

Evolution of an Eschaton:
An Analysis of *On the Antichrist* (CPG 3946)

Attributed to Efreem the Syrian

by

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ABSTRACT

On the Antichrist (CPG 3946) is an eschatological sermon historically attributed to Efreem the Syrian. Composed in Koine Greek, *On the Antichrist* is not an authentic Efreemic sermon but is attributed to the construct Greek Efreem, often called in the literature ‘Ephraem Graecus’. Sometime around the 12th century, Slavic Christians translated the work into Old Church Slavonic.

As its goal, this study employs *On the Antichrist* to investigate how religions (e.g. Christianity) employ religio-cultural constructs and either refine, or redefine, them for new audiences and circumstances. To accomplish this, the author transcribes and translates one of the most important manuscript witnesses of this sermon (labelled Ov₁), translates it, compares it with other early witnesses, and analyzes the differences between the Greek and OCS versions of the text in order to ascertain the variations in the versions and to posit why such variations might have arisen in the transmission of this sermon. Finally, the critical edition is interrogated to propose a date of the autographic text-form of *On the Antichrist* to the 6th to 8th centuries.

This dissertation finds that multiple recensions of the sermon evolved from the earliest recension, the A Recension. The Old Church Slavonic recension of *On the Antichrist* falls squarely within the A Recension and seems to share a common ancestral tradition with the other A Recension manuscripts and help to reconstruct the early history of *On the Antichrist*. Thus, this dissertation provides one necessary step in preparation for the difficult task of preparing a critical edition of this sermon.

The sermon draws heavily upon 2 Thessalonians 2 and the Little Apocalypse. Two manuscripts overtly indicate multiple meters for the sermon, but two others only hint at such divisions, and the nature of the meters (Aramaic or Byzantine) is uncertain. The sermon itself references no datable historical events. The Greek of the sermon analyzing to a Late Koine/Early Byzantine cusp language datable to between the 6th to 8th centuries. For all the uncertainties and puzzles this sermon presents, the evidence clearly points to at least one conclusion: Efreem the Syrian (d.373) cannot have authored this work, and there is no way currently to ascertain the author.

Finally, this dissertation adduces an argument that Byzantine and Slavic Christians preserved *On the Antichrist* because of its emphasis upon humility and penitence, which allowed for the sermon to be incorporated into Orthodox liturgy by the 10th century.

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Any errors or misinterpretations in this work are solely my own fault and my own responsibility.

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Chapter 1

Efrem and Ephraem

Thesis

Sermo in Adventum Domini, et de Consummatione Seculi: et in Adventum Antichristi (CPG 3946) [henceforth: *On the Antichrist*] is an eschatological sermon historically attributed to Efrem the Syrian.¹ Composed in Koine Greek, *On the Antichrist* is not an authentic Efremitic sermon but is attributed to the construct Greek Efrem, often called in the literature “Ephraem Graecus”. Sometime around the 12th century, Slavic Christians translated the work into Old Church Slavonic (hereafter: OCS).

This dissertation employs *On the Antichrist* to investigate how religions (e.g. Christianity) employ religio-cultural constructs and either refine, or redefine, them for new audiences and circumstances. The method involves investigating the oldest known manuscripts, particularly those dating to the 9th to 12th centuries, analyzing them, transcribing and translating one of the two earliest surviving manuscripts, the Ov1, into English, and finally analyzing the differences between the Greek and OCS versions of the text in order to ascertain the variations in the versions and to posit why such variations might have arisen in the transmission of this sermon.² Finally, the manuscripts are

¹ CPG refers to the *Clavis Patrum graecorum*, a catalogue of Greek patristic works published in five volumes. Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Patrum graecorum* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1974-1998).

² Many of the Efremitic works have been translated into German over the past 20 years. In the case of *On the Antichrist*, the OCS version constitutes the basis for the German translation by Georg Bojkovsky. George Bojkovsky and Rudolf Aitzetmüller (eds.), *Paraenesis: Die albulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*. Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris. Fontes et dissertationes, t. 20, 22 (20,2) (Freiburg i. Br.: Weiher, 1984).

interrogated to propose a date of the autographic text-form of *On the Antichrist* to the 6th to 8th centuries.

Précis of Efrem and his Sermon

In any study of the works of Efrem the Syrian, it is important to delineate, if possible, those works believed *actually produced by* Efrem from spuria and dubia. Through his works, Efrem becomes such a revered and influential figure that after his death an entire corpus of pseudo-Efremic works arises, particularly in Greek and Armenian. While some of the Greek works are translations, or interpretations and expansions, of Efrem's Syriac works, an even larger number of the Greek works are pseudepigrapha attributed to the Syrian. Three large corpuses are attached to him in Syriac, Greek, and Armenian, with the Greek works so numerous that only the combined authentic and pseudepigraphal works of John Chrysostom exceed them in number.³

Who is Efrem the Syrian?

Reliable information on the life of Efrem the Syrian is scarce. The earliest biographical references to Efrem the Syrian come from Greek historians and not from Syriac sources.⁴ This alone makes recovery of the man Efrem difficult at

³ Edward G. Mathews, Jr., *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis Attributed to Ephrem the Syrian* (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), xix.

⁴ Joseph P. Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism and Greek Bias in the Vita Tradition of Ephrem the Syrian," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 58 (1992): 132.

best. Jerome provides the earliest biographical facts on Efrem in his 392 Latin work *On Illustrious Men*. He notes that Efrem was a deacon in Edessa who spoke and wrote in Syriac, whose works were recited in Syrian church services, and who died in 373.⁵ Another early notice by Palladius in his fifth-century *Lausiaca History* curiously seems to take no interest at all in Efrem's writings.⁶ From this meager beginning, the information which scholars reconstruct about Efrem's life adds only a little more to the story, and that information is debatable on almost every point.

One major reason for the uncertainty of the information is the nature of the primary sources employed. The Efremitic corpus is presumed by the majority of scholars to consist of only works in Syriac. As a result, only the Syriac works have been seriously investigated by scholarship.⁷ If the Syriac works *Hymns against Heresies* and *On Virginity* are indeed genuine works of Efrem's, then some details within these works flesh out the man Efrem. However, one ought to consider any attempt to reconstruct the life of Efrem as only provisional.

Efrem the Syrian was born of Christian parents, spent most of his life at Nisibis as a deacon, and at some point may have become a *Bar Qyama*: a Syriac Christian who took an oath of celibacy at baptism.⁸ Assuming the *Against Julian*

⁵ David G.K. Taylor, "St. Ephraim's Influence on the Greeks," *Hugoye* 1 (1998): 186.

⁶ Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism," 133.

⁷ Mathews, *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis*, xix.

⁸ Sebastian Brock, "The Many Faces of St. Ephrem" in Assad Sauma, ed., *The Seventeenth Birth Centenary of Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm: A. Sauma, 2008), 28. Sidney H. Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of

is also authentic Efreem then something of the man's political opinions survive as well. *Against Julian* shows a man who hates the Roman Emperor Julian (r.360-363), but considers Emperor Constantius II (r.337-361) a good ruler despite Constantius' Arian sympathies.⁹ If accurate, this could indicate that Efreem had no particular problems with Arians. The author also mentions some undefined object, which the author considers an "idol," erected by Julian within Nisibis as invoking divine wrath.¹⁰ Efreem appears as one highly critical of non-Christian religions. He blames the prevalence of non-Christian diviners and magical practices within Nisibis as a major reason why God allowed the city's surrender by Emperor Jovian (r.363-364) to the Sassanid King Shapur II (r.309-379).¹¹ After Constantinople surrendered Nisibis, Efreem left for Edessa where he served as a deacon until his death.¹² According to the *Chronicle of Edessa*, Efreem died on 9 June 373, during the reign of Valentinian I (r.364-375). Most scholars see no reason to dispute the *Chronicle's* date.¹³

Syria: The Hermeneutics of Early Syrian Monasticism" in Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, *Asceticism* (New York; Oxford University Pr., 1998), 238.

⁹ Sydney H. Griffith, "Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns 'Against Julian'", *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987): 252.

¹⁰ Griffith, "Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns 'Against Julian'", 257.

¹¹ Griffith, "Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns 'Against Julian'", 249, 256.

¹² Mathews, *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis*, xix.

¹³ Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism," 150.

Efrem's Thought as Currently Reconstructed

The Efrem of *Against Julian* refers to Jews as “crucifiers.” He is also one of the earliest surviving writers to mention Julian’s support for rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, which he opposes.¹⁴ Parenthetically, he is also potentially the earliest Syriac witness to the Christian practice of pilgrimages to Golgotha, and to the tomb of Jesus.¹⁵ Efrem appears to have something of an anticlerical attitude, and possibly a pro-imperial (but not pro-Julian) one as well. He holds clergy guilty of infighting, which causes the Arian Controversy. Efrem also blames bickering bishops for Arian troubles in the time of Emperor Constantius II.¹⁶ Again, if accurate this hints that Efrem held little to no animus against Arianism. He further exonerates Emperor Valens (r.364-378) from the charge of replacing Nicaean bishops with Arian ones.¹⁷

Whether Efrem knew Greek is uncertain. Scholars divide on whether Efrem understood Greek, much less could compose in the language.¹⁸ This conclusion rests upon a certain amount of circular reasoning, however. Although none of Efrem’s works in Greek or in Syriac can be attributed to him with 100% certainty, scholarly consensus currently holds that Efrem most likely composed

¹⁴ Griffith, “Ephraem the Syrian’s Hymns ‘Against Julian,’” 258.

¹⁵ Griffith, “Ephraem the Syrian’s Hymns ‘Against Julian,’” 260.

¹⁶ Griffith, “Ephraem the Syrian’s Hymns ‘Against Julian,’” 252.

¹⁷ Amar, “Byzantine Ascetic Monachism,” 154.

¹⁸ Sebastian Brock, “Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria” in A.K. Bowman, *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1994), 157.

only in Syriac but unlikely to have composed in Greek. Thus, Syriac works attributed to Efreem are privileged, while Greek works are held as translations at best or spuria at worst. The voice of Efreem is thence inferred from Syriac works purported to be his by nature of the fact they are in Syriac. Works which are in Greek, or which do not match the voice found in the Syriac works believed to be Efreem's, are therefore excluded.

Who is (are) Greek Efreem(s)?

As opposed to Efreem the Syrian, very little work on the Greek Efreem has been undertaken in English. The scholarly consensus that the works of Greek Efreem are mostly pseudepigraphical, hence not (in the main) authentic works of Efreem the Syrian, has done much to shut down Efreemic studies in English. Any investigation of Greek Efreem must consult sources in German, French, Greek, and Russian, the main languages of Efreemic scholarship today.

As a brief beginning point, Greek Efreem is a hypothetical author to whom the Greek works of Efreem the Syrian, particularly those which were composed in Greek, are attributed. During the Late Antique and early medieval periods, Greek slowly becomes the language of a certain Byzantine cultural imperialism in the eastern Mediterranean, and within the wider eastern Christian world.¹⁹ Works not in Greek slowly become marginalized within the church, especially during the 5th century with its councils of

¹⁹ Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism," 126.

Ephesus and Chalcedon. The expulsion of the Syriac and Nestorian traditions may play a role in the emerging dominance of Byzantine culture within eastern Christianity.²⁰

What results is an Efreem who conforms to the requirements of later Byzantine monasticism. Joseph P. Amar traces the evolution of the Byzantine monk Ephraem. Amar begins with the *Lausiac History*, composed c.420, which already interprets Efreem through the lens of Egyptian monasticism in the mold of Evagrius Pontikos. From this beginning, Byzantine writers Sozomen and Theodoret continue interpreting Efreem through anachronistic monastic lenses. From Palladius' "deacon of Edessa," which completely ignores Efreem's lifelong connection with Nisibis, Sozomen c.430 works Efreem into a desert anchorite. By the 8th century, Pseudo-Amphilochios of Iconium shows Efreem as a lesser contemporary of Basil the Great, a man whom Efreem the Syrian never met. Finally sometime during the Mongol invasions of the 13th century, unknown persons (possibly Syrian monks) carry relics of Efreem's to Egypt for safe keeping. The presence of these relics in Egypt appears to have spurred the creation of legends which feature Efreem studying in Egypt under the desert father and Coptic saint Bishoi (320-417).²¹

This ongoing reinterpretation of Efreem the Syrian into a Byzantine mold now becomes what one can safely call Greek Efreem, and this is the construct that travels to the West. Sebastian Brock has traced this development. From the 6th to the 15th centuries, a small corpus of Latin translations of Greek Efreemic works attests to knowledge of Greek

²⁰ Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism," 128.

²¹ This paragraph draws from Amar, "Byzantine Ascetic Monachism," 125, 132-133, 137, 143-145, 145n77.

Efrem in the West.²² At least six Latin Efremitic texts circulate in the West by the 9th century, with perhaps the most important of these the *Sermo asceticus* (CPL 1143 iii; CPG 3915).²³ Efrem in this small collection, and particularly in *Sermo asceticus*, is an ascetic figure well suited to the lives and work of Western European monks. During the 15th and 16th centuries, Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Gerardus Vossius (d.1609), the Roman Catholic provost of Tongres in present-day Belgium, translated many more Efremitic works for the Latin West.²⁴

This Greek Efrem bears little to no resemblance to Efrem the Syrian, and indeed all the legends about Efrem only obscure any search for the man himself. These legends do prove useful, however, for interpreting the Greek Efremitic works: works which are created after Greek Efrem's death and works which therefore are required by Byzantine culture to conform to the anchorite Efrem of legend.

²² Sebastian Brock, "The Changing Faces of St. Ephrem as Read in the West" in John Behr, *et al.*, *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West: Festschrift for Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia* (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Pr., 2003), 65.

²³ Brock, "Changing Faces of St. Ephrem," 65.

²⁴ Brock, "Changing Faces of St. Ephrem," 70; Ephraem Syrus, *Sermones*, trans. Ambrogio Traversari (Florence: Antonio Miscomini, 1481); Ephraem Syrus, *Sancti Ephraem Syri, patris et scriptoris ecclesiae antiquissimi et dignissimi, opera omnia: quotquot in insignioribus Italiae bibliothecis, praecipue Romanis Graece inveniri potuerunt, in tres tomos digesta*, trans. Gerardus Vossius. 3 vols, 2nd ed. (Coloniae: Apud Arnulduum Quentelium, 1606).

The Author of *On the Antichrist*

The author of the sermon is not identifiable by name. Among the clues to the author's identity, he heavily condemns women as sources of sexual sin, and he condemns sexual sin as possibly the worst kind of sin. This indicates a male author. Although the titles "brothers" and "Christ-lovers" could be borrowed from other works, in this context they do help in identifying the author as a monk with an audience of other monks. Additionally, the author is no fan of Jews, whom he derogates as "murdering Jews" (*tōn phoneutōn ioudaiōn*).

The fact that the author composes the sermon in Greek locates the author in the eastern Mediterranean. Interestingly, he separates citizens from common people in his work and he appears to possess a bias in favor of the citizens, whom he sees as an elite as opposed to the lower classes whom he views as prone to moral corruption. This could indicate a monk from an elite background, which is also hinted at by the Greek employed. It is educated Greek. Obvious Aramaicisms do not occur, and he certainly is not someone thinking in Aramaic who struggles to write in Greek as does, for example, the author of the Gospel of Mark. Later manuscripts tend to alter the text to make particular words and verbal forms more understandable to audiences more familiar with Early Byzantine Greek than with Koine. In his sermon, the Trisagion appears once when the seraphim literally scream it during the Parousia. The author discusses rituals such as the offering and consecration and uses the term "Holy God." All of this would seem to not only confirm the author's monastic status but identify him as an eastern Christian.

Identifying the author's specific strain of eastern Christianity is difficult. He is very much concerned with the question of the incarnation, explaining why Christ's incarnation is real but the Antichrist's is fraudulent, with the deciding factor being their mothers: Christ's was a virgin, but the Antichrist's was a defiled virgin. This incarnation seems to imply that the Antichrist might be Satan incarnate as Christ is God incarnate. It is worth noting that later manuscripts of the sermon make the effort to more strongly mention the Trinity, almost as if later scribes had concerns that the original sermon read as too much like a Miaphysite text.

The question of meter may also offer a hint to identifying the author. He composes in Greek but both Ågren and Bousset maintain that he employs Aramaic meter: Ågren argues for heptosyllabic meter, and Bousset for a 14 and 16-syllable meter (at least for parts of the sermon) quite rare in Aramaic. Although the evidence is inconclusive (but not disproven), if such meter were employed it would point to a Greek-speaking monk in the eastern Mediterranean familiar with Aramaic prosody.

As to his politics, very little can be said except for the fact that usurping legitimate authority is a problem to the author, as he discusses it more than once as he repeatedly mentions that the Antichrist (whom he calls the Animal) holds political power illegitimately. His explanation for the Animal's seal as designed to prevent making the sign of the cross demonstrates that he accepts the authority of the Church and may fairly be labelled a religious conservative within his culture. His discussion of the sign of the cross also indicates that he ascribes some magical

qualities to it, even if he would not admit to such overtly. The author clearly has no use for challenging what he accepts as legitimate political or ecclesiastical hierarchies.

So, what remains is hypothetical but probable. The author is a Greek-speaking monk who operates in or has spent time in Aramaic-speaking areas. He may be familiar with Aramaic and/or Byzantine poetry, but he is Greek in thought. He is conservative within his culture. Religiously, he does not always clearly delineate between God and Christ, and definitely not between Satan and the Antichrist. His vocabulary is strongly monastic, as well as eastern Christian. All of this presents a Greek-speaking monk likely working and/or living within a West Syrian milieu; one influenced strongly by Byzantine Orthodoxy and likely within the political control of Constantinople. An East Syrian milieu within the Aramaic-speaking areas of eastern Syria and northern Mesopotamia, however less likely, cannot be ruled out completely.

A critical transcription of, and translation of, one of the two earliest surviving manuscript witnesses of the sermon, Ov1, appears in Appendices A and B, and a full discussion of the recensions appears in Chapters 3 and 4, but a very brief synopsis would here suffice. Note that multiple recensions of the sermon exist. This study examines the A Recension, which is the earliest surviving recension and the one which appears to travel into other languages/cultures.

The anonymous author begins by invoking his unworthiness to relate the eschaton then proceeds to discuss the Antichrist, whom he more often calls The Serpent. His Antichrist seduces not only the people of the Earth generally, but most Christians as well.

The Antichrist employs the demons to aid in public spectacles such as flying through the air and moving mountains. Nature reacts most strongly against the Antichrist by withholding rain and causing agriculture to die. This is particularly interesting as the sermon does not specify that God causes nature to do these things, but she appears to do so on her own. A bare few faithful will see through the Antichrist's visions, which he apparently can send directly into the minds of humans, and for doing so incur his homicidal hatred. The saints must hide in order to survive.

Sexual sins are discussed often within the sermon, particularly those of women seducing men. The Antichrist even prostitutes the daughters of Earth's leaders. He controls the planetary food supply which is denied to any without his seal on their right hands or foreheads, signs which prevent making the sign of the cross. The author describes the Antichrist's origins in birth from a defiled virgin, and hence not truly incarnated like Christ. Yet for all this, the Antichrist's most insidious aspect is his apparent Christian perfection. His morality, humility, piety, probity, and deep concern for the underprivileged, make him a figure illogical for a Christian to defy. His only tell is his esteem for the Jews, an ethnicity the author derogates. Otherwise, he stuns with miracles which the author insists are only apparent even though he describes them as real.

The Antichrist in time reveals his true face, as the hostility of nature takes its toll upon the population of the planet. Starvation and socio-political chaos ensue while earthquakes devastate land and sea. The stench of rotting corpses dominates the atmosphere. The Antichrist fails to help the people, instead both admitting his impotence and mocking his followers. The end of the Antichrist, and of the sermon, occur very quickly. Elijah and Enoch appear upon the Earth to denounce the Antichrist and

announce Christ's return. Cherubim and Seraphim accompany Christ's return with a river of fire in a horrific display. The Antichrist is bound, condemned before a tribunal, and cast into fire. Christ rules, and the sermon ends.

Throughout the sermon, the author invokes the "brothers" which would appear to imply a monastic audience. He continually refers to his unworthiness to relate the events to come. He quotes from memory from the Gospels thrice and alludes to the story of Balaam (Numbers 22-25, 31:6-8), a favorite theme of early Christian writers condemning heresy (Jude 11, 2 Peter 2: 15-16, Revelation 2:14). The entire sermon expands upon, but does not directly quote from, 2 Thessalonians 2.

The Study's Approach

In her 1989 and 1991 monographs, Irina Ågren notes that some Efremic works, including *On the Antichrist*, display variations between the Greek and OCS versions; variations which indicate more than simple translational nuances between languages. Ågren argues that the original Greek text was a miniscule text, and errors in the OCS can be explained by the tenth-century translators misreading a lost Greek original. OCS translations were often literal word-for-word translations of texts from the original language. Thus, reconstructions a Greek recension behind the early OCS recension is possible as current opinion holds that all early OCS manuscripts derive from one Old Bulgarian master created in the tenth century from one lost Greek manuscript. To illustrate Ågren's argument, it helps to reproduce in full her list of errors.

[OCS] = ἐκεδύσατο [έκεδύσατο] τὴν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν [Assemani 11,14]

[OCS] = ἀπηλλάγην νοῦν [νοῦν] [14,6]

[OCS] = τοῦ δευτέρου [δευτέρου] [14,8-9]

[OCS] = καὶ πῶς ~~ἐν~~ [τοῦ] ὑποφέρειας [21,21]
 [OCS] = οὐκ ἐνέπλησεν [ἐνεπλύσεν] [21,50]
 [OCS] = μνημονεύσης ~~ἔτι~~ [ἔτη] τοῦ προτέρου [26,67]
 [OCS] = ~~σκόλωψ~~ [σκόληξ] [30,39]
 [OCS] = οἰόμενοι [ἰόμενοι] σοφοὶ εἶναι [34,86]
 [OCS] = προκρίνειν [ἀποκρίνειν] [36,54]
 [OCS] = εὐθὺς ~~ἔρχεται~~ [ἔρχεται] [38,40-41]
 [OCS] = εἰ ὄντες [οὕτως] μετὰ τοσαῦτα [39,13]
 [OCS] = καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον ἐκθήσατο [νοήσατο] [43,26]
 [OCS] = ἐν φωτὶ ἀνεκίστατο [ἀνικάτω] [45,49]
 [OCS] = ἐν τῷ ἐπιτάττειν ἔπιμμοι [ἔντιμοι] [46,174]
 [OCS] = οὐκ ἐχαρίσατο [ἐχρίσατο] τοῖς χεῖλεσιν [48,263]
 [OCS] = ἦς [ὡς] ἐξελθὼν [48,324]
 [OCS] = μεινώμεθα [πεμνώμεθα] [50,106]
 [OCS] = ἀνεκλήτοι [ἀνεκλίτοι] εἰσιν [50,193]
 [OCS] = τὸ μὴ ἀδεῶς [ἠδέως] οἰνοποτεῖν [75,24]²⁵

Ågren proposes that the Greek manuscript which the original scribe translated into Old Bulgarian had itself been created less than a century before, since Greek miniscule appears only about the 8th century. Further, she posits that these variations indicate a different Greek Ur-text lay behind the OCS versions of many Efremitic homilies than the Greek versions published by Joseph Assemani during 1737 to 1746.²⁶

In this, Ågren is partially correct. The OCS recensions do vary from the Assemani texts. As Chapter 3 explains, at least three major recensions of *On the Antichrist* are preserved in the Greek manuscript tradition. Additionally, the Assemani text is an

²⁵ Irina Ågren, *Paranesis Efremitic Sirina: K istorii slavjanskogo perevoda* (Uppsala: Studia Slavica Upsaliensia, 1989). 69.

²⁶ Ågren, Abstract.

authorized text-form not a critical edition trying to recover the autographic text-form based upon one recension. Further, Ågren proposes that *On the Antichrist* was composed in Aramaic heptasyllabic meter, which would hint at an Aramaic original behind the Greek. Her idea of a meter can be falsified. Ågren's work on the variations between Greek and OCS form the main question of this investigation. One ought to note that the study fails to settle definitively the question of meter. Multiple meters are employed in some manuscripts, but the nature of those meters is still uncertain.

In her work *Another Byzantium*, Jane Baun argues that Byzantine apocalypses often change over time. As new audiences become targets for an apocalypse, the apocalypse itself changes to address the concerns of the new audience and environment. *On the Antichrist* presents an opportunity to study just such an example of a text being adapted to new audiences. The three major recensions, when studied diachronically, adduce a sermon evolving through time. Baun's ideas on the adaptation of apocalypses to different times and audiences provide a valuable modification to Ågren's initial attempts to recover an autographic text-form through the OCS. To address this second question, this dissertation investigates the Greek primarily, and the OCS secondarily. The study reveals a sermon that is light on context making it perfect for continual reinterpretation through different times and audiences.

The Importance of / Justification for this Study

Discerning the variations between the Greek and OCS versions of *On the Antichrist* can shed light on the changes made not only to late antique Greek apocalyptic texts when translated into other languages but can also aid in understanding the changes

made to the concepts of the eschaton, the Antichrist, and the apocalypse which occurred, or had to be made, in order to appeal to medieval audiences in the Slavic East.

This dissertation employs *On the Antichrist* as a case study to investigate certain larger issues. With respect to Efremitic studies, this dissertation studies *On the Antichrist* to examine the influence of Greek Efremitic on the eschaton of eastern Christian theology, as well as to inquire into the influence (or lack thereof) of Greek Efremitic upon western Christian eschatology. With respect to the broader field of early Christianity, this dissertation employs *On the Antichrist* to study the development and spread of certain eschatological and apocalyptic ideas in the literature of early Christianity. With respect to modern eschatological concerns in global Christianity, *On the Antichrist* can serve as an example of how cultural symbols such as the apocalypse and the Antichrist, so important in evangelical Christianity in the 21st century United States of America, disseminated across cultural boundaries, and adapted to new cultures, over 1000 years ago. In so doing, this aspect of the study of *On the Antichrist* can further illuminate why symbols like the Antichrist are continually reinterpreted across cultures and through generations within a culture.²⁷

²⁷ In the 20th and 21st century United States, apocalypticism found new life as a lens through which to explain events and movements such as the two world wars, the Cold War and the arms race, and the September 11 attacks, to name only a few. Apocalyptic dualism allowed (often white) evangelical Christians to redefine Communism, Socialism, Secularism, and even sometimes the American Democratic Party, as Satanic entities engaged in a war against God, thus helping to drive the idea of the “Culture Wars” in which an idealized white Evangelical Christian America is under continual attack by evil forces. Evangelical Christians even interpreted (sometimes retroactively) certain presidential elections (e.g. 1980, 2000, 2016) through the lens of apocalypticism. This employment of apocalyptic rhetoric and symbolism in American life to explain the world shows no signs of slowing down as the 21st century continues. For a fuller discussion, see: Matthew Avery Sutton, *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Belknap Pr., 2014). Also see: James H. Moorehead, “Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880,” *The Journal of American History* 71 (1984), pp.524-542.

Finally, this project creates a critical transcription of the Ov1 manuscript of *On the Antichrist*. This Ov1 is one of the two earliest surviving Greek witnesses to the earliest surviving recension, the A Recension, of the sermon, but at least three recensions have been discerned with more very likely. As such, this dissertation operates with the A Recension functioning as a stand-in for the autographic text-form, assuming that such an original ever existed and that *On the Antichrist* is not a multitextual work in which multiple versions always circulated in lieu of one autograph.

Chapter 2

A Sermon, an Antichrist, and an Eschaton

Introduction

With a minimum of five confirmed recensions in Greek, and possibly more via cursory glance of later manuscripts, examining *On the Antichrist* can prove confusing. For this analysis, the A Recension provides the fodder for answers such as: Is *On the Antichrist* a true apocalypse; and, Who is the model for the sermon's Antichrist? Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief explanation of the A Recension. A summary of the contents of the sermon follows. Finally, analysis of the sermon's Antichrist, investigation of its author and audience, and examination of its relationship to eschatology and apocalyptic conclude this chapter.

Sermon: *On the Antichrist*

A full discussion of the details of the manuscripts employed in the study and the textual history of the sermon appears in Chapter 3. The following is an abbreviated introduction to the issues of recensions of the sermon, and the manuscripts that went into identifying the A Recension.

The earliest surviving recension of *On the Antichrist* is called the A Recension in this study. This recension is witnessed only by four manuscripts, which happen to be four of the five earliest surviving manuscripts of the sermon. The 10th century Ov1 is very well preserved and despite its Early Byzantine Greek addition at the end of the sermon, provides the best witness for the sermon, hence why it receives a critical transcription.

The 11th century manuscripts Vc1, Bo1, and Vc2, complete the A Recension. The best-known version of the sermon is the one published by Joseph Assemani, which mostly reflects the B Recension: a recension witnessed in Bo2, Ha4, and Fp1. A C Recension has been identified as well preserved in two manuscripts dating to the 12th and 13th centuries, as well as a D Recension in 12 manuscripts dating from the 11th century to the 16th century, and even a possible E Recension. Due to time restrictions and for ease of analysis, this dissertation only analyses the A Recension. Note that one of the five earliest witnesses of the sermon, Hm1, is missing from this study due to unavailability so it is unknown into which recension it might fall. Thus, all conclusions within this dissertation ought to be considered merely as the beginning of the scholarly study of this sermon

Describing the Sermon

The author of *On the Antichrist* rarely employs the word Antichrist (*antikhristos*): only five times in the sermon. The title this dissertation employs for the sermon, *On the Antichrist*, is only a thematic title chosen from the most common words used in the various manuscripts, as each manuscript gives the sermon a different thematic title, but none of these titles are original to the sermon. Were ancient literary naming conventions to be employed, the sermon would be called the *How Can I?*

The most common title for the main antagonist is the Serpent (*drakōn*): used sixteen times; followed by the Beast (*thērion*): employed seven times. This preference for names may represent more than just an author preferring one synonym over another, as will be discussed in the section on dating the sermon to

follow later in the chapter. The names Serpent and Beast indicate familiarity with the Revelation of John.

Critical to the Antichrist of the sermon, he operates with God's express consent. Nothing he does is without God's permission. Even more intriguing, nowhere in the sermon is the Antichrist a servant of or a creature of Satan. In fact, Satan is nowhere mentioned as a separate being in the sermon. If anything, the Antichrist appears to be Satan himself incarnate, although the author views this satanic incarnation as defective.

To assist in his mission, the demons accompany the Antichrist and impersonate angels and archangels, primarily by flying through the air. This last is particularly interesting as it indicates that at least to the author, demons had become almost entirely chthonic beings by nature. Otherwise, the author's emphasis upon demons flying to impersonate angels is inexplicable as the aerial demon construct was strong in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. In the *Life of Antony* 65, Antony engages in a soul flight where he sees aerial demons, whom he calls the "bitter and cruel ones," blocking the ascent of his soul. Antony notes that God apparently set the rules by which the aerial demons could operate.¹

As to the Antichrist himself, he is born naturally of a defiled virgin (*ek parthenou miaras*). This is to show that he is not truly virgin-born like Christ. He is a wonderworker, at least apparently. The author goes to great pains to explain that the Antichrist cannot actually perform wonders, but only apparently so. He

¹ Robert C. Gregg, trans., *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (Mahwah NJ: Paulist Pr., 1980), 78-9.

can move mountains and walk on water in visions everybody sees, but he is not doing so in reality. This gives the Antichrist telepathic powers in today's vocabulary. He can also perform miracles: "magic signs" (*sēmeiois magikois*), the author calls them. Although never fully defined or explained, the author expends a great deal of ink on the magic signs of moving mountains to fool almost all inhabitants of the Earth, and just about all Christians, to willingly follow him. Some interesting aspects of the author's Antichrist are his age, beauty, and moral goodness. Although born from a "defiled virgin", the Antichrist appears to be a young man, who according to the author is humble, full of gaiety, hates injustice and loves the poor as well as Jews, and is quite the people-pleaser (ll.197-228). To all appearances, this Antichrist would appeal to any Christian who values social justice. Yet, these traits are all illusions as well

The Antichrist loves Jews, and to the author this is a major failing as well as a tell that betrays the Antichrist. The author labels the Jewish people as "murdering Jews" (*tōn phoneutōn ioudaiōn*). Another failing and tell is the use of women. The Antichrist enlists women to seduce the leaders of the Earth in order to gain control over them. In this, he succeeds. Most of the citizens, and all of the poor and working classes, enthusiastically follow the Antichrist. It is worth noting that the author distinguishes between citizens, whom he sees as an elite, and the *hoi polloi*, whom he views as prone to moral corruption.

After the peoples of the Earth willingly join the Antichrist, he takes control of the economy by imposing his seal upon the right hand and forehead of everyone. This according to the author is to prevent any from making the sign of

the cross, which in the sermon appears to act as a talisman which destroys the Antichrist's power. This would seem to make the signing of the cross a form of magic.

As a result of the Antichrist's control of the human population, nature herself turns against the human species by denying rain and produce. This crisis finally breaks the Antichrist's patience, and he unveils his true face. He can do nothing to help humanity in the face of the environmental disasters ravaging it and causing widespread famine and death. Earthquakes devastate the Earth, causing the people to beg the Antichrist for succor, which he refuses harshly. He engages in the murder of three kings, who are otherwise unidentified and unaddressed. After this, his hairline temper becomes obvious. This marks his turn. The people-pleasing and gay young man becomes a morally rigid and severe disciplinarian who is deaf to the pleas of the suffering millions, and at any rate impotent to alter the environment. His governance of the Earth turns harsh, and causes many to flee not just from nature but from his rule.

The end of the Antichrist's rule begins with the appearance of Elijah and Enoch to preach against him, and to expose him as a fraud to humanity. This is one major element from the Revelation 11:1-14 where two unnamed witnesses appear to prophesy. In *On the Antichrist*, Elijah and Enoch undermine the Antichrist, but do not die or have their corpses left to rot to be resurrected. They simply denounce and expose him, followed by the arrival of Christ. He arrives with military units of angels and archangels. A river of fire descends from the sky accompanied by cherubim, as seraphim chillingly scream the Trisagion about the

Earth. There is no final gathering of military forces outside Megiddo or the New Jerusalem, which does not appear, but a military-style tribunal convened to try the Antichrist and his supporters. Angels bind the Antichrist for trial, conviction, and damnation, which seem to proceed quickly like a kangaroo trial. The Antichrist's damnation does raise an interesting ethical question as he is condemned for undertaking actions consented to by, and permitted by, God.

The Serpent (drakōn)

The Serpent is a name employed for the Antichrist by the author of the sermon. This is more than just hurling epithets ('The Antichrist is a snake!'). It alludes to a long tradition called the Chaoskampf.

The Chaoskampf (from the German for 'chaos struggle/combat') provides the mythological imagery within much of apocalyptic.² This imagery both fascinates and confuses the reader, particularly since it is usually decontextualized. That confusion often contributes to the successful survival and dissemination of an apocalypse. The Chaoskampf sees a cosmic battle, sometimes, although not necessarily, before Creation, between the main god of a culture/religion and some animal representing the chaos out of which the god must organize either his/her rule or Creation. The ancient Israelites drew from a common Semitic, specifically Northwest Semitic, mythos, so the god who engages in the Chaoskampf depends upon the culture relating the war against chaos. To the Hebrews, 'Ēl/YHWH vanquishes the Chaos animal; to the Canaanites, Ba'al defeats

² George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Pr., 2012), 114

it; to the Babylonians, Marduk kills the creature. Among the chaos animals battled in the Semitic *Urzeit* are Yamm, Mot, Leviathan, Tiāmat, or the seven-headed animal.³

Wilhelm Bousset in the first scholarly study on the Antichrist construct, interpreted the Antichrist within the Chaoskampf mythos, with the Antichrist as an anthropomorphized chaos animal.⁴

The Chaoskampf remained an important element in Israelite religion and culture for over a millennium. The idea of a struggle between the chaos and order constitutes a major theme in Hebrew literature and classical Hebrew prophecy, which often employ chaos animals, specifically and mostly the Serpent. This cosmic battle, which unfolds in mythic time, becomes a generative and foundational element in the development of Second Temple Judaeen apocalyptic literature, and in apocalyptic literature through time. The Chaoskampf appears in *On the Antichrist*, where the Antichrist is tied to the Chaoskampf through the Serpent title. The Antichrist does become a chaos animal himself by contributing to the disintegration of order, specifically through his persecutions of those who do not accept his claims, and through the mass deaths during his reign even if those deaths are only indirectly his fault. The Antichrist of the sermon is definitely an opponent of God's, and therefore a direct enemy in a battle between God's order and chaos. Finally, the Antichrist also finds himself at war against Creation itself, with Creation/Nature undertaking the main offensive through drought and failure of

³ Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1990), 52.

⁴ Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 6.

agricultural produce. In this way, the Chaoskampf at the *Urzeit* becomes the apocalyptic at the *Endzeit* in the sermon.

The Sermon's Audience

Apocalyptic literature employs a particular rhetoric in order to induce a sense of crisis in its audience. With this in mind, the rhetoric of *On the Antichrist* provides some idea of the fears and mindset of the sermon's author and audience.

On the Antichrist reveals many threats to the sermon's author and audience. For a modern Western audience, one accustomed to the question "Whom does the Antichrist portray?", the political threats are usually most important. For this study, however, the major threats the author discusses are generalized ones. He discusses no datable political or economic issues. He, and the author is almost definitely male as will be explained shortly, views the world as an impious place. This impiety is mentioned repeatedly throughout the sermon. Also, chaos threatens an order which the author accepts and perhaps even endorses.

Earthquakes are mentioned quite often in the sermon, as are famines. The eastern Mediterranean is a seismically active area, with many earthquakes afflicting the region throughout recorded history. Perhaps the most memorable for the Byzantine Empire was the December 557 Earthquake estimated today to have been of a 6.4 magnitude. The 557 Earthquake had an epicenter close to Constantinople, partially destroyed the defensive Long Wall, and undermined the integrity of Hagia Sophia so that its massive dome collapsed in May the next year. Emperor Justinian I (r.527-565), in mourning, refused to wear his crown for forty days, and for years after the quake residents of the city

commemorated it with a liturgy of supplication.⁵ In 610, a subsidiary outbreak of Justinian's Plague, believed to be Bubonic Plague, ravaged the capital of the empire.⁶ Yet, nothing in the sermon gives any details to propose influence by any particular earthquake or famine, and indeed there may be no specific antecedent. The author alludes multiple times to the Little Apocalypse or Olivet Discourse, found in Mark 13, Matthew 24-25, and Luke 21, which discusses earthquakes and famines as omens of the eschaton. The author's continual references to this sermon hint strongly that he refers to no specific earthquake, but instead to this discourse within the gospels.

The greatest threat to the audience, according to the author, is not actually the Antichrist but women, and in particular the "shameless" (*tas gunaikas anaiskhuntōs*) ones. Women are the cause of sexual sins to the author and become willing conspirators in the Antichrist's consolidation of power.

