translation.<sup>591</sup> A comprehensive *apparatus criticus* is provided, noting even repetitive iotacisms; it only ignores cases of the nu-ephelkystikon.

#### SIGLA

#### MANUSCRIPTS

S = Codex Hierosolymitanus S. Sabae 697, fols.115v–117r, saec. XIII

#### EDITIONS

Papadopoulos-Kerameus = Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, Vol.2, 652–653. St. Petersburg: B. Kirschbaum, 1894.

Schreiner = Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Vol.1, 52–53. CFHB 12/1. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1975.

<sup>589</sup> One further possibility to resolve the problematic date of 6700 is to suppose that the author uses different calendars in different sections. In the first section, ll.1–10, Hippolytos' reckoning of the incarnation is used. The *vaticinia* in ll.11–22 are dated according to the Byzantine calendar. The last, possibly prophetic, part, ll.23–35, may use the Alexandrian calendar, according to which the year 6700 equates to 1207/08. This reading would allow to date the prophetic chronicle to the early thirteenth century without emendating the text.

<sup>590</sup> One minor detail suggests that this prophetic chronicle was composed before 1204. The use of Dt 32:30 appears to have been abandoned in the wake of 1204, as pointed out below, see n.612.

<sup>591</sup> My translation differs from the partial translation provided by Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East*, 106 and idem, "The Kleinchroniken on Byzantium's Relations," 36.

5 εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔτη ,βσμ', ἀπὸ  
 δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῆς πυργοποιίας ἔτη υκε', ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 πυργοποιίας ἕως τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη υοε', ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως  
 10 ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἔτη υλ', ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 ἐξόδου ἕως τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Σολομώντος ἔτη ψνζ',  
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ ἕως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως  
 15 ἔτη ωμγ', ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕως <τῆς> τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 καταβάσεως ἔτη τλ', καὶ ὁμοῦ ἔτη ,εφ'.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἕως τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτη  
 τη'. τὸ δὲ ,ζφοα' ἐβασίλευσεν Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Δούκας, τὸ δὲ  
 ,ζφοε' τέθνηκεν Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Δούκας. τὸ δὲ ,ζφοζ' ἐγένετο  
 15 ἐπανάστασις τῶν Τουρκῶν καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Ῥωμανὸς ὁ  
 Διογένης καὶ ἔτρεψαν αὐτὸν δις καὶ τρίς. καὶ παραχωροῦντος  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπίασαν τὸν Διογένην. καὶ τότε αἰχμαλώτευσαν καὶ  
 τὸ Κόνιον καὶ πάντα τὰ θέματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφόνευσαν  
 Νικηφόρον τὸν Ἀντί<χον> καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἰκονιάτας καὶ  
 20 πάντα τὰ θέματα αὐτοῦ. τῷ δε <ζφ>οθ' ἔτει πάλιν ἀνιστάμενοι  
 οἱ Τοῦρκοι ποιεῖν τὰ κοῦρσα μῆνας ζ' καὶ διεληλάτησαν  
 πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέκαυσαν διὰ τὸ μέλλει[ν]  
 γενέσθαι ὀρισμὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις.

καὶ ἐν τῷ φθάσαι τὸ ἔτος ,ζψ' οὕτως ἐξαποστέλλει κύριος  
 ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄγγελον <αὐτοῦ> ἐξολοθρεῦσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς υἱοὺς  
 25 τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ· ἀνέβη γὰρ ἡ σαπρία καὶ ὁ βρόμος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα  
 κυρίου Σαβαώθ, ὥσπερ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν  
 καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν <στόματι> μαχαίρας ἀπολοῦνται.  
 καὶ ὁ εἰς διώξει χιλίους καὶ οἱ δύο μετακινήσουσιν μυριάδας  
 30 ὑπὸ ὀρθοδόξου βασιλέως οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἡ ἀρχὴ Θεόδωρος μετὰ  
 ξανθογένους ἔθνους, ἥτοι ἐκ <τῆς> τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐν τῷ  
 κυρίῳ Πάσχᾳ. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ συμμαχεῖ μετὰ τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων, ὥσπερ τὸν Μωϋσέα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦ Ναβί, καὶ  
 35 ἐξολοθρεύσει τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ ἀνακαινισθήσεται  
 τὸ κέρας τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος  
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

25 ἀνέβη... αὐτοῦ] J1 2:20 26 τὰ...27 αὐτῶν] cf. Nm 16:27; Jth 7:14  
 27 ἐν...μαχαίρας] cf. Gn 34:26; Js 8:24; Jgs 20:37 28 ὁ...μυριάδας] Dt 32:30  
 31 Μιχαὴλ...32 Ναβί] Cf. Ex 23:20–26 et Jo 5:13–15

3 ἔτη] ἔτι S 4 πυργοποιίας] -ποιίας S | ἔτη] ἔτι S 5 πυργοποιίας] -  
 ποιίας S | ἔτη] ἔτι S 6 ἔτη] ἔτι S 7 οἰκοδομῆς] -δωμῆς S  
 Σολομώντος] σολωμόντος S | ἔτη] ἔτι S 9 ἔτη] ἔτι S 10 ἔτη<sup>1</sup>] ἔτι S  
 ἔτη<sup>2</sup>] ἔτι S 11 ἔτη] ἔτι S 15 τρίς] γ S 18 Ἰκονιάτας] οἶκον- S ante  
 correctionem; -ιάτους Schreiner 19 τῷ] το S | ἔτει] ἔτι S  
 20 διεληλάτησαν] διελάτ- S 22 ὀρισμὸν] Schreiner; -μὸς S et Papa-  
 dopoulos-Kerameus 23 τῷ φθάσαι] τούτῳ φθάσαν Papadopoulos-  
 Kerameus | ἔτος] ἔτι S | ,ζψ' ] ,ζψ<ιθ'> Schreiner | οὕτως] Papa-  
 dopoulos-Kerameus; οὕτος S; οὖν Schreiner 24 αὐτοῦ] om. Schreiner  
 25 βρόμος] βρώμος Papadopoulos-Kerameus et Schreiner  
 26 Σοδομιτῶν] σωδωμήτων S 30 ξανθογένους] -γῆρου S et  
 Papadopoulos-Kerameus; ξανθηγόρου Schreiner | ἥτοι] ἥτι S 31 κυρίῳ  
 Πάσχᾳ] Κυρίου πάσχα Papadopoulos-Kerameus | ἀρχιστράτηγος] -  
 στρατήγος S; -στρατηγὸς Schreiner | συμμαχεῖ] συνμαχή S; -μαχᾶ  
 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 32 τὸν Ἰησοῦν] τὸν Δαυὶδ Ἰησοῦν S, sed Δαυὶδ  
 erasum 33 γένη] γένει S | Ἰσμηλιτῶν] Ἰσμηλιτῶν S

There are 2240 years from Adam until the Flood, 425 years from the Flood until the building of the Tower [of Babel], 475 years from the building of the Tower until Abraham, 430 years from Abraham until the Exodus of the sons of Israel from Egypt, 757 years from the Exodus until the construction of Solomon's Temple, 843 years from the construction of the Temple until King Alexander, 330 years from Alexander until the descent of Christ, and altogether 5500 years.

318 years from [the descent of] Christ until Kōnstantinos the Great. In 6571 [1062/63] Kōnstantinos Doukas ruled, in 6575 [1067] Kōnstantinos Doukas died. In 6577 [1069] occurred the insurrection of the Turks and Rōmanos Diogenēs ruled and they defeated him twice and threefold. And since God allowed it, they took Diogenēs captive. Then they also captured Ikonion and all its troops and murdered Nikēphoros Antiochos and every inhabitant of Ikonion and all its troops. When the Turks rose up again in the year 6579 [1071] they launched invasions for six months and devastated all the land and burned up the churches as it is God's decree that this will happen in those days.

And when the year 6700 [1191/92] came, God the Lord sends his angel to annihilate the impious sons of Ishmael, for his rottenness and stench reached up until the ears of the Lord Sabaoth, just like that of the Sodomites. And their children as well as their wives will be killed by the edge of the sword. And one will chase a thousand and two will pursue ten-thousands under an orthodox emperor, whose name begins with Theodōros, together with the blond-bearded race, that is from among the Roman command, on Easter. And the Archangel Michael fights together with the Romans, just like with Moses and Joshua, Son of Nave, and he will annihilate the races of the Ishmaelites and the Cross of the orthodox Christians will be renewed, to whom is the glory and the power to the ages of ages, Amen.

<sup>9</sup> descent] Here, ἡ κατάβασις refers to Christ's incarnation and not to His descent into Hades. <sup>10</sup> 5500] It is noteworthy that the prophecy follows the chronology established by Hippolytos of Rome and Iulianus Africanus in the early third century, who both date the incarnation to the year 5500 AM. See Maurice Lefèvre, ed./trans., *Hippolyte: Commentaire sur Daniel*, SC 14 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1947), 306.12–16 (cap. IV.23.3) and Martin Wallraff, ed., *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae: the extant fragments*, in collaboration with Umberto Roberto, Karl Pinggéra and William Adler, GCS 15 (Berlin/New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 274–287 (T92, F93). See further, Grumel, *La chronologie*, 6–9, 22–24. <sup>17</sup> Nikēphoros Antiochos] PBW, Nikephoros 142, at <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Nikephoros/142/> (last accessed 30/11/2018) <sup>28</sup> name] I read τὸ ὄνομα as an *accusativus respectivus*. It might also be read as the *figura locutionis* of synecdoche (*pars pro toto*). | Theodōros] Probably referring to either Theodōros Magkaphas (fl. c.1188–1205) or Theodōros I Laskaris (r. 1205–1221).

The *Anonymous world chronicle*—together with various other coeval prophetic narratives—promotes the typologies of a new Moses/new Joshua and of the restoration of the orthodox dominion.<sup>592</sup> This typology was of course not new.<sup>593</sup> Its traditional character further underlined its suitability to explain the sustained Latin occupation of Constantinople and the prolonged delay of divine intervention. Alternative reactions sought rationalization in the paradigm of divine chastisement of Byzantine sinfulness.<sup>594</sup> However, this type of justification was only to account for temporary afflictions and not for long periods of hardship. Scriptural typology allowed for a more comprehensive and more auspicious resolution of the tension.

It is noteworthy that the *Anonymous world chronicle* (ll.29–30) envisions a military alliance with the Latins against the Muslims. In this motif one can detect a clear pro-Latin attitude. A major bone of contention within the apocalyptic genre was how to incorporate the Latins into the Byzantine theology of time. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century oracles and apocalypses generally promoted an anti-Latin attitude.<sup>595</sup> Therefore, the world chronicle presents a rare example from the middle Byzantine period that places Latinophile partisanship into a prophetic context.

<sup>592</sup> For another example of the Moses-typology, see *NarrMend* l.20. For the notion of imperial restoration, see *OracLeon* #13, l.13: (καὶ) πάλιν ἔξεις ἐπτάλοφε τὸ κράτος; | “And once again, O City of seven hills, you will obtain the power.” (Brokkaar, trans., *The Oracles*, 83) and Pertusi, “Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli,” 24.82–83: Καινὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ καινὴ πάλιν ἔσει καὶ κρεῖττον ἄρξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἥπερ πάλαι, [...] | “You will be new henceforth and new again and you will rule the nations more strongly than before [...]”

<sup>593</sup> For references, see Magdalino and Nelson, “Introduction,” 23.

<sup>594</sup> As alluded to in Choniates, *Historia*, 569.7–10, 581.30 (“παιδείαν μικράν”) and as fully expressed in the funeral oration by the churchman Nikolaos Mesaritēs for his brother, in August Heisenberg, ed., *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. I: Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1922, Abh. 5 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1923), 62.9–32 (§49). Translation in Michael Angold, trans., *Nicholas Mesarites: His Life and Works (in Translation)*, Translated Texts for Byzantinists 4 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 183. See further Michael Angold, “Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile,” in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, David Jacoby (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 1989), 63–86, at 67–69, who discusses Constantine Stilbēs’ accusations against the Latins, which go beyond the *topos* of self-inflicted blame. For Stilbēs’ text, which was written in the aftermath of 1204, see Jean Darrouzès, “Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins,” *REB* 21 (1963): 50–100.

<sup>595</sup> See, for instance, *OracDan* ll.12–13, where the apocalypticist proposes an alliance with the Seljuqs against the crusaders. Traces of anti-Latin prophecies can also be found in historiography, e.g., in Tzetzes’ dream interpretation discussed above or in Chōniatēs’ account of how Patriarch Dositheos (d. after 1191) had convinced Emperor Isaakios II to consider the approaching Third Crusade a threat, see Choniates, *Historia*, 404.1–9, discussed in Paul Magdalino, “Occult Science and Imperial Power in Byzantine History and Historiography (9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries),” in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. idem and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva: La Pomme d’Or, 2006), 119–162, at 154, 160, idem, “Isaac II, Saladin and Venice,” esp. 97–98, and idem, “Prophecy and Divination,” 65–69.

## CHŌNIATĒS' TYPOLOGICAL STRATEGY

The typological frame of reference is not exclusive to the apocalyptic genre. It can also be found in historiography, most notably in the *History* of Nikētas Chōniatēs. P. Magdalino has shown that Chōniatēs is often skeptical about particular prophecies and about their use by imperial dignitaries. On numerous occasions Chōniatēs criticizes the way emperors misused them. Yet the very fact that he frequently refers to prophecies and assigns explanatory value to them demonstrates that “he took them as seriously as any of his contemporaries.”<sup>596</sup>

Chōniatēs' appreciation of prophetic material is most apparent with regard to—what the later tradition came to call—the *Oracles of Leo the Wise*, from which he quotes frequently.<sup>597</sup> In fact, our earliest textual witnesses of the *Oracles* are by him. He appears to accept their validity: he moves between endorsing them outright<sup>598</sup> and cautioning against their misappropriation.<sup>599</sup>

That said, Chōniatēs seems highly dismissive of prophecies that had been attributed to the Church Father Methodios of Patara and the Prophet Daniel. As briefly mentioned above, Chōniatēs points out and criticizes that Patriarch Dositheos had adopted the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy of an army entering Constantinople through the Xylokerkos gate. Less obvious is Chōniatēs' dismissal of the Pseudo-Methodian prediction that Dt 32:30 will be fulfilled once the city walls will have been breached.<sup>600</sup> Chōniatēs knew quite well that this prediction did not turn out to be truthful. Also, he most certainly knew the original context of this OT statement. Dt 32:30 refers to the enemies of Israel, who are been given license to overpower God's chosen people. The anonymous compiler of the first Greek redaction of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* had inverted the original meaning: he identified the subject of the statement not with the enemy but with the chosen people, who would be granted victory in the last days through divine assistance.<sup>601</sup> Chōniatēs makes it blatantly clear that this Pseudo-Methodian interpretation was

<sup>596</sup> Magdalino, “Prophecy and Divination,” 59–60.

<sup>597</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 41.10–13 (*OracLeon* #3, l.7 and #1.2, l.29), 169.1 (*OracLeon* #1.2, l.18, #8, l.1), 222.68 (*OracLeon* #3, l.6), 332.28 (*OracLeon* #7, l.6), 351.71 (*OracLeon* #6, l.6), 355.8–15 (*OracLeon* #4, ll.2–10), 433. 89–92 (*OracLeon* #6, l.9). See further Mango, “The Legend of Leo the Wise,” 62–65.

<sup>598</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 222.65–70.

<sup>599</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, 355.6–15.

<sup>600</sup> *ApcMeth* XIII.10.

<sup>601</sup> This is precisely how Komnēnē used this verse in her description of her father's victory at Mount Levounion. See above pp.129–130. She seems to have taken this reading from the apocalyptic tradition.

utterly falsified in April 1204. A comparative reading of the respective passages should bring out his point.

*ApcMeth* XIII.10 τότε φωνή ἔλθη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα “ἀρκεῖ μοι ἡ ἐκδίκησις αὕτη”, καὶ ἀρεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τότε τὴν *δειλίαν* τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ βάλη εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν βάλη εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ στραφέντες ἐκδιώξουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων συγκόπτοντες ἀφειδῶς. τότε πληρωθήσεται τὸ γεγραμμένον “*εἶς διώζεται χιλίους καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας*”. τότε συντελεσθήσονται καὶ οἱ πλωτῆρες αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς ἀφανισμόν γενήσονται.

Choniates, *Historia*, 569.7–570.26 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει δούλιον ζυγὸν ὑποδῦναι τὴν τῶν πόλεων πασῶν ἄρχουσας, ἐν κημῷ τε καὶ χαλινῷ τὰς σιαγόνας ἡμῶν ἄγχει θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἐξέστημεν ἱερεὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ λαὸς ὡς ἵππος θρασυχὴν τε καὶ δυσχάλινος, ἐκ τῶν κλιμάκων μιᾶς, ἣτις ἄγχιστα ἦν τῶν Πετρίων [...], *ἄνδρες δύο* παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ τύχῃ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἐς τὸν κατ’ ὄψιν πύργον καταπηδῶσι [...] ὥσπερ εἰς μίαν ἐνισθέντες τε καὶ συντακέντες ἀγεννῇ ψυχῇ, ὅθεν εἰς *δειλίαν* τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων αὐτοῖς τεθειμένων (ἐπὶ γὰρ γηλόφων ὀρθίων ἴσαντο) *κατὰ χιλίους ὑφ’ ἑνὸς ἐδιώκοντο*.

Then a voice will come out of the heavens saying, “This same punishment suffices for me.” And the Lord God will then snatch the *cowardice* of the Romans and thrust it into the hearts of the Ishmaelites and take the manliness of the Ishmaelites and cast it into the hearts of the Romans; they will turn and drive them from their homes and crush them without mercy. Then that which was written will be fulfilled: “*One shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight*.” Then their sailors also will be exhausted and will come to destruction. (Garstad, trans., *Apocalypse*, 57)

Since it was necessary for the queen of cities to put on the slave’s yoke, God allowed our jaws to be constrained with bit and curb because all of us, both priest and people, had turned away from him like a stiff-necked and unbridled horse. *Two men* on one of the scaling ladders nearest the Petria Gate, [...] trusting themselves to fortune, were the first from among their comrades to leap down onto the tower facing them [...] Thus, by uniting and fusing into one craven soul, the *cowardly thousands*, who had the advantage of a high hill, *were chased by one man* from the fortifications they were meant to defend. (Magoulias, trans., *Annals of Niketas Choniates*, 313)

Chōniatēs asserts that it was God’s deliberate decision to allow the two crusaders to successfully scale the walls.<sup>602</sup> He then unequivocally refers to Dt 32:30, implying that this OT statement reached its typological climax when the northern sea walls were captured. Contrary to the Pseudo-Methodian prediction, there occurred no transfer of courage from the attackers to the

<sup>602</sup> In contrast to Chōniatēs’ narrative, the account by Akropolitēs is devoid of any biblical reference. See Acropolites, *Historia*, 8.3–5 (§4): καὶ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ περιφανεστάτη πόλις ἐάλω, ἐνὸς ὡς φασιν ἢ καὶ δύο ἐπιπηδησάντων τῷ τείχει ἀπὸ κλίμακος εἰς ἰστὸν κειμένης μεγίστης κοίλης νηός. | “The greatest and most renowned city was captured when *one*, as they say, *or two men* leapt onto the wall from a ladder which rested on the mast of a large hollow ship.” Translation by Ruth Macrides, trans., *George Akropolites, The History. Introduction, translation and commentary*, Oxford studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 113 (my italics). For the identity of the two crusaders, see Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, II, 44 (§242) and Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, 156–162 (§§74–75).

city's defenders. Given that Chōniatēs had previously ridiculed Dositheos' prophecies, the reader is left with the impression that a good number of apocryphal traditions are dangerously spurious.

Instead of relying on apocryphal predictions, Chōniatēs proposes to trust in more authoritative prophecies. W. Brandes has demonstrated that Chōniatēs makes ample use of the synoptic apocalypse towards the end of his *History*.<sup>603</sup> It should be added that the *History* also contains numerous references to the *Book of Isaiah*. It has been established that about 75% of Chōniatēs' biblical references are to the Old Testament, mostly to the *Psalms* and to the *Book of Isaiah*.<sup>604</sup> T. Urbainczyk has recently proposed that Chōniatēs' frequent use of Isaiah shows forth the historian's conviction that the Byzantines were undergoing the same hardship that the chosen people had suffered according to the Old Testament.<sup>605</sup> I would add that this typology—as any typology—signifies an eschatological trajectory. There is no doubt to my mind that Chōniatēs understood the fall of Constantinople as the end-time culmination of Isaiah's prophecies.<sup>606</sup> Although his narrative ends in the year 1206, he constructs a historical narrative replete with typological patterns that point to the future recapture of Constantinople. Following the apocalyptic script of Isaiah, the new Jerusalem had not only fallen, it also needed to be reclaimed.<sup>607</sup>

One may wonder whether Chōniatēs' *History* was merely descriptive or whether it also had a normative aspect. By advancing a lament of the fallen City, he may have deliberately reenacted the OT laments of Jerusalem.<sup>608</sup> Did his historiography have a performative quality? Apocalyptic writings arguably did.<sup>609</sup> In the apocalyptic genre, typological patterns can be read as prayer-like petitions that solicit the Almighty to put into effect, for instance, the appearance of a new Moses. One may extend this argument to other literary genres that employ typologies, for instance, to Chōniatēs' historiography.<sup>610</sup> When taking issue with the legitimacy of apocryphal prophecies, Chōniatēs exhibits a critical attitude which cautions against particular non-canonical

<sup>603</sup> Brandes, "Konstantinopels Fall im Jahre 1204," 242–245.

<sup>604</sup> See Magdalino and Nelson, "Introduction," 9 and Theresa Urbainczyk, *Writing About Byzantium: The History of Niketas Choniates*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 23 (London/New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 81–82.

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>606</sup> Chōniatēs points out that also other canonical prophecies were fulfilled in 1204, such as Mt 24:19–20, see Choniates, *Historia*, 589.42–44.

<sup>607</sup> See Choniates, *Historia*, 577.31–578.37 (cf. Is 51:17, 52:1–4) and Choniates, *Historia*, 580.5–8 (cf. Dt 32:39).

<sup>608</sup> Esp. Choniates, *Historia*, 591.21–592.49. Cf. Urbainczyk, *The History of Niketas Choniates*, 86.

<sup>609</sup> See above n.384.

<sup>610</sup> It should be noted that Chōniatēs employs typologies not only in his historiography but also in his panegyrics. For the Moses-typology, see Choniates, *Historia*, 578.45 and van Dieten, ed., *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, 147.1–7 (Oratio 14), 160.19–20 (Oratio 15).

traditions while promoting canonical prophecies such as the *Book of Isaiah*.<sup>611</sup> Although his influence on subsequent apocalypses can hardly be proven, it is remarkable that thirteenth-century prophecies omit the key passage of Dt 32:30.<sup>612</sup> It seems as if later apocalypticists agreed with Chōniatēs on the interpretation of this OT verse. It remains to be investigated how far Chōniatēs' evaluation of Byzantine apocalypticism reached and how normative his scholarship was.

#### THE HORIZON OF IMPERIAL IRREDENTISM

Although a distinctly modern concept, irredentism can be applied to Byzantine history. Defined as a movement or policy of promoting the restoration of lost territory, irredentism is an ideological phenomenon that recurred throughout the Byzantine millennium.<sup>613</sup> With regard to the apocalyptic tradition, the most pronounced irredentist movement developed in the later seventh century as a result of the Arab conquest. The notion of the reconquest of Jerusalem had defined ever since the apocalyptic horizon in Byzantium. In the early thirteenth century the notion of the reappropriation of Constantinople reshaped these long-standing tendencies. It can be shown that Constantinople became the new focus of apocalyptic irredentism. The following remarks present some preliminary thoughts on this new development.

As has been shown above, at least by the early seventh century Constantinople had become identified with the Seven-Hilled Babylon (Ἑπτάλοφος, after Rv 17:9), which developed thereafter into a standard motif. At the same time, it was also the New Jerusalem. This dual characterization imparts an axiological ambiguity that expresses the general tension between the conception of being God's chosen people and the experience of divinely sanctioned hardship. It was suitable to explain both prosperity and catastrophe. The fate of the Queen of Cities was thus an integral part of the standardized narrative sequence, which the (quasi-) canonical authority of

<sup>611</sup> Chōniatēs' suspicion of apocryphal prophecies may also stand behind his reluctance to mention the spurious prophetic explanation used in Mourtzouphlos' execution, which must have seemed to be a blatant fabrication.

<sup>612</sup> A notable exception might be *AnonymChron* II.28–29, if it was composed after 1204, which is uncertain. The next mention of Dt 32:30 appears in *VisDanSepCol* II.14–15, which was probably composed around the year 1470.

<sup>613</sup> Cf. Robert E. Allen, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Eighth edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 627, s.v. "irredentist:" "a person, esp. in 19th-c. Italy, advocating the restoration to his or her country of any territory formerly belonging to it." The term has been applied to Byzantine history by Paul J. Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series, 2 (1971): 47–68, at 60 and Angelov, "Byzantine Ideological Reactions," 296–299; the latter applied it to the thirteenth century—the same context I use it in.

the apocalyptic tradition required to be realized. Yet as Chōniatēs showed, this authority could be called into question.

One may wonder why the apocalyptic horizon was not discarded following the fall of Constantinople but instead was modified anew. When answering this question one should not only point to the conservative tendencies of predominately oral societies or to the quintessential importance of eschatology to the Christian mindset,<sup>614</sup> but also to the historical context that greatly impeded any kind of conceptual revolution in the aftermath of 1204. The sheer force with which Constantinople and large parts of the empire were occupied provoked a defensive stance towards the Latin invaders.<sup>615</sup> This defensive attitude was to no small degree a function of the apocalyptic imagination, which habituated its audience to expect a grand end-time struggle against an overwhelming adversary, whom the righteous would have to resist. The apocalyptic horizon conditioned the Byzantines to uphold their notion of moral superiority despite the fact of physical subordination and/or expulsion. The ongoing military engagements further intensified apocalyptic anxieties, since warfare fits all too well into the dualistic paradigm of apocalypticism. Inhibited from thinking beyond the apocalyptic horizon, most Byzantines sought refuge in the typology of the New Israel. This meant that one could expect to experience temporary hardship that would be worthwhile to endure, given the prospective benefits of the final reckoning.<sup>616</sup>

Virtually all thirteenth-century prophecies advance irredentist claims, including the *Oracles of Leo the Wise* (Oracle #13), the *Prophecy of Constantine the Great*, the *Vision of Daniel on the City*, the *Last Vision of Daniel*, and the *Ps-Leonine Oracles* (Oracle #1). These texts all relate that Constantinople will be reclaimed by an orthodox emperor who is usually described as a messianic figure. It may appear abstruse to promote the recapture of a city that would necessarily

<sup>614</sup> See Walter J. Ong, "World as View and World as Event," *American Anthropologist* 71/4 (1969): 634–647, esp. 638–641, who brilliantly showed why oral cultures are averse to the untraditional. Of course, Byzantium did not have an exclusively oral culture, but its orality was much more pronounced than the modern student of Byzantium may intuitively surmise; see *ibid.*, 643: "The Middle Ages were far more textually oriented than antiquity and yet by our standards still impossibly oral." – Concerning the overall importance of eschatology, see again Florovsky, "Eschatology in the Patristic Age," 27.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. Magdalino and Nelson, "Introduction," 26.

<sup>616</sup> Cf. the insightful case study about the Anabaptist rebellion in Münster by Anselm Schubert, "Nova Israelis republica. Das Täuferreich von Münster 1534/35 als wahres Israel," in *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, ed. Wolfram Brandes, Felicitas Schmieder, Rebekka Voß, Millennium-Studien 63 (Berlin/Boston, MA: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 271–284, who argues that the Anabaptists could not but intensify their prophetic zeal with ever grander expectations because they were trapped in a besieged city. The outside constraint of the siege blocked access to any physical or conceptual alternative and thus only strengthened the Anabaptists' determination. In addition, Schubert argues that the Anabaptists revised their earlier prophecies with expanding emphasis on the typological model of the New Israel.

have to be destroyed in the years to follow.<sup>617</sup> Although Constantinople was believed doomed to be submerged one day, it had to be retaken for the singular reason that the typologically patterned horizon of expectations necessitated adherence to the standardized sequence of the end times, as reconstructed above. This sequence could, of course, be updated, but to deny Constantinople a major role in the end times must have seemed daring, as it would have meant to abandon—in the moment of crisis—an enduring and authoritative tradition. Consequently, the Byzantine apocalyptic response to the *halosis* was essentially irredentist.

The fall of Constantinople had been a century-old prophecy before it materialized in 1204. Yet the actual fall failed to fulfill the apocalyptic expectations associated with it. The apocalyptic horizon was structurally confirmed by the events of 1204 but with regard to its content it was falsified: the Queen of Cities was not to be destroyed by the Latins and not without the Antichrist arriving shortly after. The end did not come as expected, so the logical conclusion was that it had been postponed. Typological intermissions were sought and found to explain the unexpected Latin occupation. Despite all the amendments, the structure of the apocalyptic horizon was not questioned but continued to persist.

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<sup>617</sup> This may well have been the concern of the imperial official (the *prōtasēkrētis* Senachēreim Kakos), who clutched his beard in consternation upon hearing the news of the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, as related by Pachymeres, *Historia*, Vol.1, 205 (lib. II.28). Such a reading has also been suggested by Magdalino, “The End of Time in Byzantium,” 132.

## CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I will summarize the contents and main results of the preceding chapters before closing with four remarks on the apocalyptic horizon in Byzantium. Part I investigated the middle Byzantine reception history of the philosophical debate over an eternal world. Following some preliminary remarks, chapter 1 sketched the major developments of the eternity debate in late antiquity and drew attention to its revival in the eleventh-century, when Michael Psellos and Symeōn Sēth dedicated short discussions to it in their compendia. Psellos' treatment was limited to a very brief presentation of the Christian, Aristotelian, and Platonic view on the creation of the world. He endorses the Christian view without much argument. In contrast, Sēth succinctly refutes eternalism by drawing upon the infinity argument that he probably knew from the works of the sixth-century philosopher John Philoponos. The discussion was continued by John Italos, who was condemned in 1082 for a series of heterodox views including the thesis that the visible world was eternal. However, a treatise of Italos has been transmitted in which he refutes the idea of an eternal kosmos and argues for its createdness in the beginning of time. Chapter 2 provided a new critical edition of the Greek text of Italos' treatise (*Quaestio* 71), provided with an English translation and followed by a commentary that develops Italos' main arguments and identifies his main sources. I have argued that Italos sincerely defended an anti-eternalist standpoint by adopting Philoponian arguments. Moreover, Italos seems to react in *Quaestio* 71 to specific charges that had been attributed to him during his repeated synodal investigations in 1076/77 and 1082. His treatise against eternalism appears to be a comprehensive apology of his orthodoxy. Chapter 3 investigated the aftermath of Italos' synodal condemnation and established that the eternity debate ceased to be openly discussed for as long as the Komnēnian dynasty ruled; the debate was reopened only by Nikēphoros Blemmydēs in the middle of the thirteenth century. The abrupt discontinuation of the eternity debate after 1082 indicates that the *Synodikon* anathemas had legal ramifications that prohibited further debate. In conjunction with chapter 8, I suggested that this prohibition was enforced by the imperial administration because of the politically precarious implication that eternalism negates the apocalyptic horizon.

Part II reconstructed the Byzantine apocalyptic horizon of expectations based on a holistic reading of Medieval Greek apocalypica. Chapters 4 through 7 assessed how the literary techniques of end-time narratives shape the conception of apocalyptic time. Apocalyptic narratives are mostly concerned with the period that precedes the Last Judgment.<sup>618</sup> They enumerate future events in clear, linear succession. The patterned flow of the anticipated history of the future is conditioned by fluctuating narrative speeds that evoke reader responses that range from disorientation and bewilderment to fascination and insubordination. The notion of apocalyptic time is further conditioned by the expectation of the shortening of days, a biblical motif that supposes time to undergo ultimate distortion, with its sequenced regularity being unraveled. More importantly, the chronological sequence of apocalyptic events is transcended by a typological superstructure. Byzantine apocalypses organize the history of the future along typological patterns, which continue the historical interconnections between Old and New Testament characters and events. The typology of the future introduces non-linear interweavings that turn the two-dimensional arrow of time into a three-dimensional spiral.<sup>619</sup> The reader/listener is transferred from his or her contemporary world to, for instance, the antediluvian age, or to the period of the Egyptian captivity, or to the days of the Incarnation while, at the same time, picturing the events to come. He/she becomes a spiritual time traveler into the past and back into the future. Finally, it was argued that apocalypses portray greater interest in the contemporaneous environment than in the past; the historiographical epicenter of Byzantine apocalypses lies in the present. Their various revisions and translations testify to their repeated—if not altogether, continuous—reuse and widespread popularity, which was not a function of the narrative being historically accurate but of the typological patterns being persistently pertinent in bestowing meaning to the ever-escalating present. As a result, Medieval Greek apocalypses reflect a *longue durée*—social as well as political—horizon of expectations which was rooted in a historical understanding that revolves around the typologically modeled present.

<sup>618</sup> Notable exceptions are the few but immensely popular celestial journeys, a genre that reemerged in the middle Byzantine period.

<sup>619</sup> For the notion of the arrow of time, see Umberto Eco, “Für alle Fälle,” in Umberto Eco, Jean-Claude Carrière, Stephen J. Gould, Jean Delumeau, *Das Ende der Zeiten*, trans. Ronald Voullié (Cologne: DuMont, 1999), 225–280, at 241–245. A spiral may be a better spatial metaphor, as it can illustrate the unilateral direction of time and can concurrently account for typological recurrences that emulate previous and anticipate subsequent analog curvings of the spiral shape. The increasing width of the spiral reflects the vector of history. Cf. Keller, *Apocalypse Now and Then*, 88, who talks about a “mythogrammatic spiral” when discussing the temporality that the *Book of Revelation* conveys.

Part III demonstrated that the apocalyptic horizon served as a prototypical reference system with normative value. Chapter 8 focused on Alexios I Komnēnos' appreciation of apocalyptic expectations. Historiographical testimonies of messianic aspirations assigned to Alexios and to his contemporary counterparts abroad form one type of evidence. The lack of anti-imperial prophecies forms another. The remarkable *hiatus* of apocalyptic narratives from Alexios' reign and for much (if not all) of the Komnēnian period suggests effective imperial censorship. The show trial instigated against Italos and the condemnation of eschatological heterodoxies as pronounced in the *Synodikon* anathemas further testify to an agenda that vindicates the imperial monopoly on the apocalyptic horizon. Chapter 9 argued that the public execution of the dethroned emperor Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos should be seen in an apocalyptic context. Mourtzouphlos' death at the hands of the Latin conquerors of Constantinople reflects a competition for the prerogative of interpretation as to how to explain the capture of the Queen of Cities in 1204. Although no prophecy has come down to us that predicts Mourtzouphlos' innovative execution, its apocalyptic significance can be fathomed from indirect sources. It was argued that the death sentence was intended to nullify a preexisting Greek prophetic tradition and to replace it with a pro-Latin oracular context. Subsequent Byzantine apocalypses advanced counter-narratives that, in turn, contested the Latin 'fabrication.' The final chapter continued to investigate Medieval Greek prophetic writings from the thirteenth century. It reconstructed the Byzantine apocalyptic response to the fall of Constantinople in 1204. It was argued that apocalypticists as well as historians advanced a typologically structured historiography that necessitated the recapture of Constantinople. Based on Old Testament precedents, in particular with regard to the *Book of Isaiah*, thirteenth-century apocalyptic thought defined an irredentist horizon of expectations. These case studies showed that prophecies played a not insignificant role in the ideological struggle and the decision-making process in the Eastern Roman Empire of the late middle Byzantine period.

The thesis closes with an Appendix that surveys fifty Byzantine apocalyptic texts with regard to the manuscript tradition, modern editorial work, and dating attempts thereof. I suggest a relative chronology of the surveyed material through the order of presentation. Moreover, I establish that c. 70% of all manuscripts containing Medieval Greek apocalyptic sources originate from the post-Byzantine period.

The outcomes of this doctoral research can be briefly summed up as follows: Part I: a contribution to the understanding of Christian Platonism through a survey of the eternalist debate during the middle Byzantine period and through a new critical edition of Italos' *Quaestio* 71, which is supplemented with the first English translation and a comprehensive commentary. Part II: a literary analysis of Byzantine apocalypses that establishes the standardized narrative structure, draws attention to the employment of alternating narrative speeds, and reconstructs the pervasive use of exegetical typology. Part III: three case studies that show how the apocalyptic horizon shaped political strategies. Appendix: an extensive survey of Byzantine apocalyptic sources that identifies new textual witnesses of published Byzantine prophecies, a relative chronology of the surveyed material, and a statistical estimation of the manuscript distribution across centuries.

In the final analysis I want to draw attention to four aspects of the Byzantine horizon of expectations: (i) the potential of subversion, (ii) the appreciation of subgeneric markers, (iii) the aversion to innovation, and (iv) the continuity of *romanitas*. (i) The lack of philosophical texts discussing eternalism and the lack of apocalyptic narratives from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries indicate that these literary genres could be judged subversive. In all likelihood, the temporary absence of this literature reflects a policy of imperial censorship that inhibited or outright persecuted the promotion of philosophical eternalism and apocalyptic *Kaiserkritik*. The means of censorship ranged from the removal from office, as in the case of Italos, all the way to the death penalty, as in the case of the secretary (ὑπογραφεύς) Mamalos. Philosophical inquiry and apocalyptic prophecy could both be viewed as subversive literature. (ii) Apocalyptic narratives are replete with symbols, word-images, and *vaticinia ex eventu*. It ought to be assumed that many of these were fairly understandable to their original target audience. Particular motifs functioned as subgeneric markers that were designed to guide the reader/listener through the historical review of the apocalypse and to suggest where the present and where the future narrative begins. These markers can be utilized today when dating pseudonymous prophecies. For instance, a negative portrayal of the blond nations can be dated to the crusades at the very earliest. A reference to the conquest of Constantinople can be securely dated to after 1204. Likewise, elements that associate the messianic emperor with lithic objects can be assumed to postdate the Latin conquest. Many more such markers remain to be identified.

(iii) The apocalyptic tradition in Byzantium defined a horizon of expectations that precluded the need for genuine novelties. No new ideology or technological progress seemed necessary in view of the typologically (re)constructed series of future events.<sup>620</sup> The apocalyptic horizon generated a sense of confidence that could readily critique the personal shortcomings of particular emperors and patriarchs. Yet it did not question the legitimacy of the institutions themselves, first and foremost, of the imperial office and the Church. Most notably, Byzantium never saw a successful attempt at identifying the Antichrist with the institution of the emperorship or the patriarchate.<sup>621</sup> When an anti-institutional tendency appeared, the centralized autocracy reacted with exceptional brutality, as was the case with the execution of Basil the Bogomil. The apocalyptic horizon discouraged radical institutional reform by prescribing the imperial restoration of the already achieved.<sup>622</sup>

(iv) At the same time, the aversion to structural reform established a sense of continuity that could overcome unprecedented challenges to the Byzantine identity. The examined apocalyptic material demonstrates that the fateful year of 1204 did not invalidate the apocalyptic horizon. Quite to the contrary, the fall of Constantinople invigorated apocalyptic speculation. Moreover, thirteenth-century prophecies made clear that the *basileia tōn Rhomaiōn* had survived the fall of Constantinople; they substantiated the political continuity of Roman imperial power.<sup>623</sup> It can even be argued that it was the persistence of the apocalyptic horizon that to a large extent sustained Byzantine identity amidst the political, ethnic, economical, and intellectual transformations that followed the *halosis* of 1204.<sup>624</sup> The belief that the *synteleia* was continuously being postponed for the benefit of the Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire had become a defining aspect of Byzantine identity. It would outlive even the second *halosis*.

<sup>620</sup> This relative familiarity with the future did not lead to an invariable narrative, quite to the contrary. New typologies were continuously worked out leading to ample variations and dramatizing comparisons that sustained the fascination with the reading/hearing about the end times, as evidenced by the copious manuscript tradition.

<sup>621</sup> Byzantium never produced a Joachim of Fiore or Martin Luther, who challenged the institution of the Episcopal See. On Joachimism, see, most notably, Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). According to Kemp, *The Estrangement of the Past*, 66–104, it was Luther's identification of the Papacy with the Antichrist that marked the starting point of modern historiography.

<sup>622</sup> See again n.6 above.

<sup>623</sup> Cf. Angelov, "Byzantine Ideological Reactions," 293–294, who largely credits the continuity of the Byzantine *Kaiseridee* to individual actors that include Nikētas Chōniatēs, John Apokaukos, and Dēmētrios Chōmatēnos.

<sup>624</sup> The literature on Byzantine identity and in particular on the notion of 'romanitas' is vast. See, among others, Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Greek culture in the Roman world (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Claudia Rapp, "Hellenic Identity, Romanitas, and Christianity in Byzantium," in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 127–147, esp. 145–146, and Ioannis Stouraitis, "Roman identity in Byzantium: a critical approach," *BZ* 107/1 (2014): 175–220.

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## APPENDIX. AN INVENTORY OF MEDIEVAL GREEK APOCALYPTIC SOURCES (c. 500–1500 AD)

### NAMING AND DATING, EDITIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Interest in Medieval Greek prophetic writings has gained momentum in the past decades. The pioneering works of G. Podskalsky, P. Alexander, and A. Pertusi were instrumental in this regard, as they interpreted central themes of Byzantine prophecies and presented them masterfully to the wider academic community.<sup>625</sup> The scholarly appreciation of Medieval Greek apocalypticism still relies heavily upon their groundbreaking—even if not uncontroversial—studies. In order to further develop our comprehension of Byzantine apocalypticism, it seems necessary to take into consideration the fact that most manuscript material containing Medieval Greek prophecies date to the post-byzantine period.<sup>626</sup> The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in particular appear as a filter, which, to a large extent, regulates our access to and thus conditions our understanding of Byzantine apocalyptic thought.

A first step in accounting for this historical filter is to establish an overview of the apocalyptic material at our disposal. The primary research question of this survey is: which Medieval Greek apocalyptic sources have come down to us? Providing an answer to this question can then serve as a foundation for investigating the historical context(s) that allowed a given prophecy to be handed down. Any comprehensive apprehension of a prophecy requires an – at least tentative – reconstruction of when it was copied and to what extent it was revised. Revision is a common feature of prophecy-making as it serves to meet the demands and expectations of a new readership/audience and hence to legitimize any further transmission.

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<sup>625</sup> See PODSKALSKY 1972. Due credit ought to be bestowed upon the editor, D. deF. Abrahamse, who ensured that P. Alexander's unfinished monograph (*The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*) would be posthumously published. The same holds true for A. Pertusi's study (*Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo*), which was posthumously edited and published by E. Morini.

<sup>626</sup> BRANDES 2005, 462 estimated that about 80–90% of the manuscripts that contain Byzantine prophecies derive from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although this estimate is a slight exaggeration it undoubtedly points to the right direction. A more nuanced estimate has been established at the end of this Appendix.

This survey proposes to consider Medieval Greek apocalyptic in a holistic manner. Medieval prophecies are best studied in their entirety in order to appreciate their manifold textual transformations<sup>627</sup> as well as to establish interrelationships not only on a textual level but also on the thematic plane.<sup>628</sup> Much like oral folklore, apocalyptic literature shares a pool of expressions, motifs, and short text-blocks,<sup>629</sup> which connect diverse prophecies without necessarily requiring any direct textual dependency. A holistic approach to Byzantine apocalypses may thus generate research that goes beyond intertextual analyses and as such may transcend the post-byzantine filter that conditions most of our textual witnesses.

The present survey stands on the shoulders of giants. In addition to the above mentioned ‘patriarchs’ of twentieth-century Byzantine apocalyptic studies, I depend on J. Vereecken and L. Rydén, who undertook the arduous task of investigating the extensive manuscript traditions of the *Oracula Leonis* and the *Vita S. Andreae Sali* respectively. I have adopted their work on the textual transmission of these two compositions, supplementing it with only a few additional textual witnesses and occasionally emending the foliation. I equally depend on P. Athanasopoulos’ preliminary catalog of the manuscript tradition of Ps.Hippolytus’ *De consummatione mundi*, on C. Anglidi’s treatment of the *Visio Cosmae* as well as on H. Erbse’s critical edition of the *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Furthermore, this survey builds upon the scholarship of N. Beēs, W. Bousset, and S. Lambros, who have greatly enriched our knowledge of Byzantine apocrypha. Ultimately, I follow in the footsteps of W. Brandes, who had started to compile a survey on the transmission and inventory of Byzantine apocalyptic literature, which however remains unpublished.<sup>630</sup>

During the compilation of this study, the monograph by L. DiTommaso on the *Apocryphal Daniel Literature* proved to be a heuristically useful guide in navigating the labyrinth of Medieval Greek apocrypha.<sup>631</sup> Its merits are, however, diminished by numerous inaccuracies and fallacious dating attempts. The scope of the present inventory is at the same time more limited as well as more inclusive than that of DiTommaso’s survey. On the one hand, I focus exclusively on Medieval Greek apocalyptic sources and thus exclude texts in any other language of the

<sup>627</sup> Cf. LAOURDAS 1951, 237

<sup>628</sup> Cf. DITOMMASO 2014, 135–140.

<sup>629</sup> On the notion of text-blocks, see POGOSSIAN/LA PORTA 2017, 825–826, *passim*. See above, n.236.

<sup>630</sup> BRANDES 2005, 457, n.31 had announced the publication of a monograph entitled “Überlieferung und Bestand der byzantinischen apokalyptischen Literatur.” I would like to thank Prof. Brandes at this point for having shared his manuscript with me.