The emphasis upon women and the sexual sins for which the author blames them, would seem to offer a solution to the question of the sermon's intended audience: monks. The threat that the impiety of others presents to order, and the perceived oversexual nature of the female gender, indicate an all-male monastic audience. In support of this, the author many times directly addresses his "brothers" (*adelphoi*) and "Christ-lovers" (*philochristoi*). Unfortunately, the author provides no other clues about the monastic audience, such as its location.

⁵ Brian Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople". Michael Maas, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2005), 70-71.

⁶ Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, *Andrew of Caesarea: Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Washington DC: Catholic Univ. Pr., 2011), 11.

One caveat to this identification is that the author bases the sermon heavily upon 2 Thessalonians 2, which also addresses the “brothers” (*adelphoi*). In fact, *On the Antichrist* is to a great extent an expansion of 2 Thessalonians 2 combined with the Little Apocalypse, and some elements from Revelation. Although the audience of *On the Antichrist* is possibly monks due to the emphasis upon the sinfulness of women and upon impiety, one must bear in mind that with the pattern in 2 Thessalonians set to address its audience as “brothers”, this could be a sermon directed at a congregation as easily as at monks. By the 12th century, scribes cease copying the A Recension of *On the Antichrist* in favor of other recensions, many of which eliminate references to the “brothers” and “Christ-lovers.”

The Antichrist

The Antichrist is perhaps one of the most famous figures in all of eschatological and apocalyptic literature. He is unique in two peculiar ways. First, the Antichrist almost never appears outside an eschatological context. If the Antichrist appears in a narrative, he automatically foreshadows some radical change(s), and signals the end of either a social system, the world itself, or linear time (and often all three). Second, the Antichrist is never a significant threat to God. The timespan during which the Antichrist wields power is relatively short and, although he often causes a great deal of damage to human societies, he always loses power to his own detriment, and often due to overreach. The Antichrist thus suffers from the tragic flaw: his destruction is fated before he initiates his

rule, and his destruction is due in at least some measure to defects within his own personality. It is also not a little ironic that the Antichrist never opposes Christ, but God.

The Antichrist first appears in 1 John and 2 John, but nowhere else in the New Testament writings. Raymond Brown dates these two works to c.100 CE, and posits Ephesus, capital of the Roman province of Asia, as the place of composition although he allows for the possibility of Alexandria or Antioch.⁷ For the most part, modern scholarship follows Brown's dating, with the caveat that although 2 John and 3 John are almost definitely composed by the same person, 1 John may derive from a different author.⁸

The term *antikhristos* occurs in 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3, and in 2 John 7, in both the singular and the plural (*antikhristoi*). The author(s) employ the term to designate enemies of the Johannine community of Jesus followers, specifically those which have either left the community, or who have been expelled from it. This group, often called 'secessionists' by modern scholars, appears to deny that the incarnation of Jesus of Nazareth inherently possesses any salvific value (if the hostile source of 1 John is interpreted correctly). This group, the author derogates as *antikhristoi* in 1 John 2:18, by which term the author declares his belief that the group members oppose the Christ.

To the author, the term *antikhristos* possesses multiple meanings, however. In the plural, *antikhristoi* refers to the secessionists specifically, and to any who does not adhere to the author's beliefs broadly. The *antikhristoi* speak the language of *ho ponēros* (1 John

⁷ Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1982), 101-102, 101n232.

⁸ Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1997), 384, 402.

4:5), usually translated as the “Evil One.” This would seem to imply that the author sees the secessionists as Satanic (if not also good for nothing), but he never mentions any form of spirit possession as a reason for the secessionists’ disagreements with his theology. Along with the plural *antikhristoi*, the author also mentions *ho antikhristos* (the Antichrist) as an entity or force about which his community has been informed (1 John 2:18), but he never mentions informed by whom.⁹ In this use of *antikhristos*, the author may implying not only an entity or force which opposes the Anointed, but which seeks to install itself in place of the Anointed (as *anti-* can carry the force of both meanings).

One element within the Antichrist construct is the Endtyrant construct, which appears to have its genesis within a specific event in Hebrew history: the reign of the king of the Seleukid Empire, Antiokhos IV (r.175-164 BCE).¹⁰ Antiokhos emphasized his personal divinity in a way no Seleukid king had done previously, as witnessed by his name Epiphanes (meaning “appearance” or “manifestation,” especially of a divine entity).¹¹ After a failed invasion of Ptolemaic Egypt in the Sixth Syrian War, Antiokhos lead Seleukid forces against Judaea and captured Jerusalem. During this period in autumn 168, Antiokhos banned the Second Temple Judaeen religion.¹² Antiokhos’ ban removes key Judaeen leaders from power, such as the Elders and the members of the *Gerousia* (essentially a Hebrew Senate operating according to Torah and tradition), Temple priests

⁹ Brown, *Epistles*, 17n36, 100n232, 304, 333, 505.

¹⁰ Louis E. Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 293.

¹¹ Jan Zahle, “Religious Motifs on Seleucid Coins” in Per Bilde ed., *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (Aarhus, DK: Aarhus University Pr., 1990), 120.

¹² Niels Hyrdahl, “The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of ‘Hellenization.’” in Bilde, ed., *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, 199.

not appointed by Antiokhos, and scribes, who mostly work for the Temple. After Antiokhos' ban, a new Hellenized elite, under High Priest Menelaos and the military governor, rule Judaea. In December 168, Antiokhos enters the Temple itself and confiscates the Temple sancta (1 Macc. 1:20-28; 2 Macc. 5:11-27), thus profaning the Temple, although it is never explicitly stated if Antiokhos entered the Holy of Holies.¹³ According to 1 Maccabees 1:54, he even constructs a statue of Zeus Olympios upon the altar.¹⁴ A contemporary witness to the Seleukid conquest of Jerusalem is the author of Daniel 7-11, in whose work Antiokhos IV becomes an Endtyrant linked with the Chaoskampf. Later, Roman emperors Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, also contribute to the Endtyrant construct. Most Antichrist texts tend to employ the Endtyrant construct to criticize a contemporary or historical ruler. For *On the Antichrist*, no such template for its Endtyrant is discernable.

The Antichrist most strongly displays the Chaoskampf and Endtyrant constructs. The Antichrist in *On the Antichrist* is notable for his ahistoricity. The sermon offers an Antichrist not obviously based upon any earthly ruler as the Endtyrant, and certainly not upon Seleukis I. This Antichrist could follow the model of Hippolytus of Rome (170-235), who wrote of a similarly ahistorical Antichrist, or it could reflect multiple recensions of the sermon long before the earliest manuscripts but this last is unlikely.

In discussing the Antichrist, Bernard McGinn theorizes that the Antichrist displays an "internal-external polarity." This is useful for gaging the Antichrist's evil as

¹³ Hyrdahl, "Maccabean Rebellion,," 200.

¹⁴ Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York NY: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1998), 27.

sourced from within or without the church. A “dread-deadly polarity” also emerges, referring to the Antichrist as a harsh persecutor of the church, or as a deceptive element from within it.¹⁵ Heretics within the church, and even those who appear as perfect Christians but who are interiorly not, serve as the source of the Antichrist’s power, and as representatives of Antichrist.¹⁶

McGinn’s Antichrist construct helps in understanding the Antichrist of *On the Antichrist*. In the sermon, the Antichrist is both a powerful political figure and a powerless charlatan. He performs miracles which are at once real and deceptive. Most importantly, he persecutes the faithful of the Church even though he himself arises from within the Church, and large numbers of faithful Christians willingly follow him. He is a deceiver and conjurer, but one whom logically all Christians should follow, all things being equal. *On the Antichrist* indeed offers a “dread-deadly polarity.”

The Sermon as a Metrical Composition

The A Recension does not display any obvious meter but instead reads like a prose sermon. Yet, two of the manuscripts, Vc1 and Vc2, include instructions stating that changes in meter occur. The other two manuscripts, Ov1 and Bo1, include no such instructions but have larger than normal spaces where the Vc1 and Vc2 indicate meter changes, indicating their awareness of such instructions.

¹⁵ Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Pr., 1999), 4.

¹⁶ McGinn, *Antichrist*, 5.

Additionally, Irina Ågren, working from OCS manuscripts, argues that *On the Antichrist* ultimately derives from an Aramaic hymn. Current scholarship holds that all early OCS manuscripts of *On the Antichrist* derive from one Old Bulgarian master created in the tenth century from one lost Greek manuscript. Ågren discovered that Vc2 is the closest Greek manuscript to this putative Greek master of the OCS recension. She proposes that Vc2 follows a heptasyllabic meter, without regard for long and short vowels, known in Aramaic hymnody. Below follows the first three sentences of Vc2 in this meter.

pōs ego ho hamartōlos (8 syllables)
 ostos plēm̄melēm̄atōn
 dunēthēen exeipein
 ta emoi huperoka

all' epeidē ho sōtēr
 oikeia eusplagkhnia
 kinei hēmōn aphthonōs
 tēn glōtgan [*sic.*] hōs bouletai
 eis kalēn ophelian
 kai pantōn oikodomēn
 kai emoi tō legonti
 kai pasin akroatais
 lalēsō en hodunais
 kai eipo en stenagmois

peri tou enestōtos
 kosmou tēs sunteleias

As noted in Chapter 1, Irina Ågren has noticed that some Efremitic works, including *On the Antichrist*, display variations between the Greek and OCS versions. Ågren argues that the original Greek text was a miniscule text, and errors in the OCS can be explained by the tenth-century translators misreading a lost Greek original. As OCS translations were often ponies, literal translations from Greek is theoretically possible. Ågren's proposal from Chapter 1 is repeated to illustrate.

[OCS] = ἐκεδύσατο [έκεδύσατο] τὴν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν [Assemani 11,14]
 [OCS] = ἀπηλλάγην νόον [νοῦν] [A14,6]
 [OCS] = τοῦ δευτέρου [δευτέρου] [14,8-9]
 [OCS] = καὶ πῶς εὐ [τοῦ] ὑποφέρειας [21,21]
 [OCS] = οὐκ ἐνεπλήσεν [ένεπλύσεν] [21,50]
 [OCS] = μνημονεύσης ἔτη [ἔτη] τοῦ προτέρου [26,67]
 [OCS] = σκόλον [σκώληξ] [30,39]
 [OCS] = οἰόμενοι [ἴωμενοι] σοφοὶ εἶναι [34,86]
 [OCS] = προκρίνειν [ἀποκρίνειν] [36,54]
 [OCS] = εὐθὺς ἔρχεται [ἔρχεται] [38,40-41]
 [OCS] = εἰ ὄντως [οὔτως] μετὰ τοσαῦτα [39,13]
 [OCS] = καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον ἐκήσατο [νοήσατο] [43,26]
 [OCS] = ἐν φωτὶ ἀνικάστω [ἀνικάτω] [45,49]
 [OCS] = ἐν τῷ ἐπιτάττειν ἔτιμοι [ἔντιμοι] [46,174]
 [OCS] = οὐκ ἐχαρίσατο [έχρίσατο] τοῖς χεῖλεσιν [48,263]
 [OCS] = ἄς [ὡς] ἐξελθὼν [48,324]
 [OCS] = πεμψόμεθα [πεμψώμεθα] [50,106]
 [OCS] = ἀνεκλίτοι [ἀνεκλίτοι] εἰσιν [50,193]
 [OCS] = τὸ μὴ ἀδέως [ἠδέως] οἰνοποτεῖν [75,24]¹⁷

Ågren posits that these variations indicate a different Greek Ur-text lay behind the OCS versions of many Efremic homilies than the Greek versions published by Joseph Assemani during 1737 to 1746.¹⁸ In this she is undoubtedly correct, as Assemani based his authoritative text-form upon a different recension than the A Recension. Yet, her proposed corrections do not approach the A Recension as none of her reconstructed words are found the manuscripts that went into creating it. This does not invalidate her hypothesis as scores of other manuscripts witness other recensions.

This last discussion may appear unrelated to a section on the poetics of *On the Antichrist*, but it does admit of one important question: Is a putative Aramaic original

¹⁷ Irina Ågren, *K probleme ispol'zovanii pechatnykh izdaniy grecheskikh tekstov pri issledovanii drevnikh slavianskikh perevodov: Na primere slavianskogo perevoda Paranesisa Efrema Sirina [On the Problem of Using Printed Editions of Greek Texts for Studying Old Slavonic Translations: With the Example of the Slavonic Translation of Ephrem the Syrian's Paraenesis]* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1991), 69.

¹⁸ Ågren, *K probleme*, , Abstract.

being recovered or created? To maintain that *On the Antichrist* is originally an Aramaic composition preserving its heptasyllabic structure through Greek translation is one matter, but to continue and propose that the current Greek text does not reflect the Aramaic due to translational or copyist errors changes the hypothesis' complexion. At what point is the original Aramaic being recovered versus being created through rewriting the sermon to proposed original words?

The Poetic Eschaton?

Obviously, one can group the first three sentences of the A Recension into (mostly) seven syllable units. This does not prove that the sermon derives from Aramaic, however, as this syllabic grouping could be coincidental. Also, the sermon is composed in good Greek; there is no obvious sign that the composition is translated from any other language (e.g. Aramaicisms do not continually appear). This dissertation does not disprove Ågren's hypothesis, but the A Recension does not prove it either.

This is not the end of the matter. The sermon is very hortatory, but the Greek text does not prove that the sermon is in origin a poem or hymn. At some point before the 10th century, however, someone did work the sermon into a hymn, as Vc1 and Vc2 witness, and Ov1 and Bo1 would indicate. This division into meters does not follow into later Greek recensions, however. Even in the four manuscripts of the A Recension, only two of the manuscripts expressly mention any meter. Also, multiple meters exist if Vc1 and Vc2 adduce correctly.

Proposed Dating of the Sermon

On the Antichrist is notable for having a difficult to date Antichrist character. He seems to walk out of the ether and refer to no historical figure in particular. In fact, *On the Antichrist* seems to refer to no datable historical events at all, and this alone makes it an unusual work. Nevertheless, this section attacks the problem of dating the sermon from two angles. First, a thematic/literary analysis interrogates the sermon; second, a textual analysis attempts to place the sermon within a narrower time frame. Both of these work within a definitive date range. The sermon is attributed to Efreem the Syrian (d.373), a man whose birthdate is unknown.¹⁹ In order to be attributed to Efreem, the sermon presumably would have been produced after he became famous, so a *terminus post quem* of 373 would seem to be reasonable. At the opposite end, the earliest known confirmed surviving manuscripts of the sermon date to the 10th century. As it is highly unlikely that the surviving manuscripts witness the autographic text-form of the sermon, they likely contain a sermon composed some time before they were copied. After all, *On the Antichrist* needed to be created before it could appear in two tenth-century copies (Ov1, Hm1). A *terminus post quem* of the 10th century is required. Thus, *On the Antichrist* must have been composed between 373 (or not long before) and 1000 (the final year of the 10th century). This section addresses a more precise date within the 627-year time frame.

Perhaps the most famous, if not most influential, Byzantine apocalypse is the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius. Composed c.692, it dominates the eschatological conversation shortly after it appears, even making it into Gaulish Latin by 727.²⁰ Pseudo-

¹⁹ David G.K. Taylor, "St. Ephraim's Influence on the Greeks," *Hugoye* 1 (1998): 186.

²⁰ Benjamin Garstad, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Pr., 2012), vii, ix, x.

Methodius does not employ Revelation as a source, but instead uses 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 as its basis.²¹ Pseudo-Methodius discusses the Roman Empire and a character who becomes ubiquitous in later Byzantine apocalypses: The Last Roman Empire. Ezekiel also provides material for the Apocalypse via Gog and Magog. These elements and others become stock characters in Byzantine apocalyptic during and after the 8th century. On the Antichrist employs none of these elements. In fact, the author of *On the Antichrist* seems completely unaware of Pseudo-Methodius' work. As Pseudo-Methodius so dominates the eschatological conversation once it appears on the scene, it is reasonable to presume *On the Antichrist* could predate it. This is not a guaranteed date, however, as the author of *On the Antichrist* could simply have ignored Pseudo-Methodius' work or operated in an area where it was unknown. Yet, as the following section on dating the Greek of *On the Antichrist* explains, the sermon is highly unlikely to date linguistically after the 8th century. Setting a new *terminus ante quem* of c.700 is therefore warranted, and a new date range of 373 to 700 appears.

Oikoumenios composed the earliest known commentary in Greek on Revelation. John Suggit dates Oikoumenios' *Commentary on the Apocalypse* to before 553, when the Second Council of Constantinople condemned Origen and Evagrius Pontikos, the latter a man Oikoumenios calls "all knowledgeable."²² The *Commentary on the Apocalypse* seems to have remained the only commentary in Greek on Revelation until Andrew of

²¹ Garstad, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, xi.

²² John N. Suggit, *Oecumenius: Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Washington DC: Catholic Univ. Pr., 2006), 6.

Caesarea composed his more influential work c.611.²³ The author of *On the Antichrist* shows no awareness of Oikoumenios' work, but this is not surprising as Revelation was not accepted by eastern churches until the Third Council of Constantinople in 680.²⁴

Around 611, Andrew of Caesarea authored a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* that became the standard interpretation of Revelation in the eastern church, and that ultimately led to the acceptance of Revelation by the east in 680. According to Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, Andrew of Caesarea composed his commentary to provide a Chalcedonian interpretation of Revelation to counter Oikoumenios' Origenistic, and apparently Miaphysite, interpretation.²⁵ In dating Andrew's *Commentary*, Constantinou followed clues in the text that pointed to a time during the Byzantine-Sassanian War of 602-628. Specifically, Constantinou sees Andrew writing his *Commentary* after the first Sassanian Persian capture of Caesarea. The main Byzantine-Sassanian War does not appear reflected within *On the Antichrist*, but the author of *On the Antichrist* shows no awareness of Andrew of Caesarea's work.

Is *On the Antichrist* an Apocalypse?

The end of the current world, and the violence which many presume accompanies it, have obsessed Christians since the early days of the Jesus movement. This obsession manifests itself through apocalyptic and eschatological literature, genres which cross

²³ Constantinou, *Andrew of Caesarea*, 16.

²⁴ Suggit, *Oecumenius*, 3, 102.

²⁵ Constantinou, *Andrew of Caesarea*, 10.

boundaries into other religions, perhaps most strongly into Islam. Apocalyptic literature is an ever-evolving scribal literary genre, which arose from the theology of Enochian Judaeism.

Defining Apocalyptic

One important caveat in discussion apocalyptic literature is distinguishing between apocalyptic and eschatology. Eschatology/eschaton comes from the Greek *eskhatos* which refers to the final or last of something in time, and can also denote the worst of something in degree. The form *eskhaton* has come to mean the last or final matters. Christianity has employed this term to refer to the end of linear time, and usually interpreted such end as a violent termination to (an often degraded) human history. Apocalyptic literature is often eschatological in nature, especially in the popular mind where the word "apocalyptic" tends to be synonymous with "catastrophic", as it tends to deal with the end of linear time, at least in Christianity and Islam. Yet, apocalyptic literature also can deal with the end of a cycle within cyclical time. Additionally, eschatological literature need not be apocalyptic.

Apocalyptic literature is a form of theodicy born out of a crisis in late Second Temple Judaeism.²⁶ At issue: how can anomie exist in a directed cosmos run by a god who is evolving into an omniscient, omnipotent, and omnibenevolent, entity? Logically, evil can only exist if God were omniscient and omnibenevolent, or omniscient and omnipotent, or omnipotent and omnibenevolent, but not all three. The perceived failure

²⁶ Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 2001), 76.

of the Deuteronomic Covenant necessitated a new explanation for anomie: apocalyptic, a genre controlled by scribes seeking to justify God's failure to defeat evil.²⁷ The scribal component betrays apocalyptic as a development from wisdom literature.²⁸

Scholars such as Seth Schwartz consider the Book of Watchers as the first true apocalyptic text, which James VanderKam dates to the 3rd century BCE, possibly before the Maccabean Revolt.²⁹ The Book of Watchers differs from contemporary works which also address theodicy, such as Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira. Ecclesiastes adopts a nihilistic position vis-à-vis the Deuteronomic Covenant, and Ben Sira/Ecclesiasticus simply ignores the problem completely.³⁰ The Book of Watchers aligns with Ecclesiastes' pessimism, and views history fatalistically with humans as pawns in a cosmic war.³¹

The Book of Watchers constitutes chapters 1-36 in the current book of 1 Enoch. It begins with an oracle of judgement against fallen *bene hā'Ēlōhiym* (lit. "sons of god") called the Watchers (*'îr*).³² The word translated as Watcher, *'îr* or *'ûr* meaning "to awake," "to wake up," possibly indicating a being who is always awake, first occurs in this context in Daniel, where the Watchers are spies in God's court.³³ The Watchers

²⁷ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 83.

²⁸ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 76.

²⁹ James VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 114. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 76.

³⁰ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 83.

³¹ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 77.

³² Marvin H. Pope, *Job* (New York: Doubleday, 1973), 11. Hartman and DiLella, *Book of Daniel*, 16. Dan. 4:13(10), 17(14), 23(20).

³³ Hartman and DiLella, *Book of Daniel*, 172. George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress Pr., 2003), 98.

fathered with human women half-human *gibborim* before the Noachic flood. The Watcher Šemihazah initiated the mating of Watcher and human, in which the Watchers teach human women sorcery. The children of the *gibborim*, the Nephilim, enslave and eat humans. The Watcher Asael teaches humans technology, particularly metallurgy, and organized warfare, as other Watchers teach humanity astrology and divination. This necessitates a response from God in which he orders the Seven Archangels into action. One of the Watchers, Gabriel, turns the *gibborim* against one another, so they exterminate themselves. Another Watcher named Michael arrests Šemihazah and the other Watchers for defiling themselves with humans (specifically human blood and flesh) so they can be condemned and punished with eternal torture. Enoch travels through Heaven and Hell, learns the names and jobs of the Seven Archangels, and gets commissioned to reprimand the Watchers, he delivers oracles against the Watchers, but finds himself suborned to represent them to God. As part of his visions, Enoch learns that the dead *gibborim* (and possibly Nephilim) become evil spirits who afflict humans. His otherworldly journey includes a detailed tour of the fiery places of torture (not yet called Hell), and a mountain with four chambers for the dead to inhabit before the final judgment.³⁴

By the 1st century BCE at the latest, a sect of Second Temple Judaeism, Enochian Judaeism, emerged in part from ideas in the Book of Watchers. Enochians seem to have viewed the cosmos as caught in a dualistic matrix between a good God and an evil antigod. This antigod varies in early apocalypses, but by the 1st century BCE Satan emerges as God's main antagonist. This dualism necessitated a cosmic war which

³⁴ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 20-49.

drives apocalyptic. In Enochianism, God ultimately defeats the Evil One but may employ a ruse to do so. Temporary, if not planned, victories by evil are just part of God's greater plan.³⁵ Over time, other elements such as the Chaoskampf (discussed later in this chapter) become important in apocalyptic.

Originating as a scribal genre, apocalyptic gains life in the interpreting of the apocalypse. Interpreter, interpretation, and audience, all participate in apocalyptic as much as does the revelator/composer. This makes apocalyptic a participatory literature, which lends itself easily to incorporation into lived religion, and often borrows elements from lived religion to incorporate into elite theology. Apocalyptic is a genre which travels through multiple cultures/religions and acquires new characteristics within those cultures/religions so as to better address particular issues unique to each.

Defining apocalyptic proves as maddening to scholars as defining other critical, but widely used, terms (e.g. *religion, culture, life*). Yet coming to grips with, and attempting a working definition of, apocalyptic is critical if any analysis of an eschatological text with apocalyptic elements is to be attempted.

John J. Collins sees the revelation of a supernatural world and the activity of supernatural beings as critical elements to all apocalypses. Apocalypticism differs from classical Hebrew prophecy in seeking retribution of evil; and evildoers after death.³⁶ The symbolism employed in apocalypticism is capable of carrying multiple meanings. He also notes that *perceived* crises are common in apocalypses, but notes that real crises could

³⁵ Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 86.

³⁶ John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1998), 6.

easily produce a given apocalypse.³⁷ Although real crises might underlie an apocalypse, it is worth remembering that any apocalypse only require that the apocalypse creator, interpreter, and or audience, believe a crisis to be at hand, for the apocalypse to have power. Perception need not necessarily mirror reality.

Collins constructs a “Master Paradigm” of apocalyptic literature in his 1979 study. He defines an apocalypse against four elements: 1) some manner of revelation, which can include epiphanies, otherworldly journeys, and dialogue; 2) a temporal axis, which can include protology, primordial events, *ex eventu* prophecy, and eschatological crises, judgements, and/or salvation; 3) a spatial axis, which can include otherworldly beings and regions, and occasionally a paraenesis; and, 4) concluding elements, which can include instructions to the recipient of the revelation, and a narrative conclusion.³⁸ Another important element Collins describes is a narrative framework within which the revelation is described. Apocalypses are never simply oracular pronouncements given by human or non-human agents, with an oracle defined as something uttered directly, not mediated. Apocalypses always involve eschatological salvation, with a personal afterlife critical to the apocalypse, and mediated by an otherworldly entity to a human recipient.³⁹

According to Collins’ schema, *On the Antichrist* fails to qualify as an apocalypse. No actual revelation occurs in the work, which is a sermon in form. No epiphany or otherworldly journey appears in the text, which discusses this world. Collins’ temporal

³⁷ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 51.

³⁸ John J. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre.” John J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 6-8.

³⁹ Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 9-10.

axis does appear, as *On the Antichrist* does include eschatological crises and judgment, but the spiritual axis appears only in muted form. The sermon is more paranaesis than visions of the other world. Otherworldly beings do appear, but even the Antichrist only mildly controls the action; the environment is actually the most powerful actor in the sermon. The narrative conclusion is not unusual for a sermon, but no instructions to an apocalypt appear. No personal afterlife is promised to an apocalypt, but the sermon's audience shares in an eschatological promise hinted at by the sermonizer. This makes *On the Antichrist* an apocalyptic sermon but not a true apocalypse in the tradition of Daniel 7-12 or 4 Ezra.

O'Leary notes that modern apocalyptic appeals to a wide range of educational backgrounds and socio-economic classes.⁴⁰ This could result from the use of rhetoric designed to construct calamities and disasters which inculcate apocalyptic thinking and/or acceptance of apocalyptic ideas. Following Bernard McGinn, O'Leary sees apocalyptic as a received, textually-embedded, community of discourse.⁴¹ This indicates that apocalyptic could appeal to an audience because it is a readily-available written discourse, perhaps authorized by power structures. As a written discourse, it would be available for interpretation by any literate person at any time, which makes it a form of popular literature, if not participatory literature. If a political and/or ecclesiastical institution were to endorse such a written discourse, then the interpreters would be buying into the interpretation of history endorsed by the power structures. To O'Leary,

⁴⁰ Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse* (New York, NY: Oxford University Pr., 1994), 9.

⁴¹ O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 10.

interpretation is key in apocalyptic mythology. The power and authority of apocalyptic resides not in the prophet, or in the entity revealing the apocalypse, but in the interpreter, who reshapes the apocalypse into a matrix which seems to address current circumstances.⁴² This would seem to imply that a certain amount of vagueness in an apocalypse is necessary for it to survive multiple, and sometimes contradictory, interpretations through many generations.

Contextualism becomes key in accurate and historical analysis of apocalyptic; specifically, the contexts of the interpreter and the interpreter's times.⁴³ Conversely, lack of context often can explain the durative power of particular apocalypses, which seem to find new interpretations in different generations and cultures, and also would explain why some apocalypses change over time, producing multiple recensions over time. The interpretation of these apocalypses, according to O'Leary, require rationality and a logical chain of reasoning.⁴⁴ Audiences in different times and cultures accept different chains of reasoning, which often leads to different interpretations of a particular apocalypse among different audiences. Each audience would accept its particular interpretation of a particular apocalypse as quite rational within the context of that audience's times. This could explain hermeneutic generally, however.

Apocalyptic literature also serves to validate the reality and meaning of suffering by fitting it within a cosmic context according to the interpretation. Apocalyptic thereby

⁴² O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 13.

⁴³ O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 15.

⁴⁴ O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 15.

justifies the existence of evil in cosmic context and places the real or perceived suffering of the individual or community within a mythic context, if not as occurring within mythic time.⁴⁵ The key to making apocalyptic interpretation work lies in avoiding temporal specificity while applying symbols concretely enough to make them relevant to the specific times.⁴⁶ The continual discussion of environmental disaster in *On the Antichrist* functions in just this way, vague enough to fit any environmental disaster into a cosmic context.

O’Leary’s ideas on the importance of interpretation and audience for apocalyptic can greatly inform the analysis of the Greek sermon, as can his insights on the degeneration of the world and conspiracy theories. It is worth noting that wherever the Antichrist appears in literature, he is usually involved in some conspiracy. *On the Antichrist* involves just such a conspiracy of demons impersonating angels, and an Antichrist misrepresenting himself to win mass acceptance.

On the Antichrist does contain some vague elements, particularly in its Antichrist which is very difficult to place within history. Whereas some apocalypses very obviously employ identifiable models such as the Roman emperor Julian, *On the Antichrist* remains elusive, perhaps deliberately. The Interpreter, who announces the sermon, presents a unique apocalypse which can be easily reinterpreted by later audiences.

O’Leary offers a more rhetorically-oriented analysis of apocalypticism. *On the Antichrist* definitely expresses the judgment of good and evil, just not imminently. The

⁴⁵ O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 42.

⁴⁶ O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 193.

rise of the Antichrist does fit a conspiracy theory mindset. An important subtheme in Late Antique and medieval Christian apocalyptic discusses how the Antichrist arises from within the church. He is, to all appearances, a perfect Christian and almost all the world's Christians, believing him sent by God, follow him willingly at least in the beginning. As to analyzing *On the Antichrist* as a community of discourse, the sermon's multiple recensions testify that such a discussion did occur several times. Although the audiences for the recensions might not have included any literate folk, the scribes who molded each recension likely reflect to some extent the expectations and fears of their audiences.

John C. Reeves notes that beginning in the 7th century, revelatory literature, particular historical apocalypses, which seek to explain the current world in cosmic terms, explodes in the Near East.⁴⁷ Reeves defines apocalyptic as mainly a supernatural medium of knowledge, which means his definition rests upon the source of the revelatory knowledge instead of the eschaton.⁴⁸ He further adds that apocalyptic is an elite literature,⁴⁹ which includes elites in either the ruling or the retainer classes. Reeves' apocalyptic is a revelatory literature in which a non-human or a formerly human intermediary discloses knowledge from outside the everyday world. In his definition, Reeves notes that although early apocalypses (e.g. Daniel, Zechariah 9-14, 4 Ezra, 1 Enoch, 1QS The War Scroll) rarely reference earlier writings, later apocalypses

⁴⁷ John C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic* (Leiden, NDR: Brill, 2005), 1.

⁴⁸ Reeves, *Trajectories*, 2.

⁴⁹ Reeves, *Trajectories*, 3.

legitimate their revelations though proof-texting from works already canonized or otherwise considered sacred.⁵⁰

The use of apocalyptic as legitimation appears strongly among the radical monotheistic Christian Arabs, whose culture later evolves into the Islam. Finding themselves continually criticized by Trinitarian and Nestorian Christians, and by Amoritic Hebrews, that the Arab Prophet's revelations were not mentioned in either the writings of the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament, the proto-Muslims turn to apocalyptic literature and Biblical hermeneutic to support the Qur'an's claims.⁵¹ Reeves notes a passage from First Isaiah (Is. 21:6-9) as a particularly important proof-text for the contention that the Hebrew Bible predicted both Jesus and the Arab Prophet.⁵² Reeves' insights take the definition of apocalyptic into the nature of the revelations as well as their sources. He also seems to explain why apocalyptic becomes so important within the Islamic tradition, as a source of legitimation for the new culture.

On the Antichrist fails to qualify as an apocalypse per Reeves' definition primarily because it does not employ any supernatural means of knowledge, and certainly no extrahuman intermediary reveals hidden knowledge, to employ Reeves' language, *On the Antichrist* appears to function as a sermon explaining the retainer classes' view of eschatology. Also noteworthy, *On the Antichrist* engages in little proof-texting, only citing three gospel passages, and alluding (sometimes quite obliquely) to other Christian

⁵⁰ Reeves, *Trajectories*, 5.

⁵¹ Reeves, *Trajectories*, 6-7.

⁵² Reeves, *Trajectories*, 9.

works. Yet, the entire sermon is in essence an expansion of 2 Thessalonians 2. This does not qualify as proof-texting, but it does employ a canonized text as a source.

David Cook defines Muslim apocalyptic as a genre influenced by Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian, apocalyptic, which takes the form of a hadith, which is a saying attributed to Muhammad or an opinion presented by his companions. There is no divine mediator in the Muslim apocalyptic tradition, but the apocalypse purports to deliver information about the eschaton, or to interpret the present as a key part of the eschaton.⁵³ He also notes that Muslim apocalyptic literature tends to employ elements of the past as if to point out the circularity of time.⁵⁴ Moral decay and turpitude are important elements within the apocalyptic, and often physical signs show within the eschatological society; people distrust one another more, crime increases, and disasters strike the earth. Both supernatural and natural disasters (e.g. earthquakes, famine, and drought) figure into Muslim apocalypses.⁵⁵ Thus nature itself participates in the apocalypse.⁵⁶ The themes of conversion and apostasy, followed by retreat and collapse, are strong in Muslim apocalyptic. Cook attributes this to an insecurity within proto-Islam and early Islam, in which many converted shallowly then later fell away.⁵⁷ Muslim apocalypses, particularly Shi'i apocalypses, are also very careful not to commit to a time for the eschaton.⁵⁸

⁵³ David Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 2002), 1, 1n2, 23.

⁵⁴ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 23.

⁵⁵ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 13-14.

⁵⁶ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 15.

⁵⁷ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 7.

⁵⁸ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 18.

Although Arabic translations of Christian apocalypses were available by the 9th century at the latest, they appear to have circulated as a form of popular literature. Cook posits that apocalypses circulated through oral transmission between poorly-educated people.⁵⁹ This would mean that Muslim apocalypses were not an activity of the literati, as in Byzantium, but of the common people, with elements of lived religion able to make inroads into the material. These Muslim apocalypses circulate alongside eastern Christian apocalypses which arise under Muslim rule, such as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*.⁶⁰

Although analyzing *On the Antichrist* against Cook's study of Muslim Apocalyptic might appear at first to be a case of apples to oranges, such a comparison is fruitful. *On the Antichrist* is obviously not a hadith, but it is a sermon with no divine mediator. Elements of the past do appear within the sermon, with some recensions more prone to this than others, and there is no attempt to set a date for the eschaton. Most strangely, *On the Antichrist* resembles Muslim apocalypses in discussing the moral turpitude of the eschaton, which results in increased crime and natural disasters.⁶¹ In fact, one can interpret the sermon as embodying a hidden Chaokampf, in this case, the Earth herself rejects the sea creature (i.e. Serpent/Antichrist) and proceeds to choke it off through drought and famine. Nature herself figures prominently in *On the Antichrist*.

⁵⁹ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 2.

⁶⁰ Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 5n9.

⁶¹ A similar eschaton appears within Hopi tales of destruction. Private communication. Eugene Clay to the author, 3 April 2019. Also, cf. Ekkehart Malotki, *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Univ. of Nebraska Pr.: Lincoln NE, 2002), *passim*.

Also like Muslim, specifically Shi'i, apocalypses, the sermon avoids committing to a time for the eschaton.

This is not to imply that *On the Antichrist* is originally a Muslim apocalypse. Cook notes that Arabic translations of Christian apocalypses were available by the 9th century at the latest; the earliest known recensions of *On the Antichrist* appear in Greek in the 10th century. Interestingly, one Arabic translation of *On the Antichrist* does survive: the *Mīmar qālahu Mārī Afrām 'alā Inqida' al 'Ālam wa Maji' al Dajjāl (incipit)*.⁶² This Arabic work is found within the University of Leiden Library, Or. 14.238 [98b-107a], which is also listed as MS 16 of Katalog 500 of K.W. Hiersemann. The manuscript may originally have come from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai. The manuscript contains nine works, two of which are Efremitic. Or. 14.238 is a mostly collection of Christian hagiographies, such as the martyrdoms of St. George, St. Theodore of Euchalta, Placidus, and St. Christopher. The Septuagint text (in Arabic translation) of Job is included, as are the Acts of Thomas, and the Life of St. Euthymius. The manuscript was apparently treasured and well-used, as evidenced by the fact that when the ink in some areas faded, a later hand redrew the text. In 1922, Anton Baumstark dated Or. 14.238 to the 12th century, but Jan Witkam has more recently revised that estimate to the 10th century.⁶³ Interestingly, according to Brock, most of the Arabic manuscripts of Efremitic

⁶² J.J. Witkam, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands, Fascicule 3* (Brill: Leiden, 1988), 335.

⁶³ Witkam, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 329.

translate the Greek, and not Syriac, works.⁶⁴ Even at the 10th century, *Mīmar qālahu Mārī Afrām* is too late to influence the development of Islamic Apocalyptic. Its similarities with Islamic Apocalyptic then evolving may have ensured its translation, however.

Jane Baun defines apocalyptic simply as a divine revelation, usually regarding eschatological or celestial matters.⁶⁵ Her concern is for specifically Byzantine apocalyptic, which she divides into two orders: historical and moral.⁶⁶ The historical order Baun defines as featuring redemption via an external savior (e.g. the Last Emperor), or agent of God. *Ex eventu* prophecies are often featured as well.⁶⁷ The moral order she defines as demonstrating linkage between redemption and human action linked with causal relationships. In the moral order, humans bear responsibility for the eschaton.⁶⁸ It would appear that Baun's moral order preserved key elements of Hebrew prophecy, particularly in regards to the importance of human actions vis-à-vis the eschaton, and in regards to using the moral order to change the behaviors of an audience. One key element Baun sees in both orders is a collective eschatology; individual eschatology does not appear nearly as important. Byzantine apocalypses also feature Otherworldly Journeys which comport with eastern Christian ideas of the afterlife. The apocalypst always ascends, even into Hell, which reflects the East's not sharing the West's afterlife

⁶⁴ Sebastian Brock, "St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations (2012)" (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014). Available online at <http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/syriac/brock/ephrem> as a PDF.

⁶⁵ Jane Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Pr., 2007), 18.

⁶⁶ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 30.

⁶⁷ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 32.

⁶⁸ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 33.

geography, which by the 13th century sees Heaven as up, Hell as down, and Earth as in-between.⁶⁹

Perhaps Baun's most important observation lies in her proposal that when analyzing a medieval apocalypse, seeking the autographic text-form is less important than studying the change through time of the authoritative text-form.⁷⁰ This may help explain why many medieval apocalypses become popular literature in the lived religions of the East Slavic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, cultures.⁷¹ Baun portrays medieval apocalypses as almost Geertzian symbols, which are periodically emptied and redefined by each new generation.⁷² This flexibility in the authoritative text-forms makes medieval apocalypses particularly challenging for text-critical scholars. This flexibility results in part from the lack of an early fixed canon in the East, so extrabiblical works acquired and maintained validity for a much longer period than in the West.⁷³

On the Antichrist may not qualify as an historical apocalypse per Baun. The effective external savior in the sermon is difficult to determine. Christ appears only at the very end of the sermon, but neither directs the action of the drama nor really ends the Antichrist's reign leaving that job to Elijah, Enoch, the angels, and nature. In fact, a stronger case could be made that Nature herself is the true savior since she seems to carry the burden of distressing through ecological disasters the Antichrist's reign until it

⁶⁹ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 148.

⁷⁰ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 37.

⁷¹ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 102.

⁷² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 127.

⁷³ Baun, *Another Byzantium*, 101.

collapses. In addition, the sermon features no obvious *ex eventu* prophecy. It fits better within the moral apocalypse category. Human actions in the sermon aid the Antichrist and lead indirectly to natural disasters. Human actions, be they due to willful choice or to deception, definitely bear responsibility for the eschaton. Yet in this sermon, no Otherworldly Journey appears. The sermon does display variation in the form of multiple recensions, which means that it resembles a Byzantine Apocalypse in its myriad reinterpretations, both within the Byzantine Empire and within the East Slavic world.

So, What is an Apocalypse?

In modern studies of apocalyptic literature, little agreement exists on the definition of the apocalyptic genre.⁷⁴ One of the few areas of agreement is that Daniel 7-12, the Book of Watchers, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and Revelation are all apocalypses.⁷⁵ This hints towards one key conclusion that the definition of apocalyptic literature really rests upon a comparison of any given work to the aforementioned five core works. Collins himself admits that he constructs his definition employing only Late Antique works from the Eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁶ In an absolutely minimalist sense, only Second Temple Judaeon works models upon the five core works aforementioned quality as apocalypses.

Although scholarship certainly does not need yet another proposed definition of apocalyptic, for the sake of argument this study of *On the Antichrist* defines apocalyptic

⁷⁴ Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 2.

⁷⁵ Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 3.

⁷⁶ Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 5.

thus: Descended from Enochian Judaeian theology, Apocalyptic is a form of theodicy which seeks to explain why an omniscient, omnibenevolent, omnipotent, God is apparently unable to eliminate anomie (usually evil in later Christianity) from a directed cosmos. It is a fatalistic genre which interprets current earthly circumstances through the prism of a perceived cosmic order and/or predetermined future. The cosmic order in apocalyptic is necessarily dualistic. God condones, if he does not employ, extreme violence to subdue anomie/evil, for the existence of which he is never responsible. Note that any definition of apocalyptic must also conclude a diachronic component, as apocalyptic genre that changes to adapt to different cultures/religions, or risk becoming of limited utility. In short: apocalyptic evolves, as *On the Antichrist* illustrates.

Apocalyptic validates the reality and meaning of suffering by fitting it within a cosmic context. It justifies anomie/evil in cosmic context and places the real or perceived suffering of the individual or community within a mythic context, if not as occurring within mythic time.⁷⁷ The anomie can be political, religious, or socioeconomic. The key to making apocalyptic interpretation work lies in avoiding temporal specificity while applying symbols concretely enough to make them relevant to the specific times.⁷⁸ If this definition is employed, then *On the Antichrist* is an apocalypse.

⁷⁷ Stephen D. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse* (New York, NY: Oxford University Pr., 1994), 42.

⁷⁸ O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, 193.

Conclusion

Analyzing *On the Antichrist* presents many challenges, and only tentative conclusions can be offered. The sermon (which here refers specifically to the A Recension) relies heavily upon 2 Thessalonians 2 and the Little Apocalypse, with some borrowings from Revelation. Two manuscripts overtly indicate multiple meters for the sermon, but two others only hint at such divisions, and the nature of the meters is uncertain. The sermon itself contains few hints as to datable historical events, with the Greek of the sermon analyzing to a Late Koine/Early Byzantine cusp language datable to between the 6th to 8th centuries. All of this presents a sermon with little to tie it to one moment in time, and that very likely helps explain the popularity of the work not only in Greek but in Old Bulgarian and later Old Church Slavonic. Apocalypses without easily attributable contexts are more appealing to new audiences, who can employ them to explain new circumstances in different lands among different nations during different times than those in which the original apocalypse is composed. As a general rule, apocalypses thrive best where context is lacking so that they can more easily be reinterpreted. *On the Antichrist* is just such a sermon, and in its own way just such an apocalypse. It is primarily an eschatological sermon, but in seeing an immediate threat to his audience, even if only a moral one, *On the Antichrist* qualifies as a true apocalypse. For all the uncertainties and puzzles this sermon presents, the evidence clearly points to at least one conclusion: Efreem the Syrian (d.373) cannot have authored this work. There is no way currently to ascertain the author, but the question may be irrelevant since even if the author's name were known, modern scholarship might not recognize him.

Chapter 3

Interrogating the Manuscripts

Introduction

The manuscript witnesses of *On the Antichrist* are important in undertaking a study of the sermon. In the Byzantine, and indeed the Slavonic, world, nobody ever copied *On the Antichrist* alone onto any manuscript, but into deliberately selected collections of texts.

The Manuscripts: *On the Antichrist*

At least sixty-nine Greek manuscript witnesses of *On the Antichrist* are known to survive. They date from the 10th to the 17th centuries and comprise a diverse collection of codices including those containing liturgical collections, apocalyptic and/or eschatological collections, and Efremitic collections. One caveat: many of Efremitic works remain uncatalogued. Pinakes, the catalogue of Greek manuscripts maintained by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris, employs a general term, *Opera*, of 537 manuscripts with uncatalogued Efremitic works. Therefore, there may exist more copies of *On the Antichrist*.

This dissertation employs Keith E. Small's adaptation of Eldon Epp's schema. Small works in Qur'anic textual criticism, and he bases his adaptation upon Epp's work in New Testament textual criticism. The following are the technical terms employed:

- 1) *Predecessor Text-Form* – The original textual or oral sources employed by the author in creating the work.
- 2) *Autographic Text-Form* – The form of the work just after the author completed it. None of the manuscripts are likely to witness the autographic text-form.
- 3) *Authoritative Text-Form* – The form of the work which acquired some authority at a local or regional level. Many authoritative text-forms can exist simultaneously. Some of the surviving manuscript witnesses/recensions of *On the Antichrist* could qualify as authoritative text-forms. The situation may differ for Old Church Slavonic translations.
- 4) *Canonical Text-Form* – The form of the text which acquired wide geographic consensual authority. Often, but not always, this text-form is either accepted by, or created by, a formal power structure. No one Greek text-form seems to have gained canonical status until Assemani published his version and dominated scholarly views of the sermon.
- 5) *Interpretive Text-Form* – Any later intentional revision of the text for stylistic, practical, interpretive, or dogmatic, purposes.¹ Many later versions of the text qualify as interpretive text-forms.

The ages and locations of all known witnesses of *On the Antichrist* employed in the study follow. Manuscripts not employed, or which could have proven useful to the study, and unemployed manuscripts determined unlikely to aid significantly, are listed in Appendix 3. For all manuscripts, the Pinakes catalogue has proven vitally important for manuscript details.²

The following manuscripts have been employed in the study. They have been chosen because they are 10th to 11th century manuscripts, representing the earliest surviving recension (the A Recension). All other manuscripts witness at least three other

¹ Keith E. Small, *Textual Criticism and Qur'ān Manuscripts* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 6-7.

² Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (hereafter: IRHT), *Ephraem Graecus: In Aduentum Domini Et De Consummatione Saeculi* (Paris: IRHT, 2016). <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/7420/>. Accessed 22 June 2016.

confirmed recensions. Later recensions appear to build upon this A Recension or somehow react against it.

Manuscript Ov₁

Vienna, Austria. Austrian National Library, theol. gr. 010 (aka Vindobonensis theol. gr. 10) [47v-55v]. The manuscript contains 65 works, of which 3 are Efremic. Most of the works are by John Chrysostom, and those that are not include eschatological works such as *Sermo 20: In secundum adventum Domini* by Pseudo-Eusebius Alexandrinus, and *Catechesis 15: De Secundo Adventu Christi* by Cyril of Jerusalem. The Efremic works are CPG 3945 and *On the Antichrist*. Dated to the 10th century, Ov₁ is an Italo-Greek manuscript but its exact place of creation is unknown.³

As the oldest manuscript examined, and one of the two oldest manuscripts of the sermon known to survive, Ov₁ is of particular interest. It is Sermon 11 (\overline{IA}) in its manuscript.⁴ The manuscript shows evidence of a later hand altering the original text. This later editor changes the spellings of many words particularly changing vowels. The original scribe often confuses ξ and ζ and does not always distinguish between the two. This could indicate the two consonants were pronounced similarly in the area where the scribe copied. Curiously, a later hand erases many of the σ at the ends of lines only to add them to the beginnings of the next lines.

³ Juditha J. Oosterhuis-den Otter, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies on Job (CPG 4564, BHG 939d-g) Transmission, Critical Edition, and Translation* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Press, 2015), 17.

⁴ Although the Pinakes catalogue lists the sermon as 13, the Greek is clearly numbered 11 (\overline{IA}).

Manuscript Vc₁

Vatican City. Vatican Library, gr. 1524 [74v-75v]. The manuscript contains 42 works, of which 23 are Efremitic. *On the Antichrist* appears with works by John Chrysostom, pseudo-Macarius, Abba Moyses, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Nil of Ancyra. Theophilus of Alexandria's *Sermo de Morte et de Iudicio* (CPG 2618), Hesychius of Jerusalem's *Laudatio Omnium Martyrum* (CPG 6588), and Abba Moyses' *Sermo Paraeneticus* all appear indicating a monastic audience for the codex. Dated to the 10th-11th centuries, Vc₁ is an Italo-Greek manuscript. Antonio Rigo proposes that Vc₁ may hail from the area of Bisignano in Calabria, Italy, and further that it is a manuscript from the School of Nil of Rossano (aka the Younger) (910-1005), who is credited with founding Byzantine monasticism in southern Italy.⁵

Vc₁ shows one sermon split into four, with the Greek numerals indicating this division occurred early in the sermon's history. Whoever numbered the sermons began by assigning *On the Antichrist* number 45 (\overline{ME}) in its manuscript, then numbering sections of the same sermon as 46, 47, and 48. The scribe who copied this manuscript may have been an illustrator. Vc₁ features many small pictures as if the scribe became bored easily. In this manuscript, the rough breathing and smooth breathing characters are often confused, and often the scribe writes both as just dots above the appropriate letter, indicating that the phoneme /h/ is no longer pronounced by either the local community in which the scribe works, or by the monk reading aloud as medieval manuscripts are often copied by scribes writing what another monk is reading aloud from a manuscript.

⁵ Antonia Rigo, "La lettera (e gli apoftegmi) di Abba Doulas," *Analecta Bollandiana* 130 (2012): 261.

Finally, Vc₁ is a damaged manuscript witness. Although quite valuable for just over 60% of the sermon, Vc₁ suffered a loss of pages sometime in its history. In the critical edition, it stops in mid-sentence at l.272 (of 447 lines). The manuscript contains a note on the final page [*Desunt. sed. sut. i[.] ahe [cod. Sub. Lit. OC]*], indicating that the damage had already occurred when the Vatican acquired the manuscript.

Manuscript Vc₂

Vatican City. Vatican Library, gr. 1815 [100-104v]. The manuscript contains 52 works, of which 41 are Efremitic. CPG 3909 (#2), 3944 (#13), and 3942 (#25 and #46) appear with works by pseudo-Macarius, Anastasius of Sinai, Athanasius of Alexandria, John Cassian, and Pope Gregory I. Two hagiographies of Efremit the Syrian accompany the Efremitic texts. The Vatican catalogue cites the work as *de Antichristo (eis ton Antikhriston)*, and notes that it is subdivided into four parts, with *On the Antichrist* as the first part, and CPG 4012/1-3 as the second through fourth parts.⁶

Dated to c.1022-1023 (AM 6531⁷), Vc₂ is another Italo-Greek manuscript from the School of Nil of Rossano, possibly created in the Campania area.⁸ A scribe named Iōnas copied the manuscript for one Father Nikon at an unknown monastery in southern Italy. Vc₂ later made its way to the Abbey of Santa Maria di Grottaferrata, founded by Nil of Rossano in 1004.⁹ Two and perhaps three scribes have contributed to this manuscript.

⁶ Paulus Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1745-1962*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Vatican Library, 1970), 197.

⁷ Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Miniscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200, vol. 11: Manuscripts in Rome, Part 1* (Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1937), 13 no. 277.

⁸ Rigo. “La lettera (e gli apoftegmi) di Abba Doulas”, 262.

⁹ Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745-1962, 1*, 201-202.

Irina Ågren has identified this manuscript witness as the closest to the OCS and published a transcription.¹⁰ It also appears related to the Latin translations. Both issues are addressed in Chapter 4.

Manuscript Bo₁

Oxford, England. Bodleian Library, Cromwell 23 [p.144-160]. The manuscript contains 27 works, of which 1 is Efremitic. The rest of the works are by authors like Andrew of Crete, George of Nicomedia, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom. The manuscript formerly resided at the Monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytrias in Chalkidiki.

Dated c.1064-1065, Bo₁ has what may be the most colored history. Copied in 1065 at an unknown site, by 1520 the manuscript appears in the possession of, and is bound by, the Monastery of St. Anastasia the Pharmakolutria near Khalkidhiki in Greece, and near Mt. Athos.¹¹ The story of this manuscript takes a fascinating turn in 1654 when Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland (r.1653-1658) gifted Bo₁ along with 23 other manuscripts to the Bodleian Library. Along with three more manuscripts from Cromwell's collection gifted to the Bodleian in 1727, the library received 25 Greek manuscripts, and two OCS manuscripts, from the

¹⁰ Ågren, *K probleme*, 110-120.

¹¹ Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuseriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensioem codicum graecorum continens* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1853), 451. Jean Darrouzès, "Les manuscrits du monastère Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria de Chalcidique." *Revue des études byzantines* 12 (1954): 56.

Lord Protector, who also served as Chancellor of Oxford from 1651 until 1657.¹²

Whether Cromwell ever read *On the Antichrist*, much less if it in any way influenced his thinking or actions, is unknown.

This sermon is Sermon 11 (\overline{IA}) in its manuscript. Bo₁ shows evidence of two scribes being involved in copying the sermon, which has many Early Byzantine spellings. In general, this manuscript witness appears adapted to an audience less familiar with Late Koine Greek and may reflect a scribe reworking *On the Antichrist* into a more traditional homiletical format.

Interrelationships

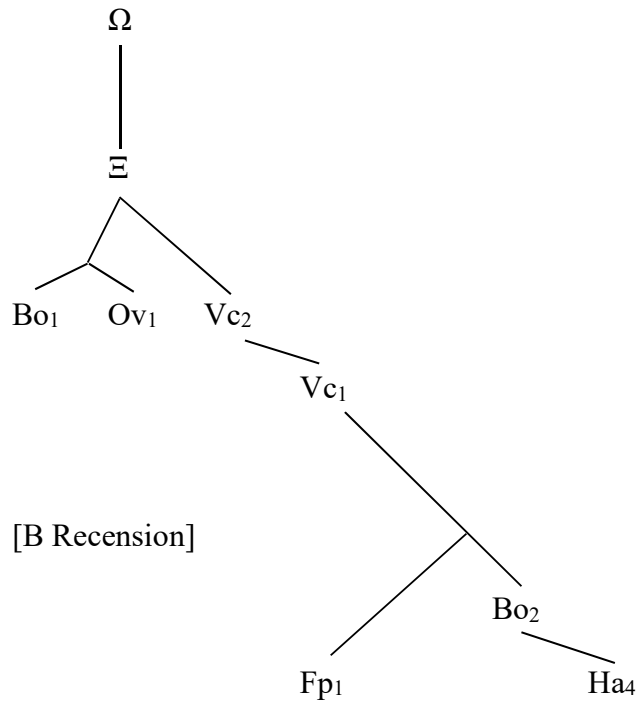
The Ov₁ is very well preserved and despite its Byzantine addition at the end of the sermon, proved the best witness for this study. Together, Ov₁, Vc₁, Bo₁, and Vc₂, comprise the A Recension.

Bo₁ is the most closely related witness to Ov₁. The next closest manuscript is Vc₁ followed by Vc₂, which show a slow evolution as Vc₂ follows Vc₁ most closely and develops slightly away from it. Interestingly, Bo₁ often removes references to the monks (i.e. “Brothers” and “Christ-lovers”), indicating perhaps an early attempt to take the sermon out of the monastic audience into a wider world. The more famous B Recension, upon which Assemani based his canonical text-form, appears to evolve from Vc₂ and is best represented by the Bo₂ (Roe gr. 28) and the 16th century Ha₄.

¹² Bodleian Library, *Collection Level Description: Cromwell Manuscripts*, available at <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/cromwellCLD/cromwellCLD.html>, accessed 8 August 2016.

One element of the sermon that merits mention is that the final third displays the greatest variation among manuscripts. This variety does not obtain to nearly this extent in the first two-thirds. It appears as though at some point before the tenth century, one manuscript witness of the sermon sustained damage and it was this damaged manuscript which became the ancestor of all later manuscripts.

A proposed stemma of the manuscripts would thus appear:



In this stemma, Ω is the autographic text-form composed in the 7th century, and Ξ is the hypothetical manuscript damaged in the last third sometime between the 7th and 10th centuries. Note that Assemani's base manuscript, Bo_2 reflects a later B Recension of the sermon, along with Fp_1 and Ha_4 . A C Recension has been identified as well preserved in two manuscripts dating to the 12th and 13th centuries, as well as a D Recension in 12

manuscripts dating from the 11th century to the 16th century, and even a possible E Recension, but time constraints prevented further research into them.

Although too few manuscripts of the A Recension survive, it is certainly provocative that two of the four manuscripts (Vc₁, Vc₂) come from the School of Nil of Rossano in Southern Italy, and a third (Ov₁) is also associated with the Grottaferrata monastery founded by Nil. It is impossible to posit with any confidence if the A Recension, the earliest surviving recension, is in origin a South Italian one, or if Nil of Rossano is to be credited as saving *On the Antichrist* from oblivion by transporting it to southern Italy.

Just as important as the sermon itself is its context within a codex, as this can suggest why *On the Antichrist* was preserved by a particular scribe. Particular notice is taken of the appearance of one Efremitic work with which *On the Antichrist* is often grouped in the Old Bulgarian and Old Church Slavonic manuscripts: *Sermo asceticus* (CPG 3909 [DB N/A]). This sermon, which may have a Syriac original, becomes very important in the Old Church Slavonic tradition.

The Manuscripts: *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ (CPG 4012/1-3 [DB 193]) is a series of short sermons related to *On the Antichrist* which have been printed in collections of Efremitic the Syrian's works since at least the 18th century. *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1* (CPG 4012/1; DB 193) appears at Assemani III 134-136 and parallels *On the Antichrist* at Assemani II 224 D6 – 225 F2 (ll.89/90-158). *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 2* (CPG 4012/2; DB 193) appears at Assemani III 136-

140 and parallels *On the Antichrist* at Assemani II 225 F6 – 227 A (ll.159-278). Finally, *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 3* (CPG 4012/3; DB 193) appears at Assemani III 140-143 parallels *On the Antichrist* at Assemani II 227 B – 230 C (ll.279-*finis*).¹³

Three Greek manuscript witnesses are listed in catalogues: two date from the 11th century, and the third to the 16th century. Yet closer examination of the Greek shows that the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1-3* series are just fragments of *On the Antichrist*, and as is explained shortly, are somewhat chimerical.

The ages and locations of the three listed witnesses of *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* follow. All are investigated in this study. Once again, the Pinakes catalogue has proven vitally important for manuscript details.¹⁴ In all cases, digital images have been consulted for the manuscript text unless otherwise indicated.

Manuscript Bo2

Oxford, England. Bodleian Library, Roe gr. 28 [61v-68v]. The manuscript contains 31 works, of which 4 are Efremic: *On the Antichrist*, *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, and CPG 3945 are all grouped sequentially. Other authors represented are Andrew of Crete, John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Athanasius of Alexandria, Pope Gregory II, and Nectarius of Constantinople. Other eschatological works appear in the codex, such as John of Damascus' *De His Qui In Fide Dormierunt*

¹³ Demokratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les doublets de l'édition de l'Ephrem grec par Assemani," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 24 (1958): 378.

¹⁴ IRHT, *Ephraem Graecus: In Aduentum Domini I-III*. <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/7419/>. Accessed 29 June 2016.

(CPG 8112), and John Chrysostom's *In Secundum Domini Adventum* (CPG 4595). Dated to the 11th-12th century,¹⁵ this is the manuscript employed by Thwaites in 1719.¹⁶ The subsequent publication by Assemani simply reprints Thwaites, and Phrantzoles reprints, with some corrections, Assemani. After examining at this manuscript, it appears that no independent *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* exists within it. The work's listing in this manuscript appears to be an error in cataloguing.

Manuscript Fp5

Paris, France. National Library, gr. 1188 [88-90v]. The manuscript contains 21 works, of which 14 are Efremic. *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* is item 10, and appears with works by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Evagrius Pontikos, Nil of Ankara, and John Chrysostom. Previous possessors of the codex include Aristoboulos Apostlēs (1468/9-1535), and Markos Mamounts (15th-16th century), who may be from Crete (κρής). Dated to the 11th century. Fp5 is the only one of these three listed manuscripts to contain *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* as a discrete work, specifically *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 2*.

Manuscript Fp6

Paris, France. National Library, gr. 0987 [222-234]. The manuscript contains 14 works, of which 1 is Efremic. The manuscript contains 14 works, of which 1 is Efremic.

¹⁵ The dating discrepancy in the two entries for the Bodleian Roe gr. 28 is from the Pinakes website.

¹⁶ Demokratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les Manuscrits de l'Ephrem grec utilises par Thwaites," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 262. Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 166-167.

On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ is item 11. The rest of the works are by authors like Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom. Dated to the 16th century. This manuscript includes only *On the Antichrist.*; there is no indication of *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* as a discrete work.

Manuscript Fp₁

Paris, France. National Library, gr. 0593 [185-188v]. The manuscript contains 24 works, of which all are Efremic. CPG 3909 (#1) and 3946 (#21) appear with mostly ascetical Efremic works. Dated to the 11th century. This is not listed in any catalogue as containing *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* as a discrete work, but it does; it preserves the third *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. This witness shows that it fits into the B Recension along with Bo2 and Ha4, which seems to indicate that the separate *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* arises only later in the work's history. Linguistically, Fp₁ displays the Byzantine trait of replacing many genitives with accusatives.

Comparing *On the Second Coming* to *On the Antichrist*

The *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series presents a unique problem inasmuch as all three sermons are unprovenanced. Ågren has surmised that *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 2* and *On the Second Coming of Our Lord*

Jesus Christ 3 are fragments of *On the Antichrist*.¹⁷ This would seem to contradict Bousset's 1895 proposal that the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* sermons are nothing more than careless reprints of *On the Antichrist*, which wound up in Assemani's collection.¹⁸ Although, how Bousset arrived at this conclusion is completely understandable as it appears early modern cataloguers of the manuscripts confused the works. Grypeou disagrees, however, preferring to see the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series as independent recensions of parts of *On the Antichrist*. In her argument, she notes differences in orthography, grammar, syntax, along with various additions and omissions when compared to *On the Antichrist*.¹⁹ In a later 2013 article, Grypeou concludes that the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series are fragments of the second part of *On the Antichrist*, but fragments in which a later redactor has glossed the earlier text and reworked it into a more elaborate anti-Judaic text.²⁰ Again, my research confirms her theory at least in regard to Fp₁.

Challenges in the Study

First, and perhaps most importantly, the sermon is a *medieval* work. Classical works such as the works of Homer or Virgil were copied throughout history with the express intent of reproducing the original as faithfully as possible. Errors, sometime

¹⁷ Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les doublets", 378.

¹⁸ Emmanouela Grypeou, "Visions of the End and the Antichrist in Ephraem Graecus." *The Seventeenth Birth Centenary of Ephrem the Syrian*, A. Sauma. (Stockholm: Assad Sauma, 2008), 53n5.

¹⁹ Grypeou. "Visions of the End", 53.

²⁰ Emmanouela Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini' A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission of Apocalyptic Motifs in Greek, Latin and Syriac Traditions in Late Antiquity." *Graeco-Latina et Orientalia: Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*, ed. S. Samir and J. Monferrer-Sala. (Cordoba: CNERU-CEDRAC, 2013), 170.

significant errors, still crept into the copies, however. Christian sermons or liturgical works were often given less care than the Bible, the *Iliad*, or the *Aeneid*. Quite a few of the *On the Antichrist* manuscript witnesses are noted in Pinakes as possessing different textual traditions than the ostensibly normative Assemani (Bo₂). Copyists throughout the centuries felt free to expand, condense, augment, or simply alter, texts like *On the Antichrist*. These variants provide valuable evidence on how the sermon was adapted to new audiences and circumstances, but also make the creation of a critical edition more difficult as this means a variant text might not witness a variant textual tradition so much as represent the opinions of one copyist and/or audience. This is perhaps an inevitable result of mythopoeia, in which a copyist, audience, reader, and interpreter, participate in creating myth as soon as they engage the mythological text.

All of this is in addition to the normally expected errors which manifest themselves in all hand-copied manuscripts. Copyists can interpolate new material into a text in order to explain it better to an audience, or to better suit it to the expectations of a new audience. In a sermon such as *On the Antichrist*, which is witnessed in copies from the 10th through the 17th centuries, orthographical modernization occurs as copyists update archaic spellings for more acceptable modern ones. These are just two examples of scribal or editorial emendations to a text, which *On the Antichrist* doubtless witnesses. Copyists can also confuse spoken or dictated words in as they copy a text, and there is a natural human tendency to simplify language which often appears when an unfamiliar word or turn of phrase is encountered. The person remembering this unusual (to them) language unconsciously tends to rework it into something more familiar, and such emendations can find their ways into copied texts. Of course, haplography (copying

something once which ought to be copied twice), dittography (the reverse), and simple omission, also make creating a critical edition of a text challenging.²¹

On a practical level, *On the Antichrist* is an eschatological work which seems to survive mostly in manuscripts prepared for the use of monasteries. As a result, monasteries and museums around Europe and the Middle East are the current holding institutions one must consult. One can travel to all holding institutions or consult with them to see if they will allow for the use of digital images of the relevant manuscripts, usually for a fee. These fees in aggregate can become expensive and hinder any study of the *On the Antichrist*. The present study is no exception. This is why the earliest copies, from the 10th to the 12th centuries, in addition to as many significant variants as possible, constitute the core manuscripts for this project. This targeted approach ought to maintain costs to a moderate level while allowing for the maximum number of useful manuscripts to be employed. Beyond this, securing permissions from holding institutions, and sometimes just contacting holding institutions (monasteries are notoriously difficult to contact) present other challenges.

As well, the manuscripts themselves can hinder the study. Manuscripts in a poor state of preservation, or which contain so many errors as to be almost unintelligible, or which are copied in an illegible script, all can contribute to the difficulties in studying any Medieval work.

²¹ Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973), 16-24.

Evolving Function of *On the Antichrist*

On the Antichrist is, in and of itself, an eschatological sermon on the Antichrist. Yet, its preservation is very likely attributable to another reason only tangentially related to the Antichrist discussed. The sermon describes a remnant of the Church which survives faithful to Christ while the majority of the world's Christians follow the Antichrist. This remnant Church must exist in hiding in caves and mountain, and weep "rivers of tears" and sprinkle dirt and ash upon their heads while praying continually "in great abasement" (ll.390-394). This remnant does not watch the Antichrist's false miracles and horrors but remains secluded and penitent throughout the Serpent's reign on Earth. This penitential subtheme in the sermon likely explains the sermon's popularity, survival, and perhaps even in part the recensions.

On the Antichrist for Great Lent

Many of the manuscripts which preserve *On the Antichrist* are collections of penitential texts. Interestingly few manuscripts that preserve the sermon are collections of eschatological texts or, even rarer, collections of texts of the Greek Efreem. If anything, it appears the *On the Antichrist* became useful for Lenten readings for monks.

Without going into the long, complicated, and contested, history of the development of Great Lent, the Studite Rule does require discussion. By the 9th century, the pre-Lenten fast had already evolved into a forty-day long affair. The pre-baptismal and catechetical slant to Lent, dominant since the 2nd century, was

replaced by a more penitential Lent.²² This is credited to the Studite Rule, created at the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner at Stoudios (e.g. the Studite Monastery) in Constantinople founded in 463. Theodōros the Studite (759-826) became the abbot of the old monastery, and in 799 he and his monks revived the decaying institution to initiate the Studite Reform, which was born in the wake of the chaos of Iconoclasm.²³

Usually dated between 717 to 842, Iconoclasm began when Emperor Leo III (r.717-741) banned the veneration of icons of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. Those who struggling against the imperial orders are called iconodules, many of whom were tortured, whipped, held in harsh conditions, and exiled, but very rarely executed by imperial order. The few references to the executions of iconodules are usually vague vis-à-vis details.²⁴ Iconoclasm proceeded in two great phases, but finally ended with the restoration of icon veneration.

After the Victory of Orthodoxy in 843, the Studite Reform spread around the Byzantine world affecting Southern Italy only slowly until the 11th century, when a more rapid pace ensued.²⁵ As one example of the reform's effects, the post-Iconoclasm Byzantine Euchology, or prayerbook, evolved into three different traditions (Constantinopolitan, Byzantio-Palestinian, and Italo-Greek)

²² Alexander Schmemmann, *Great Lent: Journey to Pascha* (Crestwood NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Pr., 1969), 136-137.

²³ Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 52.

²⁴ Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c.680-850: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2015), 7, 381, 381n56.

²⁵ Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 54.

and a multitude of types of which one is monastic.²⁶ Southern Italy also saw a new Studite typikon in the Typikon of San Salvatore of Messina of 1131. Similar reforms to Holy Week and to the Easter Vigil appeared in southern Italy at the same time.²⁷ The manuscripts of *On the Antichrist* which hail from southern Italy may have been seeded deliberately as part of the Studite Reform.

The defeat of the Iconoclasts became effectively a victory for the monks over the secular clergy as well. A victory which saw the authority of the monasteries in Byzantine church and society increase significantly.²⁸ This helps explain why the Studite Reform emphasized, among other elements, monastic chastity and poverty.²⁹ Additionally, the Studite liturgy for Great Lent and Holy Week encouraged penitence.³⁰

The spread of the Studite Rule, and the penitence it encourages, can be traced into the East Slavic world. The GIM (Moscow Historical Museum) Sinod. 330 is a 12th century Old Russian copy of the Studite Typikon of Patriarch of Constantinople Alexios Stoudites (r.1025-1043).³¹ Created in Novgorod, Sinod. 330 is one of the earliest surviving witnesses in the East Slavic world of the Studite Typikon, which was introduced through the Kyivo-Pechers'ka Lavra in

²⁶ Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 53.

²⁷ Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 59.

²⁸ Svetlana Poliakova, "Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and the Triodion Cycle in the Liturgical Praxis in Russia during the Studite Period" PhD diss., (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009), 47.

²⁹ Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 312.

³⁰ Derek Krueger, "The Transmission of Liturgical Joy in Byzantine Hymns for Easter." Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2016), 133.

³¹ Poliakova, "Sin 319 and Voskr 27", 50, 54n212, 97.

the late 11th century.³² The Studite Typikon required readings from, among other apropos sources, works authored by, or attributed to, Efrem the Syrian.³³ Efrem is credited with composing one of the most important prayers of Great Lent, which is read twice at the end of every Lenten service on Mondays through Fridays.³⁴ Other works credited to Efrem also became important to the Lenten services and explain the preservation of Efremitic works in Greek and later Slavonic manuscripts, likely including the OCS Paraenesis. This Lenten/penitential use of the Greek Efrem's works could in part explain the explosion of Greek-composed works attributed to Efrem, including *On the Antichrist*.

Dating *On the Antichrist*

The survival of at least 68 manuscripts spanning the 10th through 17th centuries of *On the Antichrist* in Greek testifies to the sermon's importance in Byzantine Orthodoxy. In Slavic Christianity, not only is *On the Antichrist* preserved as a discrete composition but it is also incorporated into the Old Church Slavonic *Paraenesis* by sometime in the 10th century. Additionally, the Greek Efremitic corpus includes at least eight works which mention the second coming, final judgment, or the parousia, in the title (with of course even more works discussing these topics). One must also bear in mind that secondary works discussing the paraenetical works or the Efremitic eschatological material are not always careful to provide the CPG classifications of the works examined, or even to

³² Poliakova, "Sin 319 and Voskr 27", 99.

³³ Poliakova, "Sin 319 and Voskr 27", 296.

³⁴ Schmemmann, *Great Lent*, 34.

distinguish related Efremitic works from one author. The confusion manifests itself in the examination of *On the Antichrist*.³⁵

Scholarly Discussion on the Date

For a text as important as *On the Antichrist*, it may be surprising that relatively few scholars have devoted any significant study to it, and many of those who have do not publish in English. Scholars such as Oleg Zholobov, Horace Lunt, Dragisa Bojovic, Ivan Goshev, and Grigorii Il'inskii, work with *On the Antichrist* in OCS, and often as one of the Slavic *Paraenesis*. The Greek has been relatively ignored.

As to the Greek text, four versions of *On the Antichrist* appear in the second and third volumes of Joseph Simon Assemani's six-volume collection *Ephraemi Syri opera omnia quae extant Graece, Syriace, Latine* published between 1737 and 1746. *On the Antichrist* [DB 192; Assemani II 222-230], is the longest of the versions. Assemani reprinted from the 1709 *Ta tou hosiou patros Ephraim tou Surou pros tēn Hellada metablēthenta* of Edward Thwaites, who published the 12th century manuscript Bo₂ (Roe. gr. 28) as his text of *On the Antichrist*.³⁶ In 1988, Konstantinos Phrantzoles reprinted in *Hosiou Ephraim tou Surou erga*, with minor corrections, Assemani's texts. It is unclear, however, if Phrantzoles compared Thwaites/Assemani against Bo₂.

³⁵ Kees Den Biesen, *Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* (Grove in Umbria: Lulu.com, 2011), 76-99.

³⁶ Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les Manuscrits de l'Ephrem", 166-167.

Although Thwaites and Assemani are the inevitable beginning of any scholarly discussion of *On the Antichrist*, their use of Bo₂ means that they employ the B Recension of the sermon rather than the A Recension of this dissertation.

Wilhelm Bousset proposed a date of composition of an *Urtext* in the 4th century, and proposed a date before 373 in his 1895 study *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, which was translated into English in 1896 as *The Antichrist Legend*.³⁷ This would place the original composition during the reigns of the Roman emperors Valerian I (r.364-378), Theodosius I (r.378-395), and Gratian (r.367-383). Bousset dates a first-person section of the sermon to c.373.³⁸

Bousset accuses Assemani of careless editing. He proposes CPG 3942 [DB 242; III 72-186], *Sermones paranaetici ad monachos Aegypti I-L* (and three of the sermons in particular at III 134-143), witnessed by 103 manuscripts, as the superior text of *On the Antichrist*.³⁹ It is important to note that Bousset was not particularly careful, by modern standards, to distinguish one CPG work from another. For example, the text of *On the Antichrist* that Bousset employs for his study is primarily that of CPG 3942 with “extracts” from five manuscripts. Austrian National Library theol. 165; Vatican gr. 1524 (Vc₁); and, Vat. gr. 1815 (Vc₂), all witness CPG 3942. Vat. gr. 2030 and Vat. gr. 2074 may witness CPG 3920 [DB 266; I 167-171], *Sermo in Secundum Adventum Domini*

³⁷ Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1896), 34-35.

³⁸ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 35.

³⁹ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 36.

nostrī Jesu Christi I, witnessed by 68 manuscripts.⁴⁰ If Assemani engaged in careless editing then Bousset engaged in careless categorization. Yet, some degree of carelessness may have occurred, but Assemani was not responsible. His collection became the authorized text-form of *On the Antichrist* based upon a desire to preserve every known Efremitic work. As a result, the centuries older divisions of *On the Antichrist* into the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series were included along with *On the Antichrist* within his volumes. Assemani actually does a service in this multiple preservation by illustrating how one sermon can experience preservation via dismemberment.

Bousset further proposes that the text is metrical, based solely upon syllables. Further, he posits the author may have been the first to employ it in Syriac literature. Bousset's first meter is a seven-line stanza of 14 syllables, with a caesura midway, and with every two verses forming a strophe. The second is a four-line stanza, of 16 syllables, caesurae on the 8th, and usually with the 4th syllable corresponding with the close of a word. Bousset "restored" this hypothetical meter in his translated quotes.⁴¹

That *On the Antichrist* is a metrical composition in its autograph is unproven, although manuscripts such as Vc₁ and Vc₂ show that at some point in its existence it did become one. As to the sermon's meter, the 14 and 16 syllable hypothesis is difficult to prove, partially due to the variations in the text of the sermon, but also because much of the sermon would require rewriting to fit into this meter. One can of course do this, and further claim it is the restoration of lost meter, but then a new work is created; one

⁴⁰ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 37.

⁴¹ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 37.

unattested in any manuscript. This does not disprove Bousset's hypothesis, but it does require caution. The text is composed in Greek, a syntactical language which allows the author, and later scribes, to rearrange sentence elements without loss of meaning; a practice which does occur in later manuscripts and recensions. Recovering an Aramaic meter within a Greek text becomes not impossible, but very difficult. To complicate the prosody argument, Byzantine poetry employed various versifications based upon lines of certain numbers of syllables. Possibly the most widely used was Byzantine "political verse," a pentadecasyllable (15) verse. Counting syllables will not prove Aramaic origin.

As to Bousset's contention that *On the Antichrist* may be the first work to employ this meter in Aramaic literature, such a claim is easier to dispose. Although something of a chestnut, the axiom "extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence" still provides a valuable guide in this case. The only way to prove this contention is to adduce manuscripts firmly datable to the fourth century. As the language of the sermon dates to the 6th to 8th centuries, and as the oldest surviving manuscripts date to the 10th century, Bousset's claim is disproven. There is absolutely no evidence to support any contention that *On the Antichrist* is an innovative sermon in Aramaic meter.

Demokratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou introduces not so much scholarly theories about *On the Antichrist*, but rigorous classification without which this project would be almost impossible. She also agrees with Bousset on the Aramaic prosody within the sermon. In 1958, she catalogued all the multiple occurrences of texts within Assemani's collection. Of course, Hemmerdinger-Iliadou notes that *On the Antichrist* and *On the*

Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1-3 are doublets of one another.⁴² In a way, she is of course correct as *On the Antichrist* is the main sermon, and the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series are detached portions from that sermon, which at least in one instance evolves independently from its original.

Hemmerdinger-Iliadou's tireless scholarship into the Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic, editions, makes this study possible. The brevity of this discussion of her work in no way means to imply its unimportance, but on the contrary serves to merely introduce her scholarship's critical role in any study of the Greek Efreim, and indeed in any attempt to create a critical edition of his Greek works and/or informed comparisons between his Greek, Latin, and OCS works.