<sup>631</sup> DITOMMASO 2005.

‘Byzantine commonwealth’. On the other hand, this inventory is not limited to the Pseudo-Danielic material but encompasses various other apocryphal apocalypses, oracular prophecies,<sup>632</sup> celestial journeys and end-time calculations<sup>633</sup> ranging from c. 500 to 1500 AD. That is, the emphasis of this survey lies with apocalyptic texts, which refer to the supposedly near *eschaton* and/or reveal either worldly developments or otherworldly experiences of the end times.<sup>634</sup> The chosen timeframe traverses the Byzantine millennium spanning from the turn of the sixth century until the late fifteenth century, which both formed significant millenarian markers. Prophecies that were presumably composed before or after this timeframe have not been considered here.<sup>635</sup>

Furthermore, I have excluded astrological prophecies such as the influential *Stephani Alexandrini Tractatus apotelesmaticus ad Timotheum*,<sup>636</sup> as such prophecies operate on scientific grounds and do not appeal to the religious paradigm of divine revelation (*apokalypsis*).<sup>637</sup> Likewise, liturgical texts<sup>638</sup> and biblical commentaries (e.g., on *Genesis* and the *Apokalypsis Iohannis*) have been excluded as well, as they do not belong to the revelatory genre either.<sup>639</sup>

<sup>632</sup> Oracular prophecies ought to be distinguished from apocalyptic texts in a genre-specific sense (see CONGOURDEAU 2014, 984–985); the former relate the fortunes of the empire without necessarily referring—*expressis verbis*—to the end of the world. Nonetheless, oracles constitute a genre that is closely affiliated with apocalyptic narratives: oracular units are a basic component of Medieval Greek apocalypses (DITOMMASO 2014, 134–140); moreover, they are frequently interspersed among apocalyptic texts in the manuscript tradition and were, thus, read as end-time revelations. For these reasons, a number of prominent oracles have been included in this inventory.

<sup>633</sup> My survey of Byzantine end-time calculations follows closely PODSKALSKY 1972, 94–98 and MAGDALINO 2003, 267–270.

<sup>634</sup> Medieval Greek apocalypticism, as understood here, depends on eschatological relevance, which might pertain to historical developments (historical apocalypses) or to the ultimate fate of the individual soul (moral apocalypses) or to speculations on the proximity of the end times. Consequently, revelations that do not contain eschatological content have been omitted, such as the *Apokalypsis Sedrach* (edited by WAHL 1977, 37–46) or the *Apokalypsis Apocrypha Iohannis (versio altera)* (BHG 922i, CANT 332, CPG 4755, edited and translated into French by NAU 1914, 215–221).

<sup>635</sup> As a result, even texts as significant to Byzantine apocalypticism as the Pseudo-Ephremian *Sermo in adventum Domini et de consummatione saeculi et in adventum Antichristi* (CPG 3946, edited by ASSEMANI 1743, 222–230 and more recently by PHRANTZOLAS 1992, 111–128, supplemented with a modern Greek paraphrase) have not been included. On its presumably fourth-century date, see BOUSSET 1895, 21, 114 and GRYPEOU 2013, 174–175, 178. Likewise, the *Oracula Tarasii* (edited by BENEŠEVIČ 1911, 533–541) have been excluded, as they postdate the timeframe of this survey.

<sup>636</sup> Edition in USENER 1880, 17–32 [repr. in: USENER 1914, 266–287]. It is noteworthy that this astrological prophecy appears to have influenced later apocalyptic writings, as, for instance, the *Prophetia de insula Cypri*.

<sup>637</sup> It is worth mentioning that Byzantine apocalypses frequently omit any direct appeal to a revelatory setting. This stands in contrast to late antique apocalypses, as defined by COLLINS 1979b, 9. This omission seems to indicate that the Byzantines presupposed visions about the end of times to be a product of divine revelation. I ask for the reader’s indulgence if the definition of ‘apocalyptic literature’—as used in this thesis—appears somewhat indefinite. The vagueness is intentional and aims to reflect the generic fuzziness of Medieval Greek apocalypsa.

<sup>638</sup> Liturgical hymns, such as Romanos the Melodist’s celebrated *kontakion* on the Second Coming (edition and French translation in DE MATONS 1981, 232–267, English translation in LASH 1995, 219–230), have been omitted.

<sup>639</sup> Much apocalyptic material can be found in biblical commentaries, such as the end-time calculation presented in the *Hexaemeron* attributed to Anastasius Sinaïta (CPG 7770, edited and translated by KUEHN/BAGGARLY 2007, 210–211).

Historiographical and patriographic testimonies have been excluded for the same reason.<sup>640</sup> Moreover, only published apocalyptic material has been considered here. Unedited and yet unidentified prophecies have been disregarded. Only modern editions from the nineteenth century onwards have been taken into consideration as an exhaustive bibliography of each text would have exceeded the limited scope of this survey. Also, this inventory ignores the vast secondary literature except for those studies that are relevant to the dating of the respective texts.

With regard to the dating of the surveyed apocrypha, I have persistently refrained from proposing my own assumptions, as this would have necessitated extensive annotations. That being said, I tentatively suggest a relative chronology of the sources through the sequence of their presentation. All Greek names and titles have been transliterated in the main text. In contrast, the final bibliography holds all titles untransliterated. I decided, after much hesitation, to exclude the heading and incipit of each textual witness since including them would have doubled the size of this Appendix. Finally, it should be stressed that virtually all texts surveyed here are pseudepigrapha and therefore spurious.

This survey aims at providing as much information as possible with regards to manuscripts; wherever the foliation/pagination is missing or written in cursive I have not been able to verify the exact reference through autopsy or photographs. As not every manuscript could be examined for this preliminary survey, much of the information provided depends on manuscript catalogs. It should be noted, however, that when it comes to medieval apocrypha, manuscript catalogs are not always reliable. Whenever possible, I have checked catalog entries against references in secondary literature. In addition to printed catalogs, I have made use of the online database for Greek manuscripts, Pinakes (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/> – last accessed 30/11/2018), which is a valuable research tool if used with caution. With regard to Byzantine apocrypha, this database holds countless inaccuracies. Therefore, in order to be included in this inventory, any Pinakes reference had to be verified against catalogs or secondary literature; otherwise it was discarded as uncorroborated information.

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and discussed in MAGDALINO 2003, 246). For an overview on Byzantine commentaries on the canonical *Apocalypsis Iohannis*, see MANGO 1984 and SHOEMAKER 2016, 306–313.

<sup>640</sup> Prophetic material summarized or alluded to by historiographers—such as the famous report by Theophanes Continuatus (BEKKER 1838, 35–36 [I.22]) on oracular books in the imperial library under Leo V (r. 813–820)—has been passed over. Further prominent testimonies can be found in the histories of John Tzetzes, Nikētas Chōniatēs, Nikēphoros Grēgoras, and Gennadios Scholarios. Likewise, apocalyptic material from patriographic sources (e.g., BERGER 2013, 208 [= *Patria* III, §170] or the *Narratio mirabilis de columna in Xerolopho* edited by DAGRON/PARAMELLE 1979, 513–523) has been excluded.

In short, for this survey I have consulted manuscripts, text editions, manuscript catalogs, and the Pinakes database. The result is a large, yet by far not comprehensive catalog of Medieval Greek apocalyptic sources. This survey is merely an imperfect bibliography; more textual witnesses will undoubtedly be identified, while a good number of prophecies still remains to be published. Thus, it is strongly hoped that this preliminary inventory will be superseded in the near future.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

BHG	HALKIN, François, ed. <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> . Third edition. 3 vols. Subsidia hagiographica 8a. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957.
CANT	GEERARD, MAURICE, ed. <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> . Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
CAVT	HAELEWYCK, JEAN-CLAUDE, ed. <i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i> . Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
CPG	GEERARD, MAURICE, ed. <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> . 5 vols. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987.
PATROLOGIA GRAECA	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> . 161 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.

In addition, the following abbreviations for libraries will be used:<sup>641</sup>

Amsterdam, UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
Athēna, BBE	Bibliothēkē tēs Boulēs tōn Hellēnōn
Athēna, BXM	Byzantino kai Christianiko Mouseio
Athēna, EBE	Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados
Berlin, SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
Bologna, BU	Biblioteca Universitaria
București, BAR	Biblioteca Academiei Române
Budapest, ELTEK	Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára
Budapest, MTAK	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára
Budapest, OSZK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár
Bruxelles, BBoll	Bibliothèque des Bollandistes
Cambridge, TCL	Trinity College Library

<sup>641</sup> Following OLIVIER 1995.

Dresden, SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek
Edinburgh, NLS	National Library of Scotland
El Escorial, RB	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
Firenze, BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
Genova, BF	Biblioteca Franzoniana
Istanbul, PB	Patriarchikē bibliothēkē
Jerusalem, PB	Patriarchikē bibliothēkē
København, KB	Det Kongelige Bibliotek
Leiden, BRU	Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
London, BL	British Library
Madrid, BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
Messina, BRU	Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria 'Giacomo Longo' di Messina
Milano, BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Modena, BE	Biblioteca Estense
Montpellier, BUM	Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine
Moskva, GIM	Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej
München, BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Napoli, BN	Biblioteca Nazionale
Oxford, BodL	Bodleian Library
Palermo, BCRS	Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana 'Alberto Bombace'
Paris, BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Roma, BA	Biblioteca Angelica
Roma, BC	Biblioteca Casanatense
Roma, BV	Biblioteca Vallicelliana
Sankt-Peterburg, BAN, RAIK	Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Biblioteka, Sobranie Russkogo archeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole
Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR	Rossijskaja Nacional'naja biblioteka, Sobranie grečeskich rukopisej
Sofija, CIAI	C'rkovno-istoričeskija i archiven Institut
Sofija, NBKM	Narodna Biblioteka 'Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodij'
Sofija, NCSVP	Naučen Centăr za Slavjano-Vizantijski Proučvanija 'Ivan Dujčev'
Strasbourg, BNU	Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire
Torino, BNU	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
Vaticano, BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
Venezia, BMC	Biblioteca del Museo Correr
Venezia, BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
Wien, ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Wolfenbüttel, HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek

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**THEOSOPHORUM GRAECORUM FRAGMENTA**

- Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta (ERBSE 1995)
- Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia (BEATRICE 2001)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION (THEOSOPHIA TUBINGENSIS):** ann. 474–491 (BURESCH 1889, 90; VON PREMIERSTEIN 1926, 648; DALEY 1995, 33; ATHANASSIADI/FREDE 1999, 16) | ann. 474–508 (MRAS 1906, 80; MANGO 1995, 201) | ann. 502/503 (BEATRICE 2001, xli, lix) | c. ann. 500 (KALDELLIS 2009, 48) | saec. VI<sup>IN</sup> (VAN KASTEEL 2011, 115) | saec. V<sup>EX</sup> (WAßMUTH 2011, 19, 27)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

PICCOLOS 1853, 173–186 (partial edition from Laurentianus 32.16)  
 WOLFF 1856, 231–240 (partial edition from Laurentianus 32.16 and Neapolitanus Borb. II F 9)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 97/1865, cols.722–725 (partial edition)  
 SAKKELIŌN 1877, 6, n.1 (partial edition from Patmiacus gr. 263)  
 PITRA 1888, II, 305–308 (partial edition from Vaticanus gr. 2200)  
 BURESCH 1889, 95–126 (partial edition from Tubingensis Mb 27), 130–131 (from Atheniensis gr. 1070)  
 COUGNY 1890, 490–501 (partial re-edition based on PICCOLOS 1853 and WOLFF 1856)  
 MRAS 1906, 43–53 (partial edition from Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 378)  
 DELATTE 1927, 328–332 (partial edition from Atheniensis gr. 1070, 373, 701)  
 GRECU 1931, 194–195 (partial edition)<sup>642</sup>  
 SCOTT 1936, 225–229 (partial reprint of Pitra’s and Buresch’s edition)  
 DALEY 1995, 51–54 (partial, critical edition based primarily on Maricanus gr. Z.573)  
 ERBSE 1995, 1–56 (Theosophia Tubingensis), 57–90 (Theosophia Sibyllarum), 91–135 (Thesauri minores)  
 BEATRICE 2001, 1–43 (Theosophia I–II), 44–72 (Theosophia III), 73–134 (Theosophia IV)  
 VAN KASTEEL 2011, 247–301 (French translation of Erbse’s edition)  
 MUSCOLINO 2013, 274–276, 290–298 (partial reprint of Beatrice’s edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS.**<sup>643</sup>

Athēna, EBE, cod. 355, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 373, fols.145r–147v, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 701, fols.252v–254v, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1070, fol.186r–v, saec. XIII/XIV  
 Athos, Monē Esphigmenou, cod. 131 (Lambros 2144), saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 787 (Lambros 6294), fol.126r–v, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 507 (Lambros 4627), fols.30r–34v, saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Z 64, ann. 1602  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. H 103 (Eustratiadēs 758), fols.60v–62r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 754, fols.182r–184r, saec. XVII  
 Bologna, BU, cod. 3559, saec. XIII  
 Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa, cod. 160, fols.84v–85, saec. XV<sup>1</sup>

<sup>642</sup> Grecu edited a section of the *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, namely ERBSE 1995, 123–126 (= corpus μ), from an Athenian manuscript (cod. 35, fols.103–106); its current location is unknown to me. On this manuscript, see GRECU 1931, 192–193 and ARVANITAKĒS 1930, 12.

<sup>643</sup> Adopted from ERBSE 1995, lv–lviii, with some minor changes in the foliation and manuscript dates and supplemented with seven further textual witnesses.

Firenze, BML, cod. Plut. 32.16, fols.379v–380v, saec. XIII  
 Firenze, BML, cod. Plut. 55.7, fol.318r–v, saec. XV  
 Firenze, BML, cod. Plut. 58.30, fol.152, saec. XIV  
 Istanbul, PB, Monē Panagias Kamariōtissēs, cod. 68, fols.228v–229r, ann. 1315/1316  
 Leipzig, UB, cod. gr. 70, fols.27r–28v, saec. XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. N 234 sup. (Martini/Bassi 569), fol.10, saec. XVI  
 Modena, BE, cod. gr. 126 (α.S.5.9), fols.288v–294v, saec. X, XIV  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 507, fol.3r–v, saec. XIV/XV  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 524, fols.3r–4r, saec. XIV  
 Napoli, BN, cod. II.F.9, fol.85r–v, saec. XIV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Auct. T.2.4 (Misc. 204), fols.58v–59r, saec. XI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 10, fols.200v–203v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 48, fols.26r–27r, saec. XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 50, fols.375r–376v, saec. X<sup>1</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 68, saec. XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 76, fol.386r, saec. XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Roe 5 (Madan 251), fols.149r–157v, saec. XVII<sup>1</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 396, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 400, fols.33v–34r, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 854, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1166, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1168, fols.80r–83r, saec. XIV/XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1336, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1409, fols.140v–141r, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1546, saec. XII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1630, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1763, ann. 1606  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2299, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2408, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2551, fol.1r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2594, fols.231r–232r, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2600, fols.181v–183r, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2665, fol.172r–v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2875, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 3026, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 689, fols.112v–113r, saec. XII, XVIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 690, fols.148r–v, 248v–249r, saec. XII  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 263, fols.270v–271v, saec. X, XIV  
 Roma, BA, cod. gr. 43 (*olim* B.3.8), fol.189r–v, saec. XIV  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 327, fols.234v–236r, saec. XV  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 383, fols.160r–161r, saec. X/XI  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 1189, fols.6v–7v, saec. XVI  
 Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Mb 27, fols.67r–87r, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 378, fols.18r–25v, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 411, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 141, fols.285r–286r, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 364, saec. XIV/XV

Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 62, fols. *121r–122r*, saec. XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 207, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 924, fol. *2r*, saec. XIV<sup>1</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1753, fols. *21v–22r*, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1816, fol. *68v*, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1841, fols. *144r–146r*, saec. XIII/XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2200, pp. *444–454*, saec. VIII/IX  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Urb. gr. 76, fol. *108v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. XI.1 (coll. 452), fols. *101v–103v*, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.573 (coll. 415), fols. *26v–28r*, saec. X<sup>IN</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 27, fol. *92v*, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 110, fol. *246r*, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 153, fol. *298r–v*, saec. XIII

### SIBYLLA TIBURTINA GRAECA

- Oracle of Baalbek (ALEXANDER 1967)
- No. 173, Griech Tiburtina (BERGER 1976b)
- Sibylla Tiburtina Graeca (PERTUSI 1988)
- Theosophia III, Fragn. B (BEATRICE 2001)
- Oracle de la Sibylle de Tibur, deuxième version (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- CPG 1353
- CANT 320
- CAVT 275

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 502–506 (ALEXANDER 1967, 47; CONGOURDEAU 2014, 990) | ann. 502–510 (BUI TENWERF 2013, 179)

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

ALEXANDER 1967, 9–22, 23–29 (critical edition with English translation)  
 BEATRICE 2001, 62–72 (reproduction of Alexander’s edition)  
 BUI TENWERF 2013, 182–188 (English translation of Alexander’s edition)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 991 (French translation of an excerpt of Alexander’s edition)

#### MANUSCRIPTS:

Athēna, EBE, cod. 2725 (Suppl. 725), fols. *210v–219v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Athos, Monē Karakallou, cod. 14 (Lambros 1527), fols. *280v–286v*, saec. XII  
 Sofija, NCSVP, cod. D. gr. 156, fols. *246r–248v*, saec. XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1120, fols. *417r–422v*, saec. XIV

**APOCALYPISIS ESDRAE GRAECA**

- Apocalypsis Esdrae (VON TISCHENDORF 1866)
- No. 98,1 Apocalypsis Esdrae graeca (STEGMÜLLER 1940)
- Apocalypse d'Esdras (ELLUL-DURAND 1977; ELLUL 1997)
- Apocalypse of Esdras (COLLINS 1979a, 87)
- Greek (or Christian) Apocalypse of Ezra (DITOMMASO 2001)
- BHG 603
- CANT 340
- CAVT 184.i

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. saec. IX (JAMES 1893, 113) | ante c. ann. 850 (JAMES 1895, lxxxvii) | saec. V–VIII (BATIFFOL 1912, col.765) | saec. IV<sup>EX</sup> (ELLUL-DURAND 1977, 254) | c. ann. 150 – c. ann. 850 (STONE 1983, 563) | post ann. 150 (SHUTT 1984, 930) | saec. IV<sup>2</sup> (ELLUL 1997, 550) | c. saec. V (POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 208) | saec. IV–IX, forsan saec. VI<sup>MED</sup> (FRIED 2014, 100, 103–104)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

VON TISCHENDORF 1866, 24–33 (*editio princeps* from Parisinus gr. 929)  
 WALKER 1870, 468–476 (English translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 RIESSLER 1928, 126–137 (German translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 MÜLLER 1976, 91–100 (German translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 ELLUL-DURAND 1977, 13–39, 40–54 (edition from Parisinus gr. 390 with French translation)  
 WAHL 1977, 25–34 (critical edition of both Parisian manuscripts)  
 STONE 1982, 17–18 (emendations to Tischendorf's and Wahl's editions)  
 STONE 1983, 571–579 (English translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 SHUTT 1984, 932–941 (English translation of Wahl's edition)  
 ELLUL 1997, 557–571 (revised French translation from Parisinus gr. 390)  
 POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 210–211 (partial reprint of Wahl's edition with Italian translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 390, fols.50r–59r, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 929, pp.510–532, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>

**SERMO XX EUSEBII ALEXANDRINI. IN SECUNDUM ADVENTUM DOMINI**

- Eusebiou archiepiskopou Alexandreias homilia eis tēn deuteran parousian (MAI 1838)
- BHG 635y
- CPG 5529

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** yet to be determined

**MODERN EDITION:**

THILO 1832, 99–104 (edition)  
 MAI 1838, 595–600 (edition)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 61/1862, cols.775–778 (edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Andros, Monē Zōodochoū Pēgēs (= tēs Agias), cod. 46, fols.261v–265r, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 422, fols.68v–71v, ann. 1546  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 191 (Lambros 5698), fols.260r–262r, saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 422, fols.150r–153r, saec. XIII  
 Istanbul, PB, Monē Panagias Kamariōtissēs, cod. 62, fols.73v–75v, ann. 1340  
 Jerusalem, PB, cod. Hagiou Saba 603, fols.33–36, saec. XIII  
 Messina, BRU, cod. S.Salv. 2, fols.20–23, saec. XII  
 Milano, BA, cod. A 60 sup. (Martini/Bassi 8), fols.21v–24r, saec. XI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Auct. E.3.8 (Misc. 51.8), pp.210–214, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. gr. 19, fols.1r–5v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Holkham gr. 10 (*olim* 101), fols.33v–38v, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 121, fols.156r–157r, ann. 1342  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 979, fols.275r–279r, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 3088, fol.29r, saec. XVII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 407, fols.211v–214v, ann. 1592  
 Trikkala, Monē Hagiou Bēssariōnos (= Dousikou), cod. 50, fols.57r–59r, ann. 1574/1575  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 85, fols.97v–100r, saec. X/XI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 702, fols.159r–160v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1633, fols.339v–341r, saec. X/XI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.33 (coll. 1367), fols.171r–173v, saec. XV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.38 (coll. 1385), fols.435r–437v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 63, fols.109v–112r, ann. 1319  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 10, fols.20v–25v, saec. X

**VISIO KAÏOUMI DE PHILETOLO FORNICATORE**

- La vision de Kaïoumos (HALKIN 1945)
- Vision of Kaïoumos (KRUEGER 1996, 10–11)
- De Philentolo fornicatore (WORTLEY 2001, 65)
- BHG 1322w
- CPG 7758 C (15)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VII (HALKIN 1945, 56; KYRRIS 1971, 461; MARINIS 2017, 200)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

HALKIN 1945, 62–64 (critical edition)  
 KYRRIS 1971, 461–463 (partial English translation of Halkin's edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 38, fols.339r–340r, saec. X<sup>1</sup>  
 Leiden, BRU, cod. Voss. gr. F.46, fols.121v–122v, saec. X  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 165 (Vlad. 340), fols.109–110, ann. 1345  
 Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 257, fols.83v–85v, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 283, fols.57r–58v, saec. XI

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1596, pp.659–660, saec. XI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Philadelphia, Library Company, MS 3 (1141.F), fols.71v–72r, saec. XIV<sup>MED</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2592, fols.132v–134r, saec. XI

## APOCALYPSIS METHODII GRAECA

- Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago (ISTRIN 1897)
- No. 124,5 Revelatio Methodii Patarensis, versio graeca (STEGMÜLLER 1940)
- No. 115–118, Gr Ps.-Methodius I–IV (BERGER 1976b)
- Apocalypsis Methodii Graeca (PERTUSI 1988)
- Apocalypse du Pseudo-Méthode, version grecque (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- BHG 2036–2036c
- CAVT 254
- CPG 1830

**DATE OF COMPOSITION (FIRST GREEK REDACTION):** saec. VII<sup>EX</sup> (VAN THIEL 1974, 252) | ann. 674 (LOLOS 1976, 22; DENIS 2000, II, 1295) | c. 650–800 (ALEXANDER 1985, 60) | c. 700–710 (AERTS/KORTEKAAS 1998, 16) | post ann. 691 (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 991)

### MODERN EDITIONS:

ISTRIN 1897, I, 62–63 (edition of chap. XIII.7–10)  
 ISTRIN 1897, II, 5–50 (first redaction), 51–66 (third redaction), 67–74 (fourth redaction)  
 NAU 1917, 455–457, 458–461 (edition of a fragment from Parisinus gr. 4 with French translation)  
 VAN THIEL 1959, 72–75, 52, 54 (critical edition of chap. VIII.3–10, first and second redactions)  
 SCHMOLDT 1972, 280–283 (critical edition and German translation of chap. XIII.7–10)  
 VAN THIEL 1974, 248–251 (reproduction of VAN THIEL 1959, 72, 74 with German translation)  
 BERGER 1976a, 56–58 (partial critical edition of chap. XIV.11–13, conflating all redactions)  
 LOLOS 1976 (critical edition of the first and second redactions)  
 LOLOS 1978 (critical edition of the third and fourth redactions)  
 HOYLAND 1997, 296 (partial English translation of chap. XIII.7–10)  
 AERTS/KORTEKAAS 1998 (critical edition of the first redaction)  
 GARSTAD 2012, 1–71 (English translation of the first redaction)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 991–993 (French translation of chap. XIII.8–13, XIV.2–5, second redaction)

### MANUSCRIPTS:<sup>644</sup>

#### FIRST REDACTION (BHG 2036):

Athēna, EBE, cod. 355, fols.68v–75v, saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 215 (Lambros 4335), fols.119v–141r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 251 (Lambros 3324), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Θ 14 (Eustratiadēs 876), fols.214r–260r, saec. XVII

<sup>644</sup> Adopted from LOLOS 1976, 26–36 and LOLOS 1978, 12–16, with various emendations and additions. Less comprehensive overviews on the manuscript tradition of the *Apocalypsis Methodii graeca* can be found in VAN THIEL 1959, 69–70 and AERTS/KORTEKAAS 1998, 38–48.