Irina Ågren initiated modern study of the content of *On the Antichrist* with her 1989 monograph, developed from her dissertation. She notes that some works of Greek Efreim, including *On the Antichrist*, display variations between the Greek and OCS versions. Ågren examines seven Slavic witnesses that all descend from the same authoritative text-form: a Slavic *Urtext* she believes reflects a Greek original now lost.⁴³

In her 1991 monograph, Ågren analyses Vc₂, which preserves a text tradition very close to the OCS.⁴⁴ From this, she determines that previous scholarship, which had tended to privilege Assemani's Greek texts as representing essentially authoritative text-forms of the Greek within, had erred. Ågren's warning vis-à-vis Assemani is logical, if somewhat obvious. Nevertheless, previous scholarship had indeed imbued Assemani's

⁴² Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les doublets", 374-375, 378.

⁴³ Irina Ågren, *Parēnesis Efreima Sirina K Istorii Slavyanskogo Perevoda* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989), 4.

⁴⁴ Ågren, *K probleme ispol'zovaniya*, 121.

collection with the aura of a critical edition, even though scholars all knew it to be nonesuch. Ågren further surmises that *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 2* and *3* are fragments of *On the Antichrist*.⁴⁵ This dissertation supports her findings as Vc1 and Vc2 show clearly that the *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* series are indeed fragments of *On the Antichrist*.

Much of Ågren's work examines the interactions and relationships between the Greek and the Slavonic versions of the *Paraenesis*/CPG 3942 and secondarily *On the Antichrist*. This is because of an accident of preservation as in the East Slavic world, *On the Antichrist* became attached to a manuscript of the *Paraenesis* very early and was numbered as one of that collection. So far, scholars have not found a Greek manuscript witness of *Paraenesis* containing *On the Antichrist*. As a result of this serendipity, Slavic studies of *On the Antichrist* tend to be folded into larger discussions of the *Paraenesis*. For this dissertation, this datum simply means that discussions of the OCS *On the Antichrist* often must be pulled from analyses of the longer work. This association of *On the Antichrist* with the *Paraenesis* only in OCS could hint that these works became combined for Lenten readings only in the East Slavonic versions of the Studite Reform.

Emmanouela Grypeou follows up all previous studies and synthesizes them into the current scholarship. She notes that the Syriac eschatological sermons, which modern scholars mostly attribute to Efreem the Syrian, never developed the apocalyptic scenarios or the Antichrist construct.⁴⁶ These elements would find full expression in the more than

⁴⁵ Grypeou, "Visions of the End", 53n5.

⁴⁶ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 165.

120 Efreic works, as catalogued by the CPG.⁴⁷ It is worth noting that Grypeou selects as normative *On the Antichrist*.⁴⁸

She continues and extends the comparative work begun by Ågren. She notes that the Latin and Syriac versions of *On the Antichrist* have been studied in depth, and the OCS has been the subject of study, particularly in Russian scholarship, but the Greek original has languished.⁴⁹ The present dissertation begins to rectify this omission.

Emmanouela Grypeou represents the consensus of scholars when she places the original time of composition of *On the Antichrist* sometime within the 7th century.⁵⁰ This consensus is based upon little, however, but closely follows Hemmerdinger-Iliadou's 1959 ideas on the dating of the Efreic corpus generally. In fact, a range of ages between just before 373 to the 7th century have been proposed.⁵¹ This range in dating stems from the ahistoricity of the sermon. Many works about the Antichrist double as sociopolitical critiques of specific rulers or elites, but the Antichrist of *On the Antichrist* allows for no such easy identification.

A New Attempt to Date On the Antichrist

The Greek of *On the Antichrist* is on the cusp between late Koine and early Byzantine Greek, which places the sermon's composition in a range during the 6th to 9th centuries. The language of the sermon is Koine, but that itself does not help date the

⁴⁷ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 166n3.

⁴⁸ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 167.

⁴⁹ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 168.

⁵⁰ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 175n41.

⁵¹ Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini'", 175n41.

sermon very well. Byzantine Koine, as Geoffrey Horrocks calls it, dominates state- and church-authored manuscripts until around 1204 when the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople and destroyed strong central government in the Byzantine Empire. Beginning after 1204, regional spoken varieties of Byzantine Greek emerge more and more into the manuscript tradition.⁵² So Koine, albeit one influenced by the spoken language, continued in use in written works as late as the 14th century.⁵³ Strong influence from the spoken language should not be expected in the manuscripts until after 1204, long after *On the Antichrist* has gone into widespread circulation.

The dative case helps to confirm the date range from the manuscripts. The earliest manuscripts of the sermon that survive date to the 10th century. From the Middle Byzantine period, from the 11th century on, the dative case fossilizes in use to almost exclusively marking the indirect object and the instrument of action.⁵⁴ This has not occurred in *On the Antichrist*. In addition, the dative case shifts into the accusative case over the manuscripts, but the dative is still productive when the sermon is composed.⁵⁵

In the verbs, the present indicative is employed a great deal to function as a future tense. The Early and Middle Byzantine use of ἔχω+[infinitive verb] or μέλλω+[infinitive verb] for the future does not appear in the A Recension.⁵⁶ Verbs appear in the final positions of some clauses and sentences, which also confirms that the text was not

⁵² Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 323.

⁵³ Horrocks, *Greek*, 221.

⁵⁴ Horrocks, *Greek*, 226.

⁵⁵ Robert Browning, *Medieval & Modern Greek* (Cambridge ENG: Cambridge Univ. Pr, 1983), 58.

⁵⁶ Horrocks, *Greek*, 298.

composed in the Middle Byzantine period as that time saw a different word order begins to take shape.⁵⁷

Sounds have begun changing from the Koine in the sermon. As late as the 9th century, υ has not completely become ι.⁵⁸ Additionally, η and υ have also become homophonic in the sermon and are sometimes confused in the manuscripts, but the language has not yet reached the stage where ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, although they sound alike, are replaced by ἐμεῖς and ἐμῖς respectively⁵⁹. Also homophonic and confused in the copies of the A Recension are η and ι.⁶⁰ There is some confusion between β and πτ. Most of this seems due to scribal preferences, but a few words in the A Recension seem to have already shifted to πτ. Finally, pretonic vowels appear in the sermon. For example, ἡμέρα appears not μέρα, εὐρίσκω not βρίσκω, and οὐδέν not δέν.⁶¹

Linguistically, a date for the composition of *On the Antichrist* during the 6th through 9th centuries is most likely, with the 7th to 8th centuries preferred. The 9th century is linguistically possible as a time of composition, but such a late date would see the sermon composed just before it spread into Southern Italy. This would not be impossible, but this would demand the sermon gain traction within the Church very quickly after its creation. This did happen with some works, such as Pseudo-Methodius' apocalypse discussed in the next chapter, but such occurrences are rare and there is no evidence this

⁵⁷ Horrocks, *Greek*, 253.

⁵⁸ Browning, *Medieval & Modern Greek*, 56-57.

⁵⁹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 296.

⁶⁰ Browning, *Medieval & Modern Greek*, 56-57.

⁶¹ Browning, *Medieval & Modern Greek*, 57-58.

sermon became so popular so quickly. Therefore, a composition in the 8th century at the latest is best.

Conclusion

With the data on dating and the Studite Reform, a hypothesis on the development of *On the Antichrist* suggests itself. This hypothesis is unprovable, but it would fit the known facts.

Sometime in the 7th to 8th centuries, a monk composed an eschatological sermon for a monastic audience. His sermon featured an antichrist apparently untethered to any historical figure, but which encouraged penance, humility, and repentance.

After the long period of Iconoclasm (717-842), the Studite Reform spread around the Byzantine world. This reform saw significant alterations to the liturgy for Great Lent which now emphasized penitence, monastic chastity and poverty.⁶² At some point during the Studite Reform, *On the Antichrist* was chosen for use in the new Lenten service in the 9th century. It was a damaged sermon, possibly damaged during Iconoclasm, but useful for its emphasis on penitence in the face of the Eschaton and the Final Judgment. A similar work by Romanos the Melodist, the hymn *On the Second Coming*, also discusses the Antichrist. It encourages penitence in the face of the Last Judgment, but more importantly for this discussion, the Studite Reform assigns it to be read on Meatfare Sunday in order to induce repentance among the audience. Although Revelation influences

⁶² Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 312. Krueger, “The Transmission of Liturgical Joy”, 133.

Romanos' hymn, it still shows that the monks employed eschatological, if not apocalyptic themes, to inculcate emotions of terror and penitence during Great Lent and Holy Week before the joy of Easter.⁶³

On the Antichrist, now part of the liturgy of Great Lent, became associated with Efreem the Syrian, as the interpolation in Ov1 demonstrates. The Syrian's name was not in the original text and could not have been a composition of his, but associating Efreem's name with the sermon helped ensure its preservation through attribution to a revered church father now considered liturgically important.

Sometime in the late 10th century, *On the Antichrist* was carried to the monasteries in Southern Italy associated with Nil of Rossano. Two of his foundations produce two of the earliest surviving copies of the sermon, a sermon now part of the Lenten liturgy employed in the monasteries.

⁶³ Hillel I. Newman, "Apocalyptic Poems in Christian and Jewish Liturgy in Late Antiquity" in Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2016), 239-240, 248.

Chapter 4

Witnesses outside Greek and Contemporary Apocalypses

Introduction

The Greek texts of *On the Antichrist* represent only part of the transmission history of what one could term the full Efremitic Antichrist Cycle, consisting of *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1-3* and other related Greek texts. This transmission tradition, however, is broader and older than just *On the Antichrist*, which is witnessed earliest in the 9th-10th centuries (which includes all related Greek manuscripts). Latin and Slavonic manuscripts witness other versions of *On the Antichrist*, and perhaps hint at variants in lost Greek originals. In addition, Syriac offers two contemporary apocalypses for comparison.

On the Antichrist in Old Church Slavonic

On the Antichrist is usually preserved within Slavic collections of the *Paraenesis*, called *Poucheniia* in Old Church Slavonic (OCS), which is mostly a translation of CPG 3942 (*Sermones Paraeneticus ad Monachos Aegypti* 1-50) along with CPG 3909 (*Sermo Asceticus*) with much additional material. In Slavic manuscripts, *On the Antichrist* tends to appear as a Slavic *Paraenesis*, usually 104, 105, or 106.¹

¹ J. Eugene Clay, "The Apocalyptic Legacy of Pseudo-Ephraem in Russia: The Sermon on the Antichrist" in Robert E. Bjork, ed., *Catastrophes and the Apocalyptic in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 43 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2019), 188.

Old Church Slavonic is the first written Slavic language. It derives from the South Slavic languages, Old Bulgarian or Bulgaro-Macedonian Slavic, as a pan-Slavic liturgical language during the 10th-11th century. OCS texts tend to have a mixed dialectical character, with Serbian or Croatian elements entering the language by the 12th century in addition to Moravian and Slovenian elements entering as early as the 10th century. OCS eventually moves into Russia to become the basis of the modern literary language.²

Manuscript Traditions

At least thirteen manuscripts of the OCS *Paraenesis* are known. In his 1984 study of this collection, Georg Bojkovsky refers to the five manuscripts he employed as Texts P, F, S, Z, and LP. One ought to note that Bojkovsky's work is not a critical edition of the OCS. No true critical edition of the OCS currently exists. The manuscripts below contain

On the Antichrist.

- Gs1 Sofia, Bulgaria. Methodius National Library, Codex 151. Revised in Middle Bulgarian from an older original. Produced at the Lesnovo Monastery, Lesnovo, Macedonia. This is Bojkovsky's Text LP, and Thomson's Lesnovo. Dated to c.1064-1065.³
- Gs2 Sofia, Bulgaria. National Library, Codex 93. Written in a Serbian OCS script. This is Bojkovsky Text S, and Thomson's Sofia. Dated to the 14th-15th century.⁴

² Sunray C. Gardiner, *Old Church Slavonic: An Elementary Grammar* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 2008), 1-3. John V.A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor MI: Univ. of MI Pr., 1991), 127.

³ George Bojkovsky and Rudolf Aitzetmüller (eds.), *Paraenesis: Die albulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*. Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris. Fontes et dissertationes, t. 20, 22 (20,2) (Freiburg i. Br.: Weiher, 1984), ix. Francis J. Thomson, "The Old Bulgarian Translation of the Homilies of Ephraem Syrus," *Palaeobulgarica* 9 (1985):124n5, 125.

⁴ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 129.

- Pm1 Moscow, Russia. State Historical Museum, Synodal Codex 990; another copy is in Synodal Codex 178. This is Thomson's Macarius. Both are dated to the 16th century.⁵
- Pm2 Moscow, Russia. State Historical Museum, Uvarov Codex 75. Written in Russian. This is Thomson's Uvarov. Dated to the 16th century.⁶
- Pm3 Moscow, Russia. Russian State Library, Codex I.7, f.304. Written in Russian. This is Thomson's Trinity Sergius. Dated to the 14th century.⁷
- Psp2 St. Petersburg, Russia. Russian Academy of Sciences, Codex 31.7.2. Written in Russian. This is Thomson's Frolov. Dated to c.1377.⁸
- Psp3 St. Petersburg, Russia. National Library of Russia, Codex F. p. I. 45. Written in a Russian-OCS script. This is Bojkovsky's Text F. Dated to the 14th century.⁹
- Psp4 St. Petersburg, Russia. State Public Library, MS. f. 182. Written in Serbian. This is Thomson's Hilferding. Dated to the 14th century.¹⁰
- Psp5 St. Petersburg, Russia. National Library of Russia, Codex 71a, f. 588. Written in the South Russian script and dialect. This is Bojkovsky's Text P, and Thomson's Pogodin.. This edition may have been corrected against a Greek edition at some point in its transmission history per Thomson.¹¹ Dated c.1492 (AM 7000), from Vladimir Vasil'kovic (d.1288).¹²
- Psp6 St. Petersburg, Russia. State Public Library, F.I.208. Written in Russian. This is Thomson's Tolstoy. Dated to the 15th century.¹³
- Psp7 Rila, Bulgaria. This Old Bulgarian edition is in fragments in two locations. Codex 24.4.15, at the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia; and, Codex 3/6 (14), Rila Monastery, Bulgaria.¹⁴ The fact that fragments of *On the Antichrist* appear in this material indicates that it already was connected to CPG 3942 (at least in the Slavonic world) before the 10th century.¹⁵ As the earliest appearance of *On the Antichrist* in OCS, Psp7 is

⁵ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

⁶ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

⁷ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

⁸ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 124n5.

⁹ Bojkovsky, *Paraenesis*, ix. Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 124n5.

¹⁰ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 124n5.

¹¹ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n6.

¹² Bojkovsky, *Paraenesis*, iv. Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation", 125n5.

¹³ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

¹⁴ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

¹⁵ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 129.

a particularly important manuscript witness. This witness is known as the Macedonian Fragment, or the Rila Fragment. Dated to the 10th-11th century.¹⁶ Psp7 is a damaged one discovered by V. Grigorovič in the Rila Monastery in western Bulgaria in 1845. Eight fragments (I-VIII) are known, discovered over the course of a century. The language is Old Bulgarian, but in the Glagolitic script. Psp7 contains sermons by Efrem; at least six have been identified, with *On the Antichrist* being one of the six.¹⁷

Rb2 Bucharest, Romania. Romanian Academy of Sciences, Codex 137. Written in Serbian. This is Thomson's Neamțu. Dated to 1462.¹⁸

OCS Translations vis-à-vis Greek Originals

The OCS tradition sheds much light upon the questions of Greek originals for *On the Antichrist*. As many OCS scribes translated their Greek originals literally, many OCS translations appear to represent Greek versions no longer extant. Irina Ågren notes that although the Slavic translations are based upon Greek originals, they soon evolve their own textual traditions as they are copied through the centuries.¹⁹

OCS translations of *On the Antichrist* are often found within manuscript collections of the *Paraenesis*, which include 99 to 113 sermons, all of which are numbered. *On the Antichrist* tends to appear as sermons 104, 105, or 106, in these collections, although after 1652 it seems to have stabilized as Sermon 106. *On the Antichrist* does not appear in all early Slavonic versions of the *Paraenesis*, and considering its position within the *Paraenesis* shifts, it may be a later addition to the

¹⁶ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

¹⁷ Horace G. Lunt, "Contributions to the Study of Old Church Slavonic, 2: On the Rila Folia" *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 1-2 (1959): 16-17.

¹⁸ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 125n5.

¹⁹ Ågren, *Paraenesis Efrema Sirina*, 4.

collection.²⁰ No known Greek collection contains the Efemic sermons found in the OCS *Paraenesis*, which hints that it may be a uniquely Slavic collection.²¹ Bojkovsky indicates that all five of the manuscripts he employed in his study may ultimately derive from an original 10th-11th century Old Bulgarian translation in Glagolitic script made sometime after the reign of Tsar Simeon I (r.893-927), and modified and/or corrected by c.1353 in the Middle Bulgarian period.²² Called in OCS *Slovo o Antikhriste*, this East Slavic recension betrays a close relationship to the A Recension.²³

The Greek original employed by the earliest OCS translators might be unknown or more likely lost, but the Vc₁ and Vc₂ manuscripts are very close to that original. A comparison of the 1647 text and Bojkovsky against the A Recension critical edition proves illuminating.

Slovo o Antikhriste

Both Bojkovsky and the 1647 text show that the OCS version of the sermon, *Slovo o Antikhriste*, reflects the A Recension. This confirms Ågren's argument that a different Greek Ur-text lies behind *Slovo o Antikhriste* than Assemani's canonical text-form. It also justifies her use of Vc₂ in exploring the origins of *Slovo o Antikhriste*.²⁴ Finally, it confirms (as though such were necessary) the validity of employing OCS

²⁰ Thomson, "The Old Bulgarian Translation," 129.

²¹ Thomson, "Old Bulgarian Translation," 130. Lunt, "Rila Folia", 22.

²² Bojkovsky, *Paraenesis*, v-xvi.

²³ Lunt, "Rila Folia," 37.

²⁴ Ågren, *K probleme*, Abstract.

manuscripts to ascertain originals in other languages since the Old Bulgarian translators tended to create word-for-word renderings.

Bojkovsky and the 1647 text open with one change from the A Recension manuscripts: the name Efrem appears in the opening sentence. In this, both would appear more like the B Recension and other later recensions, but the rest of the sermon follows the A Recension very closely. This indicates that the name Efrem was likely inserted into the OCS, or even Old Bulgarian, independently of the same occurring in the Greek recensions. The term Antichrist is employed more often in the OCS.

Of particular interest is that Bojkovsky and the 1647 text contain an allusion to Andrew of Caesarea's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, particularly regarding "false miracles and signs of sorcery."²⁵ This suggests that the translator of *Slovo o Antikhriste* knew of Andrew of Caesarea's *Commentary*. In the Greek, this is not so clear. If anything, no clear allusion to Andrew's *Commentary* can be discerned. For example, citing Revelation 9:21, the word Andrew employs for sorcery is φαρμακον, which can also translate as drug, potion, or medicine. This word appears nowhere in the A Recension or its constituent manuscripts.

Perhaps most importantly for this study, Bojkovsky and the 1647 text preserve quadripartite division showing where the A Recension changes meter, and specifically follows the Vc₂ in its first change of meter, which occurs one sentence before the Vc₁. The Greek *metros* means a measurement such as of weight, or a distance, but it can also be a musical term meaning meter. *On the Antichrist* is divided into sections in the A

²⁵ Ephraem Syrus, "Slovo o Antikhriste," *Poucheniia* (Moscow: Pechatnyi dvor, 1647), folio 297 recto. Translated by Eugene Clay. Private communications with the author, 2014-2019.

Recension, but a curious notation occurs in the third section (beginning l.159) where Vc₁ has *allo metron* (another meter), Vc₂ has *eis to prōtōn metron* (in the first meter). As Vc₁ and Vc₂ are important manuscript witnesses to the A Recension, this could prove significant. Bousset maintained that *On the Antichrist* displayed Aramaic meter in its composition, a conjecture this study has been unable to confirm or deny. This notation in the Vc₂ could indicate that some meter did at some time may have existed in the sermon, perhaps a Byzantine meter. A count of syllables at the beginnings of sections/meters does suggest a possible meter. In the first meter, many 14 syllable lines appear. In the second meter (beginning ll.89-90), 16 and 32 syllable lines appear often. In the third meter (beginning l.159), many 14 syllable lines appear. In the fourth meter (beginning l.279), many 16 and 27 syllable lines occur. This does not constitute a hard and fast rule, however. For example, in the fourth meter, 12 and 13 syllable lines occur mixed in with the 16 and 27 syllable lines. To illustrate by line number:

279 = 27 syllables
 280 = 27
 281 = 29
 282 = 28
 283 = 23
 284 = 16
 285 = 16
 286 = 21
 287 = 13
 288 = 12
 289 = 16

This by no means proves at all that *On the Antichrist* is a metrical composition, but it does hint that translating *metron* as meter is justified. This syllable argument does not prove that the OCS is translated from the Vc₂, but it does at least strongly point to Vc₂ and Bojkovsky and the 1647 text sharing a close common ancestor.

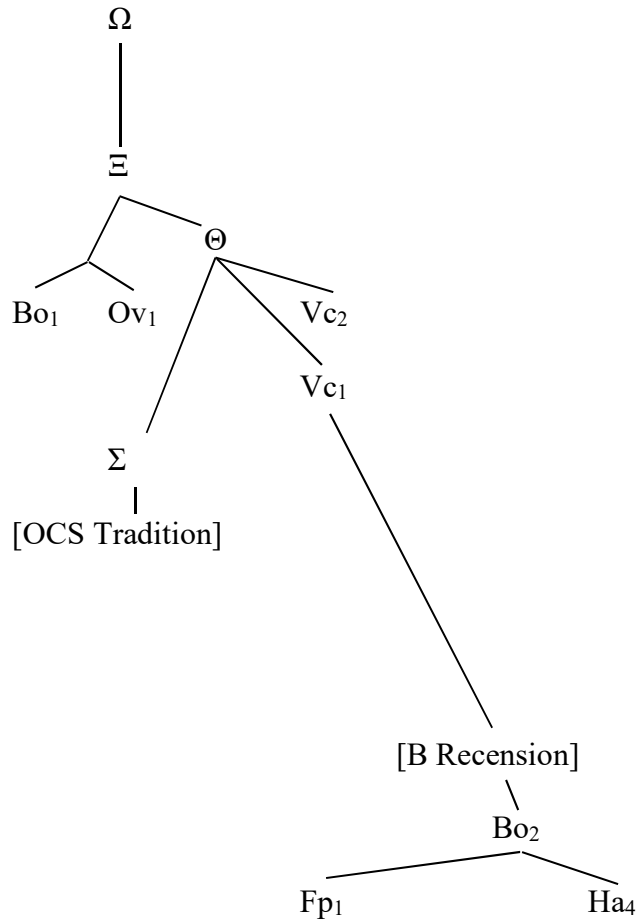
The second measure, or first break, in the Vc₂ (l.89) is preserved in Bojkovsky and the 1647 text as well, with Efrem's name appearing in the first person at the beginning of the second measure change in the 1647 text. Satan is explicitly discussed in the OCS sermon, with the translator/interpreter specifically pointing out that Satan is not the biological father of the Antichrist, a distinction not in the A Recension. Another distinction the OCS makes that the A Recension Greek does not is the nature of the favors that the Antichrist refuses to accept; the OCS states that the Antichrist will not accept taxes.²⁶ In Bojkovsky and the 1647 text, l.166 is omitted ("I declare, beloved, the ineffable Trinity being the same essence from which gushes forth the flow of life."); it is present in all the Greek A Recension manuscripts. Bojkovsky and the 1647 text also omit ll.435-439 near the end of the sermon. All of the A Recension manuscripts drop individual sentences found in the critical edition, and often different ones, so this is no surprise.

Lines 270-277 are very difficult to reconstruct in the A Recension, and translating the product is not easy. These lines discuss the false miracles of the Antichrist, specifically moving mountains and islands, and his walking upon the abyss as though it were dry land. These same lines caused Bojkovsky difficulties in translating from OCS into German. This indicates that the Greek manuscript source for these versions was damaged or otherwise corrupted. As well immediately after the third measure change, at ll. 279-281, Bojkovsky and the 1647 text omit three sentences also omitted in the Vc₁; Vc₂ being a damaged manuscript that fails just before this point.

²⁶ *Slovo o Antikhriste* 1647 edition, Folio 300 recto. Translated by Eugene Clay. Private communications with the author, 2014-2019.

This indicates that a common ancestor lies behind the OCS tradition manuscripts, the V_{c2} , and the V_{c1} and later B Recension manuscripts which appear to have evolved from it.

Taking into account the OCS data, a revised proposed stemma of the manuscripts thus becomes:



In this stemma, Ω is the autographic text-form composed in the 7th century, and Ξ is the hypothetical manuscript damaged in the last third sometime between the 7th and 10th centuries. As for the new sigla: Θ represents the common ancestor shared between

V_{c1}, V_{c2}, with the original Old Bulgarian translation (Bojkovsky, the 1647 text, and the succeeding OCS manuscripts) denoted as Σ.

As a digression, the fact that Σ fits within the A Recension, and specifically matches so closely the V_{c1} and V_{c2} manuscripts from the School of Nil of Rossano, is certainly noteworthy. Several questions arise from this that currently have no firm answers. How does the A Recension get preserved in both southern Italy and in the East Slavic world but barely anywhere in between? Likely this is just due to the accidents of preservation, but what factors led to those accidents? Is Nil of Rossano somehow personally involved in the preservation of *On the Antichrist* in southern Italy?

Another question that merits asking: What is the exact relationship between Σ and the A Recensions in southern Italy? Why are the Σ manuscripts closer to V_{c1} and V_{c2} than to the older O_{v1}? The evidence would seem to imply that the A Recension represented by V_{c1} and V_{c2} share the same ancestor manuscript tradition as Σ, and further, since the OCS borrowing a Koine manuscript from southern Italy is highly unlikely, that the Σ/V_{c1}/V_{c2} ancestor must have existed in Greece, or Constantinople, or even at Mt. Athos, an area associated with the B_{o1}. Does the link involve the Abbey of Monte Cassino, a monastery where Nil is known to have spent time? Some south Italian institutions, including those Benevento, Salerno, and Capaccio, are reported as employing the Byzantine Rite as late as the 10th century, and even the monastery of St. Caesarius on the Palatine Hill in Rome used the Byzantine Rite as late as the 12th century.²⁷ All of this is suggestive, but unfortunately not definitive. These Byzantine Rite institutions do tend

²⁷ Vera von Falkenhausen, "Greek Monasticism in Campania and Latium from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century." Barbara Crostini and Ines Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 83-85.

to share relationships with Mt. Athos, and it is not unreasonable to posit that Mt. Athos could be the epicenter from which *On the Antichrist* spread to southern Italy, and to the East Slavic world. As of now, however, this is only a hypothesis.

Orthodox Slavic Eschatology

On the Antichrist becomes an important work among the Orthodox Slavs. Many factors contribute to this, and a full investigation could comprise its own study. A thumbnail sketch of the reasons for this work's importance in Slavonic can be constructed, however.

Around 863, Tsar Boris I (r.852-889) of Bulgaria converted to Byzantine Orthodoxy. Originally dominated by Byzantine Greek clergy and liturgy, the Bulgarian church turned in a new direction when Boris I accepted priests expelled from Great Moravia after 885, priests who wrote in OCS and used a Slavonic liturgy. This allowed Boris to become more politically and ecclesiastically independent from Constantinople.²⁸ By the late 9th century, a religious center had been established at Lake Ohrid in Macedonia.²⁹ Ohrid became the center of Christian literature production in Slavonic. The first flowering of Christian Slavonic literature occurred during the reign of Tsar Simeon I (r.893-927) of Bulgaria.

The East Slavic peoples in Kievan Rus' found themselves in a Christian polity under the reign of Vladimir I Sviatoslavich / Valdamarr Svienaldsson (r.980-1015), a Norse or Norse-Slavic ruler. As one way to unify the various peoples in his realm, he

²⁸ John V.A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Pr., 1991), 117, 128-129.

²⁹ Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, 127-128

eventually converted to Byzantine Orthodoxy by 988 (a traditional, but not necessarily accurate, date).³⁰ Christian ideas has already been entering Kievan Rus' for decades, however. Vladimir's grandmother the regent Olga / Helga (r.945-963), who had converted sometime during the 940s-950s, and the Cathedral of St. Il'ya (Elias) had operated in Kyiv since 944.³¹

Michael Pesensen notes that the new Christian religion introduced a literary culture to the Slavs, one based upon biblical and parabiblical books and exegesis. With this new literacy in Old Church Slavonic, a new elite formed, supported by rulers, to transmit this new knowledge.³² This contrasts with Constantinople: a Christian Roman literate culture based upon Classical (necessarily pre-Christian) texts. Bulgaria becomes critical in the transmission of texts from Constantinople to the East Slavic cultures. Significantly, no complete Bible existed in the East Slavic world until the end of the 15th century. East Slavic Christianity incorporated a variety of voices into its Christianity. Instead of a Bible, individual biblical and parabiblical works through OCS translations circulated within and informed East Slavic Christianity.³³

Revelation circulated early in OCS translation, often accompanied by the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, composed c.611 by Andrew of Caesarea.³⁴ Other works include: the *Journey of the Mother of God to Hell*; the *Apocalypse of Paul*; *2 Enoch*; the

³⁰ Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia 980-1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1995), 5, 8.

³¹ Martin, *Medieval Russia*, 6.

³² Michael Pesenson, "Visions of Terror, Visions of Glory: A Study of Apocalyptic Motifs in Early East Slavic Literature" (PhD dissertation: Yale, 2001), 12.

³³ Pesenson, "Visions of Terror", 13.

³⁴ Pesenson, "Visions of Terror", 13. Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou (tr.), *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Washington DC: Catholic Univ. of America Pr., 2011), 16.

Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian; the *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *3 Baruch*; and, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. All these works influenced not only East Slavic Christianity, but East Slavic Apocalypticism as well. Patristic literature also enters through OCS translations, including Pseudo-Hippolytus, the *Apocalypse of Methodius of Patara*, and a so far unidentified (in Greek) *On the Second Coming* attributed to Efreem the Syrian. Also adding fodder were Cyril of Jerusalem's *Fifteenth Catechesis*, the *Life of Andreas Salos*, and the *Life of Basil the Younger*. With so many apocalyptic works flowing from Constantinople through Ohrid, it is no surprise that natively-produced apocalypses began early among the East Slavs. The *Homilies* of Serapion of Vladimir, and the *Sermon on the Celestial Powers*, stand among the earliest.³⁵

On the Antichrist in Latin

The trajectory of *On the Antichrist* into Latin is more convoluted than into the other languages examined. In this case, many of the ideas found in *On the Antichrist* entered the Latin West well before the sermon itself. The sermon CPG 3944/4130 (*Sermo in Secundum Adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi II*) was created by no earlier than the 8th century and translated into Latin as CPL 1144 (*De fine mundi et consumatione saeculi et conturbatione gentium*). Both CPG 3945 (*Sermo de Communi Resurrectione, de Paenitentia et de Caritate, et in Secundum Adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*) and *On the Antichrist* appear in Greek by the 10th century per surviving manuscripts. *On the Antichrist* itself then enters Latin much later.

³⁵ Pesenson, "Visions of Terror", 14-19.

CPL 1144 is something of a puzzle. It survives in four manuscripts.

- 1) Karlsruhe, Germany. Baden State Library, MS. 196 [folios 24-29]. Dated to the 9th century.³⁶
- 2) Paris, France. National Library, lat. 13348 [89v-93v]. Dated to the last quarter of the 8th century.
- 3) St. Gallen, Switzerland. Abbey Library of St. Gall, MS. 108 [1-10]. Incipit: *Fratres karissimi spiritu sancto credimus qui loquitur in vobis iam antea*. Attributed to Isidore of Seville. Dated to the last half of the 8th century.
- 4) Vatican City. Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 671 [167-171]. Dated to the 8th century.

Three of the manuscripts date to the 8th century, or c.200 years before the earliest surviving manuscript of *On the Antichrist*.

One puzzle is that CPL 1144 does not become one of the Efremitic canon of works in the Latin West. The Latin canon of Efremitic works, called Ephraem Latinus for convenience, consisted of six works which by the 9th century circulated together in one collection.³⁷ Of the six, five were composed in Greek then translated into Latin. Only CPG 3909 (*Sermo Asceticus*), descended from a Syriac original.³⁸ Two other Efremitic works also circulated in the Latin West, but often separately.³⁹ Intriguingly, CPL 1144 was not any of these. It seems to have rested within its four manuscripts largely unnoticed by Latin Christianity. It appears that the Latin Efremitic works, as they are all monastic in

³⁶ Monastic Manuscript Project, *Ps.-Ephraem the Syrian, De fine mundi et consumatione saeculi et conturbatione gentium*, at <http://www.earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Ps-Ephraem-De-fine-mundi.html>. Accessed: 12 May 2016.

³⁷ Sebastian Brock, "The Changing Faces of St. Ephrem as Read in the West". John Behr, Andrew Louth, Dimitri Conomos, eds., *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Pub., 2003), 68.

³⁸ Brock, "Changing Faces", 79.

³⁹ Brock, "Changing Faces", 68.

character, were meant for a very specific audience with no interest in Byzantine Orthodox liturgy.⁴⁰

Manuscript Traditions

Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439), known in Latin as Ambrosius Camaldulensis, was a Camaldolese monk born near Forlì in the Romagna. He creates the version of the sermon known to the West during the late Middle Ages. Traversari translated 20 Efremitic texts during the mid-1420s, including *On the Antichrist*. He seems to have focused upon monastic, penitential, and eschatological texts.⁴¹ Intriguingly, Charles L. Stinger does not believe that Traversari had any knowledge of the corpus of Ephraem Latinus, which had circulated since the Late Antique period.⁴²

This first appearance of *On the Antichrist* in Latin served Traversari's purpose in introducing Greek Efremitic to lay piety among Florentine and Venetian humanists.⁴³ His translation formed the basis for later translations of the sermon into various vernaculars.⁴⁴ It was published posthumously in *Tabula super sermones Ephraem diaconi* (IGI 3679), through Antonio Miscomini in Florence in

⁴⁰ Brock, "Changing Faces", 77.

⁴¹ Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany NY: SUNY Pr., 1977), 133.

⁴² Stinger, *Humanism*, 272n182.

⁴³ Stinger, *Humanism*, 165.

⁴⁴ Brock, "Changing Faces", 70.

August 1481.⁴⁵ A second volume, *Sermones Ephrem diaconi secundum traductionem Venerabilis patris Ambrosii Camaldulensis*, was published through Baptista de Fargengo in Brescia in November 1490.

The Vatican Library lists the following manuscripts as containing Traversari's Latin of the sermon, called *De Antichristo*. The manuscripts are as follows:

- Vc₆ Vatican City. Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 481 [105v-113v]. Dated to 1401-1500.⁴⁶
- Vc₇ Vatican City. Vatican Library, lat. 257 [92v-99v]. Dated to 1453.⁴⁷
- Vc₈ Vatican City. Vatican Library, lat. 258 [79v-86r]. Dated to 1435.⁴⁸

It is at this point that the manuscript production ends for the Latin translations as printing takes over from handcopying. *On the Antichrist* gains exposure to a much wider audience in the West as a result.

⁴⁵ Pasqualino Avigliano, "MISCOMINI, Antonio". *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - Volume 75*, at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-miscomini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. Accessed 2 August 2016.

⁴⁶ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter: BAV], Manuscripts catalogue, ID: 128107, at <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guui/console?service=shortDetail&id=128107>. Available online at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.481/0291?sid=f25438297366fcd5985676bdc71fcd8b. Accessed 2 August 2016.

⁴⁷ BAV, Manuscripts catalogue, ID: 128104, at <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guui/console?service=shortDetail&id=128104>. Available online at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.257/0001/image?sid=42beb45120d030dab04273e328754ba5. Accessed 2 August 2016.

⁴⁸ BAV, Manuscripts catalogue, ID: 128105, at <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guui/console?service=shortDetail&id=128105>. Available online at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.258. Accessed 2 August 2016.

Latin Translations vis-à-vis Greek Originals

The Latin translations show that an A Recension lies behind the Latin traditions. Yet, the exact Greek manuscripts employed in translating *On the Antichrist* into Latin are difficult to pin down. Stinger identified Traversari's Greek original as the Vc₅ (Vat. Barb. gr. 528).⁴⁹ The Vc₅ is dated to 991/2 or 1072/3, which makes it a potential earliest known witness of the sermon.⁵⁰ The Vatican Library lists Vc₅ as containing *On the Antichrist*, but close inspection of the work in question reveals it to be a different sermon: *In Secundum Adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (CPG 3920). Later, Gerard Vos of Borgloon (1547-1609), called Gerardus Vossius Borghlonius in Latin, translated *On the Antichrist* and a larger selection of Efremitic texts, around 120 of them, into Latin and published them during 1589-1598.⁵¹ The Latin translation appears to employ different Greek originals than Travesari, ones which appear closer to some OCS translations. Vos appears to have employed Vc₂, including the quadripartite divisions.⁵² This assumes that Vossius' comments "Ita legitur in manuscrip graeco antiq. Cryptafer." and "in antiquissimo quodam manuscrip. Graec. Biblioth. Cryptaferrat." can be interpreted to refer to the Vc₂.⁵³ With the finding that the Vc₅ employed by Traversari is not *On the Antichrist*, the differences between his translations and Vossius' become understandable.

⁴⁹ Stinger, *Humanism*, 271, 271n181.

⁵⁰ Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 251. Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 54.

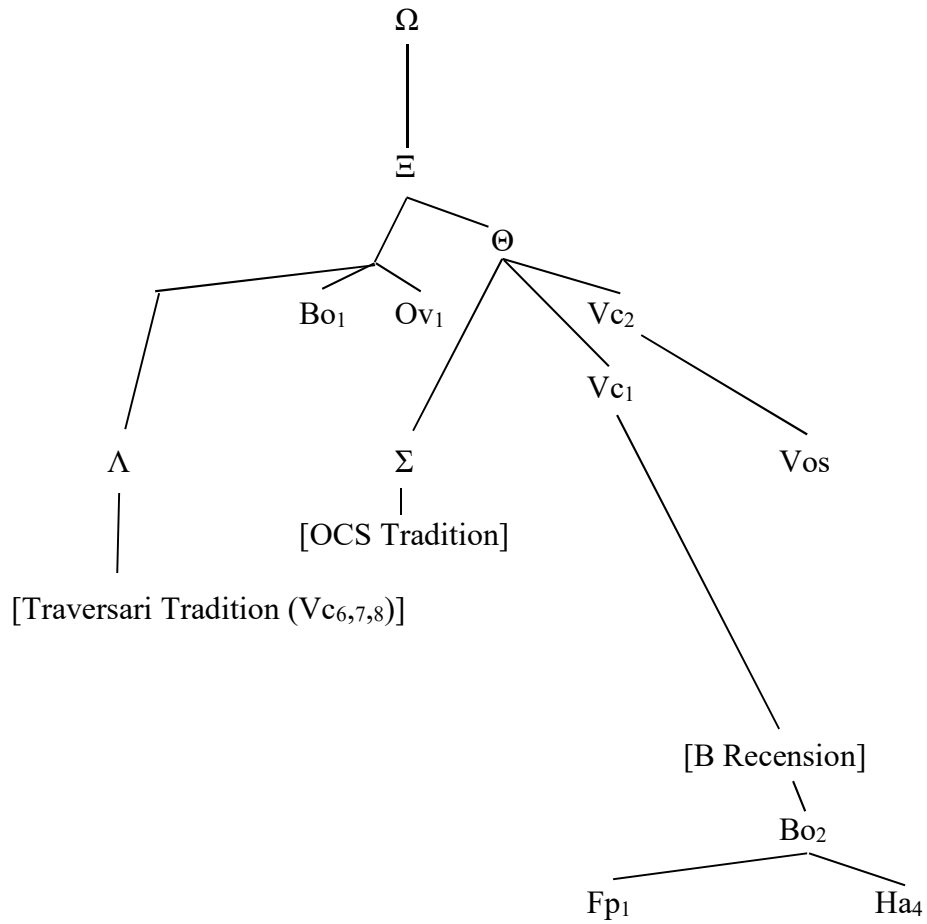
⁵¹ Brock, "Changing Faces", 71.

⁵² Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, *Ephraem Graecus: In Aduentum Domini Et De Consummatione Saeculi* (Paris: IRHT, 2016). <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/7420/>. Accessed 22 June 2016.

⁵³ Gerardus Vossius, *Operum Omnium Sancti Ephraem Syri Patris et Scriptoris Ecclesiae, vol. 1* (Rome: Ex Typographia Iacobi Tornerij, 1589), 240-241.

Traversari, however, does translate *On the Antichrist* into Latin. His original is not the Vc₅, of course, but another manuscript. Comparing Vc₆, Vc₇, and Vc₈, to the A Recension critical edition does betray the links between the two. First, the three Vatican Latin manuscripts as essentially clones of one another and so represent one original Greek manuscript. Second, the Latin shows that an A Recension lies behind the three manuscripts. This Latin A Recension manuscript [hereafter: Λ], appears most closely related to the Bo₁, but Λ is not Bo₁ itself. The Latin invokes the “brothers” less frequently than does the A Recension, and only with that term. Either “fratres” or “fidelissimi fratres” are the terms commonly employed. Line 335 is missing in the Latin, a line present in all A Recension manuscripts. Perhaps most interesting is the translation of the Trisagion. In the Latin, the Trisagion is translated “Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth plena est omnis terra gloria eius.” There is the exception of a scribal error in Vc₈, in which the scribe corrects “gloria tua” to “gloria eius.” The A Recensions all employ “trisagios trisagios trisagios kurios” except for Bo₁, which has “hagios hagios hagios kurios.” This hints at a tradition like Bo₁ where the word “trisagios” is dropped in favor of “hagios,” but the Latin clearly continues the invocation, which could be an innovation by the translator.

Taking into account both the Latin and the OCS data, a revised proposed stemma of the manuscripts thus becomes:



In this stemma, Ω is the autographic text-form composed in the 7th century, and Ξ is the hypothetical manuscript damaged in the last third sometime between the 7th and 10th centuries. As for the new siglum: Λ represents the proposed original Greek manuscript Traversari employed in his translation.

On the Antichrist in Aramaic

On the Antichrist appears in translation in one Aramaic dialect. Additionally, two apocalyptic works contemporaries to *On the Antichrist* in a different Aramaic dialect provide valuable insights on how apocalyptic and eschatological texts evolved during the 7th and 8th centuries.

Five fragments of *On the Antichrist* in Christian Palestinian Aramaic rest in the Göttingen State and University Library, Göttingen, Germany, which Alain Desreuxmaux identified as belonging to the MS. Syr. 21 at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. The manuscript and fragments date to the 8th century (with a range between the 6th to 9th centuries). The Aramaic displays Hellenicisms indicating translation from a Greek original, likely for a Melkite audience.⁵⁴ Hugo Duensing has noted that the Aramaic fragments would seem to presuppose a Greek original reflecting *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* as opposed to *On the Antichrist*.⁵⁵

Brock again notes that all Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscripts translate Greek originals.⁵⁶ This in conjunction with the aforementioned datum that the CPA reflects *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* suggests an intriguing possibility: the CPA could preserve an A Recension text. *On the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ* consists of fragments of *On the Antichrist* related most closely to the Vc1 and Vc2 manuscripts of the A Recension. Another hint may lie Duensing's

⁵⁴ Alain Desreuxmaux, "Ephraim in Christian Palestinian Aramaic." *Hugoye* 1 (1998): 221-224.

⁵⁵ Hugo Duensing, *Nachlese christlich-palästinisch-aramäischer Fragmente*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Nr.5. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 121.

⁵⁶ Sebastian Brock, "St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations (2012)." Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014. Available online at <http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>. Last accessed 25 June 2019.

publication of the CPA manuscripts, where he compares them to Assemani. On page 128, in the left column, appears a section of CPA unrepresented by Assemani text.⁵⁷ At this same place in the A Recension appears text not in Assemani. This proves nothing except that more research is required. An expert in Christian Palestinian Aramaic could translate the CPA text, and compare it to the A Recension. Perhaps, the CPA might match the A Recension. If this were the case, then a new and valuable witness to the sermon would appear: a Christian Palestinian Aramaic translation from Greek in a manuscript dated to the same century as the sermon may have been composed. This would become the earliest known witness to *On the Antichrist*.

Syriac Apocalypses

The *Memra on the End and Completion*, credited to Efreem the Syrian, and the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius provide fascinating comparisons and contrasts with *On the Antichrist*. These roughly contemporaneous apocalypses show in stark contrast just how unusual *On the Antichrist* is in its ahistoricity. As illustrated below, both the *Memra* and the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius go to great lengths to tie their eschatons to specific events in history, so that dating both works proves much easier than any attempt to date *On the Antichrist* with its Antichrist and eschaton seemingly untethered in history.

⁵⁷ Duensing, *Nachlese christlich-palästinisch-aramäischer Fragmente*, 128.

Memra on the End and Completion

P. Edmund Beck published the *Memra on the End and Completion* in Syriac with a German translation in 1972 in his volume *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III*. In form a poem or a hymn, the *Memra on the End and Completion* begins with a notice that the Son incarnates as a human. The author invokes the Son almost Homerically. After some preliminary poetry, the work moves into a war in the eastern Mediterranean, in which Assyria attacks Rome. The author employs the annual Nile flood as a metaphor for Assyrian fortunes in the war. After a time, Assyria retreats and Rome reenters Assyrian territory.

After this Romano-Assyrian War, the ‘sons of Hagar’ emerge from out of Assyrian territory. The Hagarites are described as faithful to the Abrahamic covenant, and are predicted by some sign in the heavens which, although the Syriac fails at this point, may be a sign in the constellation Aries.⁵⁸ The Hagarite marauders impale elderly men, separate mothers from their children, seize young women, and cause widespread chaos. With their horses, camels, and infantry, they conquer the cities of the world then begin exacting tribute. The poem situates the Hagarites as precursors of a more sinister figure to come.

After the Hagarites, Gog and Magog along with a host of other peoples, are let loose from the gates beyond which Alexander the Great had exiled them. Collectively called the Huns, they cause even more destruction upon the earth only to stop their

⁵⁸ P. Edmund Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III* (Louvain: CSCO, 1972), 81n4.

depredations when the Archangel Michael is sent against them. The world finds peace as the Byzantine Empire gains new life for a time, until the final enemy arises.

After iniquity pollutes all creation, the Son of Destruction, also called the Evil One, emerges. Nature reacts as the Sun darkens, the stars fall, and the waves in the sea cease. This Evil One enters Jerusalem, rebuilds it, and arrogates himself to the Godhead then seats himself within the rebuilt Temple. The Jews initially approve of his moves vis-à-vis Jerusalem. When he declares himself the Father and the Son, however, 10,000 Jews challenge his claim and are killed. The author mentions many powers of the Evil One, who can perform faith healings, make the winds and waves obey him, and even stop fruit trees from producing fruit. Yet the author insists that the Evil One can perform no true miracles, only manipulate magic, and adduces the Evil One's inability to raise the dead or to control postmortem spirits. Led by Elijah and Enoch, many challenge the Evil One to resurrect the dead, and taunt him that any failure to do so would only prove the claims of Jesus of Nazareth. The Evil One responds with bluster in a 'non-denial denial' of this power, then massacres those demanding the miracle.

Heaven responds by dispatching the archangels Michael and Gabriel to resurrect the murdered, and to arrest the confused Evil One. From Heaven, the Lord then rebukes and destroys him. The sermon ends with God returning from Heaven with his throne-chariot. He dries up the oceans, dissolves heaven and earth leaving only darkness, then engulfs the earth in 40 days of fire to purify it. The Son is seated at God's right, the martyrs are accorded pride of place, a royal chamber is prepared for the faithful, and then the Watchers blow the trumpets resurrecting the dead for the Final Judgment. The wicked

remain in Gehenna, and are expelled into the darkness, while the righteous ascend to the heavens.

A closer look at the sermon reveals many interesting facts about the author's point of view, and perhaps about his audience. First, the figure of Jesus is little discussed. He is not an active, or even particularly relevant, character in the apocalypse at all, and is only mentioned in passing. In his first mention of Jesus, the author notes that Jesus incarnated as a human. This datum does not really relate to anything around it and appears almost as though it were an afterthought. Were it not for the fact that only two manuscript witnesses of the sermon survive, and both contain this datum, one might surmise that this mention of incarnation were an interpolation into the text. With the two surviving texts, however, this would be only an unprovable hypothesis. In function, however, this introduction serves as an invocation to the rest of the poem.

The poem speaks through codes. In particular, Assyria is employed as a pseudonym for Sassanid Persia, although Rome is allowed to stand for itself. The author describes in précis the Byzantine-Sassanian War of 602-628, when Sassanid Persia conquered and ruled Syria, the Levant, and Egypt during 614-628 before Constantinople regained the territories.⁵⁹ The author not only knows that Constantinople regained its territories in the eastern Mediterranean but pushed into Persian territory late in the war. In the event, Emperor Herakleios (r.610-641) plundered one of the Persian king's palaces at Dastagird, and threatened the Persian capital at Ktesiphon, before Persia sued for peace in

⁵⁹ Alan M. Guenther, "The Christian Experience and Interpretation of the Early Muslim Conquest and Rule," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 10 (1999): 363.

627.⁶⁰ This places the date of composition no earlier than the conclusion of the Byzantine-Sassanian War in 628. This accords with Beck's assessment of a date of composition in the first third of the 7th century.⁶¹ This date means Efreem the Syrian could not have authored the *Memra*.

The author describes a further disaster as the "sons of Hagar," or Arabs, devastate the world. Here the author describes the Arab Conquest which had detached Syria and the Levant from Constantinople's control by 641, removed Egypt from the empire by 642, and annihilated the Sassanian Dynasty by 654.⁶² The author employs an echo of Qur'anic language when he states that the Hagarites are faithful to Abraham's covenant, but otherwise nothing about the Hagarites is particularly Islamic.⁶³ Neither the Arab Prophet the Qur'an, nor any mention of a new religion, are mentioned. The author also shows no awareness of the permanency of Arab rule, much less any awareness of the 'Umayyad Arab Empire. The Hagarites disappear from the poem as only marauders. With their departure from the poem, the author exits historical time. This places the date of composition of the sermon likely no later than 641/2.

Karl-Heinz Ohlig, following Wilhelm Bousset, sees the Hagarite section of *Memra on the End and Completion* as one interpolation into an earlier work, and proposes that other portions could have been interpolated as well. He sees the interpolation(s) as the last third of the 7th century, before 680-683, but the main sermon as

⁶⁰ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers Univ. Pr., 1969), 92-109.

⁶¹ Beck, *Sermones III*, 80n5.

⁶² Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, 110-115.

⁶³ Beck, *Sermones III*, 81n3.

dating to the 4th century but reworked many times *pace* H. Suermann.⁶⁴ Although certainly possible, this appears unlikely. Even if one were to remove the Hagarite section, nothing about the rest of the poem reflects the 4th century Roman or eastern Mediterranean worlds. Bousset's dating to the 4th century seems to have been an attempt to tie some portion of *Memra on the End and Completion* to the time of Efreem the Syrian. To be fair, Ohlig is not interested in parsing and dating *Memra on the End and Completion per se*, but in investigating early Christian writings about the appearance of the Arabs after the Roman-Sassanid War, and what those writings might reveal about the early evolution of Islam.

The poem enters into mythic time with the invocation of the *Alexander Romance*, in which Alexander III of Macedon creates a gate at the end of the earth to keep Gog and Magog from the world. Unfortunately, they and a host of other peoples named in Ezekiel 38:1-5 are allowed through Alexander's gate to wreak havoc.⁶⁵ Collectively termed the Huns, in reference to the Hunnic peoples who caused the Roman Empire so much trouble in the 5th century, these raiders cause even more destruction. Thomas Joseph Lamy dated this poem to the last years of Efreem the Syrian due to this reference to the Huns, who were operating during Efreem's later life, but the reference to the Huns in this case is misleading.⁶⁶ Nothing about Gog and Magog refers to any specific peoples, and dating the poem based in the mention of the Huns is as inexact as would be dating the poem

⁶⁴ Karl-Heinz Ohlig, "Evidence of a New Religion in Christian Literature "Under Islamic Rule"." Karl-Heinz Ohlig, *Early Islam: A Critical Reconstruction Based on Contemporary Records* (Amherst NY: Prometheus Books, 2013), 208.

⁶⁵ Beck, *Sermones III*, 86n1.

⁶⁶ Joseph Melki, "Saint Ephrem Bilan de l'Édition Critique," *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983): 70.

based on the mention of Alexander III (r.336-323 BCE).⁶⁷ It is an interesting coincidence that a work composed about 630, the *Syriac Alexander Romance*, portrays Alexander III as predicting the invasion of Gog and Magog, which he collectively calls Huns, into Rome and Persia. This may or may not be direct literary borrowing as the Huns = Gog and Magog formula was common in the late 6th to early 7th century.⁶⁸ It is equally likely that both works are influenced by Andrew of Caesarea's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, chapter 63, which equates the Huns with Gog and Magog. Andrew's *Apocalypse* has recently been dated to c.611.⁶⁹ It is significant that the author has the Huns/Gog and Magog stopped not by Jesus but by the Archangel Michael. Again, Jesus is at best a peripheral figure.

The Roman Empire experiences its final resurgence after the defeat of the Huns/Gog and Magog. In this, *Memra on the End and Completion* may well borrow from the *Syriac Alexander Romance*, which is credited with first proposing 'Imperial Eschatology'. This was an already current idea that the empire is the "restraining power" of 2 Thessalonians 2:7, which keeps the Antichrist from power for as long as it holds sway.⁷⁰

The Evil One/Son of Destruction is what one could term the Antichrist figure, but he does not fit the conventional portrayal of the Antichrist in the Late Antique/Early

⁶⁷ Beck, *Sermones III*, 70.

⁶⁸ Gerrit J. Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander. Apocalyptic prophecies during the reign of Heraclius" in Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte, *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641). Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 85, 85n23.

⁶⁹ Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, tr. Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Pr., 2011), 16, 212.

⁷⁰ Reinink, "Heraclius", 83n15, 90.

Medieval periods. If anything, this Evil One seems to be the incarnation of Satan himself, reflecting a minority tradition within the Antichrist mythos. This figure is tied to the Lawless One in 2 Thessalonians.⁷¹ Also odd is the Evil One's claim to be the Father and the Son, which would essentially make him the entire Trinity regardless of how one defines the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Evil One can perform no miracles, however, merely magic, as the author defines it. In the poem, the active agents are the archangels Michael and Gabriel; Jesus is absent. Michael and Gabriel pave the way for God the Father to destroy the Evil One. God then appears in a throne-chariot reminiscent of Ezekiel 1.

The poem gives a few clues about the author. He may have links to Egypt as adduced by his twice referencing the Nile flood. He writes in Syriac, although it is unknown if it is the author's first language. In his view of the Arabs, the author shares West Syrian biases. East Syrian writers tended to see the Arabs as a better choice than a Byzantine emperor who forced Chalcedonian Christianity upon his subjects. John of Penakye in his *Resh Melle* gives one example of this.⁷² East Syrian writers also tended to view the Roman-Sassanian War as a struggle between Christianity and Zoroastrianism, which the author of *Memra on the End and Completion* does not.⁷³ The author is also apparently not concerned with a division between Miaphysites and Theodorans in the Sassanid Empire, which had raged around the vacant Catholicos since 608-609, a struggle

⁷¹ Beck, *Sermones III*, 89-91.

⁷² John W. Witt, "The Portrayal of Heraclius in Syriac Historical Sources" in Reinink and Stolte, *Reign of Heraclius*, 73.

⁷³ Witt, "Portrayal of Heraclius," 69.

which East Syrian writers tended to note.⁷⁴ All of this would seem to indicate that the author of *Memra on the End and Completion* was a West Syrian writer who is concerned neither with Miaphysite-Theodoran struggles within Persia, nor with Emperor Heraklios, whom he never mentions even though East Syrian writers often did.

Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius

The *Apocalypse* attributed to Methodius of Patara is in form a history of the world that begins with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden and concludes with the end of history. After Adam and Eve, the *Apocalypse* moves quickly past the story of Noah and the immediate postdiluvian world to tackle the first Ishmaelite invasion of the world. This First Ishmaelite Period is linked to the figure of Gideon in Judges 7-8, who defeats the Ishmaelites.⁷⁵ Alexander III of Macedon (r.336-323 BCE) features in the *Apocalypse* for constructing the gates to the north that imprison unclean nations who employ magic and eat their dead along with aborted fetuses. These nations are directly linked with Gog and Magog of Ezekiel.⁷⁶ After the death of a childless Alexander, four “servants” (*hoi tessares paides*) divide his empire. In time, three of these new dynasties (Rome, Byzantium, and Alexandria) marry into the royal house of Ethiopia.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Witt, “Portrayal of Heraclius,” 69.

⁷⁵ Benjamin Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius; An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Pr., 2012), 15-17, 338n9. Cf. Judges 7:25; 8:3-11.

⁷⁶ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 23-27.

⁷⁷ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 29-33, 339n25. Cf. Ps. 68:31.

The meat of the *Apocalypse* lies in the second Ishmaelite invasion of the world. After the collapse of Persia, the Ishmaelites oppose the Byzantine Empire.⁷⁸ They storm out of the desert of Yathrib to gather at a place called “Great Gabaoth,” which Garstad proposes is the site of the 636 Battle of Yarmouk near Gabiia in Syria, where the Arabs defeated the Byzantine army of Emperor Herakleios (r.610-641) and ended Byzantine rule in Syria.⁷⁹ In short order, the Ishmaelites subjugate Persia, Armenia, Sicily, eastern Egypt, Greece, Cilicia, and Syria and the Holy Land.⁸⁰

Ishmaelite rule is harsh but merited as the Second Ishmaelite Period is ordained by God as punishment for the Christians. Environmental devastation forms part of the chastisement as animals starve and forests are hewn down. A bloodstained Earth no longer produces crops, and cities are deserted. Religiously speaking, priests are violated and killed within their sanctuaries, and men have sex with women in sacred locations.⁸¹ Cross-dressing, sodomy, and women having sex simultaneously with multiple male members of the same family, are also mentioned as major sins.⁸² God’s cruelty expresses itself because most Christians are not true Christians, and very few remain true when the Ishmaelites arrive. Many Christians deny the true faith, the cross, and the mysteries of the church, thus denying Christ.⁸³ Yet the faithful few must endure torture as well, so God can see who is truly faithful to him.⁸⁴ After enough suffering, God encourages the

⁷⁸ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 37, 340n30. Cf. Dan. 11:15.

⁷⁹ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 37, 39, 340n31.

⁸⁰ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 43, 340n39.

⁸¹ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 47-49.

⁸² Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 41.

⁸³ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 47-49.

⁸⁴ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 55.

Byzantines, so the ‘King of the Romans’ (i.e. the Byzantine Emperor) finally defeats the Ishmaelites, albeit at the heavy cost of the devastation of Egypt and the torching of Arabia.⁸⁵ But as the world breathes a sigh of relief, the gates of the north are opened and the unclean nations imprisoned by Alexander III storm the Earth in their turn. The anthropophages of the north seize Joppa, but the Byzantine Emperor, of Ethiopian descent, defeats them then moves his capital to Jerusalem for 10.5 years.⁸⁶

The Son of Destruction finally emerges in the narrative only in Chapter 14 (of 14). He is the Antichrist, but never called by that title, and he is not a major character in the *Apocalypse*; more time is devoted to the two invasions of the Ishmaelites. The Son of Destruction is a Galilean, born in Chorazin, raised in Bethsaida, and finally ruling from Capernaum.⁸⁷

When the Son of Destruction is unveiled, the Byzantine Emperor visits Golgotha to give his crown (*stemma*) to the cross. God takes the cross, crown, and kingship, into Heaven, the Byzantine Emperor dies, and the Byzantine Empire comes to an end.⁸⁸ The Son of Destruction himself is a Danite, interpreting Jacob’s blessing of Dan in Genesis 49:17-18 in the Septuagint. He makes the lame walk, makes the deaf hear and the blind see, exorcises demons, and can turn the Moon to blood and the Sun dark. Yet, the author calls all these false signs. The Son of Destruction travels to Jerusalem to seat himself in God’s Temple as God’s equal. God sends Elijah and Enoch to Earth to expose the Son of

⁸⁵ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 59.

⁸⁶ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 61-63. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 71.

⁸⁷ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 63, 343n73. Cf. Matthew 11:21-23 and Luke 10:13-15.

⁸⁸ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 63-67, 343n76&77. Cf. Ps. 68:32; 1 Cor. 15:24.

Destruction, which works excellently as most people on the Earth desert him. The Son of Destruction responds by killing Enoch and Elijah.⁸⁹ Jesus, called the Son of Man, returns and kills the Son of Destruction by his mouth.⁹⁰

The author of the *Apocalypse* attributed to the fourth century Methodius (d. c.311), *episkopos* of Olympos, is unknown. What is known is that the work is well-datable to 692. The work must have been completed before 694, when it began to influence other writers, and it was likely spurred on by the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem under the orders of Khalif ‘Abd al Malik ibn Marwan (r.685-705). The anonymous author is pro-Byzantine in sentiment, but with monophysite sympathies, leading Benjamin Garstad to posit a Melchite Christian author. He writes in Syriac, although it is unknown if it is the author’s first language, and shares the West Syrian biases of the *Memra* author. The date of translation of the *Apocalypse* into Greek is uncertain, but Garstad prefers a date range between 692 and 727.⁹¹

The Syriac version of the *Apocalypse* relates that the vision was given to the author on Mount Sinjar, in modern northern Iraq. The author appears to hold Mt. Sinjar, near Mosul in modern Iraq, as an important place, and this could indicate that he hails from this holy area for the Kurds.⁹² The author describes the Arab Conquest, and specifically references the collapse of Sassanian Persia by 654, which would be expected from an author who may hail from the Mosul area of that empire.⁹³ As with the *Memra*,

⁸⁹ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 69.

⁹⁰ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, 66-69, 343n85. Cf. Mt. 24:30; 2 Thes. 2:8.

⁹¹ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, vii-ix.

⁹² Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, viii.

⁹³ Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, 110-115.

nothing about the Ishmaelites is particularly Islamic.⁹⁴ Neither the Arab Prophet the Qur'an, nor any mention of a new religion, are mentioned. The *Apocalypse* also features "Imperial Eschatology" or the "Last Emperor Mythos," the idea that the Byzantine Empire is the "restraining power" of 2 Thessalonians 2:7, which keeps the Antichrist from power for as long as it holds sway.⁹⁵

The *Apocalypse* gives an outline of world history, which shows dependence on a series of Syriac works related to a book called the *Cave of Treasures*, a work likely composed in the 6th century and at the time of the *Apocalypse*'s writing widely believed to be the work of Efreem the Syrian.⁹⁶ The *Cave of Treasures* is a Christian work composed in Syriac sometime between 590 and 630 in Sassanian Mesopotamia, very likely during the reign of Shah Xusru II Parviz (r.590-628). The *Cave of Treasures* presents an East Syrian Christian view of salvation history from Adam and Eve to Pentecost.⁹⁷ After the Fall, Adam and Eve deposit items taken from Eden in a cave nearby. Adam and Eve deposit the gold, myrrh, and frankincense later given to Jesus by the Magi, in the cave. After his death, Adam's mummy is deposited within the Cave of Treasures as well. The climax of the *Cave of Treasures* sees Adam's mummy baptized by the blood of Christ who hangs on the cross above Adam's postdiluvian tomb, which is within Golgotha. The Hebrew Bible is essentially rewritten in a Christian matrix, and the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is believed to be the first work to employ it as a source.

⁹⁴ Beck, *Sermones III*, 81n3.

⁹⁵ Reinink, "Heraclius", 83n15, 90. McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 70.

⁹⁶ Garstad, *Apocalypse, Pseudo-Methodius*, xii.

⁹⁷ Alexander Toepel, "The Cave of Treasures: A New Translation and Introduction." Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, Alexander Panayatov, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 531, 535-536.

Although erroneously considered a work composed by Efreem the Syrian, the *Cave of Treasures* employs Efreem's Syriac works, and the Greek works attributed to Efreem, as sources, along with the works of Aphrahat.⁹⁸

Comparing the Three Apocalypses

On the Antichrist, the *Memra on the End and Completion*, and the *Apocalypse*, are three different but related works. In all three, the Antichrist is a character, but he is least prominent in the *Apocalypse*. In *On the Antichrist*, he is a weak figure who does not direct the action, whereas he is more activist in the *Memra*. The *Memra* and *Apocalypse* do not employ the title Antichrist for this Endtyrant, whereas *On the Antichrist* does but not often with other titles dominating. In all three works, however, 2 Thessalonians forms the core template for the Antichrist.

Dispute continues about the date and authorship of 2 Thessalonians. Some scholars support an early date for 2 Thessalonians, c.51-52, and for its authenticity vis-à-vis Paul. At this time, the majority view among scholars, and the position adopted by this author, sees 2 Thessalonians as a later work composed after Paul's death, but closely following 1 Thessalonians as a template. This view sees 2 Thessalonians composed sometime after the suicide of Nero (r.54-68) in 68, and very possibly during the reign of Domitian (r.81-96).⁹⁹ In the context of this discussion, the date of the work makes almost no difference. Whether 2 Thessalonians discusses the Lawless One in 51 or 91, it still

⁹⁸ Toepel, "The Cave of Treasures", 531-537.

⁹⁹ Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1997), 591, 596n15.

stands as a key early discussion of the Endtyrant. It is also the basis for the Endtyrant/Antichrist figures in the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, the *Memra on the End and Completion*, and *On the Antichrist*.

Second Thessalonians 2 discusses the Endtyrant, calling him the Lawless One (*ho anomos*), the Lawless person (*ho anthrōpos tēs anomias*, or possibly it refers to the person being revealed through chaos – *kai apokalupthē ho anthrōpos tēs anomias*), and the Son of Destruction (*ho huios tēs apōleias*).¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, most manuscript witnesses have ‘the erring person’ (*ho anthrōpos tēs hamartias*, or possibly it refers to the person being revealed through errors/failures; *hamartias* is often used to translate the Semitic concept ‘sin’), but because the early Alexandrian texts preserve *anomias*, the United Bible Committee opts for the current reading, which rates a {C}, which indicates medium confidence in a reading on an A to D scale.¹⁰¹ In this instance, the UBC editors do not hold particularly high confidence that “lawless” is the word originally written by the author.

This Lawless One either initiates or is involved with the defection (*apostasia*) before the Parousia.¹⁰² The Lawless One cannot act until the allotted time due to ‘the arrester’ (*to katekhon/ho katekhon*, “the arresting/the arrester,” or “the withholding/the withholder”), which are undefined in 2 Thessalonians 2:6-7. What and/or who these restraints may be, they constrain the Lawless One from acting out of turn. In the

¹⁰⁰ Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2000), 419.

¹⁰¹ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart, BRD: United Bible Societies, 1975), 635.

¹⁰² Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 214-215.

Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius and some later Byzantine apocalyptic texts, the Arrester is the Byzantine Empire and/or the Byzantine Emperor.

The Lawless One usurps the Temple in Jerusalem, sits in the *naos* of God. *Naos* often translates as temple, but in this case, another meaning of *naos* as the inmost part of the temple where a god's idol is kept, or in Hebrew terms the Holy of Holies, might better serve. The Lawless One exalts himself over all those called gods (*legomenon theon*) and objects of worship.¹⁰³ He performs "signs and wonders" of *pseudos* ('falsehood'), and falls at the Parousia.¹⁰⁴ Significantly, the Lawless One is not a demon, but only a Satan-inspired human. On this head, the three apocalypses become vague. *On the Antichrist* and the *Memra on the End and Completion* seem to imply that this Lawless One/Antichrist/Endtyrant may be Satan incarnate, or at the least both fail to delineate any differences between him and Satan. On this, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is silent, but its Antichrist/Endtyrant does arrogate himself to God's equal.

In 2 Thessalonians, the Lawless One directly opposes God, not Jesus.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Jesus does not even appear in all textual witnesses of 2 Thessalonians 2:8. The UBS includes this {C} reading even though it found impossible to decide if the word originally appeared in the autograph text-form of 2 Thessalonians.¹⁰⁶ The autograph might have had the Lawless One destroyed by the breath of God himself.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 419-4220.

¹⁰⁴ Jenks, *Antichrist Myth*, 216. Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 418, 425.

¹⁰⁵ Jenks, *Antichrist Myth*, 217, 221n60.

¹⁰⁶ Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 636.

¹⁰⁷ Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 424.

The Lawless One of 2 Thessalonians is a figure of chaos. The *Memra on the End and Completion* sees the Antichrist as a character who takes advantage of the chaos caused by the Hagarites and by Gog and Magog. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* discusses the Antichrist the least of the three, but he still takes advantage of the chaos caused by the Ishmaelites and by the anthropophages imprisoned by Alexander III. In *On the Antichrist*, the Hagarites/Ishmaelites/Arabs do not appear, but the peoples of the Earth willingly cede power to the Antichrist, and that ceding of authority initiates the chaos which Nature herself fights with her own chaos upon humanity.

Other Witnesses of *On the Antichrist*

On the Antichrist proved to be an important and popular sermon in the Byzantine and East Slavic cultures, and a somewhat less well-known or popular homily in the Latin West. The modern Greek, Russian, and Ukrainian, cultures (among other mainly Slavic cultures) still value *On the Antichrist* in the present day. The sermon did move into other cultures, however, even if its impact was either minimal or currently not well understood. In most cases, one of the Greek recensions provided the original material for translators to employ when adapting *On the Antichrist* to these other languages.

Georgian

Efforts to identify and locate the Georgian manuscript of *On the Antichrist* continue, although its existence is strongly suspected. According to Brock, most Georgian Efremitic works translate Greek originals, although some translations of Arabic and Armenian originals are known.¹⁰⁸

Sahidic Coptic

In Sahidic Coptic, *On the Antichrist* appears as *Naš nhe anok peirefrnobe* (*incipit*), in IB. 11, ff. 110-136, or Zoega CCLIII, fragments of Codex MONB.NE. Zoega CCLIII currently rests among the Borgia Coptic manuscripts at the Victor Emmanuel III National Library in Naples, and originally comes from the White Monastery near Sohag in Egypt.¹⁰⁹ All Coptic manuscripts of Efremitic works translate Greek works according to Sebastian Brock.¹¹⁰

Arabic

In Arabic, *On the Antichrist* appears as *Mīmar qālahu Mārī Afrām ‘alā Inqida’ al ‘Ālam wa Maji’ al Dajjāl*, (98b-107a) in MS Or. 14.238.¹¹¹ Or. 14.238 currently resides in the University of Leiden library, and may originally have come from St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai. In 1922, Anton Baumstark dated Or. 14.238 to the 12th century,

¹⁰⁸ Brock, “St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide”, <http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>.

¹⁰⁹ Delio Vania Proverbio, “Auctarium au dossier copte de l’Éphrem grec,” *Orientalia* 66 (1997): 83-84.

¹¹⁰ Brock, “St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide,” <http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>.

¹¹¹ J.J. Witkam, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands, Fascicule 3* (Brill: Leiden, 1988), 335.

but Jan Witkam has more recently revised that estimate to the 10th century.¹¹² According to Sebastian Brock, most of the Arabic manuscripts attributed to Efreem translate the Greek works.¹¹³

Interestingly, the first sentence in the Arabic does not contain the name of Efreem (Afrām). In this, the Arabic resembles the A Recension. This in itself proves nothing, but in conjunction with the 10th century date it certainly indicates that more in depth research on the Arabic *On the Antichrist* needs to be done. Another 10th century witness to *On the Antichrist* would prove helpful in further fleshing out the history of the sermon.

Conclusion

On the Antichrist evolved through many times, languages, audiences, and interpreters. Yet, due to confusing categorization, it has been credited with appearing in contexts where it never belonged. The *Memra on the End and Completion* and the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, both composed in Syriac, share similarities with *On the Antichrist* but also display variations from it as well.

The OCS recension of *On the Antichrist* is where the most interesting material appears, and indeed forms one of the main questions of this dissertation. Not only can the Vc₁/Vc₂ manuscripts of the A Recension be shown related to the OCS recension of *On the Antichrist*, but the OCS in turn provides evidence that a common ancestor lies behind the OCS/Vc₁/Vc₂ group, an ancestor that falls squarely within the A Recension and seems

¹¹² Witkam, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 329. Anton Baumstark, *Katalog 500* (Karl W. Heirseemann: Leipzig, 1922), 13.

¹¹³ Brock, "St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide," <http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>.

to share a common ancestral tradition with the other A Recension manuscripts, Ov₁ and Bo₁. The OCS recension helps to reconstruct the early history of *On the Antichrist*.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation employed *On the Antichrist* (CPG 3946) to investigate how Christianity employs religio-cultural constructs and either refines, or redefines, them for new audiences and circumstances. Examining almost all of the earliest manuscripts, and many others created as late as the 17th century, revealed multiple recensions of the sermon that evolved over the centuries. The earliest recension, the A Recension (Ov1, Vc1, Bo1, Vc2), provided the basis for this dissertation. The Old Church Slavonic recension of *On the Antichrist* is where the most interesting material appears. Not only can the Vc1/Vc2 manuscripts of the A Recension be shown related to the Old Church Slavonic recension of *On the Antichrist*, but the Old Church Slavonic in turn provides evidence that a common ancestor lies behind the Old Church Slavonic/Vc1/Vc2 group; an ancestor that falls squarely within the A Recension and seems to share a common ancestral tradition with the other A Recension manuscripts; Ov1 and Bo1. The Old Church Slavonic manuscripts help to reconstruct the early history of *On the Antichrist*.

On the Antichrist relies heavily upon 2 Thessalonians 2 and the Little Apocalypse. Two manuscripts overtly indicate multiple meters for the sermon, but two others only hint at such divisions, and the nature of the meters (Aramaic or Byzantine) is uncertain. The sermon itself references no datable historical events. The Greek of the sermon analyzing to a Late Koine/Early Byzantine cusp language datable to between the 6th to 8th centuries. For all the uncertainties and puzzles this sermon presents, the evidence clearly points to at least one conclusion: Efreem the Syrian (d.373) cannot have authored this work. There is no way currently to ascertain the author.

On the Antichrist is a sermon with little to tie it to one moment in time, and that explains the popularity of the work not only in Greek but in Old Bulgarian and later Old Church Slavonic. As a general rule, apocalypses thrive best where context is lacking so that they can more easily be reinterpreted. *On the Antichrist* is just such a sermon, and in its own way just such an apocalypse. It is primarily an eschatological sermon, but in seeing an immediate threat to his audience, even if only a moral one, *On the Antichrist* qualifies as a true apocalypse. Further, the dissertation proposes that sometime in the 7th to 8th centuries, a monk composed an eschatological sermon for a monastic audience. His sermon featured an antichrist apparently untethered to any historical figure, but which encouraged penance, humility, and repentance.

At some point during the Studite Reform, *On the Antichrist* was chosen for use in the new Lenten service in the 9th century. It was a damaged sermon, possibly damaged during Iconoclasm, but useful for its emphasis on penitence in the face of the Eschaton and the Final Judgment. *On the Antichrist*, now part of the liturgy of Great Lent, became associated with Efreem the Syrian, as the interpolation in Ov1 demonstrates. The Syrian's name was not in the original text and could not have been a composition of his, but associating Efreem's name with the sermon helped ensure its preservation through attribution to a revered church father now considered liturgically important. Sometime in the late 10th century, *On the Antichrist* was carried to the monasteries in Southern Italy associated with Nil of Rossano. Two of his foundations produce two of the earliest surviving copies of the sermon; a sermon now part of the Lenten liturgy employed in the monasteries

In the case of *On the Antichrist*, what definitely preserved the sermon was this incorporation into the post Iconoclastic Studite liturgy for Great Lent. This sermon's vague Antichrist did not tie the work into any particular time but allowed for the penitential elements of the sermon to carry it into Orthodox liturgy. This also may explain why *On the Antichrist* never became as important in the West, which did not employ the Orthodox liturgy, and which tended to prefer the more monastic works attributed to Efreem the Syrian.

That the sermon discusses the Antichrist may be incidental. The early Christian construct of repentance within the homily ensured that the sermon would survive in orthodox liturgy in both the Byzantine and the East Slavonic worlds. This reinterpretation of the sermon, much less the works' attribution to Efreem the Syrian, is likely nothing the original author might have expected much less planned. Yet, this reinterpretation of the sermon guaranteed its survival.

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APPENDIX A

ON THE ANTICHRIST: CRITICAL TRANSCRIPTION OF Ov₁

Ov1 shows signs of two scribes having moulded the current final form of *On the Antichrist*. The first scribe (S¹) transcribed the sermon. S¹ is prone to itacism, often confusing ει with υ, and confusing ο, ω, and ου, for one another.

The second acts as a corrector (S²). S² corrects S¹'s grammar, apparently often according to his own knowledge of the language as opposed to against an original sermon. S² also removes every final nu preceeding a consonant. S¹ may have written the final nu according to the original or according to what he heard during transcription, while S² removed many per his understanding of Greek grammar of the 10th century.

The Ov1, as all the Recension A manuscripts, never denotes iotas subscript. Therefore, in the interests of space, the notes will not mention every instance where an iota subscript is missing.