Napoli, BN, cod. II.A.17, fols.546r–559v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.10r–25v, saec. XV  
 Roma, BV, cod. Allacci 34 (Martini 147), fols.35r–44v, 109r–122v, saec. XVII  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fols.1r–19r, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 192, fols.71v–85r, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Reg. gr. Pio II 11, fols.257v–263r, saec. XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 859, fols.19v–27r, saec. XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1700, fols.117r–157r, ann. 1332/1333  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols.1–21, ann. 1590–1592  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fols.81r–95v, saec. XVI

#### SECOND REDACTION (BHG 2036a)

Athēna, EBE, cod. 2187, fols.183v–190r, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 349 (Lambros 4469), fols.1r–20r, saec. XIV  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fols.89v–93v, saec. XVIII  
 Cambridge, TCL, cod. O.3.51 (James 1223), fols.28r–42r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. C 92 sup. (Martini/Bassi 192), fols.313r–318v, saec. XIV<sup>MED</sup>  
 Roma, BV, cod. F 68 (Martini 103), fols.195r–207v, saec. XIV–XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 418, fols.232r–239r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.1r–19r, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 200, fols.119r–132r, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. Gudianus gr. 99, fols.1r–15v, saec. XVII

#### THIRD REDACTION (BHG 2036b):

Athos, Monē Docheiariou, cod. 197 (Lambros 2871), fols.34v–37, saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 34 (Lambros 581), fols.78r–85v, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 789 (Lambros 6296), fols.156r–165v, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), pp.527–532, saec. XVII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 947, fols.11r–18r, ann. 1574  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 303, fols.83r–87r, saec. XVIII  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 548, fols.136r–145r, saec. XVI

#### FOURTH REDACTION (BHG 2036c):

Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 686 (Lambros 4806), fols.5r–13r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 217 (Lambros 3290), fols.176v–181r, ann. 1623  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fols.259r–266v, ann. 1622  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 467, fols.217r–222v, saec. XVI

#### FURTHER MSS. WITH UNIDENTIFIED WITNESSES OF Ps.METHODIOS (OR Ps.DANIEL):

Athēna, EBE, cod. 1271, ann. 1763  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 204 (Lambros 5711), fols.713–716, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 639 (Lambros 6146), fols.67r–81r, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.53r–59v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 747 (Lambros 4867), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 749 (Lambros 4869), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 928 (Lambros 5048), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. M 68 (Eustratiadēs 1759), fols.204–205, ann. 1772

Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 989, fols. *36r–68r*, saec. XIX  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 560 (Litzica 758), pp. *62–69*, saec. XIX  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1087, fols. *9–11*, saec. XIX  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. A.187, pp. *63–73*, c. ann. 1600  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 160, fols. *261r–263r*, ann. 1656  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 338, fols. *58v–63v*, saec. XVII  
 Moskva, GIM, Sobranie Uvarova, fols. *3v–4v*, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 4, fol. *227v*, saec. XIV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. ital. XI.6 (coll. 7222), fols. *126r–131r*, ann. 1578

### THEOPHANIS MONACHI DE FINE MUNDI

- Eine kabbalistische Berechnung des Weltendes (VON DOBSCHÜTZ 1903, 549)
- Chronological composition on the consummation of the age, or of the world (MAGDALINO 2003, 267)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 710 (VON DOBSCHÜTZ 1903, 556; MAGDALINO 2003, 267)

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

VON DOBSCHÜTZ 1903, 550–551 (edition)

#### MANUSCRIPT:

Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 296, fols. *67r–68r*, saec. XII

### HIPPOLYTI DE CONSUMMATIONE MUNDI

- Ps.-Hippolytus: De consummatione mundi (ACHELIS 1897a; ATHANASOPOULOS 2016)
- No. 78, Ps.-Hipp. Antichr. (BERGER 1976b)
- Ps.-Hipp Antichr (BERGER 1980)
- De consummatione mundi of Pseudo-Hippolytus (WHEALEY 1996)
- BHG 812z
- CPG 1910

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. IV/V (BUNSEN 1852, 198) | non ante saec. IX (ACHELIS 1897b, 79; GEERARD 1983, 274) | saec. VI–VIII (BATIFFOL 1912, col. 766) | saec. III (BERGER 1980, 1464) | saec. VII<sup>EX</sup>/VIII<sup>IN</sup> (WHEALEY 1996, 461; ATHANASOPOULOS 2016, 24)

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

PATROLOGIA GRAECA 10/1857, cols. 904–952 (reprint of FABRICIUS 1716, Appendix, 4–29)  
 DE LAGARDE 1858, 92–123 (re-edition of FABRICIUS 1716 and collated with Oxoniensis Baroc. 93)  
 SALMOND 1886, 242–254 (English translation)  
 ACHLIS 1897a, 289–309 (edition)  
 BEPES 6/1956, 276–295 (reprint of Achelis' edition)

ATHANASOPOULOS 2013, 291–339 (critical edition)  
 ATHANASOPOULOS 2013, 343–370 (Modern Greek paraphrase)  
 ATHANASOPOULOS 2016, 75–116 (revised critical edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**<sup>645</sup>

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, cod. gr. 62, fols. *1r–14v*, saec. XIV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Athēna, BLM, cod. TA 147 (Zizica/Couroupou 72), fols. *43r–53r*, *64r–71v*, saec. XIV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 457, fols. *51v–76r*, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1050, fols. *64r–84v*, saec. X/XI  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 170 (Lambros 3704), saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 300 (Lambros 5807), fols. *246–274*, saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 26 (Lambros 4146), fols. *150r–166r*, saec. XI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 677 (Lambros 4797), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. K 81 (Eustratiadēs 1368), fols. *184r–195r*, saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Pantokratoros, cod. 99 (Lambros 1133), ann. 1567  
 Athos, Monē Pantokratoros, cod. 101 (Lambros 1135), saec. XV  
 Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, cod. A.III.3, fols. *132r–142r*, saec. XVI  
 Budapest, ELTEK, cod. F 28 (Kubinyi 5), fols. *79r–92r*, saec. XVI  
 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, cod. W.132, fols. *18v–36v*, saec. XI  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ω-I-14 (Andrés 515), fols. *145–159v*, saec. XIII  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ω-II-11 (Andrés 528), fols. *70–85v*, saec. XII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 29, fols. *158v–177r*, saec. XI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 80, fols. *1–15*, saec. XIII/XIV  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 226, fols. *2–18*, saec. XVI  
 Istanbul, PB, Monē Hagias Triados, cod. 129 (Tsakopoulos 121), saec. XV  
 London, BL, cod. Harley 5643, fols. *97r–119v*, saec. XVI  
 Madrid, BNE, cod. 4672 (Andrés 122), fols. *218r–231r*, c. ann. 1550  
 Messina, BRU, cod. S.Salv. 2, fols. *34–50*, saec. XII  
 Messina, BRU, cod. S.Salv. 98, fols. *278–281*, saec. XII/XIII  
 Meteōra, Monē Hagiou Stephanou, cod. 126, fols. *28v–49*, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 366, fols. *48v–61r*, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Varlaam, cod. 138, fols. *40v–59v*, saec. XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. A 173 sup. (Martini/Bassi 66), fols. *128v–164v*, saec. XII  
 Milano, BA, cod. C 95 sup. (Martini/Bassi 193), fols. *128v–146r*, saec. XI/XII  
 Milano, BA, cod. M 84 sup. (Martini/Bassi 530), fols. *195r–210v*, saec. XVI  
 Mytilēnē, A' Lykeio (*olim* A' Gymasio Arrenōn Mytilēnēs), cod. 5, fols. *8v–32v*, saec. XI  
 Mytilēnē, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou Hypsēlou, cod. 21, fols. *156r–186r*, saec. XV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 93, fols. *2r–43v*, saec. XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Cromwell 18, pp. *251–266*, saec. XII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Selden Supra 36, fols. *1–8*, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 771, fols. *19–29*, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 773, fols. *68–83*, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 822, fols. *106–116*, saec. XIV/XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 937, fols. *64–82*, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1082, fols. *256–281*, saec. XVI

<sup>645</sup> Adopted from ATHANASOPOULOS 2013, 247–254, with one further textual witness.

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1096, fols. *138–168*, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1179, fols. *229–242*, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1198, fols. *211–221*, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1199, fols. *162–187*, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1217, fols. *35–53r*, saec. XII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1474, fols. *33–48*, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1595, fols. *19–31*, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 1032, fols. *62–101*, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 1101, fol. *166r–v*, saec. XIV/XV  
 Roma, BV, cod. D 23 (Martini 55), fols. *230r–241v*, saec. XVI  
 Sofija, NBKM, cod. gr. 97, fols. *65v–87v*, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 415, fols. *106–122*, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 418, fols. *304v–308r*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Reg. gr. 69, fols. *1–18r*, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Reg. gr. Pio II 39, fols. *230–251v*, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 800, fols. *25v–40*, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1700, fol. *32v*, ann. 1332/33  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1774, fols. *143–160v*, ann. 1472/73  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.29 (coll. 1348), fols. *142v–155v*, saec. XIII  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 166, fols. *70r–93r*, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 245, fols. *285r–301v*, saec. XVI

## DIEGESIS DANIELIS

- Diēgēsis peri tōn hēmerōn tou antichristou to pōs mellei genesthai (MACLER 1895)
- Tou en hagiois patros ēmōn Methodiou episkopou logos peri tōn eschatōn hēmerōn kai peri tou antichristou (ISTRIN 1897)
- No. 38, Gr Daniel-Diegese (Dn.-D.) (BERGER 1976b)
- Daniel Apocalypse of 716/17 A.D. (MANGO 1982)
- Apocalypse of Daniel (ninth century) (ZERVOS 1983)
- Apoc. Meth. Gr. E. (PERTUSI 1988)
- Daniel-Diegese (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek Daniel, First Vision (HOYLAND 1997)
- Apocalypse of Daniel (OLSTER 1998)
- Greek Apocalypse (or Narrative) of Daniel (Diegesis Danielis) (DITOMMASO 2001)
- Diegesis Danielis (DITOMMASO 2005)
- Diēgēsis (Narration) sur les jours de l'Antichrist (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- BHG 2036d
- CANT 343
- CAVT 253

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 716/717 (BOUSSET 1899, 288; MANGO 1982, 310–313; HOYLAND 1997, 299) | c. ann. 800 (BERGER 1976b, 36; POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 219) | saec. IX<sup>IN</sup> (OLSTER 1998, 65) | saec. IX<sup>EX</sup> (AERTS 2010, 468) | ann. 801 (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 993) |

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

MACLER 1895, 108–110 (partial French translation of Montepessulanus gr. 405)  
 ISTRIN 1897, II, 145–150 (edition from Oxoniensis Canon. gr. 19)  
 BERGER 1976b (critical edition with German translation)  
 ZERVOS 1983 (English translation of Oxoniensis Canon. gr. 19)  
 HOYLAND 1997, 297–298 (partial English translation of §III.1–5)  
 POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 222–237 (reprint of Berger's edition with Italian translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 994 (French translation of §IX)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athēna, EBE, cod. 1077, fols. *176r–179v*, ann. 1460–1465  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1350, fols. *28r–30r*, saec. XIX  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 338, fols. *63v–70r*, saec. XVII  
 Montpellier, BUM, cod. 405, fols. *105r–115v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. gr. 19, fols. *145–152*, saec. XV/XVI

**VISIO ET APOCALYPSIS DANIELIS**

- No.38, Daniel-Diegesi (Dn.-D.) (BERGER 1976b)
- Apocalypse of Daniel (ninth century) (ZERVOS 1983)
- The Vision and Revelation of the Prophet Daniel (DITOMMASO 2005)
- 1 ApcDan: Vision und Offenbarung des Propheten Daniel (PETKOV 2016)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** yet to be determined

**MODERN EDITION:**

BERGER 1976b, 24–26

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols. *14v–16r*, ann. 1590–1592

**ANONYMI DE REBUS BYZANTINIS VATICINIUM**

- Anonymi de rebus byzantinis vaticinium (VASSILIEV 1893)
- BV (BOUSSET 1899)
- No. 15, Gr Anonym (BERGER 1976b)
- Apocalypse apocryphe de Daniel (CONGOURDEAU 2014)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII<sup>EX</sup>/IX<sup>IN</sup> (VASSILIEV 1893, xxiv) | ann. 802 (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 994)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

VASSILIEV 1893, 47–50 (edition)

BOUSSET 1899, 263–271 (partial reprint of Vassiliev's edition)

CONGOURDEAU 2014, 995–996 (partial French translation of Vassiliev's edition)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 162, fols.160r–163v, saec. XV<sup>1</sup>

**VATICINIUM PHILOSOPHI BRYSONIS**

- Il vaticinio del 'filosofo' Brusone sulla conquista araba della Sicilia nell'827 (PERTUSI 1988, 157)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. IX (PERTUSI 1988, 158; BRANDES 2008, 185, n.127)

**MODERN EDITION:**

PERTUSI, 1988, 162–167 (partial edition with Italian translation)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1257, fols.36r–39r, saec. X<sup>2</sup>

**IOHANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI VISIO DANIELIS**

- Tou en hagiois patros ēmōn Iōannou tou Chrysostomou logos ek tēn horasin tou Daniēl (VASSILIEV 1893)
- M II (BOUSSET 1899)
- No. 117,1 Visio Danielis, versio graeca (STEGMÜLLER 1940)
- LC / Logos unseres heiligen Vaters Johannes Chrysostomos aus den Visionen Daniels (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- First Greek Vision of Daniel (RYDÉN 1974)
- No. 42, Gr Daniel IV (Berger 1976b)
- First Daniel apocalypse (MANGO 1982, 307)
- Pseudo-Chrysostom (ALEXANDER 1985)
- Homilia de Visione Danielis (Pseudo-Chrysostomos) (PERTUSI 1988)
- Discourses of the Holy Father John Chrysostom on the Vision of Daniel (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek "Discourses of John Chrysostom regarding the Vision of Daniel" (DITOMMASO 2001)
- Discourses of John Chrysostom concerning the Vision of Daniel (DITOMMASO 2005)
- Discours sur la Vision de Daniel, par le Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- BHG 1871, 1874m
- CPG 4727
- CAVT 258

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 842 (ALEXANDER 1985, 76; CONGOURDEAU 2014, 997)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

VASSILIEV 1893, 33–38 (edition from Vaticanus Barb. gr. 284)  
 POLITÈS 1897, 97 (emendations to Vassiliev’s edition)  
 BOUSSET 1899, 263–273 (partial reprint of Vassiliev’s edition)  
 SCHMOLDT 1972, 220–237 (slightly emended version of Vassiliev’s edition with German translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 998–999 (partial French translation of Vassiliev’s edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athēna, EBE, cod. 2187, fols.228v–233r, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2605, fols.257r–268v, saec. XIV/XV  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fols.93v–96r, saec. XVIII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiau Saba, cod. 128, fols.34v–43r, saec. XV–XVIII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 121, fols.10r–12v, ann. 1667  
 Meteōra, Monē Varlaam, cod. 156, fols.148v–152v, ann. 1619/1620  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Auct. E.3.9 (Misc. 51.9), fols.757–765, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Clarke 3, fols.185–187, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 284, fols.130v–141v, ann. 1497  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 418, fols.301r–304v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 364, fols.156r–162v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols.180v–187r, ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. XI.25 (coll. 1395), fols.160r–165v, saec. XV

**VISIO DANIELIS DE TEMPORE NOVISSIMO ET DE FINE MUNDI**

- Horasis tou Daniēl peri tou eschatou kairou kai peri tēs synteletias tou aiōnos (VASSILIEV 1893)
- D I (BOUSSET 1899)
- No. 117,2 Visio Danielis de tempore novissimo (STEGMÜLLER 1940)
- VD / Vision Daniels über die letzte Zeit (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- Second Greek Vision of Daniel (RYDÉN 1974)
- No. 41, Gr Daniel III (BERGER 1976b)
- Gr Daniel III (BERGER 1980)
- Second Daniel apocalypse (MANGO 1982, 307)
- Daniel Καὶ ἔσται (ALEXANDER 1985)
- Aliae Recensiones (PERTUSI 1988)
- Visions of Daniel on the last times and on the end of the world (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek “Vision of Daniel on the Last Times and the End of the World” (DITOMMASO 2001)
- The Vision of Daniel on the Last Times and the End of the World (DITOMMASO 2005)
- Vision de Daniel sur les derniers temps (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- BHG 1872
- CAVT 257

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII (BERGER 1980, 1462) | c. ann. 867–869 (ALEXANDER 1985, 87; CONGOURDEAU 2014, 999)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

VASSILIEV 1893, 38–43 (edition)  
 ISTRIN 1897, I, 264 (partial reprint of Vassiliev's edition)  
 POLITÈS 1897, 97 (emendations to Vassiliev's edition)  
 BOUSSET 1899, 263–276 (partial reprint of Vassiliev's edition)  
 SCHMOLDT 1972, 202–219 (slightly emended version of Vassiliev's edition with German translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 999–1001 (partial French translation of Vassiliev's edition)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 284, fols. 141v–152v, ann. 1497

**IOHANNIS APOCALYPSIS APOCRYPHA**

- Apocalypsis Iohannis (apocrypha) (VON TISCHENDORF 1866)
- Première apocalypse apocryphe de saint Jean (NAU 1914; KAESTLI/PICARD 2005; KAESTLI 2011)
- La prima apocalisse apocrifa di Giovanni (ERBETTA 1969)
- Apocalisse di Giovanni (MORALDI 1971)
- No. 94, Ps.-Joh-Apk I (BERGER 1976b)
- Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian (COLLINS 1979a, 76)
- Ps.-Joh Apk I (BERGER 1980)
- Apocalypsis S. Io(h)annis Theologi (PERTUSI 1988)
- Second Apocryphal Apocalypse of John (COURT 2000)
- Apocryphal Apocalypse of John (WHEALEY 2002)
- Apocalisse apocrifa di Giovanni (POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012; VALERIANI 2015)
- 1 ApcIoh apocr: Apokryphe Johannes-Offenbarung (1) (PETKOV 2016)
- BHG 921–922h
- CANT 331

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII (HARNACK 1893, 785) | saec. VI–VIII (NAU 1914, 213) | saec. V/VI (ERBETTA 1969, 409; MORALDI 1971, 1954; PERTUSI 1988, 18, n.42; KAESTLI/PICARD 2005, 987; KAESTLI 2011, 288; POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 212) | post ann. 100 (COLLINS 1979a, 76) | saec. III (BERGER 1980, 1464) | saec. V (ELLIOTT 1993, 684) | saec. IV<sup>EX</sup> (COURT 2000, 25–29) | saec. VIII/IX (WHEALEY 2002, 540) | saec. V–VII, forsan saec. VI (VIANÈS 2012, 160–161) | saec. VIII<sup>IN</sup> (VALERIANI 2015, 100) | saec. IV–IX (PETKOV 2016, 173)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

BIRCH 1804, 245–260 (edition from Vaticanus Pal.gr. 364, collated with Vindobonensis hist.gr. 119)  
 VON TISCHENDORF 1866, 70–94 (critical edition based on seven manuscripts)  
 WALKER 1870, 493–503 (English translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 ERBETTA 1969, 410–414 (Italian translation of Tischendorf's edition)

MORALDI 1971, 1957–1966 (Italian translation of Tischendorf's edition)  
 COURT 2000, 32–47 (reprint of Tischendorf's critical edition with English translation)  
 KAESTLI/PICARD 2005, 995–1018 (French translation)  
 POTESTÀ/RIZZI 2012, II, 214–217 (partial reprint of Tischendorf's edition with Italian translation)

#### MANUSCRIPTS:

Athēna, EBE, cod. 346, fols. 36r–41v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 352, fols. 178r–183v, saec. XVII  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 355, fols. 30r–37v, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 356, fols. 297v–306r, ann. 1633/34  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1007, fols. 238–243v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1098, fols. 15–17v, ann. 1506/07  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2484, fols. 270v–274r, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, cod. 596, fols. 170v–187v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 422, fols. 83r–88r, saec. XIII  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. qu. 22 (Studemund/Cohn 320), fols. 80v–89r, saec. XV  
 Cambridge, TCL, cod. O.8.33 (James 1408), fols. 98r–102r, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiau Saba, cod. 492, pp. 77–97, saec. XVIII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 66, fols. 378v–385r, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 97, fols. 121v–131v, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 382, fols. 58v–65r, saec. XV  
 Milano, BA, cod. L 113 sup. (Martini/Bassi 499), fols. 167r–170r, saec. XV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Palermo, BCRS, cod. III.B.25, fols. 25–41, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 121, fols. 6r–v, 17r–v, ann. 1342  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 947, fols. 26v–32v, ann. 1574  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1034, fols. 120r–134v, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 136, fols. 28v–40v, saec. XV  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiau Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 379, fols. 356v–363r, saec. XVI  
 Sofija, CIAI, cod. 887, fols. 130–157v, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 284, fols. 39–54v, ann. 1497  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 364, fols. 110r–116r, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2255, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2557, fols. 168v–176, saec. XV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.42 (coll. 1123), fols. 285–291, saec. XIII/XIV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.90 (coll. 1259), fols. 249–255, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.172 (coll. 1059), fols. 477–483, saec. XVIII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. XI.20 (coll. 1475), fols. 303–313, saec. XIV–XVII  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 119, fols. 108r–115v, c. ann. 1500

#### VALENTIS ASTRONOMI THEMA GENETHLIACUM EX HIPPOLYTO

— Valentis astronomi thema genethliacum CP., ex S. Hippolyto (OMONT 1886, 273)

DATE OF COMPOSITION: saec. VIII–X (DIEKAMP 1897, 616)

**MODERN EDITION:**

DIEKAMP 1897, 606–608 (edition from Parisinus gr. 1232A)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Karakallou, cod. 14 (Lambros 1527), fols.251v–252v, saec. XII

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1111, fols.54v–55r, saec. XI

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1232A, fols.211v–212r, ann. 1131

**APOCALYPSIS MARIAE**

— Apocalypse de Marie (GIDEL 1871)

— Apocalypsis Mariae Virginis (JAMES 1893)

— No. 111, Griech Marien-Apk (BERGER 1976b)

— L'Apocalisse greca della Vergine (ERBETTA 1969)

— Apocalypse of the Holy Theotokos Concerning the Punishments (BAUN 2007)

— ApcMariae: Theotokos-Apokalypse (PETKOV 2016)

— BHG 1050–1054m

— CANT 327

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII/IX (GIDEL 1871, 99; VASSILIEV 1893, xxxiv; PERNOT 1900, 239) | saec. IX (ERBETTA 1969, 447) | saec. IX/X (BAUN 2007, 17)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

SREZNEVSKIJ 1863, 204–217 (edition from Vindobodensis theol.gr. 333 with Russian translation)

VON TISCHENDORF 1866, xxvii–xxx (excerpts from three manuscripts)

GIDEL 1871, 109–113, 93–97 (edition from Parisinus gr. 390 with partial French translation)

POLITĒS 1874, 375–389 (Modern Greek paraphrase)

JAMES 1893, 115–126 (edition from Oxoniensis Auct. E.5.12)

VASSILIEV 1893, 125–134 (edition from Casanatensis (Romae) G.VI.7)

POLITĒS 1897, 98 (emendations to Vassiliev's edition)

PERNOT 1900, 239–257 (parallel edition from four manuscripts including the three Parisian ones)

DELATTE 1927, 272–280, 280–288 (separate editions from Atheniensis 356 and 352)

ERBETTA 1969, 448–454 (Italian translation)

BAUN 2007, 391–400 (English translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Andros, Monē Zōodochoy Pēgēs (= tēs Agias), cod. 46, fols.102–110, saec. XV

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, MS 41, fols.199–205v, saec. XV

Athēna, BBE, cod. 46, fols.116r–125, saec. XVII

Athēna, EBE, cod. 352, fols.200r–211v, saec. XVII

Athēna, EBE, cod. 356, fols.306–313v, ann. 1633/1634

Athēna, EBE, cod. 2484, fols.268–270v, saec. XV

Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 594, saec. XV/XVI

Athos, Monē Hagiotou Panteleēmonos, cod. 572 (Lambros 6079), fols.225v–306r, saec. XVII

Athos, Monē Hagiotou Panteleēmonos, cod. 789 (Lambros 6296), fols.138r–145r, saec. XVIII

Bologna, BU, cod. 3642, saec. XVI  
 Budapest, OSZK, cod. oct. gr. 8 (Kubinyi 31), fols. *1r–15r*, ann. 1648  
 Cambridge, TCL, cod. O.8.33 (James 1408), fols. *56v–61r*, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 373, fols. *394–399*, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 97, fols. *8r–17r*, saec. XVI  
 London, BL, cod. Add. 10073, fols. *50v–61v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 London, BL, cod. Add. 25881, fols. *229–238*, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Hagiou Stephanou, cod. 119, fols. *95r–105v*, ann. 1771  
 Milano, BA, cod. G 63 sup. (Martini/Bassi 405), fols. *156r–164r*, saec. XI/XII  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Auct. E.5.12 (Misc. 77), fols. *342r–350v*, saec. XII  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Rawlinson G.4 (Misc. 142), fols. *118–123v*, saec. XII  
 Palermo, BCRS, cod. III.B.25, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 390, fols. *168r–v*, *1r–4v*, *27r–v*, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 395, fols. *72r–81v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 136, fols. *157r–179v*, saec. XV  
 Roma, BC, cod. G.VI.7, saec. XVI  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 1697, fols. *225–241*, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 284, fols. *25–39*, ann. 1497  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 1, fols. *301r–306r*, saec. XI/XII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1190, fols. *25v–28v*, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2557, fols. *153–168*, saec. XV  
 Venezia, Biblioteca del Seminario Patriarcale, cod. 196, fols. *18v–30v*, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.43 (coll. 449), fols. *411v–440v*, ann. 1619  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 333, fols. *82r–93v*, c. ann. 1300  
 Zavorda, Monē Hagiou Nikanoros, cod. 117, fols. *111–121*, saec. XIV

## ANONYMI OPUSCULUM DE FINE MUNDI

— Computation of the Years of the End (ŠEVČENKO 2002)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1030 (PODSKALSKY 1972, 98) | c. ann. 900 (ŠEVČENKO 2002, 568)

### MODERN EDITION:

ŠEVČENKO 2002, 564–566, 567–568 (critical edition with English translation)

### MANUSCRIPTS:

El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ψ-III-7 (Andrés 462), fols. *315r–316v*, saec. XI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1111, fols. *52v–54r*, saec. XI

## NICETAE DAVID PAPHLAGONIS DE CONSUMMATIONE MUNDI

— Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World (WESTERINK 1975)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 942/950 (WESTERINK 1975, 186)

**MODERN EDITION:**

WESTERINK 1975, 188–195 (separate edition of both texts)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Karakallou, cod. 14 (Lambros 1527), fols. *6v–10r*, saec. XII

Modena, BE, cod. gr. 42 (α.T.9.3), fols. *125v–127v*, saec. XIII

**VITA S. BASILII IUNIORIS (VISIONES CONTINENS)<sup>646</sup>**

- No. 182, Vita Basil (BERGER 1976b)
- Ho bios tou hosiou Basileiou tou Neou (ANGELIDI 1980)
- The Life of Saint Basil the Younger (RYDÉN 1983; SULLIVAN/TALBOT/MCGRATH 2014)
- Vita S. Basilii Junioris (PERTUSI 1988)
- The Vita of Basil the Younger written by his spiritual son Gregory (KAZHDAN 2006)
- VBN: Vita des Basilius Novus (PETKOV 2016)
- BHG 263–264f

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 956–959 (GRÉGOIRE/ORGELS 1954, 154; RYDÉN 1978, 147) | post ann. 956 (DA COSTA-LOUILLET 1954, 495; ANGELIDI 1980, 93; MAGDALINO 1999, 87) | post ann. 963 (RYDÉN 1983, 577, 586; TIMOTIN 2010, 325) | c. ann. 959 vel 963 (BERGER 2006, 41) | ann. 950–969 (SULLIVAN/TALBOT/MCGRATH 2014, 10)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

PATROLOGIA GRAECA 109/1863, cols. 653–664 (partial edition)  
 VESELOVSKIJ 1889, suppl., 10–89 (partial edition from Mosquensis Mus.Hist.gr. 249)  
 VESELOVSKIJ 1891, suppl., 3–174 (partial edition from Mosquensis Mus.Hist.gr. 249)  
 VILINSKIJ 1911, 5–142 (edition from Athonensis Iberensis 478)  
 VILINSKIJ 1911, 143–282 (edition from Athonensis Panteleimonis 202)  
 VILINSKIJ 1911, 283–346 (partial edition of Mosquensis Mus.Hist.gr. 249)  
 SULLIVAN/TALBOT/MCGRATH 2014 (critical edition & English translation of Mosquensis Mus.Hist.gr. 249)

**MANUSCRIPTS:<sup>647</sup>**

Athēna, EBE, cod. 355, fols. *1r–5v*, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1018, fols. *1r–261v*, saec. XIV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2772, fols. *88–157*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 187 (Lambros 3721), fols. *1–187*, ann. 1357/1358  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 293 (Lambros 3827), fols. *1–43*, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Docheiariou, cod. 97 (Lambros 2771), fols. *1–215*, ann. 1652  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 25 (Lambros 572), fols. *1–390*, saec. XV, XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 105 (Lambros 3187), fols. *1–259*, ann. 1621

<sup>646</sup> The two main prophetic visions are recounted in part II and IV–V, in SULLIVAN/TALBOT/MCGRATH 2014, 190–277, 344–699.

<sup>647</sup> It remains to be investigated which of these manuscripts contain the prophetic sections of the *Vita*.

Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 159 (Lambros 5666), fols. 1–149, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 202 (Lambros 5709), fols. 1–288, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 276 (Lambros 5783), ann. 1853  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 573 (Lambros 6080), fols. 1–132, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 478 (Lambros 4598), fols. 1–98v, saec. XIII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 486 (Lambros 4606), fols. 1–185, ann. 1674  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 517 (Lambros 4637), fols. 159–324v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 1454, ann. 1860  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. I 23 (Eustratiadēs 1107), fols. 97–112, ann. 1618  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. I 61 (Eustratiadēs 1145), fols. 1–248, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Λ 66 (Eustratiadēs 1556), fols. 86r–94r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Pantokratoros, cod. 255 (Politēs 365), ann. 1722  
 Athos, Monē Xenophōntos, cod. 17 (Lambros 719), fols. 1–259, ann. 1826  
 Athos, Skētē Hagias Annēs, cod. 27 (Lambros 108), ann. 1662  
 Bruxelles, BBoll, cod. 196 (288), fols. 243–266, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 Edinburgh, NLS, cod. Adv. 18.6.14, fols. 62v–66, saec. XVI  
 Genova, BF, cod. Urbani gr. 31, fols. 123r–190v, saec. XIV  
 al-Iskandariyya, Bibliothēkē tou Patriarcheiou, cod. 167 (*olim* 358), fols. 127r–132r, saec. XIV  
 Larnaka, Mētropolis Kitiou, cod. 56, ann. 1865  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 249 (Vladimir 402), fols. 2r–378, saec. XVI  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 250 (Vladimir 403), fols. 1r–213, saec. XVI  
 Mytilēnē, Monē Leimōnos, cod. 98, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Holkham gr. 20 (*olim* 86), fols. 1–219, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1547, fols. 1r–129r, ann. 1286  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 672, fols. 342v–369r, ann. 1507  
 Patras, Monē Hagiōn Pantōn Patrōn, cod. 3, fols. 209r–215v, saec. XVIII  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. gr. 586, fols. 1–136, saec. XIX  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 535, fols. 70–87, saec. XV/XVI  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 542, fols. 1–230, saec. XVII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.125 (coll. 1262), fols. 35r–239v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.35 (coll. 1019), fols. 273–341, saec. XIV  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 63, fols. 12v–38r, ann. 1319  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 200, fols. 90r–97r, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>

### APOCALPYSIS ANDREAE SALI (IN VITA S. ANDREAE SALI)

- Vaticinium de futuris rebus Byzantinis (ex vita sancti Andreae Salo) (VASSILIEV 1893)
- Andreas Salos Apocalypse (RYDÉN 1974)
- No. 12, Andr Salo (BERGER 1976b)
- Apocalypsis S. Andreae Sali (PERTUSI 1988)
- Apocalypse d'André Salos (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- VAS: Vita des Andreas Salos (PETKOV 2016)
- BHG 115z–117k

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. IX/X (MURRAY 1910, 33) | c. ann. 910–920 (WORTLEY 1969, 208) | c. ann. 950–959 (RYDÉN 1978, 155; RYDÉN 1983, 586) | saec. VII<sup>EX</sup> (MANGO 1982, 309–310) | ante saec. X<sup>IN</sup> (ALEXANDER 1985, 123) | c. ann. 950–1000 (RYDÉN 1995, I, 41) | saec. X (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1001)

**MODERN EDITIONS (OF THE APOCALYPTIC SECTION):**

PATROLOGIA GRAECA 111/1863, cols.852C–873A (edition)  
 VASSILIEV 1893, 50–58 (partial edition from Vindobonensis hist.gr. 110)  
 POLYETOPOULOS 1912, 162–182 (edition from Sinaiticus gr. 543)  
 RYDÉN 1974, 201–214, 215–225 (critical edition with English translation)  
 SCHOINAS 1976 (edition from Athonensis Dionysiou 230 and 259)<sup>648</sup>  
 CESARETTI 1990, 236–247 (Italian translation of Rydén's critical edition)  
 RYDÉN 1995, II, 258–285 (critical edition with English translation)  
 HIERA MONĒ PARAKLĒTOU 2002, 199–216 (Modern Greek paraphrase based on the PG edition, SCHOINAS 1976 and POLYETOPOULOS 1912)  
 TRIVYZADAKĒS 2002, 177–190 (Modern Greek paraphrase of the PG edition)  
 GARIDIS/IXNER 2010, 201–218 (German translation based on HIERA MONĒ PARAKLĒTOU 2002)  
 CESARETTI 2014, 310–326 (Italian translation of RYDÉN 1995)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1002–1004 (partial French translation of RYDÉN 1974)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**<sup>649</sup>

Almyros, Archaiologiko Mouseio, cod. 26, saec. XVI  
 Andros, Monē Zōodochoi Pēgēs (= tēs Agias), cod. 50, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, BXM, cod. Loverdou 15 (BMX 19725), saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 355, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 432, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 523, saec. XI, XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 831, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1000, ann. 1313/14  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1014, fols. 93v–104r, saec. XI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1028, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1256, ann. 1790  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2419, fols. 124–138, ann. 1296  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, cod. 561, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 187 (Lambros 3721), ann. 1357/1358  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 230 (Lambros 3764), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 1011, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 1012, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 259 (Lambros 3793), ann. 1616  
 Athos, Monē Docheiariou, cod. 130 (Lambros 2804), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Docheiariou, cod. 132 (Lambros 2806), saec. XVII

<sup>648</sup> Unavailable to me.

<sup>649</sup> Adopted from RYDÉN 1974, 199–200 and RYDÉN 1995, 151–156 and supplemented with eleven additional manuscripts, of which nine had been identified by PAPAIOANNOU 2009, xxxix–xl. It is noteworthy that not all manuscripts contain the apocalyptic section of the *Vita*. The partial editions by MURRAY 1910, 85–106 (based primarily on Monacensis gr. 443) and by PAPAIOANNOU 2009, 49–170 (based on Patrensis 12) do not contain the apocalyptic section; nor does the partial English translation by WORTLEY 1974. When provided, the foliation indicates the *Apocalypsis Andreae Sali* within the manuscript.

Athos, Monē Esphigmenou, cod. 108 (Lambros 2121), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 31 (Lambros 578), saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 40 (Lambros 587), saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 135 (Lambros 5641), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 171 (Lambros 5678), saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 276 (Lambros 5783), ann. 1853  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 801 (Lambros 6308), ann. 1605–1613  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 572 (Lambros 6079), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 631 (Lambros 6138), ann. 1683  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 639 (Lambros 6146), saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 789 (Lambros 6296), saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 850 (Lambros 6357), saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 315 (Lambros 4435), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 603 (Lambros 4723), ann. 1594  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 730 (Lambros 4850), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 738 (Lambros 4858), ann. 1623  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 934 (Lambros 5054), ann. 1693  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 175 (Lambros 3248), ann. 1670  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 595 (Politēs 167), ann. 1888  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 655 (Politēs 104), ann. 1778  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 662 (Politēs 222), saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 692 (Politēs 114), ann. 1790  
 Athos, Monē Kōnstantonitou, cod. 15 (Lambros 451), ann. 1604  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Θ 14 (Eustratiadēs 876), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Θ 17 (Eustratiadēs 879), saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. I 108 (Eustratiadēs 1192), ann. 1670  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Λ 15 (Eustratiadēs 1505), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Λ 66 (Eustratiadēs 1556), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Λ 68 (Eustratiadēs 1558), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Ω 35 (Eustratiadēs 1845), ann. 1628  
 Athos, Monē Pantokratoros, cod. 286 (Politēs 396), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 85, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 96, ann. 1872  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 174, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 211, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 229, saec. XIII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 767, ann. 1823  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 406, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Xenophōntos, cod. 22 (Lambros 724), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Zōgraphou, cod. 10 (Lambros 336), ann. 1665  
 Athos, Skētē Hagias Annēs, cod. Kyriakou 85, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Skētē Hagiou Dēmētriou, cod. 36, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Skētē Kausokalyviōn, cod. 209, saec. XV  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 836, ann. 1799  
 Budapest, MTAK, cod. K 494 (Moravcsik 7), saec. XI<sup>EX</sup>–XII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Drama, Monē Kosinitsēs, cod. 279, ann. 1627  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. A.187, c. ann. 1600

Ellassona, Monē tēs Panagias Olympiōtissēs, cod. 126, ann. 1830  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. X-I-13 (Andrés 355), saec. XIV  
 Istanbul, PB, Monē Panagias Kamariōtissēs, cod. 130, ann. 1616  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 573, saec. XVII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 264, saec. XIII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 415, saec. XIV  
 Jerusalem, PB, Nea Syllogē, cod. 99, saec. XIX  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 160, ann. 1656  
 Kerkyra, Monē Hagiōn Theodōrōn, cod. 1, saec. XVIII  
 Larnaka, Mētopolis Kitiou, cod. 56, ann. 1865  
 Leiden, BRU, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca, cod. 73B, ann. 1616  
 London, BL, cod. Add. 25881, saec. XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. R 115 sup. (Martini/Bassi 723), fols.15v–16r, saec. XVI  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 340 (Vladimir 429), saec. XVII  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 443, flyleaves, saec. X  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 552, fols.152v–167v, saec. XIV  
 Mytilēnē, A' Lykeio (*olim* A' Gymasio Arrenōn Mytilēnēs), cod. 37, fols.127v–137v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Mytilēnē, Monē Leimōnos, cod. 89, saec. XVI  
 Mytilēnē, Monē Leimōnos, cod. 119, ann. 1591  
 Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, cod. Cent. V. App. 46, saec. XIV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Holkham gr. 26 (*olim* 92), fols.85–91, saec. XIV/XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Lincoln. gr. 1, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Lincoln. gr. 21, fols.149v–153v, ann. 1586  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1547, fols.236r–243v, ann. 1286  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1554A, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1631, saec. XIV, XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1771, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2494, saec. XV  
 Paros, Monē Christou tou dasous, ann. 1873  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 672, fols.168v–180r, ann. 1507  
 Patras, Monē Hagiōn Pantōn Patrōn, cod. 9, ann. 1821  
 Patras, Monē Hagiōn Pantōn Patrōn, cod. 12, saec. XVII  
 Roma, BA, cod. gr. 127 (*olim* C.5.26), saec. XV  
 Sankt-Peterburg, BAN, RAIK, cod. gr. 126, saec. XVI  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. gr. 570, ann. 1436  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. gr. 591, saec. XVI  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. gr. 692, saec. XIII  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 543, ann. 1630  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 1829, saec. XV  
 Thessalonikē, Monē Vlatadōn, cod. 44, ann. 1562  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 418, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1574, fols.147v–159r, saec. XI/XII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2010, fols.107r–116v, saec. XII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.39 (coll. 1386), ann. 1587  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.42 (coll. 448), saec. XVII

Venezia, BNM, cod. ital. XI.6 (coll. 7222), fols.103r–104r, ann. 1578  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 110, 6r–12r, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 123, fols.84–90, saec. XIV  
 Zagora, Dēmosia Istorikē Bibliothēkē, cod. 26, saec. XVIII  
 Zavorda, Monē Hagiou Nikanoros, cod. 104, ann. 1666  
 Zavorda, Monē Hagiou Nikanoros, cod. 152, saec. XVII<sup>EX</sup>/XVIII<sup>IN</sup>

## VISIO COSMAE MONACHI

- La version longue de la Vision du Moine Cosmas (ANGELIDI 1983)
- Vision of the monk Kosmas (KAZHDAN 2006)
- BHG 2084–2085 (recensio longior)
- BHG 2086 (recensio brevior)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** post ann. 963 (ANGELIDI 1983, 76; MAGDALINO 1999, 99; TIMOTIN 2010, 325)

### MODERN EDITION:

DELEHAYE 1902, 107–114 (edition of BHG 2086)  
 MANGO 1980, 152–153 (English paraphrase of Delehayes edition)  
 ANGELIDI 1983, 79–90, 90–99 (critical edition with French translation of BHG 2084–2085)

### MANUSCRIPTS:

#### RECENSIO LONGIOR (BHG 2084–2085)<sup>650</sup>

El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ω-III-14 (Andrés 574), fols.213v–216v, ann. 1285  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ω-IV-32 (Andrés 584), fols.140v–144v, ann. 1034  
 London, BL, cod. Add. 28270, fols.151v–159r, ann. 1111  
 Milano, BA, cod. M 83 sup. (Martini/Bassi 529), fols.320r–325r, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1203, fols.26r–37v, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1554A, fols.22v–30r, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1190, fols.1105v–1108v, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2014, fols.90v–94v, 95r–96r, saec. XIII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.101 (coll. 1360), fols.105r–110v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.346 (coll. 738), fols.111v–115r, ann. 992

#### RECENSIO BREVIOR (BHG 2086)

Andros, Monē Zōodochoy Pēgēs (= tēs Agias), cod. 65, fols.173v–182r, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1029, fols.51r–54v, saec. XII  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1032, ann. 1551  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1033, ann. 1602  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1034, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1037, saec. XV  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1038, saec. XV

<sup>650</sup> Adopted from ANGELIDI 1983, 77–78, with few emendations and one further textual witness.