τοῦ μακαριοῦ Ἐφραὶμ ὁμιλία· περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου·

Manuscript Ov1: Recension A¹

- 1) πῶς ἐγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς μεστὸς πλημμελημάτων δυνηθεῖν ἐξαιρεῖν τὰ ἐμοὶ ὑπέρογκα;
- 2) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ σωτὴρ οἰκεία εὐσπλαγχνία κινεῖ ἡμῶν τὴν γλῶτταν ἀφθόνως ὡς βούλεται εἰς καλὴν ὠφέλειαν καὶ πάντων οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ τῷ λέγοντι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκροαταῖς, λαλήσω ἐν ὀδύναις καὶ εἶπω ἐν στεναγμοῖς²
- 3) περὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κόσμου τῆς συντελείας
- 4) καὶ περὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ ἀναιδεστάτου καὶ δεινοῦ
- 5) τοῦ μέλλοντος ταράσσειν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν,³
- 6) καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν δειλίαν καὶ ὀλιγοψυχίαν
- 7) καὶ δεινὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐν καρδίαις ἀνθρώπων,⁴
- 8) καὶ ποιεῖν τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα καὶ φόβητρα, ὡς καὶ εἰ δυνηθεῖ πλανῆσαι τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς,⁵
- 9) καὶ πάντας ἀπατῆσαι ἐν ψευδέσι σημείοις⁶
- 10) καὶ τεράτων φαντάσμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένοις.
- 11) κατὰ γὰρ συγχώρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου, λαμβάνει ἐξουσίαν ἀπατῆσαι τὸν κόσμον,
- 12) διότι ἐπληθύνθη ἡ ἀσέβεια τοῦ κόσμου,⁷
- 13) καὶ πᾶσι καὶ παντὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ δεινὰ κατεργάζεται.⁸
- 14) τοιγαροῦν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἄχραντος δεσπότης πνεύματι πλανήσεως ἐκπειρᾶσαι τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν συνεχώρησεν,
- 15) ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ οὕτως ἠθέλησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποστῆναι
- 16) καὶ φιλεῖν τὸν πονηρόν.
- 17) μέγας ἀγὼν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις,
- 18) μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πιστοῖς,

¹ The Ov1, as all the Recension A manuscripts, never denotes iotas subscript. Therefore, in the interests of space, the notes will not mention every instance where an iota subscript is missing.

² 2 κινεῖ: κιν? ante corr. | οἰκοδομὴν: οἰκοδομεῖν Ov1 ante corr. | ὀδύναις: ὠδύναις ante corr.

³ 5 οὐρανόν: οὐρανῶν Ov1 ante corr.

⁴ 7 ἀπιστίαν: ἀπιστεῖαν Ov1 ante corr.

⁵ 8 Cf. Mt 24:24 ὥστε πλανῆσαι εἰ δυνατόν καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς

⁶ 9 ψευδέσι: ψευδέσιν Ov1 ante corr.

⁷ 12 διότι: δι' ὅτι Ov1

⁸ 13 πάσι: πάση Ov1

- 19) ὅταν ἐπιτελῶνται σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δράκοντος⁹
- 20) ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ,
- 21) ὅταν πάλιν ἑαυτὸν δείκνυσιν ὡσπερ θεὸν ἐν φαντάσμασι φοβεροῖς ἀέρι ἰπτάμενον,¹⁰
- 22) καὶ πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας ἐν σχήματι ἀγγέλων ἰπταμένους ἐν φόβῳ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ τυράννου.
- 23) βοᾷ γὰρ ἐν ἰσχύϊ, ἀλλάσσω καὶ τὰς μορφάς, ἐκφοβῆσαι θέλων ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.¹¹
- 24) τότε, ἀδελφοί, τίς ἄρα εὐρεθεῖη πίστει τετειχισμένος καὶ μένων ἀσάλευτος,
- 25) ἔχων τὸ τεκμήριον ἐν ψυχῇ τῇ ἰδίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ ἀγίας παρουσίας,¹²
- 26) ὅταν ἴδῃ ἐκείνην τὴν θλιῖψιν τὴν ἀμύθητον γινομένην πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν παντελῶς ποθὲν παραμυθίαν;
- 27) ὅταν ἴδῃ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ταρασσόμενον
- 28) (φεύγει δὲ καὶ ὁ καθεὶς κρυβῆναι),
- 29) ἐν ὄρεσι τοὺς μὲν λιμῶ θνήσκοντας,
- 30) τοὺς δὲ ἐν δίψει δεινῇ τηκομένους ὡς κηρός,¹³
- 31) καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἔλεῶν;
- 32) ὅταν ἴδῃ πάντα τὰ πρόσωπα δακρύνοντα καὶ πόθῳ ἐρωτῶντα μήποτε ῥῆμα θεοῦ κατέλαβεν, καὶ ἀκούη οὐδαμῶς; τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ὅπερ ποθεῖ.¹⁴
- 33) τίς ἄρα βαστάξειεν τὰς ὀδύνας ἐκείνας;
- 34) ἢ τίς ὑπομείνῃ τὴν θλιῖψιν τὴν ἀφόρητον,¹⁵
- 35) ὅταν ἴδῃ σύγχυσιν τῶν λαῶν ἐρχομένων ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς θεάν τοῦ τυράννου,
- 36) καὶ πολλοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θηρίου καὶ κράζοντας μετὰ τρόμου,
- 37) “σὺ εἶ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν”;
- 38) θάλασσα ταρασσεται· γῆ ξηραίνεται.¹⁶
- 39) οἱ οὐρανοὶ οὐ βρέχουσιν.¹⁷

⁹ 19 ἐπιτελῶνται: fort. ἐπιτελοῦνται Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰ 21 φαντάσμασιν: φαντάσμασι Ov1 post corr. | φοβεροῖς: φόβοις Ov1

¹¹ 23 ἰσχύϊ: ἰσχύει fort. Ov1 ante corr. | ἀλλάσσω: ἀλάσσω Ov1

¹² 25 ἀγίας παρουσίας: ἀγίας παρουσίας καὶ τὸν αρραβῶνα τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀληθινῆς παρουσίας Bo1

¹³ 30 δίψει: δίψη Ov1 post corr. | τηκομένους: τικομένους Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴ 32 τὰ: add. corr. Ov1 | ἀκούη: ἀκοῆ Ov1

¹⁵ 34 τίς: fort. τίς δὲ Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶ 38 ταρασσεται: ταραττεται Ov1

¹⁷ 39 βρέχουσιν: βρέχουσι Ov1 ante corr.

- 40) τὰ φυτὰ μαραίνονται·
- 41) ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ ὄντες ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνατολῶν
- 42) ἐπὶ δυσμῶν φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς δειλίας,
- 43) καὶ πάλιν δὲ οἱ ὄντες ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν φεύγουσι μετὰ τρόμου.¹⁸
- 44) λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ ἀναιδὴς τότε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, δαίμονας ἀποστέλλει εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον ὥστε κηρύξαι πᾶσιν
- 45) ὅτι “βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐφάνη μετὰ δόξης· δεῦτε καὶ θεάσασθε.”
- 46) τίς ἄρα ἔχων ψυχὴν ἀδαμαντίνην ὥστε φέρειν γενναίως ἅπαντα τὰ σκάνδαλα;
- 47) τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν οὕτως ὡς προεῖπον ἄνθρωπος,
- 48) ἵνα πάντες ἄγγελοι μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν;
- 49) ἐγὼ γάρ, ἀδελφοὶ φιλόχριστοι τέλειοι,
- 50) ἐπτοήθη ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς μνήμης τοῦ δράκοντος,¹⁹
- 51) μελετῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν θλιψὴν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκεῖνοις,
- 52) καὶ ποταπὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ δράκων εὐρίσκεται
- 53) μιάρως,
- 54) ἀπότομος τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
- 55) πλείονα δὲ ἀγίοις πικρότατος γίνεται²⁰
- 56) τοῖς δυναμένοις νικᾶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φαντάσματα·
- 57) εἶσιν γὰρ πολλοὶ εὐρισκόμενοι τότε εὐάρεστοι τῷ θεῷ,²¹
- 58) δυνάμενοι σωθῆναι ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ βουνοῖς καὶ ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις,²²
- 59) ἐν πολλαῖς δεήσεσι καὶ κλαυθμοῖς ἀφορήτοις.²³
- 60) ὁ γὰρ ἅγιος θεός, θεωρῶν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐν κλαυθμῷ ἀμυθήτῳ καὶ πίστει εἰλικρινεῖ, σπλαγχνίζεται ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ὡς πατήρ φιλόστοργος,²⁴
- 61) καὶ διατηρεῖ αὐτούς ἔνθα ἀπεκρύβησαν.²⁵

¹⁸ 43 δυσμῶν: δυσμῶν Ov1 post corr. | φεύγουσι: φεύγουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁹ 50 ἐπτοήθη: ἐπτοήθη Ov1 ante corr.

²⁰ 55 πλείονα: πλείονα Ov1 ante corr.

²¹ 57 εἶσιν: εἶσι Ov1 post corr. | εὐρισκόμενοι: εὐρισκόμενοι Ov1 ante corr.

²² 58 ὄρεσι: ὄρεσιν Ov1

²³ 59 δεήσεσι: δεήσεσιν Ov1 ante corr.

²⁴ 60 εἰλικρινεῖ: εἰλικριν?? Ov1 ante corr.

²⁵ 61 διατηρεῖ incert. Ov1 post corr. διατηρ?? Ov1 ante corr. | ἀπεκρύβησαν: ἀπεκρύβησαν καθάπερ πατήρ φιλόστοργος B01

- 62) καὶ γὰρ ὁ παμμίαιρος οὐ παύεται ἐκζητῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἐν τε γῆ καὶ θαλάσση,
- 63) λογιζόμενος ὅτι ἐβασίλευσε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,²⁶
- 64) καὶ πάντα ὑποτάσσει²⁷
- 65) καὶ νομίζει ὁ ἄθλιος ἀνθίστασθαι τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκεῖνη τῇ φοβερᾷ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος,²⁸
- 66) μὴ εἰδὼς ὁ δυσσεβῆς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν δι' ἣν καὶ ἐξέπεσεν.
- 67) ὅμως ταράσσει τὴν γῆν·
- 68) ἐκφοβεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα ἐν ψευδέσι τέρασι καὶ σημείοις μαγικοῖς.²⁹
- 69) οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ φοβερῷ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ δράκων, ἄνεσις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
- 70) ἀλλὰ θλίψις μεγάλη,
- 71) ταραχὴ καὶ σύγχυσις,
- 72) θάνατοι τε καὶ λιμοὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα·
- 73) αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ κύριος θείῳ στόματι ἔφη.³⁰
- 74) “τοιαῦτα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τῆς κτίσεως.”³¹
- 75) ἡμεῖς δὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ πῶς εἰκάσομεν αὐτῆς τὸ ὑπέρμετρον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέκφραστον,³²
- 76) οὕτως τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαντος;³³
- 77) στησάτω δὴ ὁ καθεὶς τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς
- 78) ἐν λέξεσιν ἁγίαις κυρίου τοῦ σωτῆρος·
- 79) πῶς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ θλίψιν ὑπέρογκον κολοβοῖ τὰς ἡμέρας τῆ αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνία, παραινῶν ὑμῖν λέγων.³⁴
- 80) “εὐξασθε μὴ γένεσθαι τὴν φυγὴν ὑμῶν χειμῶνος, μήτε πάλιν σαββάτω.”³⁵
- 81) ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ σωτὴρ σαφέστατα εἶρηκεν·

²⁶ 63 ἐβασίλευσε: ἐβασίλευσεν Ov1

²⁷ 64 ὑποτάσσει: ὑποτάσσ?? Ov1 ante corr.

²⁸ 65 νομίζει: νομίζ?? Ov1 ante corr.

²⁹ 68 ἐκφοβεῖ: ἐκφοβ?? Ov1 ante corr. | σύμπαντα: σύμπαν Ov1 | ψευδέσι: ψευδέσιν Ov1 ante corr. | τέρασι: τέρασιν Ov1 ante corr.

³⁰ 73 αὐτὸς γὰρ ... ἔφη: αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἰησοῦς χριστός· τῷ θείῳ καὶ ἀχραύτῳ αὐτοῦ στόματι ἔφη Bo1

³¹ 74 Cf. Mt 24:21 ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ γένηται | Cf. Mk 13:19 ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως

³² 75 εἰκάσομεν: ??????ικάσωμεν Ov1 ante corr.

³³ 76 Om. Bo1

³⁴ 79 ὑμῖν: ὑμῶν Ov1

³⁵ 80 Cf. Mt 24:20 προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτω

- 82) “ἀγρυπνεῖτε πάντοτε, δεόμενοι συνεχῶς, ἵνα ἄξιοι γένησθε ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην καὶ σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅταν ἔλθῃ.”³⁶
- 83) μὴ οὖν ἀπιστήσωμεν ὅτι βραδύνει ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.³⁷
- 84) ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἔφθασεν
- 85) καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὕλῃ τῆς κακίας στήκομεν οἱ ἀπάντες καὶ οὐδ’ ὅλως πιστεύομεν.³⁸
- 86) δεηθῶμεν συνεχῶς ἐν δάκρυσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ προσευχαῖς³⁹
- 87) ἵνα δυνηθῆμεν σωθῆναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι.
- 88) εἴ τις ἔχει κατάνυξιν καὶ δάκρυα ἐν προσευχαῖς⁴⁰
- 89) δεηθῆ τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα ἐκφύγῃ τὴν θλίψιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς⁴¹
- 90) ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ παντελῶς μηδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ θηρίον⁴²
- 91) μήτε πάλιν ἀκούσῃ τὰ φόβητρα κατὰ τόπον γινόμενα,
- 92) σεισμοὶ λιμοὶ
- 93) καὶ θάνατοι διάφοροι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
- 94) νεανικῆς ἐστὶ ψυχῆς δυναμένης συγκροτῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῆς, λέγω, ζωὴν ἀναμέσον τῶν σκανδάλων.⁴³
- 95) ἂν γάρ τις μικρὸν ὀλιγορῶν εὐρεθῆ ἄνθρωπος, εὐχερῶς πολιορκεῖται καὶ γίνεται αἰχμάλωτος⁴⁴
- 96) ἐν σημείοις τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ δολίου.⁴⁵
- 97) ἀσύγγνωστος ὁ τοιοῦτος εὐρίσκεται ἐν τῇ κρίσει·

³⁶ 82 γένησθε: γεν?σθ? Ov1 ante corr. | τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην: τῆς θλίψεως Ov1 ante corr. | Cf. Lk 21:36 ἀγρυπνεῖτε δὲ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι ἵνα κατασχύσητε ἐκφυγεῖν ταῦτα πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι καὶ σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

³⁷ 83 βραδύνει: βραδύν? Ov1 ante corr.

³⁸ 85 οὐδ’ ὅλως: οὐ δόλως Ov1 ante corr. | πιστεύομεν: πιστεύωμεν fort. Ov1 ante corr.

³⁹ 86 δεηθῶμεν: δεῦτε οὖν πάντες δεηθῶμεν Bo1 | ἐν: add. Ov1 corr.

⁴⁰ 88 Before this line appears ἄλλο μέτρον beginning 4012/1 in Vc₂.

⁴¹ 89 Before this line appears ἄλλο μέτρον beginning 4012/1 in Vc₁. Here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 just continues. Sermon ME (45) post corr. Mz (46) ante corr. | τὴν θλίψιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν: τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς μελλούσης Ov1 ante corr.

⁴² 90 αὐτὸ: αὐτὸ? Ov1 ante corr.

⁴³ 94 ἐστι: ἐστὶν Ov1 ante corr.

⁴⁴ 95 ὀλιγορῶν: ὀλιγορὸν Ov1 ante corr. | εὐρεθῆ: εὐρεθῆ??? Ov1 ante corr. | πολιορκεῖται: πολυορκεῖται Ov1

⁴⁵ 96 καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ δολίου: om. Bo1

- 98) αὐτοψὶ γὰρ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ τυράννῳ ἔκουσίως.⁴⁶
- 99) πολλῶν εὐχῶν καὶ δακρύων χρήζομεν, ᾧ ἀγαπητοί,⁴⁷
- 100) ἵνα τις ἡμῶν ἐδραῖος εὐρεθῆ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς.
- 101) πολλὰ εἰσι φαντάσματα τοῦ θηρίου γινόμενα.⁴⁸
- 102) θεομάχος γὰρ τυγχάνων, πάντας θέλει ἀπολέσθαι.⁴⁹
- 103) ἀκούσατε, φιλόχριστοι ἀδελφοί μου·
- 104) τί ἔπραξεν ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἐξίοντι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου;⁵⁰
- 105) πῶς αὐτοὺς ἐτεχνάσατο ὁ ἄθλιος καὶ παμμίαιρος ἐργάσασθαι τοὺς πάντας τὴν πάνδεινον ἀμαρτίαν;
- 106) ὑπέβαλεν τῷ Βαλαὰμ ὥστε δοῦναι τῷ Βαλαὰκ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Μαδιὰμ τὴν κακίστην συμβουλήν·
- 107) ὅπως στήσει τὰς γυναῖκας τῆς πόλεως ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, καὶ τὸν λαὸν δελεάσει εἰς πορνείαν καὶ θυσίαν,⁵¹
- 108) ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἀσεβεῖς ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσῃ, ὅταν πάντες πορνεύωσιν ὡς ἄλογα ἐν γυναιξίν,⁵²
- 109) καὶ ἰστώσι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀναισχύντως δημοσίᾳ⁵³
- 110) καὶ τραπέζας πλήρεις σπονδῶν καὶ θυσιῶν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, πάντας ἔλκων εἰς θάνατον⁵⁴
- 111) (ἵνα ὁ θέλων τοῦ πορνεῦσαι μετ' ἐκείνων τῶν μιαρῶν, πρῶτον σπονδὴν ποιήσῃται, καὶ ἔπειτα εἰσῆται.⁵⁵
- 112) οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν ἐλάμβανον αἱ γυναῖκες παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀλλὰ θύειν ἠνάγκαζον πάντας τοὺς προσερχομένους)·

⁴⁶ 98 αὐτοψὶ: αὐτοψεῖ Ov1 ante corr.

⁴⁷ 99 χρήζομεν: χρίζομεν Ov1 ante corr.

⁴⁸ 101 εἰσι: εἰσὶν Ov1 ante corr.

⁴⁹ 102 ἀπολέσθαι: ἀπωλέσθαι Ov1 ante corr.

⁵⁰ 104 post ἔπραξεν erasit corr. quattuor aut quinque litteras Ov1

⁵¹ 107 στήσει: στήση Ov1 | δελεάσει: δελεάση Ov1 | πορνείαν: πορνίαν Ov1 ante corr. | καὶ θυσίαν: καὶ εἰς τὴν μιάρην καὶ ἄνομον θυσίαν Bo1

⁵² 108 ἀπολέσῃ: ἀπολέσ?? Ov1 ante corr. | πορνεύωσιν: πορνεύουσιν Ov1 ante corr. | γυναιξίν: γυναιξὶ Ov1 post corr. | ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ... γυναιξίν: ἴν' ὅσον ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν, ὀργιαθῆ κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσῃ Bo1

⁵³ 109 ἰστώσι: ἰστώσιν Ov1 ante corr.

⁵⁴ 110 πλήρεις: πλήρ?ς Ov1 ante corr.

⁵⁵ 111 σπονδὴν: σπονδῆν Ov1

- 113) ἴστησι δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰς θυγατέρας,⁵⁶
 114) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πλουσίοις, θυγατέρας τῶν πλουσίων,
 115) τὰς δὲ πλεῖστας τῶν γυναικῶν, λεπτῶ δῆμῳ παντὶ λαῶ,
 116) βουλόμενος πάντας ἅπαξ ἀγρεῦσαι εἰς θάνατον,
 117) ὅπως μηδὲ ὁ πλούσιος βδελύσσεται τὴν πενιχράν, μηδὲ ὁ ἄρχων τὴν τυχοῦσαν
 θυγατέρα τοῦ ἔλευθερου.⁵⁷
 118) εἶδες δρᾶμα ἀδικίας, πονηρὸν ἐπιτήδευμα;
 119) πῶς ἅπασιν ἐξώρυξε τοὺς βοθύνους εἰς θάνατον;⁵⁸
 120) εἶδέν ποτέ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν τοιοῦτον ἔργον, ἀναιδεστάτην πορνείαν⁵⁹
 121) κατέχουσιν τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν δίστομον;
 122) δυσὶ γὰρ δεινοῖς θανάτοις ἀνήλισκον αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὰς εἰσιόντας, τοῦ
 θῦσαι καὶ πορνεῦσαι.⁶⁰
 123) τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἐσκεύασεν ὁ τύραννος,
 124) ἵνα πάντες τὴν τοῦ θηρίου σφραγίδα βαστάξωσιν
 125) ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἀπατῆσαι ἐν σημείοις, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῷ ἰδίῳ⁶¹
 126) εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν.
 127) καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀγοράσαι τὰ βρώματα καὶ πᾶν εἶδος.⁶²
 128) καὶ δημάρχους δὲ ἴστησιν ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ πρόσταγμα.⁶³
 129) προσέχετε, ἀδελφοί, ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ θηρίου,⁶⁴
 130) τεχνάσματα πονηρίας.⁶⁵
 131) ὅτι ἐκ γαστρὸς ἄρχεται,

⁵⁶ 113 ἴστησι: ἴστησιν Ov1 ante corr.

⁵⁷ 117 βδελύσσεται: βδελύσσεται Ov1 ante corr. | θυγατέρα: θυγατέραν Ov1 ante corr. | ὁ ἄρχων ... τοῦ ἔλευθερου: οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀλλ' εἰσέρχονται πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἐλευθέρων Bo1

⁵⁸ 119 ἐξώρυξε: ἐξώρυξεν Ov1 ante corr. | πῶς ἅπασιν ... θάνατον: πῶς πᾶσιν ὤρυξε βοθύνους καὶ βόθρους εἰς θάνατον; Bo1

⁵⁹ 120 εἶδέν: ἴδεν Ov1

⁶⁰ 122 δυσὶ: δυσὶν Ov1 ante corr.

⁶¹ 125 ἐν σημείοις: ἐν σημείοις ψευδέσι καὶ φαντασίαις τεράτων Bo1

⁶² 127 ἀγοράσαι: ἀγοράσαι Ov1 ante corr.

⁶³ 128 δημάρχους: δημάρχως Ov1 ante corr. | καὶ δημάρχους ... πρόσταγμα: δεικνύοντα τὴν ἐκείνου σφραγίδα δημάρχως γὰρ ἴστησι παντὶ καὶ παντοχοῦ, ἔχοντας τὸ πονηρὸν αὐτοῦ πρόσταγμα· Bo1

⁶⁴ 129 ἀδελφοί: ἀγαπητοὶ Bo1 | τοῦ θηρίου: κακίας τοῦ ἀνημέρου θηρὸς Bo1

⁶⁵ 130 Om. Bo1

- 132) ἵνα ὅταν τις στενωθῆ βρωμάτων στενούμενος, ἀναγκασθῆ τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἐκείνου λαβεῖν αὐτός.⁶⁶
- 133) καὶ δίδωσι τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ μιὰρὸς οὐχ' ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος,⁶⁷
- 134) ἵνα μὴ δυσχεραίνωσιν,⁶⁸
- 135) ἀλλὰ δίδωσιν εἰς χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ μετώπου τὸν δυσσεβῆ χαρακτῆρα,
- 136) ἵνα ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχη ὁ ἄνθρωπος σφραγίσασθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν,⁶⁹
- 137) μήτε πάλιν ἐν μετώπῳ σημειώσασθαι παντελῶς τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἅγιον τοῦ κυρίου ὄνομα,⁷⁰
- 138) μήτε σταυρὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ φοβερὸν.⁷¹
- 139) γινώσκει γὰρ ὁ ἄθλιος ὅτι ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ κυρίου, ἂν σφραγισθῆ, παραλύσει αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν.⁷²
- 140) χάριν γὰρ τοῦτου σφραγίζει τὴν δεξιάν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.⁷³
- 141) αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σφραγίζουσα πάντα τὰ μέλη ἡμῶν.⁷⁴
- 142) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῷ μετώπῳ ὡσπερ λυχνία βαστάζει λύχνον φωτός, τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ ὕψει.⁷⁵
- 143) λοιπὸν οὖν, ὦ ἀδελφοί μου, φρικτὸς ἀγὼν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις ἀνθρώποις πιστοῖς οὕσι καὶ δυνατοῖς,⁷⁶
- 144) ἵνα ἅπαξ μέχρις ὥρας τοῦ θανάτου μὴ ἐνδώσει μήτε στῆναι ἐν χαυνότητι,
- 145) ὅταν χαράσῃ ὁ δράκων τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ σταυροῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος·
- 146) παντὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ τεχνάζει,

⁶⁶ 132 στενωθῆ: στεν?θῆ Ov1 ante corr. | τῆς ἀναγκαίης τροφῆς ἀναγκασθῆ Bo1

⁶⁷ 133 δίδωσι: δίδωσιν Ov1

⁶⁸ 134 Om. Vc1 | δυσχεραίνωσιν: δυσχερ?νωσιν Ov1 ante corr. | ἵνα μὴ δυσχεραίνωσιν: οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς πάντα τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος Bo1

⁶⁹ 136 Om. Vc1 | ἔχη: ἔχει Ov1 ante corr. | σφραγίσασθαι: σφραγήσασθαι Ov1 ante corr.

⁷⁰ 137 Om. Vc1

⁷¹ 138 Om. Vc1

⁷² 139 Om. Vc1

⁷³ 140 Om. Vc1

⁷⁴ 141 Om. Vc1

⁷⁵ 142 Om. Vc1

⁷⁶ 143 φιλοχρίστοις ἀνθρώποις πιστοῖς οὕσι καὶ δυνατοῖς: om. Bo1

- 147) ἵνα παντελῶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σωτῆρος μὴδ' ὄλως ὀνομασθῆ ἔν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ δράκοντος τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον.⁷⁷
- 148) φοβούμενος δὲ καὶ τρέμων ἐξ ἀγίας δυνάμεως ὀνόματος τοῦ σωτῆρος, τοῦτο ποιεῖ ὁ ἀσθενής·
- 149) ἔάν γάρ τις μὴ σφραγίζηται τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἐκείνου, οὐ γίνεται αἰχμάλωτος τῶν ἐκείνου φαντασμάτων,
- 150) οὐδὲ πάλιν ὁ κύριος ἀφίσταται ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου,
- 151) ἀλλὰ φωτίζει καρδίαν καὶ ἐλκύει πρὸς αὐτόν·
- 152) νοεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὧ ἀδελφοί, μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ φαντάσματα, ἀλάστορος ὑπάρχοντος·
- 153) ἐν γαλήνῃ προσέρχεται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν.⁷⁸
- 154) ἀποκρούσασθαι οὖν δεῖ ἡμᾶς τὰ τοῦ θηρίου τεχνάσματα·
- 155) τὴν ἀκλινη πίστιν Χριστοῦ εἰλικρινῶς βασιάζοντες, εὐρίπιστον ποιήσωμεν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.⁷⁹
- 156) λογισμὸν ἀμετάθετον καὶ εὐσέβειαν κτησώμεθα·
- 157) ἀφίσταται ὁ ἀσθενής, μὴ ἰσχύων τί ποιήσει·
- 158) σύστημα ἅγιον, φιλόχριστοι καὶ πιστοί,⁸⁰
- 159) ἐν δάκρυσιν παραινῶ.⁸¹
- 160) μὴ ἐσόμεθα ὄλως εὐάλωτοι τῷ ἐχθρῷ,⁸²
- 161) μᾶλλον δὲ ἐδραῖοι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ.⁸³
- 162) ἀπαραίτητος ἀγὼν ἔφθασεν·
- 163) τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀναλάβωμεν ἅπαντες·

⁷⁷ 147 ἔνδοξον: ἄχραντον Vc2 ἄχραντον ὄνομα Vc1 om. Bo1

⁷⁸ 153 γαλήνη: γαλίνη Ov1 ante corr.

⁷⁹ 155 εἰλικρινῶς: εἰληκρινῶς Ov1 ante corr. | εὐρίπιστον: εὐρήπιστον Ov1 ante corr.

⁸⁰ 158 σύστημα ... πιστοί: ἀκουσάτε ἀκουσάτε μου συστήματα ἀγίων φιλόχριστοι Bo1 | Add to end of sentence ὁ ἐλεηρὸς ἐν δάκρυσιν παρακαλῶς καὶ παραινῶ, μὴ ἐσόμεθα ὄλως εὐάλωτοι τῷ ἐχθρῷ· μᾶλλον δὲ δυσάλωτοι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ Vc2 | Before this sentence appears εἰς τὸ πρῶτον μέτρον in Vc1 and 4012/2 begins. Once again, here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 continues Vc2 | Sermon MZ/MΣ? (M3) in Vc1 | Om. Ov1 Bo1 (But with a sizable gap of empty space in both).

⁸¹ 159 δάκρυσιν: δάκρυσιν Ov1 ante corr.

⁸² 160 μὴ ἐσόμεθα ... ἐχθρῷ: ἵνα ἑαυτοῖς ἀσφαλίσωμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἐσόμεθα αἰχμάλω τοιτῷ·Bo1 | ἐσόμεθα: ἐσόμεθα Ov1 ante corr.

⁸³ 161 μᾶλλον ... σταυροῦ: ἐχθρῷ ἀλλὰ νικήσωμεν αὐτόν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, φιλόχριστοι, μὴ γενώμεθα χαῦνοι·Bo1

- 164) ἀρδεύσωμεν πόθω ἀπὸ τῆς θείας πηγῆς τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν, ἐλπίδος σωτηρίας.⁸⁴
- 165) τὴν ἄκτιστον δὲ φημι, ἀγαπητοί, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, οὕσαν πηγὴν βλύζουσαν ζωὴν.⁸⁵
- 166) ἐὰν γὰρ τετείχισται ἐν τοιούτοις ὄπλοις ἢ ψυχὴ ἢ ἡμετέρα, πεπάτηται ὁ δράκων.⁸⁶
- 167) μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων πάντων δεῖ ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς πειρασμὸν μηδὲ φυγεῖν χειμῶνος.⁸⁷
- 168) ἔτοιμοι οὖν γίνεσθε ὥσπερ οἰκέται πιστοί,
- 169) ὄντες φιλοδέσποτοι, ἄλλον μὴ δεχόμενοι·
- 170) ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ κλέπτης ὁ ἀλάστωρ καὶ ἀπηνής⁸⁸
- 171) πρῶτος μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐν καιροῖς τοῖς ἰδίους,
- 172) βουλόμενος τοῦ κλέψαι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι τὴν ποιμνὴν τὴν ἐκλεκτὴν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος,
- 173) σχῆμα ἀναλαμβάνει τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος,
- 174) ἵνα ἐξαπατήσῃ τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς.⁸⁹
- 175) οἱ οὖν γνωρίζοντες σαφῶς τὴν φωνὴν τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος⁹⁰
- 176) αὐτίκα γνωρίζουσι τοῦ ἀλάστορος τὴν φωνήν.⁹¹
- 177) οὐ γὰρ πάνυ ἔοικε τῷ ἀληθινῷ ποιμένει.⁹²
- 178) ἐπιπληκτικὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ σχήματος γέμουσα,⁹³
- 179) καὶ εὐθὺς γνωρίζεται ὅτι κλέπτου φωνὴ ἐστίν.⁹⁴

⁸⁴ 164 ἀντλήσωμεν ... ἡμετέρα: ἀρρυσώμεθα ἐν πόθω ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῆς θείασπι γῆς ἐλπίδαισω τη ρι εὐχῆ τῆ ἡμετήρα Bo1 | ἐλπίδος: ἐλπίδα Ov1

⁸⁵ 165 τὴν ἄκτιστον ... ζωὴν: τὴν ἄκτιστον δέφημι τριάδα ὁμοούσιον τῆ γῆν βρύουσαν πόμα ζωῆς αἰωνίου Bo1

⁸⁶ 166 ἐὰν γὰρ ... ὁ δράκων: ἐὰν γὰρ τετείχιστα ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις τούτοις ἢ ἡμετέρα τυχή [-erased-] πεπάτητα ὁ δράκων καὶ νενίκηται ὁ θάνατος Bo1

⁸⁷ 167 μεταξὺ ... χειμῶνος: δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι ἵνα μὴ εἰσελθωμεν εἰς πειρασμὸν μὴ δὲ φυγεῖν χειμῶνος Bo1

⁸⁸ 170 ἀπηνής: ἀπεινής Ov1 ante corr.

⁸⁹ 174 ἵνα ... ποιμνῆς: τὰ δὲ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς· καὶ ὅταν τινὰς ἐκπλανήσῃ, ἀφαιρεῖ ἀπ αὐτῶν τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος· καὶ δίδῃ τὴν ἰδίαν μιανὰν σφραγῖδα, ἵνα αὐτὸς βασιλεύσῃ Bo1

⁹⁰ 175 οἱ γνωρίζοντες: τὰ γνωρίζοντα Bo1 | ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος: ἀληθινοῦ ποιμαῖνος Vc1

⁹¹ 176 γνωρίζουσι: γνωρίζουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

⁹² 177 ἔοικε: ἔοικεν Ov1 ante corr.

⁹³ 178 ἐστὶ: ἐστίν Ov1 ante corr. | καὶ σχήματος γένουσα: καὶ ἵον θανάσομον ἔχουσα, ἢ τοῦ κλέπτου φωνή· Bo1

⁹⁴ 179 ὅτι κλέπτου φωνὴ ἐστίν: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθινῶν δούλων τοῦ χριστοῦ Bo1

- 180) ὁποῖω δὲ σχήματι ἐλεύσεται ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ ἀναίσχυντος ὄφης διδαχθῶμεν, ὧ φίλοι.⁹⁵
- 181) ἐπειδήπερ ὁ σωτήρ, βουλόμενος σῶσαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη,⁹⁶
- 182) καὶ σχήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠπάτησε τὸν ἐχθρὸν⁹⁷
- 183) ἐν ἀγία δυνάμει τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος,
- 184) πρῶος δὲ καὶ ταπεινὸς γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
- 185) ἵνα ἡμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν⁹⁸
- 186) (ὄντως γὰρ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁ Χριστός ὁ συλληφθεὶς,⁹⁹
- 187) ὁ σαρκωθείς,
- 188) ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου ἀγίας ἐν σαρκὶ ἡμετέρα),
- 189) ἐσωσε τὰ σύμπαντα ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ σταυροῦ,¹⁰⁰
- 190) καὶ ἐντολὰς δέδωκεν
- 191) ὅτι μέλλει πάλιν ἔρχεσθαι ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
- 192) ἀποδοῦναί τε πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρᾶξιν δικαίους καὶ ἀσεβέσιν ὡς δίκαιος δικαστής.¹⁰¹
- 193) μαθὼν τοῦτο ὁ ἐχθρὸς (ὅτι πάλιν ἔρχεται ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὁ κύριος ἐν δόξῃ θεότητος),
- 194) ἐλογίσατο οὕτως ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ ἀπατῆσαι ἡμᾶς.¹⁰²
- 195) ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν νεφέλαις φωτειναῖς ὡς ἀστραπὴ φοβερὰ ἐλεύσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.¹⁰³
- 196) οὐχ' οὕτως δὲ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐλεύσεται ἐν νεφέλαις φωτειναῖς,
- 197) τίκεται δὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐκ παρθένου μὲν νομιζομένης, μιαρᾶς δὲ οὔσης τὸ ἐκείνου ὄργανον·

⁹⁵ 180 ὁποῖω δὲ ... φίλοι: διδαχθῶμεν ὧ φίλοι ποῖω σχήματι ἐλεύσεται ὁ ἀναίσχυντος ὄφης Bo1 | διδαχθῶμεν: δηδαχθῶμεν Ov1

⁹⁶ 181 παρθένου ἐτέχθη: παρθένου ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμάντου ἐτέχθη Bo1 | ἐτέχθη: ἐτέχθη καὶ μορφήν τοῦ ἰδίου δούλου ἀνέλαβε· Bo1

⁹⁷ 182 ἠπάτησε: ἠπάτησεν Ov1 ante corr.

⁹⁸ 185 ὑψώσῃ: ὑψώσει Ov1 ante corr.

⁹⁹ 186 συλληφθεὶς: συλληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἀγία παρθένου· ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ὑψίστου· Bo1

¹⁰⁰ 189 ἐσωσεν: ἐσωσεν Ov1 post ante corr.

¹⁰¹ 192 πᾶσι: πᾶσιν Ov1 ante corr. | τὴν αὐτοῦ ... δικαστής: τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν δικαίους τὲ καὶ ἀσεβέσιν· ὡς δίκαιος κριτῆς καὶ ἀπαραλόγιστος δικαστής Bo1

¹⁰² 194 ἐλογίσατο: ἐλογήσατο Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰³ 195 κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς: καθὼς εἶπε καὶ αὐτός Bo1

- 198) οὐκ αὐτὸς δὲ σαρκουῖται,
 199) ἐν σχήματι δὲ τοιούτῳ ἤξει ὁ παμμίαρος,
 200) ὡς κλέπτης ψευδευλαβῆς ἀπατήσαι τὰ σύμπαντα.¹⁰⁴
 201) ταπεινὸς
 202) καὶ ἡσύχιος,
 203) μισῶν (φησὶν) ἀδικίαν,
 204) ἀποστρεφόμενος εἶδωλα,
 205) προτιμῶν εὐσέβειαν,
 206) ἀγαθός,
 207) φιλόπτωχος,
 208) εὐειδής, ὑπερβολῆ πάνυ.¹⁰⁵
 209) εὐκατάστατος,
 210) ἰλαρὸς πρὸς ἅπαντας,
 211) τιμῶν μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων·
 212) αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ προσδοκῶσι τὴν ἐκείνου ἔλευσιν.¹⁰⁶
 213) μεταξὺ δὲ πάντων τούτων, σημεῖα ἐπιτελεῖ,
 214) τέρατα καὶ φόβητρα ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ·
 215) ἀρέσαι δὲ ἅπασι τεχνάζεται ὁ δολίος,¹⁰⁷
 216) ὅπως ἂν ἀγαπηθῆ ἐν τάχει ὑπὸ τῶν λαῶν.
 217) δῶρα δὲ οὐ λήψεται·
 218) μετ' ὀργῆς οὐ λαλήσει·
 219) κατηφῆς οὐ δείκνυται, ἀλλ' ἰλαρὸς αἰεὶ.¹⁰⁸
 220) ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τουτοῖς, σχήματι εὐταξίας, ἐξαπατᾷ τὸν κόσμον ἕως οὗ βασιλεύσει.¹⁰⁹
 221) ὅταν γὰρ θεάσωνται λαοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ δῆμοι τηλικαύτας ἀρετὰς κάλλει τε καὶ
 δυνάμει, πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μιᾷ γνώμῃ γίνονται,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ 200 ὡς κλέπτης ... σύμπαντα: ψευδῆ εὐλάβειαν ὑποκρινόμενος: πρὸς τὸ ἀπατήσαι πάντας Bo1

¹⁰⁵ 208 εὐειδής: εὐ?δής Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰⁶ 212 προσδοκῶσι: προσδοκῶσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰⁷ 215 ἅπασι: ἀπᾶσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰⁸ 219 κατηφῆς: κατηφείς fort. Ov1 ante corr. | ἀλλ' ἰλαρος αἰεὶ: ἀλλ' ἰλαρος δῆθεν πρὸς πάντας Bo1 | ἰλαρὸς: ἰλαρῶς Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁰⁹ 220 ἅπασι: ἅπασιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹⁰ 221 θεάσωνται: θεάσονται Ov1 ante corr. | τηλικαύτας: τ???καύτας Ov1 ante corr. | κάλλει: κάλλ? Ov1 ante corr.

- 222) καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ μεγίστη βασιλεύουσιν αὐτόν,
- 223) λέγοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
- 224) “μὴ ἄρα εὐρίσκεται τηλικούτος ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος;”¹¹¹
- 225) πλείονως δὲ ὁ δῆμος τῶν φονευτῶν Ἰουδαίων τιμῶσιν αὐτόν καὶ χαίρουσι τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ,¹¹²
- 226) ὅθεν καὶ ὡς προτιμῶν τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν ναόν, δείκνυσι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς πρόνοιαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ τόπου ποιούμενος·
- 227) ἐν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῦσαι τὸν δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εὖ προθύμως οἱ λαοὶ σύμμαχοι γενήσονται,¹¹³
- 228) Ἐδῶμ πάλιν καὶ Μωᾶβ ἔτι δὲ υἱοὶ Ἀμμῶν, ὡς γνησίῳ βασιλεῖ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπέρμαχοι ἐν πρώτοις γενήσονται.¹¹⁴
- 229) ἀνορθοῦται εὐθὺς ἢ ἐκείνου βασιλεία,
- 230) καὶ πατάξει ἐν θυμῷ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς μεγάλους.¹¹⁵
- 231) ἔπειτα δὲ ὑπερμέτρον ὑψοῦται τῇ καρδίᾳ,
- 232) καὶ ἐμέσει ὁ δράκων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πικρότητα καὶ προβάλλει δολίως ἰὸν τὸν θανάσιμον ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ,
- 233) καὶ ταρασσει τὴν οἰκουμένην,
- 234) καὶ κινεῖ τὰ πέρατα,¹¹⁶
- 235) ἐκθλίβει τὰ σύμπαντα,
- 236) μαιίνει δὲ πολλὰς ψυχάς,
- 237) οὐκέτι ὡς εὐλαβῆς, οὐκέτι ὡς εὐσεβῆς,
- 238) οὐκέτι ὡς φιλόπτωχος οὐδ’ ὡς ἐλεήμων, οὐκέτι ὡς εὐκατάστατος· οὐκέτι ὡς ἀγαθός,
- 239) οὐκέτι ὡς ἰλαρός,
- 240) ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν
- 241) ἀσθηρός,
- 242) ἀπότομος,

¹¹¹ 224 τηλικούτος: τιλικούτος Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹² 225 χαίρουσι: χαίρουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹³ 227 τῷ βασιλεῦσαι: τὸ βασιλεῦσαι Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹⁴ 228 ὑπέρμαχοι: πέρμαχοι Ov1

¹¹⁵ 230 Om. Bo1 Vc1

¹¹⁶ 234 κινεῖ: κινῆ Ov1 ante corr.

- 243) ὀργίλος καὶ θυμώδης,¹¹⁷
 244) δεινὸς
 245) καὶ ἀκατάστατος,
 246) φοβερὸς καὶ ἀηδής,
 247) μισητὸς καὶ βδελυκτός,
 248) ἀνήμερος καὶ πονηρός,
 249) ἀλάστωρ καὶ ἀναιδής,
 250) καὶ σπουδάζων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς βόθρον ἀσεβείας πᾶν γένος τῶν βροτῶν τῆ οἰκεία
 μανία,
 251) μεγαλύνων σημεῖα,
 252) πληθύνων τὰ φόβητρα,
 253) ψευδῶς καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.
 254) τοιοῦτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ μεθιστᾷ ὁ τύραννος τὰ ὄρη καὶ φαντάζει οὐκ ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν
 ψευδεῖ·
 255) πολλοῦ πλήθους λαῶν παρεστώτων, καὶ πολλῶν δήμων
 256) καὶ εὐφημούντων αὐτὸν διὰ τὰς φαντασίας,¹¹⁸
 257) βάλλει φωνὴν ἰσχυράν ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ οἱ ὄχλοι αὐτῷ
 παρίστανται,¹¹⁹
 258) καὶ λέγει παρρησίᾳ·
 259) “γνῶτε πάντες οἱ λαοὶ τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξουσίας·
 260) ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἡμῶν κελεύω τῷ ὄρει τῷ μεγάλῳ τῷ ὄντι πέραν αὐτόθι
 261) ὅπως ἂν μετασταθῆ ἑκπέραθεν τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ῥήματι τῷ ἐμῷ ὃδε νῦν πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς.”
 262) καὶ φησιν ὁ μιάρως·
 263) “σοὶ κελεύω τῷ ὄρει τῷ μεγάλῳ τῷ ὄντι ἀντίπεραν· παραυτίκα μέτελθε ἐντεῦθεν τῆς
 θαλάσσης,”
 264) καὶ τρέχειν μὲν δοκεῖ τὸ ὄρος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν θεατῶν,
 265) μὴ κινήθην δὲ παντελῶς τῶν αὐτοῦ θεμελίων·
 266) ἃ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἐθεμελίωσεν καὶ ὑψωσεν, τούτων ὁ
 παμμίαιος ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ κόσμον ἀπατᾷ μαγικαῖς φαντασίαις.

¹¹⁷ 243 ὀργίλος: ὀργήλος Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹⁸ 256 αὐτὸν: αὐτῶν Ov1 ante corr.

¹¹⁹ 257 βάλλει: βάλει Ov1 ante corr.

- 267) πάλιν δὲ ἄλλω ὄρει κειμένω ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης¹²⁰
- 268) (νήσω λέγω μεγάλη)
- 269) κελεύει τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν καὶ ἐν ξηρᾷ ἐστάναι ἐν τερπνοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς εἰς τέρψιν τῶν θεατῶν τῆς νήσου μὴ κινουμένης ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὅλως,
- 270) ἀλλ' ὡς ὄρος ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἐν φαντασίᾳ νῆσος δῆθεν γίνεται·
- 271) πάλιν αὐτὸς ὁ δράκων ἐφαπλοῖ αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συνάγει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν.¹²¹
- 272) πάλιν δὲ ἐπιβαίνει ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου·
- 273) καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς περιπατεῖ ἐπ' αὐτῆς φαντάζων τὰ σύμπαντα·
- 274) καὶ πολλοὶ πιστεύσουσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ θεὸν ἰσχυρόν.
- 275) οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες αἰεὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
- 276) καὶ πεφωτισμένους ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ἀβλαβῶς θεωροῦσιν ἐν πίστει εἰλικρινεῖ,¹²²
- 277) καὶ γινώσκουσιν σαφῶς τὰ ψευδῆ φαντάσματα,
- 278) ὅτι οὔτε τὸ ὄρος μετέστη ἐκπέραθεν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος, οὔτε νῆσος ἀνήλθεν.¹²³
- 279) ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ ἔτι πλείονα τούτων οὐκ ἰσχύων παντελῶς ἐν προσευχῇ ἐστάναι¹²⁴
- 280) καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπικαλέσασθαί τι,¹²⁵
- 281) ἀλλὰ ποιεῖ πάντα ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, φαντάζων καὶ ἐξαπατῶν, θεόμαχος γάρ ἐστιν.¹²⁶
- 282) ὅσον δὲ τὸν ἔπαινον οἱ ὄχλοι ἀναπέμπουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν,¹²⁷

¹²⁰ 267 ἄλλω: ἄλλο Ov1 ante corr.

¹²¹ 271 καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν: om. Vc2 [Vc2 breaks off] [Bottom right: *Desunt. sed sut. i[.] ahe [cod. sub. lit. OC.]*]

¹²² 276 εἰλικρινεῖ: εἰλικρινῆ Ov1 ante corr.

¹²³ 278 Om. Vc1

¹²⁴ 279 Om. Vc1 | πλείονα: πλείονα Ov1 ante corr.

¹²⁵ 280 Om. Vc1

¹²⁶ 281 Om. Vc1

¹²⁷ 282 ὅσον δὲ: ὡς δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι Bo1 | οἱ οχλοι: αὐτῷ ἀν Bo1 | ἀναπέμπουσιν: ἀνπέμπουσιν Ov1 post corr. ἀν?πέμπουσιν Ov1 ante corr. | αὐτῷ ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν: ἡμεράν καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀγανακτεῖ καθ' αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς Bo1 | ὅσον ... ἡμέραν: τότε θρηνεῖ δεινῶς ὁμοῦ πᾶσα ψυχὴ καὶ στενεῖζει. ὅταν πάντες θεάσονται θλίψιν ἀπαραμύθητον τὴν περιέχουσαν αὐτοὺς νυκτῶρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· Vc1 | καθ' ἡμέραν: καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ γίνονται λμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ θάνατοι· καὶ πείνα· καὶ δίψα καὶ φόβος· καὶ θλίψις ἀμύθητος· οὐρανοὶ γὰρ οὐ βρέχουσι· γῆ δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς οὐ δίδωσι· ποταμοὶ ἐκ λείπουσι· καὶ πηγαὶ ξηραίνονται· χλόη οὐκ ἀνατέλλει· τὰ δένδρα οὐκ ἐκ φύει· θάλασσα πανταχόθεν δυσωδίαν δίδωσι· καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἰχθύων τελευτῶσιν ἐν αὐτῇ· παντὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ θλίψις τότε συναντᾷ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τότε ἀντιλαβεῦσθαι αὐτῶν· τότε θρηνεῖ δεινῶς καὶ στενεῖζει πᾶσα ψυχὴ· ὅταν πάντες θεάσωνται θλίψιν ἀπαραμύθητον· τὴν

- 283) καὶ οὐδαμοῦ εὐρίσκουσιν ἐμπλησθῆναι τῶν βρωμάτων·
- 284) δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἀπότομοι σταθήσονται κατὰ τόπον.¹²⁸
- 285) κἄν τις φέρῃ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ τυράννου ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ ἢ¹²⁹
- 286) ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ἀγοράζει βραχὺ βρῶμα
- 287) ἐκ τῶν τότε εὐρισκομένων βρωμάτων·
- 288) ἐκλείπει δὲ τὰ νήπια ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τῶν μητέρων·
- 289) θνήσκει πάλιν καὶ ὁ μήτηρ ὑπεράνω τοῦ παιδίου·
- 290) θνήσκει πατὴρ σὺν γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς·
- 291) καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τότε ὁ θάπτων καὶ συστέλλων ἐν μνήμασιν¹³⁰
- 292) ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν θνησιμαίων τῶν ἐρριμμένων ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις· δυσωδία δὲ παταχόθεν θλίψει τοὺς ζῶντας ἰσχυρῶς.¹³¹
- 293) πρῶτ' ὃ πάντες μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ στεναγμῶν λέγουσιν.¹³²
- 294) “πότε ἐσπέρα γίνεται ἵνα τύχωμεν ἀνέσεως;”
- 295) φθασάσης δὲ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐν δάκρυσι πικροτάτοις λαλήσουσιν.¹³³
- 296) “πότε ἄρα διαφάσει, ἵνα τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἡμῖν θλίψιν ἐκφύγωμεν;”
- 297) καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ποῦ ἐκφυγεῖν ἢ κρυβῆναι ἐκ θλίψεως.¹³⁴
- 298) τετάρακται γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα,
- 299) ἢ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ ξηρά.¹³⁵
- 300) διὰ τοῦτο ἔφη ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος·
- 301) “γρηγορεῖτε,
- 302) δεόμενοι καθ' ὥραν τοῦ ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ θλίψεως.”
- 303) δυσωδία ἐν θαλάσσει,
- 304) δυσωδία ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

περιέχουσιν αὐτοὺς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· Bo1 | Before this line, ἄλλο μέτρον appears in Vc1 and 4012/3 begins. Once again, here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 continues. Sermon MH in Vc1.

¹²⁸ 284 δήμαρχοι: δήμαρχο? Ov1 ante corr.

¹²⁹ 285 φέρῃ: φέρει Ov1 ante corr. | ἢ Bo1; omisit Ov1

¹³⁰ 291 ἔστι: ἔστιν Ov1

¹³¹ 292 ἐρριμμένων ἐρρημένων Ov1 ante corr. | πανταχόθεν: πανταχόθεν Ov1 ante corr.

¹³² 293 ὀδύνης: ὠδύνης Ov1 ante corr. | λέγουσιν: λέγουσι Ov1 post corr.

¹³³ 295 δάκρυσι: δάκρυσιν Ov1 ante corr. | λαλήσουσιν: λαλήσουσι Ov1 post corr.

¹³⁴ 297 ἔστι: ἔστιν Ov1

¹³⁵ 299 ξηρά: ξηρά παραχῆς καὶ ζάλης πεπλήρωτου Bo1

- 305) λοιμοί,
 306) σεισμοὶ ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς,
 307) σεισμοὶ ἐν θαλάσση,¹³⁶
 308) λιμοί,¹³⁷
 309) σύγχυσις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
 310) φόβητρα ἐν θαλάσση
 311) καὶ φόβητρα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
 312) χρυσὸς πολὺς καὶ ἄργυρος¹³⁸
 313) καὶ σιρικὰ ἱμάτια, οὐδὲν τινὰ ὠφελούσιν ἐν τῇ θλίψει τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκείνῃ.¹³⁹
 314) ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοὺς νεκροὺς μακαρίζουσι τοὺς ταφέντας πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν σύγχυσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην.¹⁴⁰
 315) ῥίπτεται γὰρ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις,
 316) καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπτόμενος αὐτῶν,¹⁴¹
 317) ὅτι πάντα ἐβδέλυκται.¹⁴²
 318) ἀλλὰ πάντες τοῦ ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ κρυβῆναι σπουδάζουσιν,¹⁴³
 319) καὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἐκ θλίψεως·
 320) ἀλλ' ἔτι μετὰ τῆς θλίψεως καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς δίψης καὶ τοῦ φόβου, θηρία καὶ ἔρπετὰ σαρκωβόρα εὐρίσκονται κατὰ πάντας τοὺς τόπους ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένην κύκλω τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν κωμῶν¹⁴⁴
 321) ἔνδον φόβος,
 322) ἔξω τρόμος,
 323) καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ·
 324) ἐν πλατείαις θνησιμαῖοι, καὶ ἐν οἰκοῖς τεθνηκότες.¹⁴⁵
 325) ἐν πλατείαις δυσωδία, καὶ ἐν οἰκοῖς δυσωδία·

¹³⁶ 307 Om. Bo1

¹³⁷ 308 Om. Bo1

¹³⁸ 312 πολὺς: πολλίς Ov1 ante corr.

¹³⁹ 313 σιρικὰ: σηρικὰ Ov1 post corr.

¹⁴⁰ 314 μακαρίζουσι: μακαρίζουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴¹ 316 ἀπτόμενος: ἀπτόμενος Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴² 317 ἐβδέλυκται: ἐβδέλλυκται Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴³ 318 σπουδάζουσιν: σπουδάξουσιν Ov1 post corr.

¹⁴⁴ 320 σαρκωβόρα: σαρκωβόρα Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴⁵ 324 τεθνηκότες: τεθνηκώτες Ov1 ante corr.

- 326) ἐν πλατείαις πείνα καὶ δίψα καὶ φωνὴ κλαυθμοῦ·
- 327) ἐν πλατείαις θόρυβος·
- 328) εἷς ἕκαστος μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συναντήσῃ·
- 329) πατὴρ τέκνω, υἱὸς πατρί,
- 330) καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς θυγατρὸς,
- 331) φίλοι φίλοις ἐν πλατείαις περιπλακέντες θνήξουσιν,¹⁴⁶
- 332) καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περιπλακέντες θανοῦνται.¹⁴⁷
- 333) μέμαρνανται καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὄψεως πάσης σαρκὸς, καὶ γίνονται ὡσπερ νεκρῶν αἱ εἶδ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων βδελυκταί·
- 334) μεμίσηται καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν·
- 335) μεμάρνανται πάσης σαρκὸς τὸ ἀνθηρόν,
- 336) ἐπιθυμία τῶν βρωμάτων·
- 337) ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ πεισθέντες τῷ δεινοτάτῳ θηρίῳ καὶ λαβόντες τὴν σφραγίδα ἐκείνου τοῦ μισθοῦ¹⁴⁸
- 338) τὸν δυσσεβῆ χαρακτήρα αὐτοῦ, προσέρχονται αὐτῷ ἅμα, καὶ λέγουσι μετ' ὀδύνης·¹⁴⁹
- 339) “δὸς ἡμῖν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν,
- 340) ὅτι πάντες ἐκλείπομεν ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ σφιγγόμενοι,¹⁵⁰
- 341) καὶ ἀπέλασον ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα θηρία.”
- 342) καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὁ μισθὸς πόθεν αὐτοῖς τι διδόναι, ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐν πολλῇ ἀποτομίᾳ πᾶσιν ἅμα·
- 343) “πόθεν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑμῖν φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, ὃ ἄνθρωποι;¹⁵¹
- 344) ὁ οὐρανὸς οὐ βούλεται τῇ γῆ δοῦναι ὑετόν·
- 345) ἡ γῆ πάλιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν ὄλοσχερῶς γενήματα.”
- 346) ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λαοὶ πενήσουσι καὶ κλαύσουσι μὴ ἔχοντες παντελῶς παραμυθίαν ἐν τῇ θλίψει τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης·¹⁵²
- 347) ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον θλίψεις ἐπὶ θλίψιν εὐρήσουσιν,

¹⁴⁶ 331 θνήξουσιν: θνήξουσι Ov1 post corr.

¹⁴⁷ 332 Om. Bo1

¹⁴⁸ 337 πεισθέντες: πισθέντες Ov1 ante corr. | δεινοτάτῳ: δεινωτάτῳ Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁴⁹ 338 δυσσεβῆ: δυσσεβῆ Ov1 ante corr. | λέγουσι: λέγουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁰ 340 ἐκλείπομεν: ἐκλείπομεν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵¹ 343 δώσω: δόσω Ov1

¹⁵² 346 πενήσουσι: πενήσουσιν Ov1 ante corr. | κλαύσουσι: κλαύσουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

- 348) ὅτι οὕτως εὐπροθύμως ἐπίστευσαν τῷ τυράννῳ·
 349) ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἰς ὃν αὐτοὶ ἐπίστευσαν οὐκ ἰσχύει οὐδὲ ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι,
 350) καὶ πῶς αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσει
 351) ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις; ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θλίψεως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
 σεισμοῦ,
 352) καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἥχους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης,
 353) καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς δίψης
 354) καὶ τῶν δηγμάτων τῶν θηρίων τακήσονται καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τοῦ δράκοντος.¹⁵³
 355) ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου
 356) καὶ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτῷ ὡς θεῷ,
 357) οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν μερίδα ἐν τῇ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ,¹⁵⁴
 358) ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δράκοντος βληθήσονται εἰς γέενναν·
 359) μακάριος οὖν ὁ εἰς πάντα εὐρεθεὶς γενναῖος καὶ ἀμπιστος,¹⁵⁵
 360) ἔχων αἰεὶ τὴν καρδίαν πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἀδιστακτῶς καὶ ἀφόβως·
 361) ἐκκρούεται γὰρ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς πεύσεις,
 362) καταφρονῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν βασάνων καὶ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῶν φαντασιῶν αὐτοῦ·
 363) πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ταῦτα γενέσθαι,
 364) ἀποστέλλει ὁ κύριος Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην καὶ τὸν Ἐνώχ, ὡς εὐσπλαγχνος,
 365) ὅπως αὐτοὶ γνωρίσωσιν εὐσέβειαν γένει βροτῶν,
 366) καὶ κηρύξωσι παρρησίᾳ¹⁵⁶
 367) πᾶσι θεογνωσίαν, μὴ πιστεῦσαι καὶ πειθαρχεῖν¹⁵⁷
 368) φόβου ἔνεκεν τῷ ψευδεῖ,
 369) κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες·
 370) “πλάνος ἐστίν, ὃ ἄνθρωποι·
 371) μηδεὶς αὐτῷ πιστεύσει τὸ σύνολον τῷ ἀσεβεῖ.¹⁵⁸
 372) μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑπακούσει τῷ θεομάχῳ τυράννῳ.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ 354 δηγμάτων: δειγμάτων Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁴ 357 ἔχουσι: ἔχουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁵ 359 post εὐρεθεὶς erasit Ov1 corr. tres aut quattuor litteras

¹⁵⁶ 366 κηρύξωσι: κηρύξωσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁷ 367 πᾶσι: πᾶσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁸ 371 πιστεύσει: πιστεύσει Ov1 ante corr. | ἀσεβεῖ: ἀσεβῆ Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁵⁹ 372 ὑπακούσει: ὑπακούσει Ov1 ante corr.

- 373) μηδεις ὑμῶν φοβηθῆ·
- 374) ἐν τάχει γὰρ καταργεῖται.¹⁶⁰
- 375) ὁ κύριος ὁ ἅγιος, ἰδοὺ, ἔρχεται ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κρῖναι πάντας τοὺς πειθαρχοῦντας τοῖς σημείοις τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου,”
- 376) πλὴν ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ θέλοντες ὑπακοῦσαι
- 377) καὶ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν.
- 378) ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιεῖ ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος καὶ ἀγαθός,
- 379) ἵνα δειχθῆ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἡ πολλὴ αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνία,
- 380) ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐδέποτε ἠβουλήθη τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ,
- 381) ἀλλὰ πάντας θέλει σωθῆναι.
- 382) νοήσωμεν οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν ἄμετρον αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν,
- 383) ὅτι οὔτε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀφήσει τὸ τῶν βροτῶν γένος δίχα κηρύγματος ἀληθείας,¹⁶¹
- 384) ἀλλὰ πέμπει τοὺς προφήτας κηρύξαι θεογνωσίαν,
- 385) ἵνα πάντες ἐν τῇ κρίσει ᾧσιν ἀναπολόγητοι
- 386) ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δόξης τῆς πατρικῆς.”
- 387) πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἁγίων ὅσοι τότε εὐρίσκονται
- 388) ἅμα εὐθὺς ἀκούσωσι τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ μιαινοῦ, ἐκχέουσι ποταμηδὸν τὰ δάκρυα ἐν στεναγμοῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ δράκοντος,¹⁶²
- 389) καὶ φεύγουσι μετὰ μεγίστης σπουδῆς ἐν ἐρήμοις,¹⁶³
- 390) καὶ κρύβονται ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ἐν νάπαις μετὰ φόβου,¹⁶⁴
- 391) καὶ πάσσουσι σποδὸν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς,¹⁶⁵
- 392) καὶ δεόνται νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐν πολλῇ ταπεινώσει.
- 393) καὶ δωρεῖται αὐτοῖς τοῦτο παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου,
- 394) καὶ ὀδηγεῖ αὐτοῖς ἡ χάρις εἰς τόπους τοῦς ὠρισμένους,¹⁶⁶
- 395) καὶ σφύζονται κρυβόμενοι ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς,

¹⁶⁰ 374 καταργεῖται: καταργῆται Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶¹ 383 ἀφήσει: ἀφήσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶² 388 ἀκούσωσι: ἀκούσωσιν Ov1 ante corr. | ἐκχέουσι: ἐκχέουσιν Ov1 ante corr. | ποταμηδὸν: ποταμιδὸν Ov1 post corr.

¹⁶³ 389 φεύγουσι: φεύγουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶⁴ 390 Om. Bo1 | ὄρεσι: ὄρεσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶⁵ 391 Om. Bo1 | πάσσουσι: πάσσουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶⁶ 394 ὀδηγεῖ: ὀδηγῆ Ov1 | ὠρισμένους: ὀρισμένους Ov1

- 396) μὴ βλέποντες τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ φόβητρα·
- 397) ἅπασι γὰρ τοῖς ἔχουσι γινῶσιν θεοῦ καὶ σύνεσιν,¹⁶⁷
- 398) παραυτικά γνωρίζεται ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ τυράννου·
- 399) τοῖς δὲ ἀεὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσιν πράγματα βιωτικά καὶ ποθοῦσι τὰ γήϊνα, οὐκ εὐδῆλον ἔσται τοῦτο.¹⁶⁸
- 400) ὁ γὰρ ἀεὶ δεδεμένος ἐν πράγμασι βιωτικοῖς, κἂν ἀκούσῃ, ἀπιστεῖ καὶ βδελύσσεται τὸν λέγοντα.¹⁶⁹
- 401) χάριν τούτου ἰσχύουσιν οἱ ἅγιοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶν,
- 402) ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν τοῦ βίου τούτου τοῦ ματαίου ἀπέρριψαν.
- 403) πενθεῖ τότε πᾶσα ἡ γῆ¹⁷⁰
- 404) καὶ θάλασσα καὶ ὁ ἀήρ·
- 405) πενθεῖ ἅμα καὶ τὰ ζῶα τὰ ἄγρια σὺν πετεινοῖς.¹⁷¹
- 406) πενθοῦσιν ὄρη καὶ βουνοὶ καὶ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου.¹⁷²
- 407) πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σὺν τοῖς ἄστροις διὰ τὸ γένος τῶν βροτῶν,¹⁷³
- 408) ὅτι πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἀπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου, δημιουργοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων,
- 409) καὶ τῷ πλάνῳ ἐπίστευσαν,
- 410) δεξάμενοι χαρακτήρα τοῦ μιανοῦ καὶ θεομάχου
- 411) ἀντὶ σταυροῦ τοῦ σωτήρος·
- 412) πενθεῖ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα, ὅτι ἄφνω κατέπαυσε φωνὴ ψαλμοῦ καὶ προσευχῆς ἐκ στόματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.¹⁷⁴
- 413) πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι Χριστοῦ πένθος μέγα,¹⁷⁵
- 414) διότι οὐ λειτουργεῖται ἁγιασμὸς καὶ προσφορά·
- 415) μετὰ οὖν τὸ πληρωθῆναι τοὺς τρεῖς καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ τοῦ μιανοῦ ἐξουσίας καὶ πράξεως τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου,

¹⁶⁷ 397 ἅπασι: ἅπασιν Ov1 ante corr. | ἔχουσι: ἔχουσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶⁸ 399 ποθοῦσι: ποθοῦσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁶⁹ 400 πράγμασι: πράγμασιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁷⁰ 403 πενθεῖ: πενθη Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁷¹ 405 πενθεῖ: πενθη Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁷² 406 πεδίου: πηδίου Ov1

¹⁷³ 407 πενθοῦσι: πενθοῦσιν Ov1 ante corr.

¹⁷⁴ 412 πενθεῖ: πενθη Ov1 ante corr. | κατέπαυσε: κατέπαυσεν ante corr. | προσευχῆς: προσευχή Ov1

¹⁷⁵ 413 πενθοῦσι: πενθοῦσιν Ov1 ante corr.

- 416) καὶ ὅταν πληρωθῇ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα πάσης τῆς γῆς,
 417) καθὼς ἔφη τὸ στόμα τὸ θεῖον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος,
 418) ἦξει λοιπὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴ ἀστράπτουσα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
 419) ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἄχραντος καὶ φοβερός καὶ ἔνδοξος θεὸς ἡμῶν,
 420) καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ νυμφίος ἀθάνατος ἐν νεφέλαις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δόξης
 ἀνεικάστου,¹⁷⁶
 421) προτρεχόντων ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ
 422) τῶν ἀγγελικῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων,
 423) ὄντες πάντες φλόγες πυρός,
 424) καὶ ποταμὸς πλήρης πυρὸς ἐν φοβερῷ ροιζήματι,¹⁷⁷
 425) καὶ χερουβὶμ ἔχοντα τὸ βλέμμα κάτω ἐκ τοῦ φόβου,
 426) καὶ σεραφὶμ ἰπτάμενα καὶ κρύβοντα τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι
 πτέρυξιν αὐτῶν κεκραγῶτα μετὰ φρίκης ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον,¹⁷⁸
 427) “τρισάγιος τρισάγιος τρισάγιος κύριος.”
 428) καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος κηρυττούσης μετὰ φρίκης·
 429) “ἐγείρεσθε οἱ καθεύδοντες· ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν ὁ νυμφίος.”
 430) ἀνοίγονται μνήματα καὶ ἀκούει χοῦς ὁ σαπείς τὴν μεγάλην καὶ φοβερὰν παρουσίαν
 τοῦ σωτῆρος,¹⁷⁹
 431) καὶ ἐν ῥίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐγείρεται πᾶσα φύσις,
 432) καὶ βλέπουσι τὸ κάλλος τὸ ἀμήχανον τοῦ νυμφίου·¹⁸⁰
 433) καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες, καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων,
 434) ἀναρίθμητοι στρατιαί,
 435) χαίρουσι χαρὰν μεγάλην·¹⁸¹
 436) ἅγιοί τε καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ πάντες οἱ μὴ λαβόντες τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ
 πονηροῦ
 437) καὶ ἐν πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ προσκυνοῦσιν τῷ νυμφίῳ καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ εἰσέρχονται εἰς
 παστὸν ἐπουράνιον·
 438) καὶ ἄγεται ὁ τύραννος δεδεμένος ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων

¹⁷⁶ 420 ἀνεικάστου: ἀνικάστου On1 ante corr.

¹⁷⁷ 424 ροιζήματι: ρυζήματι On1 | ποταμὸς: Bo1 ποταμοῦ On1

¹⁷⁸ 426 τέσσαρσι: τέσσαρσιν On1 | κεκραγῶτα: κεκραγῶτα On1 ante corr.

¹⁷⁹ 430 ὁ σαπείς: Bo1; ὡς ἀσπίς On1

¹⁸⁰ 432 βλέπουσι: βλέπουσιν On1

¹⁸¹ 435 χαίρουσι: χαίρουσιν On1

439) σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ.¹⁸²

440) καὶ ἄγονται ἅμα αὐτῷ οἱ λαβόντες τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς δεδεμένοι·

441) καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπόφασιν τῆς αἰωνίου κρίσεως ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τῷ ἀσβέστῳ.

442) πάντες δὲ οἱ μὴ λαβόντες τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου τὴν σφραγίδα,

443) καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ κρυβέντες ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ ἐν ὄπαϊς, ἀγάλλονται σὺν τῷ νυμφίῳ

444) ἐν παστῷ οὐρανίῳ χαρὰν τὴν ἀνεκκλήτητον μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων·

¹⁸² 439 ἅπασιν: ἅπασιν Ov1 ante corr. | δαίμοσιν: δαίμοσιν Ov1 ante corr.

APPENDIX B

ON THE ANTICHRIST: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF O_{v1}

Regarding the Antichrist

Manuscript Ov₁: Recension A

¹How would I, the faulty one full of sin, be able to declare things too great for me? ²But because the Savior by his own good heartedness moves our tongue liberally as he wills for the good benefit and edification of all, both for me as the one who speaks and for all hearers, I will speak in pain and say in groanings, ³about the consummation of the present world, ⁴and about the utterly shameless and terrible Serpent, ⁵who is about to disturb everything under Heaven, ⁶and to cast cowardice and faintheartedness ⁷and terrible faithlessness into the hearts of humans, ⁸and to make wonders and signs and terrors, so as even, if it were possible, to deceive the elect, ⁹and to deceive all through false signs ¹⁰and visions of wonders occurring under him. ¹¹For by the concession of the Holy God, he receives the authority to deceive the world, ¹²since the impiety of the world has been multiplied, ¹³and he effects terrors everywhere for each and every person. ¹⁴Therefore because of this, the Immaculate Master has allowed this spirit of deception to test the world because of their impiety, ¹⁵because they themselves so wanted to rebel against God ¹⁶and to love the wicked one.

¹⁷The struggle will be great, brothers, in those times for all people, ¹⁸especially for the faithful, ¹⁹when signs and wonders are performed by the Serpent himself ²⁰with much authority, ²¹when he again displays himself as though he were a god in frightening visions, flying through air, ²²and all the demons in the form of angels, flying in fear before the Tyrant. ²³For he shouts with force, changing even their forms, wishing to frighten all the people.

²⁴At that time, Brothers, who might be found fortified by faith and remaining unshaken, ²⁵holding in his own spirit the proof of the holy presence of the Only-begotten Son, ²⁶when he sees that unspeakable oppression happening everywhere in every soul, utterly lacking consolation from anywhere? ²⁷When he sees the whole world disturbed ²⁸(and each flees one by one to be hidden), ²⁹some perishing from famine in the mountains, ³⁰and others melting away like wax from terrible thirst, ³¹and there is no-one to pity them? ³²When he sees each face weeping and asking longingly whether he ever comprehended the Word of God, but he does not hear at all? This is the very thing he desires. ³³Who could endure those pains? ³⁴Or who could stand the unbearable oppression, ³⁵when he sees the confusion of the peoples coming from the ends of the Earth to behold the Tyrant, ³⁶and many prostrating themselves before the Beast and crying with trembling, ³⁷“You are our savior!”? ³⁸The sea is disturbed, the Earth, parched; ³⁹the skies do not rain; ⁴⁰the plants wither. ⁴¹All who are in the lands of the east ⁴²flee to the west out of great cowardice, ⁴³and again those who are with the setting sun flee to the east with trembling.

⁴⁴Then the Shameless One, having taken his authority, dispatches demons to all the world to announce to all, ⁴⁵“A great king has appeared with glory; come and behold!” ⁴⁶Who is there who possesses a spirit of such steel as nobly to endure all the traps? ⁴⁷Who is such a person, as I said before, ⁴⁸for the angels to bless him? ⁴⁹For I, perfect Christ-loving brothers, ⁵⁰was terrified by this mention of the Serpent, ⁵¹pondering to myself the tribulation that will be among the people in those times, ⁵²and what kind of one this Serpent is found to be: ⁵³defiled, ⁵⁴severe to the human race, ⁵⁵he will become exceedingly bitter to the saints, ⁵⁶who will be able to overcome his visions.

⁵⁷Then many are found pleasing to God, ⁵⁸able to be safe in mountains and hills, and in deserted places, ⁵⁹by many petitions and unbearable weeping. ⁶⁰For the Holy God observing them in such unspeakable weeping and sincere faith, is moved in his heart for them, as an affectionate father, ⁶¹and watches them closely where they are hidden. ⁶²For the Utterly Abominable One does not cease seeking out all the saints on the land and sea, ⁶³reasoning that his future reign on Earth was secured; ⁶⁴he subject everything, ⁶⁵and the Wretched One expects to withstand that frightful hour when the Lord comes, ⁶⁶since the Impious One does not know his own weakness for which he was cast out. ⁶⁷Nonetheless he disturbs the Earth. ⁶⁸He alarms everything through false wonders and magic signs.

⁶⁹There will not be, in that terrible time when the Serpent comes, rest upon the Earth, ⁷⁰but great tribulation, ⁷¹disturbance and confusion, ⁷²deaths and famines to all the ends of the Earth. ⁷³For the Lord himself said through his divine mouth: ⁷⁴“Such has not occurred since the beginning of creation.” ⁷⁵How will we, the sinful, estimate its excess, even its inexpressibility, ⁷⁶for our God so named it? ⁷⁷Let each set his mind precisely ⁷⁸in the holy words of the Lord and Savior, ⁷⁹how because of the compulsion and excessive oppression, he good-heartedly shortens those days, as he advises us: ⁸⁰“Pray that your flight neither occur in wintertime nor again on the sabbath.” ⁸¹Again that same Savior has very distinctly said: ⁸²“Always lie awake and continuously pray, so that you become worthy to escape the oppression and to stand before Jesus when he comes.” ⁸³Let us not think, in disbelief, that these things are slow to happen on the Earth. ⁸⁴For the time has already come, ⁸⁵and we all stand in this evil matter and do not wholly believe. ⁸⁶Let us supplicate continuously in tears and prayers day and night, ⁸⁷in order that we humans may be safe.

⁸⁸For whoever possesses contrition and tears in prayers,¹ ⁸⁹let him beg the Lord to escape the great oppression that is about to come upon the Earth,² ⁹⁰in order that he not at all see even the Beast itself, ⁹¹nor again hear the terrors occurring in the region: ⁹²earthquakes, famines, ⁹³and the various kinds of deaths upon the Earth. ⁹⁴He is of a vigorous spirit, I say, who can weld its [the soul's] life to it [the soul] amongst the snares. ⁹⁵For if a person is found so little heedless, he is easily besieged and becomes a prisoner, ⁹⁶through the signs of the wicked and deceitful Serpent. ⁹⁷Such a person is found unforgiven at the judgment, ⁹⁸for he willingly put his faith in the Tyrant with his own eyes.

⁹⁹Many prayers and tears we need, Beloved, ¹⁰⁰in order that any of us may be found steadfast in the trials! ¹⁰¹Many visions are occurring of the Beast, ¹⁰²for since he happens to fight against God, he wishes to destroy everyone. ¹⁰³Hear, my Christ-loving brothers: ¹⁰⁴what did he do in the desert that goes out of Egypt? ¹⁰⁵How did the Abominable and Wretched One devise to make them commit the utterly terrifying sin? ¹⁰⁶He suborned Balaam to give the most evil counsel to Balaak, King of Madiam, ¹⁰⁷namely, to put the women of the city in their tents, and seduce the people to fornication and burnt sacrifices, ¹⁰⁸in order for God to destroy them utterly, as impious men, when they all fornicate with women like irrational beasts, ¹⁰⁹and they set up women shamelessly in public, ¹¹⁰ and the tables full of libations and sacrifices before their doors, [thus] dragging them all to their deaths. ¹¹¹([The tables were set up] in order that the one

¹ Before this line appears ἄλλο μέτρον beginning 4012/1 in Vc₂.

² Before this line appears ἄλλο μέτρον beginning 4012/1 in Vc₁. Here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 just continues. Sermon ME (45) post corr. M[stigma] (46) ante corr.

who wants to fornicate with those defiled ones should first make libation and then go in.
¹¹²For the women did not receive a wage from the people, but [instead] compelled all those who came to them to make a sacrifice.) ¹¹³For the rulers, he places the daughters of the rulers, ¹¹⁴and similarly for the wealthy, the daughters of the wealthy, ¹¹⁵but most of the women, for the poor people, for all the people, ¹¹⁶desiring to hunt them all to death once and for all. ¹¹⁷Thus the wealthy man would not turn up his nose at the poor woman, or the ruler at the one who happens to be the daughter of a free man. ¹¹⁸Did you [ever] see [such] an act of unrighteousness, [such] a wicked practice? ¹¹⁹How he dug graves for them all? ¹²⁰Did any of you ever see such an act: shameless fornication ¹²¹wielding a two-edged sword? ¹²²By two terrible deaths the women destroyed those who came to them: those of sacrifice and of fornication. ¹²³In this very manner, the Tyrant prepared them, ¹²⁴so that all would bear the Beast's seal ¹²⁵when he comes to deceive with signs, in his own time ¹²⁶in the fullness of times. ¹²⁷This then is also how one purchases food and all goods; ¹²⁸and he appoints governors to carry out his commands.