Athēna, EBE, cod. 1049, pp.242–252, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2021, fols.20v–24v, ann. 1323  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 561, fols.32r–40r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 37, fols.37r–43v, saec. XIV<sup>1</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 66, fols.218v–225r, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Hagiotou Stephanou, cod. 139, fols.176r–178v, ann. 1806  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 31, fols.36r–38r, saec. XV  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 32, fols.41v–55v, saec. XV  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 264, fols.52r–54v, saec. XVI  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 205 (Vlad. 391), fols.257r–265r, saec. XV  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 303 (Vlad. 395), fols.164r–168r, saec. XVI/XVII  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 255, fols.75r–78v, ann. 1510–1520  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 267, pp.328–333, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 947, fols.283r–286v, ann. 1574  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1313, fols.44r–51r, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1578, pp.85–91, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1579, fols.46r–49r, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1582, fols.52r–56r, saec. XIV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1585, fols.171r–173r, ann. 1370  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 54, fols.44v–48r, saec. XV<sup>2</sup>  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 659, fols.345r–348v, ann. 1522  
 Trikkala, Monē Hagiotou Bēssariōnos (= Dousikou), cod. 50, fols.173v–176r, ann. 1574/1575  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.77 (coll. 998), fols.273r–274v, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>

## PROPHETIA LEONIS SAPIENTIS

— Une prophétie des environs de l'an 965 attribuée à Léon le Philosophe (MAGDALINO 2002)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 965 (MAGDALINO 2002, 401)

### MODERN EDITION:

MAGDALINO 2002, 394, 395 (edition with French translation)

### MANUSCRIPT:

Athos, Monē Karakallou, cod. 14 (Lambros 1527), fols.253r–254r, saec. XII

## VITA S. NIPHONIS (VISIONES CONTINENS)<sup>651</sup>

- The Life of St Niphon (RYDÉN 1990)
- The anonymous Vita of Niphon (KAZHDAN 2006)
- BHG 1371z

<sup>651</sup> Revelatory visions are contained in §§40, 82–95, 100–108, in RYSTENKO 1928, 26–28, 82–104, 109–117. The *recensio brevior* (BHG 1372, edited by RYSTENKO 1928, 187–215 and EUSTRATIADĒS 1936, 210–231) has been passed over here, as it comes down only in 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts (see KAZHDAN 2006, 200) and appears to be a post-byzantine redaction.

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII/IX (EUSTRATIADĒS 1936, 207) | saec. X<sup>2</sup>–XI<sup>1</sup> (RYDÉN 1986, 549) | saec. X<sup>EX</sup>–XI<sup>IN</sup> (RYDÉN 1990, 40; TIMOTIN 2010, 288; MARINIS 2017a, 194) | ann. 965–1037 (IVANOV 1999, 75) | saec. X<sup>EX</sup> (KAZHDAN 2006, 201)

**MODERN EDITION:**<sup>652</sup>

RYSTENKO 1928, 3–186 (recensio longior)

HIERA MONĒ PARAKLĒTOU 1980, 13–207 (Modern Greek paraphrase of Athonensis Dionysiou 198)

MARINIS 2017a, 203–227 (revision of §§82–95 of Rystenko’s edition with English translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Chilandariou, cod. 18 (Lambros 239), saec. XVIII

Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 198 (Lambros 3732), ann. 1334

Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 79 (Lambros 5585), fols. 1–162, saec. XII

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, cod. 8232–33, fols. 339r–482r, saec. XVII

El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-II-11 (Andrés 266), fols. 23v–105v, saec. XIV

El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ψ-I-5 (Andrés 425), fols. 1r–163r, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>

Istanbul, PB, Theologikē scholē, cod. 100, fols. 105r–162v, saec. XVI

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 132, fols. 220–448, saec. XV

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 492, pp. 45–72, saec. XVIII

Messina, BRU, cod. S.Salv. 60, fols. 2r–131v, saec. XII/XIII

Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 406 (Vladimir 401), fols. 1–177, ann. 1126

Oxford, BodL, cod. Cromwell 18, pp. 137–245, saec. XII<sup>EX</sup>

Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 301, fols. 3r–98r, saec. XIV

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1195, fols. 444r–544v, saec. XIV<sup>MED</sup>–XV<sup>MED</sup>

Thessalonikē, Monē Vlatadōn, cod. 54, fols. 1r–124r, saec. XIII

Vaticano, BAV, cod. gr. 1119, fols. 9r–149r, saec. XIII

Vaticano, BAV, cod. gr. 2086, fols. 1r–269v, saec. XII/XIII

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.91 (coll. 1260), fols. 30v–44v, saec. XV

**APOCALYPSIS ANASTASIAE**

— Anonymi byzantini De caelo et infernis epistula (RADERMACHER 1898)

— Apocalypsis Anastasiae (HOMBURG 1903a; 1903b)

— No. 11, Anastasia-Apk (BERGER 1976b)

— Visio Anastasiae (PERTUSI 1988)

— Apocalypse of Anastasia (BAUN 2007)

— ApcAnast: Anastasija-Apokalypse (PETKOV 2016)

— BHG 1868–1870b

<sup>652</sup> The fragment of the *Vita S. Niphonis* transcribed by DEISSMANN/MAAS 1933, 15, 17 and by MERCATI 1941, 82–83 has not been included here as it does not contain the apocalyptic visions.

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** breviter post ann. 976 (RADERMACHER 1898, 12; MAGDALINO 1999, 99) | saec. X<sup>EX</sup>–XI<sup>IN</sup> (HOMBURG 1903b, 459) | saec. XI/XII (BECK 1959, 653) | saec. IV (PERTUSI 1988, 18) | saec. X<sup>EX</sup>–XII (BAUN 2007, 17)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

VON TISCHENDORF 1866, xxix–xxx (partial edition from Parisinus gr. 1631)

RADERMACHER 1898, 14–25 (edition from Parisinus gr. 1631)

HOMBURG 1903a (critical edition)

MERCATI 1928 (emendation to Homburg's edition)

BAUN 2007, 401–414 and 415–424 (English translation of BHG 1869–1870b and BHG 1868)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 66, fols.285r–297v, saec. XVI

Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 97, fols.102r–117r, saec. XVI

Milano, BA, cod. A 56 sup. (Martini/Bassi 4), fols.178v–190v, ann. 1542

Oxford, BodL, cod. Selden Supra 9, fols.80r–87v, ann. 1340

Palermo, BCRS, cod. III.B.25, saec. XV/XVI

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1631, fols.1r–14r, saec. XIV, XVI

**VISIO ET MIRACULUM S. GEORGII**

— Eine apokalyptische Vision des hl. Georg (AUFHAUSER 1911–1912)

— Apocalypsis s. Georgii (AUFHAUSER 1913)

— BHG 691u–691w

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** yet to be determined

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

AUFHAUSER 1911–1912, 138–142 (edition from Parisinus gr. 1164)

AUFHAUSER 1913, 137–147 (critical edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, cod. gr. 62, fols.117v–121v, saec. XIV<sup>IN</sup>

Athēna, EBE, cod. 278, fols.268v–271r, saec. XIV

Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, cod. A.III.3, fols.295v–298r, saec. XVI

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 492, pp.72–77, saec. XVIII

Messina, BRU, cod. S.Salv. 29, fols.14v–15r, ann. 1307/1308

Milano, BA, cod. C 92 sup. (Martini/Bassi 192), fols.6r–8r, ann. XIV<sup>MED</sup>

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 401, fols.61r–65v, saec. XIV

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1164, fols.104v–108r, saec. XV/XVI

**ANTHIMI DE PROXIMO SAECULI FINE**

— Anthimi de proximo saeculi fine (MERCATI 1937)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** breviter ante ann. 1025 (BRANDES 2000, 462)

**MODERN EDITION:**

MERCATI 1937, 303–304, 300–301 (edition from Vaticanus gr. 341 with Italian translation)

PODSKALSKY 1972, 97, n.574 (emendation to Mercati's edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Karakallou, cod. 14 (Lambros 1527), fols.250v–251v, saec. XII

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1111, fol.55r–v, saec. XI

Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 341, fols.13v–14v, ann. 1029 (?)

**DIOPTRA PHILIPPI MONOTROPI (EXPOSITIONES DE FINE CONTINENS)<sup>653</sup>**

— Hē dioptra (LAVRIŌTĒS 1920)

— The Dioptra of Philip the Monk (JEFFREYS 1974; MAGDALINO 2008)

— Die Dioptra of Philippos Monotropos (LAMPSIDIS 2002; AFENTOULIDOU-LEITGEB 2007)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1105 (AUVRAY 1875, 14) | ann. 1096/1097 (BEZOBRAZOVA 1893, 30) | ann. 1095 et 1097 (GRUMEL 1951, 208; BECK 1959, 642; JEFFREYS 1974, 162; LAMPSIDIS 2002, 197; AFENTOULIDOU-LEITGEB 2007, 9) | saec. XI<sup>EX</sup> (HÖRANDNER 1985, 818) | c. ann. 1090 et 1096/1097 (HOFFMANN 2004, 203) | ann. 1095 (MARINIS 2017b, 38)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

AUVRAY 1875, 17–107 (critical edition of Book I based on Parisian manuscripts)

SHUCKBURGH 1894, 79–89, 134–147 (edition with English translation of Book I from Cantabrigiensis Emm. Coll. 59)

LAVRIŌTĒS 1920 (complete edition from Athonensis Lavras Ω 17)

MERCATI 1927 (emendations to Lavriōtēs' edition)

JEFFREYS 1974, 162–163 (English translation of some excerpts)

LAMPSIDIS 2002, 206–220 (partial edition from Atheniensis gr. 1217)

PROCHOROV/MIKLAS/ BIL'DJUG 2008, 331–504 (reproduction of Lavriōtēs' edition)

FUCHSBAUER 2010, 2–168 (critical edition with German translation of Book IV)

MIKLAS/FUCHSBAUER 2013, 328–392 (critical edition with German translation of the Programmata and Book I, based primarily on Oxoniensis Bodl. Clarke 1)

AFENTOULIDOU (forthcoming) (critical edition)

<sup>653</sup> The *Dioptra* contains an exposition of the Last Judgment in Book I (= Klauthmoi) (i.e., Book V in LAVRIŌTĒS 1920, 237–246) and a short treatise on the Antichrist in Book IV.6 (i.e., Book III.6 in LAVRIŌTĒS 1920, 142–154).

**MANUSCRIPTS.**<sup>654</sup>

- Athēna, EBE, cod. 550, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1217, fols. *148r–151r, 152r–157v*, saec. XIII<sup>1</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiiou Taphou, cod. 558, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 178 (Lambros 3712), saec. XVII  
 Athēna, Sinaitikon Metochion, cod. 6, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 232 (Lambros 3766), fols. *520r–528r*, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 249 (Lambros 3783), saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 274 (Lambros 3808), fols. *346v–347v*, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 282 (Lambros 3816), fol. *186r*, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Docheiariou, cod. 115 (Lambros 2789), saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 478 (Lambros 4598), fols. *95v–224*, saec. XIII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 479 (Lambros 4599), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 480 (Lambros 4600), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 1442, fols. *21r–28r*, saec. XVIII<sup>1</sup>  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Α 180 (Eustratiadēs 1671), saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Ω 17 (Eustratiadēs 1827), fols. *3r–203v*, saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Pantokratoros, cod. 94 (Lambros 1128), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Stavronikēta, cod. 73 (Lambros 938), saec. XIV  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 143 (Lambros 2476), saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 165, saec. XV  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 166, saec. XIV<sup>MED</sup>  
 Athos, Monē Zōgraphou, cod. 7 (Lambros 333), fols. *156v–160r*, saec. XIII  
 Athos, Skētē Hagias Annēs, cod. Kyriakou 59, fols. *1–213*, saec. XVIII  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. Phillipps 1591 (Studemund/Cohn 188), fols. *2v–11r*, saec. XV/XVI  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 140 (Litzica 607), fols. *2r–239r*, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, cod. 59 (I.3.6), fols. *1r–153v*, saec. XIV  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. X-IV-22 (Andrés 417), fols. *1–21*, saec. XIII  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Ω-III-3 (Andrés 536), saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 604, fols. *3r–126v*, ann. 1303/04  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 637, saec. XIII/XIV  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiiou Taphou, cod. 220, pp. *399–421*, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiiou Taphou, cod. 279, fols. *13r–21r*, saec. XVII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiiou Taphou, cod. 281, fols. *1r–163v*, ann. 1547  
 Leiden, BRU, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca, cod. 73B, fols. *502r–507r*, ann. 1616  
 Leiden, BRU, cod. Vulc. 64, fols. *48r–57r*, saec. XV  
 Madrid, BNE, cod. 4552 (Andrés 9), saec. XVI/XVII  
 Madrid, BNE, cod. 4769 (Andrés 217), fols. *1–155*, ann. 1563  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 489, fols. *65r–134v*, saec. XIII  
 Milano, BA, cod. B 6 sup. (Martini/Bassi 82), saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>–XIV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Modena, BE, cod. gr. α.T.9.3 (Puntoni 42), fols. *2v–117v*, saec. XIII, XV  
 Modena, BE, cod. gr. α.U.8.6 (Puntoni 159), fols. *2r–177r*, ann. 1560  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 148 (Vlad. 410), fols. *92r–154r*, saec. XV<sup>MED</sup>

<sup>654</sup> The post-byzantine paraphrase by Geōrgios Rhētōr, contained in Cantabrigiensis Trinity Coll. O.7.32 (James 1360), fols. *151v–174v*, saec. XVII, has not been included. On this paraphrase, see HÖRANDNER 1985, 819–821. I am thankful to Eirini Afentoulidou for having shared with me the manuscript list of her forthcoming critical edition.

Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 292 (Vlad. 260), ann. 1630  
 Moskva, GIM, cod. Sinod. gr. 405 (Vlad. 416), fols.270–281, 314–316, saec. XIII  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 509, saec. XV  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 522, saec. XV  
 Mytilēnē, Monē Leimōnos, cod. 71, ann. 1790  
 Mytilēnē, Monē Leimōnos, cod. 268, fols.14r–255v, ann. 1552  
 Napoli, BN, cod. II.B.25, fols.1r–141r, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 197, fols.229v–251r, ann. 1343  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Clarke 1, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. gr. theol. d.6, fols.2r–178v, saec. XIV<sup>1</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. Coisl. 341, fols.3r–213v, 391r, ann. 1318  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 390, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 929, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1009, fols.229r–240v, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2250, pp.237–241, saec. XVII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2327, fol.296r, ann. 1478  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2747, fols.Av–Dv, 1r–142r, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>/XIV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2748, fols.1r–146v, saec. XIV<sup>2</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2872, fols.1r–120r, saec. XIII  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2873, fols.5r–164v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2874, fols.1r–170v, saec. XII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 93, pp.1–267, saec. XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 128, fols.1r–161v, saec. XIII  
 Roma, BA, cod. gr. 28 (*olim* B.5.6), fols.203r–210r, saec. XIV<sup>2</sup>  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. 88 (Granstrem 430), saec. XII/XIII  
 Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, SGR, cod. 116 (Granstrem 522), fols.1–183, ann. 1318  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 431, fols.6v–72r, saec. XIV/XV  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 490, fols.1r–133v, saec. XI/XII  
 Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 532, fols.92r–94r, saec. XVII  
 Skiathos, Monē Evangelismou, cod. 10, ann. 1770  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.IV.35 (Pasini 199), saec. XIV  
 Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Mb 2 (K 16), fols.1r–286v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Mb 3 (K 15), fols.1r–148v, saec. XV<sup>2</sup>  
 Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Mb 37 (X.X.10), fols.67r–78r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 294, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 407, saec. XV<sup>MED</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 441, fols.47r–317v, ann. 1477  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 124, fols.104v–217r, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1119, saec. XIII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1129, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1893, fols.143r–286r, saec. XIV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.18 (coll. 1410), fols.222r–226v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 91, fols.221r–230v, saec. XIV<sup>2</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 47, fols.265r–272r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 167, fols.1r–69r, ann. 1280  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 193, fols.1r–174v, saec. XII/XIII  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 224, fols.1v–160v, saec. XIV

**PROPHETIA DE INSULA CYPRI**

- Peri tēs nēsou Kyprou tou autou Daniēl (KLOSTERMANN 1895a)
- A / Über die Insel Zypern von demselben Daniel (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- No. 44, Gr Daniel VI (BERGER 1976b)
- On the isle of Cyprus, of the same Daniel (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek “Vision of Daniel on the Isle of Cyprus” (DITOMMASO 2001)
- The Vision of Daniel on the Island of Cyprus (DITOMMASO 2005)
- BHG 2036f
- CAVT 259

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. IV<sup>2</sup> (SCHMOLDT 1972, 242; cf. DITOMMASO 2005, 96, 99) | c. ann. 1191 (PERTUSI 1988, 47)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

- GIDEL/LEGRAND 1874, 182, l.234–183, l.253 (partial edition from Parisinus gr. 929)  
 KLOSTERMANN 1895a, 122–123 (edition from Marcianus gr. VII.3)  
 TRAPP 1964, 97, ll.242–261 (partial edition from Viennese manuscripts)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 47 (partial edition from Oxoniensis Baroc. 145, Laud. 27 with Italian translation)  
 VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 100–103 (edition with French translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

- Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 31 (Lambros 578), fol.162r, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 217 (Lambros 3290), fol.183v, ann. 1623  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 686 (Lambros 4806), fols.17v–18r, saec. XVII  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. Da 53, fol.9r–v, saec. XVI  
 Leiden, BRU, cod. Vulc. 52, fol.3r, c. ann. 1320  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fol.270v, ann. 1622  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.72v, 85r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 170, fol.10r, ann. 1577  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.33v–34r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Palermo, BCRS, cod. I.E.8, fol.9, saec. XVI, XIX  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 929, pp.412–413, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 947, fol.11r, ann. 1574  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 467, fol.225r–v, saec. XVI  
 Private, cod. Bute, fol.9r, ann. 1575–1577  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 192, fol.85r–v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 436, fol.1r, ann. 1435  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1120, fol.423r–v, saec. XIV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.18v–19r, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fol.8v, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols.131r–133v, ann. 1590–1592  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 91, fol.207r, saec. XIV–XVI

**ANONYMI CHRONICON MUNDI**

— Chronik 4 (SCHREINER 1975–1979)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:**<sup>655</sup> saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup> (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1894, 651, 653) | c. ann. 1211 (SCHREINER 1975–1979, I, 53; SAVVIDES 1981, 106; SAVVIDES 1989, 36)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1894, 652–653 (partial transcription)  
 SCHREINER 1975–1979, I, 52–53, III, 18 (partial edition with German translation)  
 SAVVIDES 1981, 106 (partial English translation)  
 SAVVIDES 1989, 36 (partial English translation)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiau Saba, cod. 697, fols.115v–117r, saec. XIII

**ORACULA LEONIS SAPIENTIS**

- Tou sophōtatou basileōs Leontos chrēsmoi (LAMBECK 1655, 241)
- The Oracles of Leo the Wise (MANGO 1960; ALEXANDER 1985)
- Oracula Leonis (PERTUSI 1988; RIGO 1988; CONGOURDEAU 2007)
- The Oracles of the most wise Emperor Leo (BROKKAAR 2002)
- Oracles de Léon (CONGOURDEAU 2014)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1180 (#1–10) (BOUSSET 1899, 282) | s. XII<sup>IN</sup>–XIII<sup>MED</sup> (MANGO 1960, 65) | s. XII–XIII<sup>IN</sup> (VEREECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 41) | saec. IX (#1–6), saec. XIII (#7–10) (BROKKAAR 2002, 31–44) | saec. XII (BRANDES 2012, 124–125) | saec. XIII (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1010)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 90–120 (edition from an unspecified Missolonghi ms.)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 107/1863, cols.1129–1140 (reprint of LAMBECK 1655, 241–272)  
 VESELOVSKIJ 1875, 56–58 (partial reprint of LAMBECK 1655, 264–270)  
 BOUSSET 1899, 282–283 (partial reprint of the PG edition)  
 BEĒS 1936–1937, 228–240 (partial edition from Berolinensis gr. fol.62)  
 KNÖS 1960, 166–186 (edition from Stockholmiensis gr. Va 4a)  
 KOMINĒS 1960–1961, 406–411 (emendations to Knös' edition)  
 BOUBOULIDĒS 1971, 208–212 (partial transcription from Atheniensis, Mus.Loverdou 1)  
 MARKOPOULOS 1975, 41–44 (partial edition from Mancunensis, John Rylands 22)  
 VEREECKEN 1986, III.1, 3–21, 23–111 (critical edition with *lectiones variorum*)

<sup>655</sup> It should be noted that both attempts at dating this text are problematic. Papadopoulos-Kerameus' attempt fell victim to an arithmetical *lapsus* when equating the year 6700 AM with 1291/92 AD rather than with 1191/92 AD. Schreiner's attempt deviates from the manuscript: he emends the date 6700 (ζψ') to 6719 (ζψιθ') although there is no palaeographic support for this reading. His emendation appears to be based on the observation that the prophetic section relates details reminiscent of Theodore I Laskaris' (r. 1205–1221) campaign against the Seljuq Turks and his victory in the Battle of Antioch-on-the-Maeander in 1211 (or 1212).

VERECKEN 1986, III.2, 50–59 (Dutch translation)  
 RIGO 1988 (separate editions from Oxoniensis Baroc. 170, Marcianus gr. VII.3, VII.22)  
 KYRIAKOU 1988, 324–331 (reproduction of the PG edition)  
 KYRIAKOU 1995, 181–186 (reproduction of the PG edition)  
 VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 94–117 (partial edition with French translation)  
 BROKKAAR 2002, 56–89 (edition from Amstelodamensis gr. VI.E.8 with English translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1011–1012 (French translation of Oracle #X and XIII, based on the PG edition)

#### MANUSCRIPTS.<sup>656</sup>

Amsterdam, UB, cod. gr. VI.E.8, fols.1v–9r, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 432, fols.144–145, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1256, pp.1–24, ann. 1790  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1350, fols.3v–12v, saec. XIX  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, cod. 501, fols.361r–365v, ann. 1698  
 Athēna, Historikon Mouseion tou Neou Hellenismou, cod. 86, fols.2r–10r, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, Mouseio D. Loverdou, cod. 1, fols.2v–3r, 5r–8v, saec. XVIII [ms. lost]  
 Athēna, Mouseio D. Loverdou, cod. 2, II, pp.1–16, ann. 1848 [ms. lost]  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.37v–44v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), pp.518–525, saec. XVII  
 Basel, cod. privatim conservatus, post ann. 1578<sup>657</sup>  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62 (Studemund/Cohn 297), fols.6r–10v, saec. XVI  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 725 (Litzica 630), fols.170r–175v, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fols.71v–74r, saec. XVIII  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. M-II-1 (Andrés 612), saec. XV/XVI [ms. lost]  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. M-IV-16 (Andrés 643), saec. XV/XVI [ms. lost]  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), fols.15v–24r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiau Saba, cod. 128, fols.25r–26v, saec. XV–XVIII  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 121, fols.34r–36v, 40v–54r, ann. 1667  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 160, fols.130r, 264r, ann. 1656  
 Leiden, BRU, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca, cod. 74K, fols.18v–19v, saec. XVII  
 London, Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine, cod. gr. 413, fols.1v–8v, saec. XVIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fols.279v–284r, ann. 1622  
 Milano, BA, cod. R 115 sup. (Martini/Bassi 723), fols.4v–12r, saec. XVI  
 Moskva, GIM, Sobranie Uvarova, fol.1r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 154, fols.348r–354r, c. ann. 1550  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.50r–58r, 80v–92v, 244r–252v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 170, fols.5v–29r, ann. 1577  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. gr. 126, fols.260r–267v, 269r–272r, saec. XV–XVII  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. misc. 521, fols.3v–16v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.74v–82v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Palermo, BCRS, cod. I.E.8, fols.1r–8r, 11r–14r, saec. XVI, XIX

<sup>656</sup> Adopted from VERECKEN 1986, II, 7–144, 151–155 and VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 51, n.66, supplemented with seven further textual witnesses. I omit to include the manuscript from the Triantaphyllidēs collection, mentioned by KYRIAKOU 1988, 135–136 (= KYRIAKOU 1995, 77–78). I also omit the two Constantinopolitan manuscripts mentioned by VERECKEN 1985, II, 154–155, as their exact content and location are unknown; all we know about them is their titles provided in FOERSTER 1877, 24–25.

<sup>657</sup> See VERECKEN 1986, II, 26–30.

- Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols. *30r–38r*, *39r–45v*, ann. 1617  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 447, fols. *277v–278r*, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>  
 Private, cod. Bute, fols. *6r–16r*, ann. 1575–1577<sup>658</sup>  
 Roma, BV, cod. Allacci 137 (Martini 213), fasc. *22*, saec. XVII  
 Sofija, NCSVP, cod. D. gr. 353, fols. *97r–106r*, saec. XVII<sup>2</sup>  
 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, cod. gr. Va.4a, fols. *2r–9v*, saec. XVI  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fols. *26v–34r*, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fols. *2v–10v*, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 260, fols. *15v–16v*, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 322, fols. *7v–15v*, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fols. *12v–19v*, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1713, fols. *61r–68v*, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1902, fols. *122r–127v*, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2269, fols. *349r–364r*, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2645, fols. *142r–143r*, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.34 (coll. 1382), fols. *1r–v*, *3r–7v*, *13r–v*, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols. *5r–8v*, *11r–14r*, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.46 (coll. 1464), fols. *140v–145v*, saec. XVII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fols. *1r–8r*, *10v–22v*, *23v–38v*, *47v–49v*, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols. *89r–173r*, ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. XI.32 (coll. 1143), fols. *1r–v*, *4r–v*, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.578 (coll. 866), fol. *1r*, ann. 1346  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. ital. XI.6 (coll. 7222), fols. *69v–98v*, ann. 1578  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fols. *9r–14v*, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 91, fols. *197v–198r*, saec. XIV–XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fols. *102v–107v*, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols. *64r–76v*, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 21, fols. *30r–33r*, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

## PROPHECIA MAGNI CONSTANTINI DE CONSTANTINOPOLI

- Prorrēsis tou en hagiois Kōnstantinou tou Megalou peri tēs analōseōs tēs megalēs tōn poleōn (PERTUSI 1979; PERTUSI 1988)
- Prophecy of Constantine the Great (DITOMMASO 2005)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. XIII<sup>2</sup> (PERTUSI 1979, 36, 41, 45) | saec. XIII (PERTUSI 1988, 57–58)

### MODERN EDITIONS:

- PERTUSI 1979, 22–23 (edition from Oxoniensis Laud. 27)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 54–56 (edition)

<sup>658</sup> See KYRIAKOU 1995, 80–82 and VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 55–59.

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 160, fols.85v–89v, ann. 1656  
 Oxford, BodL, Laud. gr. 27, fols.26r–27v, 61r–63r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. it. XI.124 (coll. 6802), ann. 1503

**VISIO DANIELIS DE URBE, QUOMODO INCENDENDA ERAT**

- Ek tōn horaseōn tou hagiou prophētou Daniēl (ISTRIN 1897; PERTUSI 1979)
- Una frammentaria *Visio Danielis* (PERTUSI 1988, 51)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. XIII (PERTUSI 1979, 45; PERTUSI 1988, 51)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

ISTRIN 1897, I, 318 (edition)  
 PERTUSI 1979, 23–24 (edition from Oxoniensis Laud. 27)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 51–52 (partial Italian translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athēna, Mouseio D. Loverdou, cod. 1, fol.4v, saec. XVIII [ms. lost]  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fol.70r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.27v, 63r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 415, fol.122r–v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fol.22r, saec. XVI

**NARRATIO MENDICI REGIS**

- Anōnymou paraphrasis tōn tou basileōs Leontos chrēsmōn (LAMBECK 1655, 275)
- No. 104, App Or Leon (BERGER 1976b)
- Or(acula) Leonis (BERGER 1980)
- Cento of the True Emperor (ALEXANDER 1985; BRANDES 2013)
- The Tale of the True Emperor (BROKKAAR 2002)
- Centon de l’empereur pauvre (CONGOURDEAU 2014)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1204–1261 (VESELOVSKIJ 1875, 60–61) | saec. XIV/XV<sup>IN</sup> (MANGO 1960, 61; BRANDES 2013, 330) | saec. VIII (BERGER 1980, 1464) | saec. XII–XVI (ALEXANDER 1985, 135) | c. ann. 1200 (VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 31) | post ann. 1453 (BROKKAAR 2002, 30) | saec. XIV (CONGOURDEAU 2007, 83; CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1012) | ante saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup> (MESLER 2007, 374)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 133–138 (edition from an unspecified Missolonghi ms.)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 107/1863, cols.1141–1149 (reprint of LAMBECK 1655, 275–278)  
 BROKKAAR 2002, 90–101 (edition from Amstelodamensis gr. VI.E.8 with English translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1012–1017 (French translation of the PG edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

- Amsterdam, UB, cod. gr. VI.E.8, fols.10r–12v, saec. XVI  
 Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, cod. gr. 70, pp.435–439, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 432, fols.144–150, saec. XVI  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1271, ann. 1763  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2187, fols.31v–34v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, cod. 501, fols.366r–370r, ann. 1698  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 31 (Lambros 578), fols.168r–170v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.46r–51v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 686 (Lambros 4806), fol.21r–v, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 217 (Lambros 3290), fol.186r, ann. 1623  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62 (Studemund/Cohn 297), fols.10v–12r, saec. XVI  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 725 (Litzica 630), fols.175v–181r, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fols.74v–76r, saec. XVIII  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. Da 53, fols.1r–6r, saec. XVI  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), fols.24v–29v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 160, fol.263r–v, ann. 1656  
 København, KB, cod. GKS 2147 4°, fols.5v–10v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Leiden, BRU, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca, cod. 74K, fol.20r–v, saec. XVII  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fol.272r–v, ann. 1622  
 Milano, BA, cod. R 115 sup. (Martini/Bassi 723), fols.13r–15v, saec. XVI  
 Moskva, GIM, Sobranie Uvarova, fol.1v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.253r–256v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. misc. 521, fols.20r–27v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.2r–6v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols.16r–20v, 61r–65r, ann. 1617  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fols.34v–37r, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fols.13r–15v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fols.20r–23r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.34 (coll. 1382), fols.2r–v, 8r–12v, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.24r–29v, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.46 (coll. 1464), fols.137r–140v, saec. XVII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fols.42v–45r, 51r–54r, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols.152v–154r, ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. ital. XI.6 (coll. 7222), fols.100r–103r, ann. 1578  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fol.7v, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 91, fols.193r, 194v–197v, saec. XIV–XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fol.101v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.33r–37v, 42r–43r, saec. XVI

**ORACULUM PROPHETAE DANIELIS DE BYZANTIO**

- D / Orakel des Profeten Daniel über Byzanz (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- Oracolo del profeto Daniele (PERTUSI 1988, 53)
- The Oracle of the Prophet Daniel on Byzantium (MARTÍNEZ 1992; DiTOMMASO 2005)
- BHG 1875a

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VII–X/XI (DiTOMMASO 2005, 96)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

SCHMOLDT 1972, 243 (German translation from Vindobonensis suppl.gr. 172)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 53 (partial Italian translation from Vindobonensis suppl.gr. 172)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

København, KB, cod. GKS 2147 4°, fol.11v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.38v–39r, saec. XVI

**ULTIMA VISIO DANIELIS**

- Hē eschatē horasis tou Daniēl (VASSILIEV 1893)
- L’apocalypse grecque de Daniel (MACLER 1895)
- Horasis tou prophētou Daniēl (ISTRIN 1897)
- D II (Bousset 1899)
- No. 117,3 Ultima visio Danielis (STEGMÜLLER 1940)
- LVD / Letzte Vision Daniels (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- No. 39, Gr Daniel I (BERGER 1976b)
- Gr Daniel I (BERGER 1980)
- Last Daniel (ALEXANDER 1985)
- Vis. Dan. Gr. A; Vis. Dan. Gr. B (PERTUSI 1988)
- Apocalypse of the Prophet Daniel on the end of the world *or* The Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek “Last Vision of Daniel” (DiTOMMASO 2001)
- The Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel (DiTOMMASO 2005)
- Ultime vision de Daniel (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- 4 ApcDan: letzte Vision des Propheten Daniel (PETKOV 2016)
- BHG 1873, 1874, 1874c–d
- CAVT 255

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1204–1261 (BOUSSET 1899, 290) | saec. XIII<sup>IN</sup>–XIV<sup>1</sup> (SCHMOLDT 1972, 262) | saec. XIII (WORTLEY 1977, 9; MANGO 1980, 212–213; PERTUSI 1988, 112–115; BRANDES 2007, 253) | saec. VIII (BERGER 1980, 1462) | saec. X–XII (DiTOMMASO 2005, 97, 192) | ann. 1204–1215 (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1008) | ann. 1204/1205 (PETKOV 2016, 236, 388)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

- STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 45–51 (edition from an unspecified Missolonghi ms.)  
 VON TISCHENDORF 1866, xxx–xxxiii (critical edition from Parisinus gr. 947, 2180, Marcianus gr. II.125)  
 VASSILIEV 1893, 43–47 (edition from Vindobonensis phil.gr. 162)  
 BOUSSET 1899, 264–266 (partial reprint of Vassiliev's edition)  
 KLOSTERMANN 1895a, 115–120 (critical edition from four codices, including Marcianus gr. VII.38)  
 KLOSTERMANN 1895b (*lectiones variorum* from Vindobonensis iur.gr. 6)  
 MACLER 1895, 93–99 (French translation of Klostermann's edition)  
 ISTRIN 1897, II, 135–139, 140–142 (two separate editions)  
 SCHMOLDT 1972, 122–145 (critical edition with German translation)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 49–50 (partial Italian translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1008–1010 (partial French translation of Vassiliev's edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

- Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, cod. gr. 27, fols.89v–93r, saec. XVIII<sup>2</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 472, fols.229v–232r, saec. XVIII  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 207 (Lambros 4327), fols.191v–196v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 686 (Lambros 4806), fols.14r–17v, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 217 (Lambros 3290), fols.181v–183v, ann. 1623  
 Athos, Monē Megistēs Lavras, cod. Z 58 (2047), fols.125r–132r, ann. 1880  
 London, BL, cod. Add. 25881, fols.238v–243, saec. XVI  
 London, BL, cod. Harley 5632, fols.494r–496v, ann. 1574  
 London, BL, cod. Harley 5734, fols.42r–45v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fols.267r–270r, ann. 1622  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 67, fols.50v–54v, saec. XVI  
 Meteōra, Monē Metamorphōseōs, cod. 498, fols.134v–137v, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.61v–63r, 96v–97v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Holkham gr. 26 (*olim* 92), fols.237v–239v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 947, fols.199v–201r, ann. 1574  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2180, fol.104r–v, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 467, fols.223r–225r, saec. XVI  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 529, fols.560r–562v, saec. XIX<sup>IN</sup>  
 Roma, BV, cod. F 68 (Martini 103), fols.207v–209v, saec. XIV–XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 415, fols.122v–124v, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 418, fols.298r–300v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 363, fols.47r–49r, saec. XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 695, fols.261r–262r, saec. XIV/XV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1700, fols.100r–104v, ann. 1332/1333  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.125 (coll. 1262), fols.6r–10r, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. III.12 (coll. 1267), fols.484r–487v, ann. 1467  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.38 (coll. 1385), fols.350v–352r, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 110, fols.1r–3v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. iur. gr. 6, fols.201v–202v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 162, fols.163v–167r, saec. XV<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 101, fols.132v–135v, saec. XVII  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.19v–24r, saec. XVI  
 Wolfenbüttel, HAB, cod. Gudianus gr. 99, fols.16r–20r, saec. XVII

**AENIGMATA LEONIS**

- Les oracles de Léon le Sage: Ainigma lexeōn Leontos tou sophōtatou (GIDEL/LEGRAND 1874)
- Vulgärorakel (TRAPP 1964)
- No. 103, Or Leon (BERGER 1976b)
- Leonis Sapientis Aenigmata (PERTUSI 1988)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. XIII (GIDEL/LEGRAND 1874; MANGO 1960, 59, 67)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 138–142 (partial edition from an unspecified Missolonghi ms.)  
 GIDEL/LEGRAND 1874, 173–192 (edition from Parisinus gr. 929 and collated with 426, 970)  
 LAMBROS 1925, 117–122 (edition from Taurinensis B.V.27)  
 BEĒS 1936–1937, 223–228 (partial edition from Berolinensis gr. fol.62)  
 TRAPP 1964, 85–111 (critical edition from Viennese manuscripts)  
 MIONI 1984, 305–307 (partial critical edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS.**<sup>659</sup>

Athēna, EBE, cod. 2187, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Athos, Monē Grēgoriou, cod. 31 (Lambros 578), fols.160r–165r, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.24v–33r, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), pp.511–517, saec. XVII  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62, (Studemund/Cohn 297), fols.2v–4v, 5v–6r, 13v, saec. XVI  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 121, fols.29v–31r, 47v–48r, ann. 1667  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 160, ann. 1656  
 Kephallonia, Monē Hagiou Gerasimou, cod. 3, fol.196r–v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 København, KB, cod. GKS 2147 4°, fols.10v–11r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 London, BL, cod. Harley 5734, fol.57r, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fols.273v–274r, 277v–278r, ann. 1622  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 154, fols.345v–347r, c. ann. 1550  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 426, fols.121r–122v, ann. 1488  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 929, pp.403–419, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 970, fols.211v–212v, saec. XV  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, ann. 1617  
 Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 447, fols.278v–279v, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>  
 Private, cod. Bute, ann. 1575–1577  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fols.21v–26v, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fols.1v–2v, 12r–v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 260, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 695, fols.258r–261r, saec. XIV/XV

<sup>659</sup> The *Aenigmata Leonis* comprise a variety of short oracles attributed, most commonly but not exclusively, to Leo the Wise. References to the foliation are merely indicative and by no means exhaustive, given the great complexity of the transmission of the various oracles.

Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fols.5r–8r, 10v–12r, 25r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.14v–20v, 22r–23v, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.38 (coll. 1385), fols.180r–182v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.408 (coll. 672), fols.150v–151v, saec. XIV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. ital. XI.6 (coll. 7222), fols.145r–164v, ann. 1578  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fols.4v–6r, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 91, fols.198r–199r, 206r–208v, saec. XIV–XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 110, fols.5r–6r, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fols.98r–v, 102r, 105r–v, 107v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 241, fols.136r–137r, ann. 1445/1446  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.25v–27v, 37v–38r, 77v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 21, fols.27v–29v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

### CARMEN DE RESTITUTIONE CONSTANTINOPOLIS

- Tou sophōtatou basileōs Leontos chrēsmos peri anastaseōs tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs (LAMBECK 1655, 279)
- No. 105, Or Leon Rest Const (BERGER 1976b)
- Oraculum de restitutione Constantinopoleos (PERTUSI 1979; PERTUSI 1988)
- Carmen de restitutione Constantinopolis (MIONI 1984)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1204/1205 (PERTUSI 1979, 43) | saec. XIII<sup>2</sup> (MIONI 1984, 299) | ann. 1205–1220 (PERTUSI 1988, 52) | ann. 1261–1292 (VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 191–192; BRANDES 2008, 172–173)

### MODERN EDITIONS:

STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 121–122, 122–132 (edition from a Missolonghi ms. with explanatory remarks)  
 PICCOLOS 1853, 225 (edition from Laurentianus 57.17)  
 ELLISSEN 1857, 96 (edition with German translation)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 107/1863, col.1149 (reprint of LAMBECK 1655, 279)  
 COUGNY 1890, 513–514 (edition based on GALLE 1689, 60–61 and PICCOLOS 1853)  
 BEĒS 1936–1937, 244β' (edition from Berolinensis gr. fol. 62)  
 PERTUSI 1979, 24–25 (edition from Oxoniensis Laud. 27)  
 MIONI 1984, 302–303 (critical edition)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 52 (partial Italian translation)  
 KYRIAKOU 1988, 332 (reproduction of PERTUSI 1979, 24–25)  
 KYRIAKOU 1995, 187 (reproduction of PERTUSI 1979, 24–25)  
 VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 124–125 (edition with French translation)  
 SCODELLARO 2013, 67–68 (edition with Italian translation)

### MANUSCRIPTS:

Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, cod. gr. 76, fols.46r–51r, saec. XIX<sup>IN</sup>  
 Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, cod. gr. 84, fol.16r, saec. XVIII  
 Athēna, EBE, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou, cod. 501, fol.370v, ann. 1698

Athēna, Mouseio D. Loverdou, cod. 1, fol.3r, saec. XVIII [ms. lost]  
 Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmōnos, cod. 639 (Lambros 6146), saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fol.33v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 207 (Lambros 4327), fol.190r-v, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 754, fol.181v, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), p.517, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 429, fols.85r-88v, saec. XVIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. A.VII.1 (Omont 34), fol.428v, saec. XIV  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62 (Studemund/Cohn 297), fols.13v-14r, saec. XVI  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 560 (Litzica 758), p.109, saec. XIX  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 725 (Litzica 630), fol.181r-v, saec. XVII/XVIII  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1095, fol.64v, saec. XVIII  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fol.76r-v, saec. XVIII  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1231, fols.24-27, saec. XIX  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. Da 53, fol.1r, saec. XVI  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), fols.31v-32r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Firenze, BML, cod. Plut. 57.17, fol.89, saec. XVI  
 Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, cod. 100 (*olim* K.I.13), fol.154v, saec. XVI  
 London, Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine, cod. 413, fol.1r, saec. XVIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 121, fol.32v, ann. 1667  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiotou Taphou, cod. 160, fol.268v, ann. 1656  
 København, KB, cod. GKS 2147 4°, fol.1r-v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Madrid, BNE, cod. 4617 (Andrés 74), fol.99v, ann. 1333  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fol.279r-v, ann. 1622  
 Meteōra, Monē Varlaam, cod. 204, fol.178r-v, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 88, fol.1r, saec. XV  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.68v, 92r, 258v-259r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 170, fol.23r, ann. 1577  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Cromwell 10, p.474, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.27v-28r, 63v, 134r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 426, fols.163v-164r, ann. 1488  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols.27v-28r, ann. 1617  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 681, fol.9v, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 1202, fol.41r, saec. XVI  
 Private, cod. Bute, fol.22r, ann. 1575-1577  
 Sofija, NCSVP, cod. D. gr. 156, fol.249r, saec. XV  
 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, cod. gr. Va.4a, fol.9v, saec. XVI  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fol.38v, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fol.12r-v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Reg. gr. 71, fol.71v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 97, fol.137v, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 228, fol.152, saec. XIV  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fols.25v-26r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 2269, fol.357r, XVII/XVIII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.30 (coll. 1406), fol.44, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.21r-22r, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fols.5r, 23r, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fol. 86v, ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. XI.32 (coll. 1143), fol. 3v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.130 (coll. 665), fol. Vr, saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.189 (coll. 704), fol. 292v, saec. XIV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.292 (coll. 914), fol. 327r, ann. 1306  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fol. 7r, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 128, fol. 1r, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. iur. gr. 6, fol. 202v, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fol. 99r–v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 32, fol. 397v, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols. 24v–25r, saec. XVI

### ORACULA THEOPHILI PRESBYTERI ROMANI

- Heteros chrēsmos Theophilou presbyterou Rhōmaiōn (ISTRIN 1897, I, 319)
- Oracula Theophili presbyteri romani (PERTUSI 1988)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VIII<sup>MED</sup> (ISTRIN 1897, I, 320)

#### MODERN EDITIONS:

ISTRIN 1897, I, 319–320 (edition from Monacensis gr. 154)

#### MANUSCRIPTS:

München, BSB, cod. gr. 154, fols. 343v–344v, c. ann. 1550  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fol. 46r–v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols. 69v–70r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols. 8v–9v, 54v–55v, ann. 1617  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 260, fols. 12r–13r, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fol. 8v, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fol. 28r–v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 21, fols. 26v–27v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

### LEONIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANI DE FINE MUNDI HOMILIA

- E / Visionen Daniels (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- Leonis Constantinopolitani de fine mundi homilia (MAISANO 1975)
- Leonis Const. de fine mundi homilia (PERTUSI 1988)
- Visions of Daniel (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- The Word of Daniel on the End of the World (DITOMMASO 2005)
- Apocalypse apocryphe de Léon de Constaninople (CONGOURDEAU 2014)
- BHG 1871a

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. IX<sup>IN</sup> (SCHMOLDT 1972, 244; DiTOMMASO 2005, 96, 145) | saec. IX et saec. XII (MAISANO 1975, 20) | saec. XII (KAZHDAN 1977) | ann. 809–813 (CONGOURDEAU 2014, 996)

**MODERN EDITION:**

MAISANO 1975, 65–116 (critical edition), 149–167 (Italian translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 996–997 (French translation of an excerpt of Maisano's edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Andros, Monē Zōodochoū Pēgēs (= tēs Agias), cod. 9, fols. 117v–132v, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 2187, fols. 236r–238r, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 București, BAR, cod. gr. 1181, fols. 96v–98r, saec. XVIII  
 Cambridge, TCL, cod. O.8.33 (James 1408), fols. 71r–80v, saec. XVI  
 Jerusalem, PB, Hagiau Saba, cod. 128, fols. 29v–34v, saec. XV–XVIII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1865, fols. 25r–42v, saec. XIV  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. II.101 (coll. 1360), fols. 4v–20v, saec. XV/XVI

**PRAEDICTIO ANDRITZOPOULI DE ROMANORUM IMPERIO ET ANTICHRISTO**

- Vaticinia de Romanorum imperio et Antichristo (OMONT 1888, 21)
- La profezia di Cosma Andritzopoulos (RIGO 2002)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1276–1278 (RIGO 2002, 199) | ann. 1271–1282 (KAPŌNĒS 2002–2003, 132) | c. ann. 1300 (MAGDALINO 2008, 132)

**MODERN EDITION:**

LAMBROS 1906, 475–476 (edition)  
 RIGO 2002, 200–201 (edition with Italian translation)  
 KAPŌNĒS 2002–2003, 140 (edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 2661, fols. 208r–209r, ann. 1366

**VISIONES DANIELIS ET ALIORUM SANCTORUM HOMINUM**

- C / Aus den Visionen Daniels und von verschiedenen heiligen Männern (SCHMOLD 1972)
- Parekbolaion syn Theō hagiō ek tōn horaseōn tou hagiou prophētou Daniēl (PERTUSI 1988)
- The Visions of Daniel and Other Holy Men (MARTÍNEZ 1992; DiTOMMASO 2005)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. XIII<sup>EX</sup>–XIV<sup>2</sup> (PERTUSI, 1988, 169) | saec. VII–X/XI (DiTOMMASO 2005, 96)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

ISTRIN 1897, I, 318–319 (partial edition)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 172–201 (critical edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.70r–79r, saec. XV/XVI

Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.28r–49v, 63v–68v, saec. XV/XVI

**PROCLAMATIO PROPHETAE DANIELIS**

— Kēryxis tou prophētou Daniēl kai horasis peri tōn chrēsmōn mellontos kairou tōn hepta aiōnōn (LAMBROS 1925)

— The Proclamation of the Prophet Daniel (DiTommaso 2005)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** saec. VII–X/XI (DiTommaso 2005, 96)

**MODERN EDITION:**

LAMBROS 1925, 100–107 and 110, ll.3–5 (edition)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.34r–35v, saec. XVI

**VISIO DANIELIS DE FLAVIS GENTIBUS**

— B / Vision des Profeten Daniel (SCHMOLD 1972)

— The Vision of Daniel on the Blond Race (DiTommaso 2005)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 400 (SCHMOLDT 1972, 243) | saec. V vel posterior (DiTommaso 2005, 96)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

ISTRIN 1897, I, 321 (partial edition from Monacensis gr.154)

LAMBROS 1925, 117 (edition from Taurinensis B.V.27)

BEËS 1936–1937, 222–223 (partial edition from Berolinensis gr. fol.62)

PERTUSI 1988, 52 (partial Italian translation)

VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 92–95 (edition with French translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 220 (Lambros 3293), fol.201v, saec. XV–XVII

Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 174, pp.449–450, saec. XVIII

Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 754, fol.181v, saec. XVII

Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), p.526, saec. XVII

Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62 (Studemund/Cohn 297), fol.2r, saec. XVI

El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), fols.2v–3r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 128, fols.26v–27r, saec. XV–XVIII

Jerusalem, PB, Timiou Stavrou, cod. 102, fol.275r, ann. 1574/75

München, BSB, cod. gr. 154, fol.345r–v, c. ann. 1550

Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fol.47r, saec. XV/XVI

Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fol.70r–v, saec. XV/XVI

Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fol.26r, ann. 1617  
 Private, cod. Bute, fol.5r, ann. 1575–1577  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fol.21r, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fols.11v–12r, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 260, fol.13r, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fol.3v, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fols.3v–4v, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 21, fols.27v–28r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

## VATICINIUM IN MOENIA ISTHMI CORINTHI

— Chrēsmos tou Hexamiliou (LAMBROS 1905)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1446–1449 (LAMBROS 1905, 476; LAMBROS 1907, 20) | ann. 1423–1446 (BODNAR 1960, 167)

### MODERN EDITIONS:

LAMBROS 1905, 475–476 (critical edition)  
 LAMBROS 1907, 20–21 (*lectiones variorum* from Marcianus gr. VII.22)  
 BODNAR 1960, 166–167 (slightly emended version of Lambros' edition with English translation)  
 BODNAR 1960, 169–170 (edition of two versions from Mutinensis lat. 413)

### MANUSCRIPTS:

Firenze, BML, cod. Plut. 74.3, fols.191v–192r, saec. XV  
 Napoli, Biblioteca dei Girolamini, cod. XXII.1, fol.2r, saec. XV  
 Napoli, BN, cod. III.B.1, fol.333r, saec. XV  
 Milano, BA, cod. H 57 sup. (Martini/Bassi 437), fol.162v, saec. XV<sup>IN</sup>  
 Modena, BE, cod. lat. 413 (α.H.5.14), fols.128r–v, 138v–139r, ann. 1503  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 880, fol.337r, saec. XV<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fols.205v–206r, ann. 1590–1592  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.333 (coll. 644), fol.142v, saec. XV<sup>MED</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. phil. gr. 241, fol.137v, ann. 1445/1446

## DE EXPUGNATIONE CONSTANTINOPOLIS AB ISMAELITIS

— Themation peri tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs kai peri tēs halōseōs autēs hypo tōn Ismaēlitōn (ISTRIN 1897)  
 — No. 167, Themation (BERGER 1976b)  
 — BHG 2036e

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1453 (ISTRIN 1897, 317) | breviter ante ann. 1453 (BOUSSET 1899, 289)

**MODERN EDITION:**

ISTRIN 1897, II, 151–155 (edition from Parisinus gr. 1295 collated with Patmiacus gr. 529)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Hagiou Panteleēmonos, cod. 455 (Lambros 5962), fols. 67r–69v, saec. XIX

Jerusalem, PB, Hagiou Saba, cod. 151, fols. 443r–447v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>

Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 415, fols. 70–93, ann. 1626

Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 1295, fols. 301v–303r, saec. XV/XVI

Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou, cod. 529, fols. 471v–472v, 559v–560r, saec. XIX<sup>IN</sup>

Patras, Monē Omplou, cod. 14, fols. 6r–9v, ann. 1758

Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, cod. gr. 659, fols. 318r–321v, ann. 1522

**ORACULUM SIBYLLINUM DE BYZANTIO**

— Oracolo Sibillino su Bisanzio (SCODELLARO 2013)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1453 (SCODELLARO 2013, 5, 72)

**MODERN EDITION:**

LAMBROS 1914 (edition)

LAMBROS 1925, 100 (edition)

SCODELLARO 2013, 73 (edition), 73–74 (Italian translation)

**MANUSCRIPT:**

Napoli, Biblioteca dei Girolamini, cod. XXII.1, fol. 2v, saec. XV

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. Z.333 (coll. 644), fol. 143r, saec. XV<sup>MED</sup>

**VATICINIUM GREGORII NAZIANZENI DE PELOPONNESO**

— Chrēsmos, Grēgoriou tou Theologou (LAMBROS 1907)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** breviter post ann. 1453 (LAMBROS 1907, 21)

**MODERN EDITION:**

LAMBROS 1907, 21–22 (edition from Marcianus gr. VII.22)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 151, fols. 9v–10r, saec. XVI

Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fol. 205r–v, ann. 1590–1592

**INTERPRETATIO LITTERARUM GENNADII SCHOLARII**

- Literae quae descriptae erant in sepulcro Magni Constantini, earumque explicatio (BANDURI 1711)
- Oracular interpretation attributed to Gennadius Scholarius (TURNER 1968)
- Oracula attribuiti a Leone il Saggio (PERTUSI 1988, 59)
- Pseudo-Gennadios Scholarios, Inscription du tombeau de Constantin le Grand (CONGOURDEAU 2014)

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** ann. 1463/1464 (TURNER 1968, 44; CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1020) | c. ann. 1463 (PERTUSI 1988, 60)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

STEPHANITZĒS 1838, 52–54 (edition from an unspecified Missolonghi ms.)  
 PATROLOGIA GRAECA 160/1866, cols.771–772 (edition)  
 VASSILIEV 1893, xxiii (reprint of BANDURI 1711, 184–185)  
 BICK 1914, 333 (parial edition from Vindobonensis hist. gr. 80)  
 LAMBROS 1925, 116–117 (edition from Taurinensis B.V.27)  
 BEĒS 1936–1937, 221 (partial transcription from Berolinensis gr. fol.62)  
 TURNER 1968, 41–42 (English translation)  
 SKLAVENITĒS 1978–1979, 46–47 (edition from Marcianus Misc. 167.33)  
 KARIOTOGLOU 1980, 168–169 (German translation)  
 PERTUSI 1988, 60 (Italian translation)  
 VERECKEN/HADERMANN-MISGUICH 2000, 134–137 (edition with French translation)  
 CONGOURDEAU 2014, 1021 (French translation of the PG edition)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athēna, EBE, cod. 1256, pp.273–276, ann. 1790  
 Athēna, EBE, cod. 1350, fols.14v–15r, saec. XIX  
 Athos, Monē Dionysiou, cod. 397 (Lambros 3931), saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.23v–24r, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 686 (Lambros 4806), fols.13r–14r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 217 (Lambros 3290), fol.181r–v, ann. 1623  
 Athos, Monē Koutloumousiou, cod. 220 (Lambros 3293), fols.141v–142v, saec. XV–XVII  
 Athos, Monē Vatopediou, cod. 754, fol.181r, saec. XVII  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), pp.509–510, saec. XVII  
 Berlin, SBB, cod. gr. fol.62 (Studemund/Cohn 297), fol.1v, saec. XVI  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. M-II-1 (Andrés 612), fols.1–3, saec. XV/XVI [ms. lost]  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. M-IV-16 (Andrés 643), fols.1–3, saec. XV/XVI [ms. lost]  
 El Escorial, RB, cod. gr. Y-I-16 (Andrés 255), fols.1r–2r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Jerusalem, PB, Panagiou Taphou, cod. 160, fols.168r–179r, ann. 1656  
 Jerusalem, PB, Timiou Stavrou, cod. 102, fols.274v–275r, ann. 1574/75  
 København, KB, cod. GKS 2147 4°, fols.2r–3v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Leiden, BRU, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca, cod. 74K, fol.22r, saec. XVII  
 Leiden, BRU, cod. Scaligeri gr. 60A, fols.111–112, saec. XVI  
 London, BL, cod. Harley 5734, fols.60v–61v, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. gr. 22, fols.266v–267r, 285v–286r, ann. 1622

Meteōra, Monē Hagiou Stephanou, cod. 85, fol.152r-v, ann. 1579  
 Meteōra, Monē Varlaam, cod. 204, fols.177r-178r, saec. XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. G 50 sup. (Martini/Bassi 395), fol.254, saec. XV/XVI  
 Milano, BA, cod. P 270 sup. (Martini/Bassi 655), fols.96-98, saec. XV/XVI  
 München, BSB, cod. gr. 154, fols.342r-343v, c. ann. 1550  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.46r, 59v-60r, 93r-94r, 234r-v, 236r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 170, fols.29v-30v, ann. 1577  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Canon. misc. 521, fols.1r-2v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fol.69r, saec. XV/XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. gr. 938, fol.100r-v, saec. XVI  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 78, fols.3r-4r, ann. 1714  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols.2r-3r, 50r-v, ann. 1617  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 467, fols.222v-223r, saec. XVI  
 Private, cod. Bute, fol.29r-v, ann. 1575-1577  
 Strasbourg, BNU, cod. 1.896 (*olim* gr. 2), fol.231r-v, saec. XVI<sup>IN</sup>  
 Torino, BNU, cod. B.V.27 (Pasini 168), fols.20r-21r, saec. XVI [ms. destroyed]  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barb. gr. 233, fol.1r-v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Ottob. gr. 260, fols.10r-11v, saec. XVI/XVII  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Pal. gr. 322, saec. XVI  
 Vaticano, BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1188, fols.2r-3r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>  
 Venezia, BMC, cod. Correr 1048, fols.152r-153v, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Venezia, BMC, cod. Correr 1052, fols.77r, 90r, saec. XVI<sup>2</sup>  
 Venezia, BMC, cod. Cicogna 2306, fols.57r-58v, saec. XVII<sup>2</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.30 (coll. 1406), fols.45-46, saec. XVI<sup>EX</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.38 (coll. 1365), fols.29v-30r, saec. XVI  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. IV.46 (coll. 1464), fols.134v-135r, saec. XVII  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fols.40r-41r, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. Misc. 167.33, saec. XVIII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. hist. gr. 80, fols.1r-3r, saec. XVI<sup>1</sup>  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. med. gr. 23, fols.96r-97v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. suppl. gr. 172, fols.29r-30v, saec. XVI  
 Wien, ÖNB, cod. theol. gr. 21, fols.25r-26r, saec. XVI<sup>MED</sup>

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- Daniēl monachou peri tēs Heptalophou kai peri tas nēsous ti estai to mellon autōn (ISTRIN 1897)
- MD / Vom Mönch Daniel über die Siebenhügelige (SCHMOLDT 1972)
- No. 40, Gr Daniel II; No. 43, Gr Daniel V (BERGER 1976b)
- Gr Daniel II (BERGER 1980)
- Vis. Dan. Gr. C; Vaticinium Danielis monachi (PERTUSI 1988)
- The monk Daniel on the ‘Seven Hills’ and on the islands and their future (MARTÍNEZ 1992)
- Greek “Vision of the Monk Daniel on the ‘Seven Hills’” (DITOMMASO 2001)
- The Vision of Daniel on the Future of the Seven-Hilled City (DITOMMASO 2005)
- BHG 1875
- CAVT 256

**DATE OF COMPOSITION:** c. ann. 1571 (LAOURDAS 1951, 240) | saec. VIII (BERGER 1980, 1462) | saec. VIII/IX (DITOMMASO 2005, 96, 130) | c. ann. 1472 (BRANDES 2005, 461)

**MODERN EDITIONS:**

KLOSTERMANN 1895a, 121 (edition from Marcianus gr. VII.3)  
 ISTRIN 1897, II, 143–144 (edition from Oxoniensis Baroc. gr. 145, fols.47v–49r)  
 LAOURDAS 1951, 237–238, 239 (partial edition from Oxoniensis Baroc. gr. 145, Panormitanus gr. I.E.8)  
 SCHMOLDT 1972, 190–199 (collation of Istrin’s and Klostermann’s editions with German translation)

**MANUSCRIPTS:**

Athos, Monē Ivērōn, cod. 181 (Lambros 4301), fols.60r–63r, saec. XVI  
 Athos, Monē Xēropotamou, cod. 248 (Lambros 2581), pp.532–535, saec. XVII  
 Dresden, SLUB, cod. Da 53, fols.6r–9r, saec. XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Barocci 145, fols.47v–49r, 94v–95v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Oxford, BodL, cod. Laud. gr. 27, fols.71v–73v, saec. XV/XVI  
 Palermo, BCRS, cod. I.E.8, fol.8v, saec. XVI, XIX  
 Paris, BNF, cod. suppl. gr. 82, fols.9v–12v, 55v–57v, ann. 1617  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.3 (coll. 546), fol.8v, saec. XVI/XVII<sup>IN</sup>  
 Venezia, BNM, cod. gr. VII.22 (coll. 1466), fol.87r–v, ann. 1590–1592

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## APPENDIX: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

In what follows, I present a tentative analysis of the surveyed manuscript material. At most, this analysis is a rough approximation given the numerous limitations of this survey, which have been pointed out in the introduction.<sup>660</sup> The following graphs are meant to be merely indicative.

This inventory has surveyed 1025 textual witnesses of altogether 50 Medieval Greek apocalyptic texts. Two-thirds of the texts consist of political prophecies (historical apocalypses), which relate the envisioned course of events prior to the Last Judgment.<sup>661</sup> The remainder comprises celestial journeys (moral apocalypses),<sup>662</sup> end-time calculations, and miscellaneous statements concerning the approaching *eschaton*.

	non-historico-political apocalyptic texts <sup>663</sup>	historico-political apocalyptic texts
Number of texts	17	33
Textual witnesses	373	652
Number of manuscripts	338	381

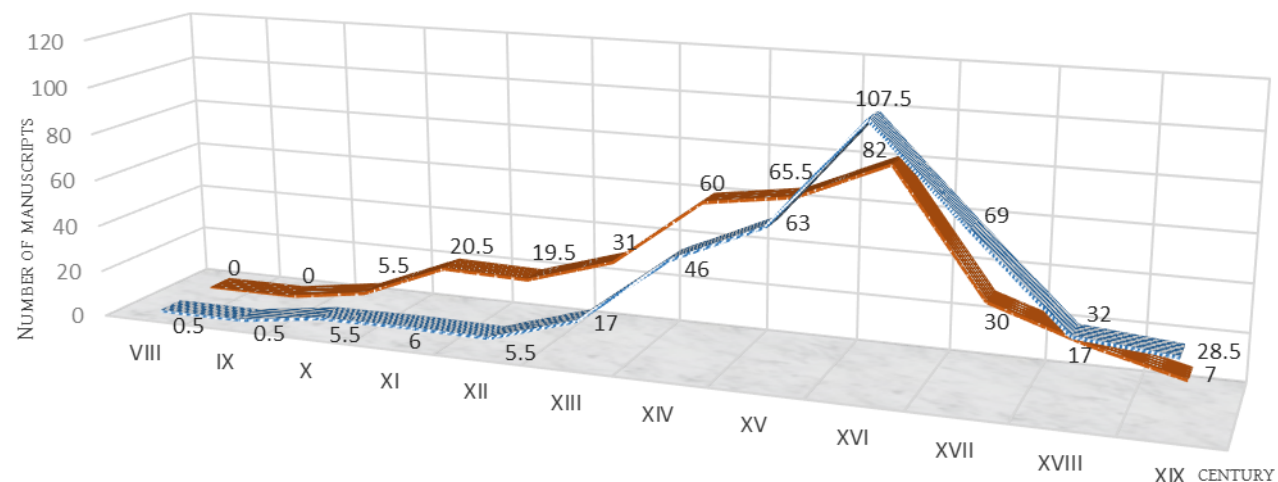
The following graphs illustrate the distribution of the manuscripts from the eighth to the nineteenth century. Whenever a manuscript could not be dated to only one century (be that due to difficulties in dating or due to the composite character of the manuscript), I have evenly split the number of manuscripts across the respective centuries. For instance, as Vaticanus gr. 2200 dates to the eighth/ninth centuries, its unitary value has been divided between the eighth and the ninth century. Any uneven fractional numbers have been rounded.

<sup>660</sup> Moreover, as pointed out above in n.649, not all manuscripts of the *Vita S. Andreae Sali* contain the apocalyptic section. In order to generate a more accurate analysis, each manuscript containing the *Vita S. Andreae Sali*, the *Vita S. Basilii iunioris*, the *Vita S. Niphonis* and the *Dioptra Philippi Monotropi* should be examined whether it contains the apocalyptic section(s).

<sup>661</sup> For a definition of historical apocalypses, see COLLINS 1996, 39, s.v. “apocalyptic literature.”

<sup>662</sup> On moral apocalypses, see BAUN 2007, 30–33.

<sup>663</sup> Namely: *Apocalypsis Esdrae graeca*, *Sermo XX Eusebii Alexandrini. In secundum adventum Domini*, *Visio Kaïoumi de Philentolo fornicatore*, *Theophanis monachi de fine mundi*, *Hippolyti de consummatione mundi*, *Iohannis apocalypsis apocrypha*, *Valentis astronomi thema genethliacum ex Hippolyto*, *Apocalypsis Mariae*, *Anonymi opusculum de fine mundi*, *Nicetae David Paphlagonis de consummatione mundi*, *Vita S. Basilii iunioris*, *Visio Cosmae monachi*, *Vita S. Niphonis*, *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, *Visio et miraculum S. Georgii*, *Anthimi de proximo saeculi fine*, *Dioptra Philippi Monotropi*.



	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
Historical apocalyptic sources	0.5	0.5	5.5	6	5.5	17	46	63	107.5	69	32	28.5
Non-historical apocalyptic sources	0	0	5.5	20.5	19.5	31	60	65.5	82	30	17	7

FIGURE 1: NUMBER OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING BYZANTINE APOCALYPTIC SOURCES

It appears that historical apocalypses share the same significant increase of reproduction with non-historical prophecies.<sup>664</sup> This increase peaked in the sixteenth century; in the aftermath of the *halōsis* of 1453 and during the ongoing struggle against Ottoman expansionism. Further apocalyptic material that will be discovered and published in the future will, in all likelihood, confirm this observation. If all manuscripts surveyed here are taken together and if duplicates are canceled out, one arrives at 689 different manuscripts, which contain the above listed 1025 textual witnesses. The following graph shows the percentage distribution of these manuscripts.

<sup>664</sup> It should be noted that the increase of manuscripts containing historical apocalypses is slightly greater than the graph indicates, as some prophecies were copied more than once in a number of manuscripts. For the sake of convenience, however, every manuscript has been counted only once.

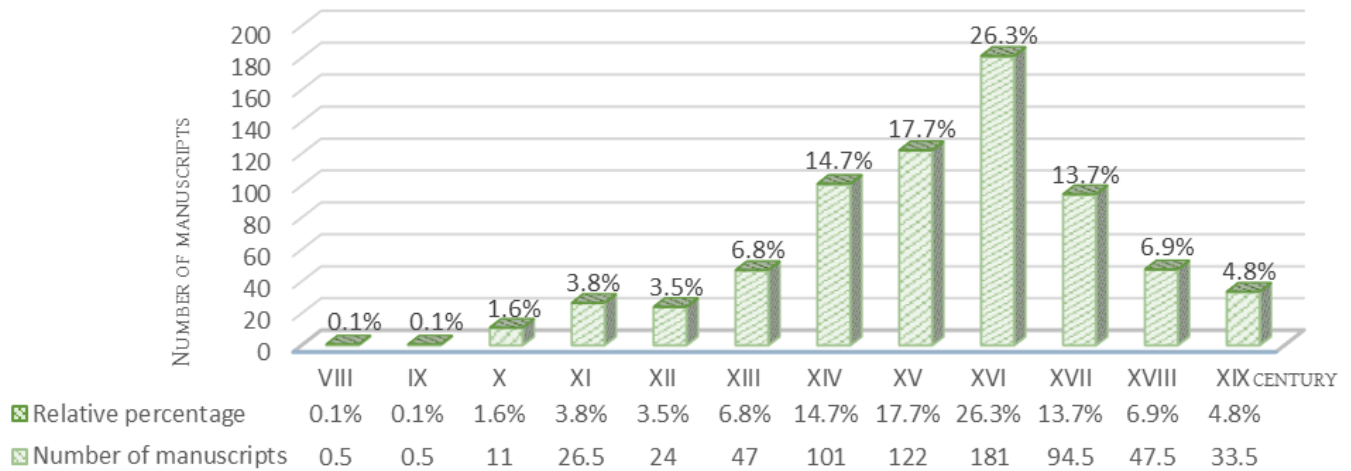


FIGURE 2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MANUSCRIPTS ACROSS CENTURIES

As the graph shows, about 70% of all manuscripts containing Medieval Greek apocalyptic material date to the fifteenth century or later.<sup>665</sup> This circumstance establishes a historical filter, which needs to be taken into consideration when examining Byzantine apocalyptic thought. It remains a *desideratum* to investigate the manuscript (re)production of apocalyptic anthologies during the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries. Such a laborious analysis seems to be feasible, at least in part, given the fact that numerous anthologies can be studied with classical Lachmannian techniques; it can frequently be worked out which manuscript served as a model and which represents a copy. A hypothetical *stemma codicum* of a considerable number of apocalyptic anthologies appears feasible, even if toilsome. In addition to an investigation of the historical filter, it might be conducive to go beyond a traditional philological analysis and to focus on particular short text-blocks and oracles in order to compensate the textual limitations of the late manuscripts.<sup>666</sup> An overview of the extant prophecies appears indispensable for any such research. In either case, this preliminary inventory is hoped to facilitate further research on Medieval Greek apocalypica.

<sup>665</sup> It should be noted that the fifteenth century is the most productive period of Greek manuscript production in general. See HARLFINGER 1971, 68. That said, the unprecedented proliferation of apocalyptic literature following the *halosis* of 1453 requires additional explanation.

<sup>666</sup> See above n.236, 629.