¹²⁹Pay attention, brothers, to the Beast's excess, ¹³⁰[and to his] wicked devices. ¹³¹For it starts from the belly, ¹³²[namely] that when someone lacks food and is in want, he is compelled to take his seal. ¹³³Now the Defiled One gives the seal not at random on any part of the body, ¹³⁴lest they object to it, ¹³⁵but he grants the impious stamp upon the right hand of the person, and likewise upon the forehead ¹³⁶so that the person would not have the power to seal himself with the sign of Christ our Savior with his right hand, ¹³⁷nor again at all to make the sign at all of the fearful and Holy Name of the Lord upon the brow, ¹³⁸nor of the Savior's glorious and fearful cross. ¹³⁹For the Wretched One knows that the Lord's cross, if it is sealed, will put an end to all his power. ¹⁴⁰Therefore,

he seals a person's right hand; ¹⁴¹because for it is this which seals all our limbs, ¹⁴²and just as one bears the light of a lamp on a lampstand, so one bears the sign of the Savior on the forehead, at a height.

¹⁴³It follows then, o my Brothers, there will be an awful struggle for all Christ-loving people who are faithful and strong, ¹⁴⁴that they not yield [even] once until the hour of death, nor stand in vain ¹⁴⁵when the Serpent impresses his own seal in place of the Savior's cross. ¹⁴⁶For he devises in every way ¹⁴⁷that the name of the Savior, the all-holy and glorious, be utterly and wholly unnamed during the Serpent's time. ¹⁴⁸The Weak One, afraid and trembling from the holy power of the Savior's name, does this. ¹⁴⁸If one is not sealed with his seal, one is not captivated by his visions; ¹⁵⁰nor, again, does the Lord renounce such a one, ¹⁵¹but illuminates his heart, and pulls that one to him.

¹⁵²We must consider, Brothers, with all care, the Enemy's visions, for he is an avenger. ¹⁵³In stillness he approaches us all, ¹⁵⁴so we must beat back the Beast's devices. ¹⁵⁵Bearing our unswerving and pure faith in Christ, let us undermine the power of the Enemy. ¹⁵⁶Let us obtain an immutable reason and piety; ¹⁵⁷the Feeble One stands aside, powerless to do anything.

¹⁵⁸ I advise a holy and faithful constitution, ³ ¹⁵⁹in tears, faithful Christ-lovers. ¹⁶⁰We will not wholly be destroyed easily by the Enemy, ¹⁶¹but be steadfast by the power of the cross. ¹⁶²An inexorable trial has come: ¹⁶³let us all take up the shield of faith; ¹⁶⁴let us refresh our souls eagerly from the divine spring, the hope of salvation. ¹⁶⁵I assert, Beloved, that the uncreated consubstantial Trinity is the spring that gushes forth life,

³ Before this sentence appears εἰς τὸ πρῶτον μέτρον in Vc1 and 4012/2 begins. Once again, here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 continues Vc2 | Sermon MZ/MΣ? (M3) in Vc1 | Om. Ov1 Bo1 (But with a sizable gap of empty space in both).

¹⁶⁶for if our souls are fortified with such weapons, the Serpent is trampled. ¹⁶⁷But in the midst of all of this we must pray that we neither fall into trial, nor flee in winter.

¹⁶⁸Therefore, become ready as a faithful household, ¹⁶⁹loving Our Master and not accepting another. ¹⁷⁰When the Thief, the vindictive and cruel, ¹⁷¹will first come in his own time, ¹⁷²intending to steal, to kill, and to destroy the chosen flock of the honest shepherd, ¹⁷³he takes up the form of the honest shepherd, ¹⁷⁴in order to deceive the shepherd's flock, ¹⁷⁵So those who recognize clearly the holy voice of the true shepherd ¹⁷⁶immediately recognize the voice of the Avenger — ¹⁷⁷for it is not at all like the true shepherd. ¹⁷⁸For it is reproachful and filled with pomp, ¹⁷⁹and right away it is recognized as the voice of a thief.

¹⁸⁰Let us learn with what form the Shameless Snake, friends, will come upon the Earth. ¹⁸¹Because the Savior, intending to save the human race, was born from a Virgin, ¹⁸²and by his human form deceived the Enemy; ¹⁸³through the holy power of his divinity, ¹⁸⁴he became meek and humble upon Earth ¹⁸⁵in order to exalt us from Earth into heaven ¹⁸⁶(for Christ was really and truly conceived, ¹⁸⁷made flesh, ¹⁸⁸and born from a Holy Virgin in our flesh). ¹⁸⁹He saved everything through the suffering of the cross, ¹⁹⁰and gave commandments, ¹⁹¹because he will come again in the last day to judge the living and the dead, ¹⁹²to reward all according to their deeds, righteous and impious, as a just judge. ¹⁹³The Enemy learned this (that the Lord comes once again out of the sky in divine glory), ¹⁹⁴and calculated to take up the character of his presence and deceive us. ¹⁹⁵Our God will come in bright clouds, like a terrible lightning bolt, to the earth, to judge living and dead. ¹⁹⁶But the Enemy will not come in bright clouds in this way; ¹⁹⁷to be precise, his instrument is born from one thought to be a virgin, but in fact defiled. ¹⁹⁸He is not

incarnated,¹⁹⁹ but the Reprehensible One will come in form as such,²⁰⁰ as a thief, with pretended piety, to deceive everything: ²⁰¹humble ²⁰²and quiet, ²⁰³hating (he says) injustice; ²⁰⁴eschewing idols, ²⁰⁵esteeming piety, ²⁰⁶morally good, ²⁰⁷loving the poor, ²⁰⁸beautiful, exceedingly ²⁰⁹stable, ²¹⁰cheerful to all, ²¹¹esteeming excessively the nation of the Jews — ²¹²for they are expecting his coming. ²¹³Amidst all of these things, he accomplishes signs, ²¹⁴marvels and terrors with great power. ²¹⁵The deceiver devises to please all, ²¹⁶so that he quickly might be loved by the peoples. ²¹⁷He will not receive gifts. ²¹⁸He will not speak in anger. ²¹⁹He will not display a downcast countenance, but always be cheerful. ²²⁰In all of these things, with the form of good manners, he deceives the world until he becomes king.

²²¹For when many peoples and citizens see the greatness of his virtues, in their nobility and power, they all come together with one mind, ²²²and in great joy they enthrone him, ²²³saying to one another: ²²⁴“Can there be found a person so great, good, and just?” ²²⁵Even more do the citizenry of the murdering Jews honor him and rejoice in his rule, ²²⁶so that, even as he holds their place and temple in greater honor, so he shows them all that he takes great care of their temple and their place. ²²⁷In the dominion of the Serpent upon the Earth, the peoples will most eagerly become his allies, ²²⁸again Edom, Moab, and the Sons of Ammon, as they will bow down before a legitimate king with joy, so they will themselves become his foremost champions. ²²⁹Right away his dominion is restored, ²³⁰and he will angrily strike down three great kings. ²³¹Then he exalts his heart immoderately, ²³²and the Serpent vomits his own cruelty, and deceitfully casts forth his lethal venom from within him, ²³³and disturbs the world ²³⁴and moves its ends, ²³⁵oppresses everything ²³⁶and defiles many souls. ²³⁷No longer so prudent, no longer so

pious, ²³⁸no longer so loving of the poor, neither so merciful, no longer so stable, no longer so good, ²³⁹no longer so cheerful, ²⁴⁰but to all in everything ²⁴¹morally rigid, ²⁴²severe, ²⁴³a fierce rancorous, ²⁴⁴dangerous, ²⁴⁵unstable, ²⁴⁶terrifying and unpleasant, ²⁴⁷hateful and loathsome, ²⁴⁸savage and wicked, ²⁴⁹vindictive and shameless, ²⁵⁰eager, in his own insanity, to cast all human nations into a pit of impiety, ²⁵¹magnifying signs, ²⁵²multiplying terrors — ²⁵³falsely but not in truth. ²⁵⁴In such a way the Tyrant alters the mountains—even in a vision, not truly but in falsehood. ²⁵⁵With peoples present in a great mass, and many citizens ²⁵⁶hailing him as a result of the visions, ²⁵⁷he will project his voice, with power to shake the place on which they stand, ²⁵⁸and says plainly; ²⁵⁹“Know, all peoples, the great power of my authority. ²⁶⁰For lo! Before us all I command the great mountain that is opposite here ²⁶¹to now be moved here to you from the far side of the sea by my word.” ²⁶²The Defiled One says, ²⁶³“I command you, great mountain that is opposite: immediately dome here from the sea!” ²⁶⁴And the mountain seems to run in the eyes of the spectators, ²⁶⁵but is not at all moved from its foundations. ²⁶⁶For over the things that God the Most High, from the beginning of creation, founded and exalted, the Utterly Defiled One does not have authority, but deceives the world through magic visions. ²⁶⁷Again, another mountain lying in the depths of the great sea ²⁶⁸(I mean a great island), ²⁶⁹he commands to come up and stand on dry land on a delightful beach, to the pleasure of the spectators, though the island does not move out of the sea at all. ²⁷⁰But like a mountain on dry land, so is the island in vision. ²⁷¹Again the Serpent himself spreads his hands and gathers the mass of the bugs and birds. ²⁷²Again he treads upon the abyss, ²⁷³and just as upon dry land, he walks upon it, all in visions. ²⁷⁴Many will believe him as a mighty god, ²⁷⁵but those who always have God within themselves, ²⁷⁶and with

their eyes of their hearts enlightened, they gaze without harm in sincere faith,²⁷⁷ and clearly know them as false visions,²⁷⁸ that neither did the mountain move from afar ends to another part, nor did the island come up.

²⁷⁹All these things he does and yet more, though he is utterly powerless to stand in prayer,²⁸⁰ and to appeal for anything in the name of the Father and the Only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit. ²⁸¹But he does everything in his own name, creating visions and deceiving, for he is fighting God. ²⁸²But for all the praise that the crowds send up to him day after day,⁴ ²⁸³they nowhere find a way to fill themselves with food. ²⁸⁴Severe governors will be appointed for each place. ²⁸⁵Even if someone carries with him the Tyrant's seal on his forehead or ²⁸⁶on his right hand he buys little food, ²⁸⁷out of the food then found. ²⁸⁸Infants faint in their mothers' laps. ²⁸⁹Again, the mother dies over her children. ²⁹⁰The father dies with his wife and children in the marketplaces. ²⁹¹And there is no-one then to bury them and enshroud them in tombs, ²⁹²from the many corpses scattered in the streets; a foul stench from all around will powerfully oppress the living. ²⁹³In the morning, all in pain and groanings say; ²⁹⁴"When does evening come, in order that we may obtain relief?" ²⁹⁵But when evening comes, in bitter tears they will say; ²⁹⁶"When will it be dawn, in order that we may escape the oppression laid upon us?" ²⁹⁷But there is no place to escape or to hide from the oppression. ²⁹⁸For everything is disturbed, ²⁹⁹the sea and the dry land. ³⁰⁰Therefore has said the Lord to us: ³⁰¹"Stay awake! ³⁰²Pray hour by hour to escape from oppression!"

⁴ Before this line, ἄλλο μέτρον appears in Vc1 and 4012/3 begins. Once again, here appears an elaborate decoration, indicating the beginning of a new work, but CPG 3946 continues. Sermon MH in Vc1.

³⁰³A revolting stench upon the sea, ³⁰⁴a revolting stench upon the earth;
³⁰⁵Plagues, ³⁰⁶earthquakes upon land, ³⁰⁷earthquakes at sea; ³⁰⁸famines, ³⁰⁹confusion upon
the earth, ³¹⁰terror at sea, ³¹¹and terror upon the earth. ³¹²Much gold and silver, ³¹³and silk
clothing, is no profit to anyone in that great tribulation. ³¹⁴But everyone will bless the
corpses buried before that great confusion came to the Earth. ³¹⁵Gold and silver are
scattered in the streets, ³¹⁶and no-one touches it, ³¹⁷as everything is loathsome. ³¹⁸But
everyone is eager to escape and be hidden, ³¹⁹yet it is nowhere possible for them to be
rescued from tribulation. ³²⁰But even with the tribulation, and starvation, thirst, and
terror, flesh-eating beasts and bugs are found in all places on the whole circle of the
world; in cities and villages; ³²¹there is terror within, ³²²trembling without, ³²³night and
day. ³²⁴In the streets corpses, and in houses the dead; ³²⁵in the streets a revolting stench
and in houses a revolting stench; ³²⁶in the streets hunger and thirst and in the houses a
sound of crying; ³²⁷in the streets a tumult. ³²⁸Each one will meet another with crying,
³²⁹father to child, son to father, ³³⁰and mother to daughter, ³³¹friends will embrace friends
in the streets and die, ³³²and brothers will embrace brothers and die. ³³³Then is defiled the
visual beauty of all flesh; all human forms become loathsome, as the forms of corpses.
³³⁴The beauty of women is hateful. ³³⁵The vigor of all flesh — ³³⁶the desire for food — is
defiled.

³³⁷Then all those persuaded by the very terrible Beast and who took the seal of
that Defiled One, ³³⁸his impious mark, run to him at once and say with pain: ³³⁹“Give us
something to eat and drink, ³⁴⁰Because we are all dying from the choking hunger! ³⁴¹And
drive away the venomous animals from us!” ³⁴²But since he does not have anything to
give them, the Defiled One will say to all of them with much severity; ³⁴³“Where will I

get anything to give you to eat and to drink, people? ³⁴⁴The sky refuses rain to the earth; ³⁴⁵the earth in turn gave no harvest whatsoever!” ³⁴⁶When they hear this, the peoples will mourn and cry out, not having any reassurance in that great oppression. ³⁴⁷But they will rather find tribulations upon tribulation, ³⁴⁸because they believed the Tyrant so eagerly. ³⁴⁹For he in whom they believed is powerless even to help himself — ³⁵⁰how will he pity them ³⁵¹in those days? Even the shield-bearers of the Serpent will melt away from the great tribulation, from terror, from earthquake, ³⁵²from the roar of the great sea, ³⁵³from famine, from thirst, ³⁵⁴and from the stings/bites of beasts! ³⁵⁵For all those who took the Antichrist’s seal, ³⁵⁶and who had bowed down before him as to a god, ³⁵⁷they have no part in Christ’s kingdom, ³⁵⁸but with the Serpent will be cast into Gehenna.

³⁵⁹So blessed is the one found to be noble and completely faithful in everything, ³⁶⁰always directing his heart toward God without doubt and without fear. ³⁶¹He rejects all his questions, ³⁶²despises his tortures and fear and his visions. ³⁶³Before these things occur, ³⁶⁴the Lord, as he is good-hearted, will dispatch Elijah the Tishbite and Enoch, ³⁶⁵to make piety known to the human race ³⁶⁶and proclaim plainly, ³⁶⁷to all the knowledge of God, not to believe and obey ³⁶⁸falsely on account of fear, ³⁶⁹crying out and saying, ³⁷⁰“People, this is the wrong way! ³⁷¹No-one should believe this Impious One at all! ³⁷²None of you should listen to the God-fighting Tyrant! ³⁷³None of you should be terrified! ³⁷⁴For in a short time he is negated! ³⁷⁵Behold! The Holy Lord comes out of heaven to judge all who obeyed the Antichrist’s signs!” ³⁷⁶But few are willing to listen, ³⁷⁷and to believe the words of both the prophets. ³⁷⁸All this the Savior and our God does, the good-hearted and good, ³⁷⁹in order that his great good-heartedness may be shown to us all. ³⁸⁰Because he himself never willed the death of the sinner; ³⁸¹but he desires to save

everyone. ³⁸²Therefore we must understand, Beloved, his immeasurable compassion, ³⁸³that not even at that time does he cast away the human race without proclaiming the truth, ³⁸⁴but he sends the prophets to proclaim the knowledge of God ³⁸⁵so that all in the judgement would be without excuse, ³⁸⁶when he comes out of Heaven with his father's glory.

³⁸⁷Many of the saints, as many as are found at that time, ³⁸⁸as soon as they hear the arrival of the Defiled One, pour out tears in rivers in groaning for the Holy God, for rescue from the Serpent, ³⁸⁹and they flee with great speed into the empty quarters, ³⁹⁰and hide in the mountains, caves, and vales in terror, ³⁹¹and sprinkle ashes upon their own heads, ³⁹²and plead night and by day in great humility. ³⁹³This is granted to them by the Holy God; ³⁹⁴his kindness will lead them to predetermined places, ³⁹⁵and they are preserved hidden in caves and the holes in the earth, ³⁹⁶and will not look upon the Antichrist's terrors and signs. ³⁹⁷For to all those having knowledge and understanding of God, ³⁹⁸the coming of the Tyrant will immediately be made known. ³⁹⁹But to those who turn their minds to everyday matters and desire earthly things, this will not be obvious to them. ⁴⁰⁰For the one who is bound up in everyday matters, even if he hears, does not believe and loathes the one speaking. ⁴⁰¹For this reason the saints have the power to shun him, ⁴⁰²because all this vain life's worries they have thrown away from them.

⁴⁰³At that time, all the Earth mourns, ⁴⁰⁴and the sea and the air. ⁴⁰⁵All at once the wild animals together with the birds mourn. ⁴⁰⁶The mountains and hills and trees of the plain mourn. ⁴⁰⁷The lights in the sky together with the stars mourn for the human race, ⁴⁰⁸for all have turned aside from the God the Holy Demiurge of all, ⁴⁰⁹and trusted in the wrong way, ⁴¹⁰accepting the stamp of the Defiled and God-fighter ⁴¹¹in place of the

Savior's cross. ⁴¹²The earth and the sea mourn because there suddenly ceases the sound of music and prayer out of human mouths. ⁴¹³All of Christ's churches will mourn in great grief, ⁴¹⁴because the Consecration and Oblation are not being performed.

⁴¹⁵Now, after the completion of three and one-half times of the Defiled One's authority and the Antichrist's action, ⁴¹⁶when all the traps of the whole earth are filled, ⁴¹⁷As the divine mouth of the Lord and Savior said, ⁴¹⁸will finally come as a lightning bolt striking out of the sky, ⁴¹⁹our Holy, Immaculate, Terrible, and Glorious God, ⁴²⁰and king and immortal bridegroom in the clouds of heaven with immense glory, ⁴²¹with legions of angels and archangels ⁴²²coursing before his glory, ⁴²³all being flames of fire, ⁴²⁴and a river full of fire in a terrible rushing. ⁴²⁵and cherubim holding their eyes down out of terror, ⁴²⁶and seraphim fluttering and hiding their faces and feet with their four wings, screaming with a shudder one to another; ⁴²⁷“Thrice-Holy Thrice-Holy Thrice-Holy Lord!” ⁴²⁸and the sound of a trumpet proclaiming with a shudder, ⁴²⁹“Awaken, those who sleep! Behold, the bridegroom comes!” ⁴³⁰Graves open and the rotting dust hears the great and terrible presence of the Savior, ⁴³¹and in the blink of an eye awakes all Nature, ⁴³²and looks at the extraordinary beauty of the bridegroom. ⁴³³So ten thousands of ten thousands, and thousands of thousands of angels and archangels, ⁴³⁴countless armies, ⁴³⁵will rejoice with great joy. ⁴³⁶The holy and just and all those who did not take the Defiled and Wicked One's seal, ⁴³⁷with much boldness bow before the bridegroom and in joy come into the heavenly bridal chamber.

⁴³⁸The Tyrant is led away, bound by the angels ⁴³⁹together with all the demons in front of his judgement seat. ⁴⁴⁰Along with him, those who took the seal of the Antichrist and all the sinners and the impious are bound and led away. ⁴⁴¹And the king gives them

each a sentence of eternal judgment into the inextinguishable fire. ⁴⁴²All those who have not taken the Antichrist's seal, ⁴⁴³and all those hidden in caves and holes, are exalted together with the bridegroom ⁴⁴⁴in the heavenly bridal chamber unto unspeakable joy with all of the saints.

APPENDIX C

KNOWN NON-A RECENSION MANUSCRIPTS

The first letter indicates the country in which the manuscript currently resides.

The list is as follows: A = Mt. Athos; B = Great Britain; C = Cyprus; D =

Germany; E = Egypt; F = France; H = Greece; I = Italy; L = Albania; M =

Macedonia; N = Netherlands; O = Austria; P = Russia; R = Romania; S = Spain;

T = Turkey; V = Vatican City; X = Ireland; Y = Israel; Z = Switzerland.

Subsequent letters indicate the city. If there is more than one manuscript in the

location, a numeral will denote which manuscript is meant. This classification

schema obtains for all manuscripts examined, even if not ultimately employed, in

this study.

The following manuscripts have not been used in the study.

Agl₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Great Lavra Monastery, MS Γ 117 (Eustratiades 0357) [100-106]. The manuscript contains 38 works, of which 1 is Efremic. Due to construction at the monastery, this manuscript could not be consulted.¹ *On the Antichrist* (#16) appears with works by Gregory Nazianzus, George of Nicomedia, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil Seleuciensis, Methodius of Olympus, Theodoros the Studite, Cyril of Alexandria, and Andrew of Crete. Dated to the 11th century.

Agl₂ Mt. Athos, Greece. Great Lavra Monastery, Δ 084 (Eustratiades 0460) [20-26]. Due to construction at the monastery, this manuscript could not be consulted. The manuscript contains 56 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#6) joins works by John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, and Gregory of Nyssa, along with hagiographies. Dated to the 13th-15th centuries.

Agl₃ Mt. Athos, Greece. Great Lavra Monastery, K 111 (Eustratiades 1398) [210-222]. Due to construction at the monastery, this manuscript could not be consulted. The manuscript contains 23 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#5) joins works by Simeon the New Theologian, Simeon Metaphrastes, Gregory Nazianzus, and Mark the Ascetic. Dated to the 14th century.

¹ Private Communication. Secretary of Holy Monastery of Great Lavra, 6 March 2016.

- Ag1₄ Mt. Athos, Greece. Great Lavra Monastery, Δ 84 (Eustratiades 460) [20-26]. Dated around the 13th-15th centuries.
- Ai₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Iviron Monastery, MS. 658 (Lambros 4778) [Item 7]. The manuscript contains 23 works, of which 2 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#22) appears in a codex dominated by the works of John Chrysostom. Dated to the 15th century.
- Ak₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Konstamonitou Monastery, MS. 14 (Lambros 450) [p.257-276]. Dated to the 15th century.
- Aks₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Kausokalubiōn Skete. Kuriakou 6 [57-65]. Dated to the 15th century.
- Ap₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Panteleimon Monastery, MS. 196 (Lambros 5703) [p.25-41]. Dated to the 17th century.
- Aps₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Panteleimon Skete, MS. 13 [216v-227v]. Dated to the 17th century.
- AV₁ Mt. Athos, Greece. Vatopedi Monastery, MS. 10 [188-193]. The manuscript contains 36 works, of which 17 are Efremic. This manuscript is denoted as *differt ab editis* in the Pinakes catalogue. Among the Efremic works that appear are: *On the Antichrist* (#20 in the codex); 3945 (#21); and 3942 (#36 and final). Non-Efremic works include some by Anastasios of Sinai, Gregory Nazianzus, Theodore of Cyrrus, Irenaeus of Lyon, Eusebius of Caesarea, Basil of Caesarea, and Michael Psellus.² Dated to c.1310.
- AV₂ Mt. Athos, Greece. Vatopedi Monastery, MS. 636 [290-301]. Dated to c. 1417.
- AV₃ Mt. Athos, Greece. Vatopedi Monastery, MS. 243 [234-242]. Dated to the 15th century.
- AV₄ Mt. Athos, Greece. Vatopedi Monastery, MS. 423 [96-110v]. Dated to the 15th century.
- Bc₁ Cambridge, England. University Library, Add. 3047 [122-139v]. Dated to c.1550.
- Bo₂ [B Recension] Oxford, England. Bodleian Library, Roe gr. 28 [61v-68v]. The manuscript contains 31 works, of which 4 are Efremic: *On the Antichrist* (#8), CPG 4012/1-3 (#9), and CPG 3945 (#10) are all grouped

² Erich Lamberz, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi: Band 1, Codices 1-102* (Thessaloniki GR: Patriarkhikon Idrouma Paterikon Meleton, 2006), 66-67.

sequentially. Other authors represented are Andrew of Crete, John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Athanasius of Alexandria, Pope Gregory II, and Nectorius of Constantinople. Other eschatological works appear in the codex, such as John of Damascus' *De His Qui In Fide Dormierunt* (CPG 8112), and John Chrysostom's *In Secundum Domini Adventum* (CPG 4595). This is the manuscript employed by Thwaites in 1719.³ The subsequent publication by Assemani reprints Thwaites, and Phrantzoles reprints, with some corrections, Assemani. Dated to the 11th-12th century.

- Bo₃ Oxford, England. Lincoln College, gr. 1 [46v-52v]. Dated to the 14th century.
- Cl₁ Leukosia, Cyprus. Archbishopric Library, MS. 14 [158-169v]. Dated to the 15th century.
- Es₁ Sinai, Egypt. St. Catherine's Monastery, gr. 529 [81-97]. Dated to the 16th century.
- Fp₁ Paris, France. National Library, gr. 0593 [185-188v]. The manuscript contains 24 works, of which 24 are Ephraemic. Dated to the 11th century.
- Fp₂ Paris, France. National Library, gr. 1154 [1-19]. The manuscript contains 6 works, of which 1 is Efreemic. Works by Sophronius of Jerusalem, and John of Damascus, accompany *On the Antichrist* (#1). Dated to the 12th-14th centuries. Examined in PDF.
- Fp₃ Paris, France. National Library, gr. 0770 [86v-95]. The manuscript contains 34 works, of which 1 is Efreemic. *On the Antichrist* (#15) appears with other authors including John Chrysostom, Methodius of Olympus, Proclus of Constantinople, many hagiographies, and some apocryphal works. The copyist is George Kalospitēs during the first quarter of the 14th century. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) also owned the codex. Dated to c.1315.
- Fp₄ Paris, France. National Library, gr. 0773 [62v-68]. The manuscript contains 37 works, of which 3 are Efreemic. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Gregory Nazianzus, Hippolytus of Rome, Basil of Caesarea, Emperor Leo VI, and Andrew of Crete. Eschatological concerns predominate early in the codex as *On the Antichrist* (#4) is surrounded by John of Damascus' *De His Qui In Fide*

³ Demokratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Les Manuscrits de l'Ephrem grec utilises par Thwaites," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 262. Emmanouela Grypeou, "Ephraem Graecus, 'Sermo In Adventum Domini' A Contribution to the Study of the Transmission of Apocalyptic Motifs in Greek, Latin and Syriac Traditions in Late Antiquity". *Graeco-Latina et Orientalia: Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*, S. Samir and J. Monferrer-Sala. (Cordoba: CNERU-CEDRAC, 2013), 166-167.

Dormierunt (CPG 8112), and Hippolytus' *De Consummatione Mundi* (CPG1910). Dated to the 15th century.

- Ha₁ Athens, Greece. National Library, MS. 1027 [247-253v]. The manuscript contains 49 works, of which 3 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#38) and 3945 (#45) join works by John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Alexandria Timotheus I, and many hagiographies. Dated to the 12th century.
- Ha₂ Athens, Greece. National Library, MS. 355 [1-158]. This manuscript is denoted as *differt ab editis; Desinit δεδεμενος ανησεσι πυριναις υπο αγγελων* in the Pinakes catalogue. The manuscript contains 17 works, of which 2 are Efremic. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Gregory of Thrace, and many hagiographies. *On the Antichrist* (#1) is followed immediately by BHG 0263-0264f (The Life of Basil the Younger). Intriguingly, the sermon in this manuscript appears to contain a version which employs *On the Antichrist* as source material along with additions from an unknown author.⁴ Dated to the 15th century.
- Ha₃ Athens, Greece. National Library, Megalē tou Genous Scholē 62 [277v-280]. Dated to c.1373. No microfilm of the manuscript exists.
- Ha₄ Athens, Greece. National Library, MS. 438 [p.367-380]. Dated to the 16th century.
- Ha₅ Athens, Greece. National Library, MS. 457 [83-100]. Dated to the 17th century.
- Ha₆ Athens, Greece. National Library, MS. 2328 [127-139]. Dated to the 17th century.
- Ha₇ Athens, Greece. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Loberdou 160 [17-26v]. Dated to the 16th century.
- Hm₁ Meteroa, Greece. Metamorphosis Monastery, MS 549 [200-203]. The manuscript contains 33 works, of which 1 is Efremic. Dated to the 10th century. All attempts to communicate with this monastery were unsuccessful.
- Hmy₁ Mytilene, Greece. Limonos Monastery, MS. 87 [287v-298]. Dated to the 16th century.
- Hmy₂ Mytilene, Greece. Limonos Monastery, MS. 207 [81v-96]. Dated to the 17th century.

⁴ Private Communication, Dr. Vasiliki Liakou-Kropp Palaeographer Manuscripts Department National Library Greece, 27 June 2016.

- Hmy₃ Mytilene, Greece. St. John the Theologian Monastery, Ypsilou 57 [179-183v]. Dated to c.1604.
- Hs₁ Serras, Greece. Timios Prodromos Monastery, Alpha.30 [Item 10]. Undated. No microfilm of the manuscript exists.
- Ht₁ Turnavos, Greece. Municipal Library, MS. 19 [296-302]. Dated to the late 15th to the mid 16th centuries.
- Hth₁ Thessaloniki, Greece. Vlatadon Monastery, MS. 7 [206-211]. Dated to the 12th century.
- Ib₁ Brescia, Italy. Queriniana Library, A. III. 3 [465-470]. The manuscript contains 85 works, of which 1 is Efremic. This manuscript is denoted as *ab editis diuersum* in the Pinakes catalogue. Undated. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople Philotheos I, Mark Eugenikos, Hippolytus of Rome, Euthymius Zigabenus, Joseph Bryennius, Andrew of Crete, and many hagiographies and theologicals.
- Imes₁ Messina, Italy. University Regional Library, S. Salv. 77 [10v-23v]. Dated to the 12th century.
- Imil₁ Milan, Italy. Ambrosiana Library, F 100 sup. (Martini-Bassi 354) [173v-180]. The manuscript contains 18 works, of which 3 are Efremic. Pinakes lists denotes this recension as *differt valde ab editis*. The codex was created for a monastic audience, as witnessed by the appearance of works such as many ascetica, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, works of Daniel of Scetis, and at the end the Efremic *On the Antichrist* (#16), and CPG 3945 (#17). Dated to c.1112-1113.
- Imil₂ Milan, Italy. Ambrosiana Library, F 124 sup. (Martini-Bassi 366) [64-74v]. This manuscript is denoted as *differt ab editis* in the Pinakes catalogue. The manuscript contains 19 works, of which 2 are Efremic. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, Amphilochius of Iconium, and Cyril of Alexandria. CPG 3944 (#5) and 3946 (#7) are the two Efremic works. Also appearing is Cyril of Alexandria's CPG 5258 (Hom. 14, *De Exitu Animi*). Dated to the 13th century.
- Imil₃ Milan, Italy. Ambrosiana Library, F 130 sup. (Martini-Bassi 371) [89-95]. This manuscript is denoted as *differt ab editis; cum lacuna; scriptura superior* in the Pinakes catalogue. The manuscript contains 25 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#17) appears with works by John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Methodius of Olympus, Michael Syncellus, Andrew of Crete, hagiographies, and exegetica. Dated to the 13th century.

- Imil₄ Milan, Italy. Ambrosiana Library, L 113 sup. (Martini-Bassi 499) [182-187v]. Dated to the first quarter of the 15th century.
- It₁ Torino, Italy. Universitaria National Library, B.V. 38 (Pasini 182). The manuscript contains 2 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#2) joins a work by John Chrysostom. Dated to the 15th century.
- Iv₁ Venice, Italy. Marciana National Library, gr. app. VII. 31 (coll. 1018) [173v-181r]. Negative 2910 or 2817. The manuscript contains 45 works, of which 3 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#22) is in a manuscript dominated by the works of John Chrysostom. Dated to the 14th century.
- Iv₂ Venice, Italy. Marciana National Library, gr. app. II. 78 (coll. 1309) [140v-153r]. Negative 2438. The manuscript contains 21 works, of which all 21 are Efremic. CPG 3942 (#1), 3909 (#4), 3942 (#7), 3946 (#11), and 3942 (#21), all appear. Dated to the 16th century.
- Iv₃ Venice, Italy. Marciana National Library, gr. app. II. 56 (coll. 953) [133r-146v]. Negative 2644. The manuscript contains 29 works, of which 25 are Efremic. CPG 3942 (#1), 3909 (#4), 3942 (#7), 3946 (#11) 3945 (#22), and 3942 (#24), join works by John Moschus, Paul of Monemvasia, and hagiographies. Dated to the 17th century.
- Lg₁ Gjirokastër, Albania. Metropolitan Library, MS. 5 [339v-347]. The manuscript contains 34 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#25) joins many hagiographies as well as works by John Chrysostom and Andrew of Crete. Dated to the 17th century.
- Mo₁ Ohrid, Macedonia. National Museum, MS. 50 (Mošin 71) [p.218-242]. The manuscript contains 24 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#16) joins works by John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Andrew of Crete, and John of Damascus. Dated to the 13th century.
- Ov₂ Vienna, Austria. National Library, theol. gr. 247 [8-15]. The manuscript contains 28 works, of which 6 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#1) and 3945 (#24) are accompanied by other authors including John Chrysostom, Symeon Metaphrastes, Athanasius of Alexandria, and John of Euboea. Liturgical and ascetical works also appear. Dated to the 15th century.
- Pm₁ Moscow, Russia. State Historical Museum, Sinod. Gr. 146 (Vlad. 189) [322-330]. The manuscript contains 6 works, of which 2 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#5) joins works by John Climacus. Dated to c.1285.
- Pm₂ Moscow, Russia. State Historical Museum, Sinod. Gr. 364 (Vlad. 397) [375-386]. The manuscript contains 26 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#19) joins works by John Chrysostom, Patriarch of

Constantinople Philotheus I, John of Euboea, and hagiographies. Dated to the 16th century.

- Rb₁ Bucharest, Romania. Romanian Academy Library, MS. 966 [160-165v]. The manuscript contains 18 works, of which 7 are Efremic. CPG 3945 (#4) and 3946 (#10) join works by John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and *Joseph and Aseneth*. Dated to the 17th century.
- Sm₁ Madrid, Spain. Royal Library, X. III. 06 (Andrés 384) [129-144]. The manuscript contains 35 works, of which 18 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#8) appears with many Efremic ascetical works, along with works by and about John Climacus. Dated to c.1107.
- Sm₂ Madrid, Spain. Royal Library, Ω. II. 07 (Andrés 524) [155v-162v]. The manuscript contains 27 works, of which 2 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#27 and final) appears with works by Patriarch of Constantinople Philotheos I, John Xiphilinos, and many anonymous sermons. Dated to the 16th century.
- Sm₃ Madrid, Spain. Royal Library, Kappa. IV. 9 (Andrés 542) [141-158v]. The manuscript is now lost. The manuscript contained 27 works, of which 1 was Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#10) joined works in a manuscript dominated by the works of John Chrysostom. Undated.
- Sm₄ Madrid, Spain. Royal Library, Kappa. IV. 12 (Andrés 543) [255-268]. The manuscript is now lost. The manuscript contained 4 works, of which 2 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#4) joins works by John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzus. Undated.
- Ti₁ Istanbul, Turkey. Patriarchal Library, MS. 32 [Item 4]. The manuscript contains 54 works, of which 2 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#32) joins works by John Chrysostom, Andrew of Crete, Gregory of Nyssa, and John of Damascus. Dated to c.1561.
- Vc₃ Vatican City. Vatican Library, gr. 1652 [73-77]. The manuscript contains 34 works, of which 1 is Efremic. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Gregory Nazianzus, Nicetas David Paphlagon, Basil of Caesarea, and John of Euboea. Dated to the 12th century.
- Vc₄ Vatican City. Vatican Library, Barberini gr. 284 [001-205]. The manuscript contains 7 works, of which 3 are Efremic. Other authors represented include John Chrysostom, and apocrypha. The Efremic works include 3946 (#2). Unknown date.
- Yj₁ Jerusalem, Israel. Patriarchal Library, Mar Saba 60 [179-188]. The manuscript contains 39 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist*

(#21) joins works by John Chrysostom, Amphilochius of Iconium, Andrew of Crete, Basil of Caesarea, along with hagiographies and New Testament apocrypha. Dated to the 12th century.

- Yj₂ Jerusalem, Israel. Patriarchal Library, Mar Saba 80 [30-37]. The manuscript contains 19 works, of which 3 are Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#3) joins works by John Chrysostom and John of Damascus. Dated to the 13th century.
- Yj₃ Jerusalem, Israel. Patriarchal Library, Mar Saba 415 [124-149]. The manuscript contains 10 works, of which 1 is Efremic. *On the Antichrist* (#8) joins works by John of Damascus. Dated to the 14th century.
- Yj₄ Jerusalem, Israel. Patriarchal Library, Panaghiou Taphou 109 [110v-119]. The manuscript contains 8 works, of which 6 are Efremic. CPG 3920 (#3), and 3946 (#4) join works by Basil of Caesarea and Isaiah of Gaza. Dated to c.1679.

The Miscatalogued Fragment

The manuscript denoted Psp₁, Russian National Library (St. Petersburg) Ф. № 906 [Gr. 346 (Granstrem 141)] is a fragment which contains only one sermon, and that only incompletely. Dated to the 10th century. The manuscript is a fragment from the Vatopedi MS 290 on Mt. Athos. Bishop Porfirii (Konstantin) Uspenskii (1804-1885) notes at the bottom of the folio: “From a manuscript in which it is recorded that in the year 774 there was an earthquake” (изъ рукописи, на которой приписано что в 774 году было землетрасение; *iz rukopisi na kotoroi pripisano chto v 774 godu bylo zemletrasenie*). The first word (*iz*) is in the pre-1918 orthography. At the top, a note reads: “of the VIII or IX century” (VIII или IX века), also in the old orthography.⁵

In fact, Psp₁ witnesses not *On the Antichrist*, but Hippolytus of Rome’s commentary on Daniel 11.⁶ This may be significant as this confusion in cataloguing the sermon is understandable in one important way: the author of *On the Antichrist* may be aware of Hippolytus of Rome’s work on Daniel 11 and his work on the Antichrist. Both authors share similarly ahistorical Antichrists.

⁵ Evgeniia E. Granstrem, "Katalog grecheskikh rukopisei leningradskikh khranilishch, vyp. 2: Rukopisi X v." *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 18 (1961): 254-74. P.264. <http://www.vremennik.biz/auct/%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%81%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BC-%D0%B5-%D1%8D>). This is available at <http://www.vremennik.biz/opus/BB/18/51753>. Translation by Dr. Eugene Clay, private communication, 2017.

⁶ Compare the text to *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 1:312-316 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=4HnYAAAAMAAJ>).

APPENDIX D
MANUSCRIPTS BY RECENSION (PRELIMINARY)

With the exception of the A Recension manuscripts, the following have been only preliminarily identified as fitting into particular recensions. More research is warranted into the development and interrelationships of the different recensions of *On the Antichrist*.

MS	Date	Recension	Notes
Σ	9 th century <i>term. ante quem</i>	A	Old Bulgarian base text
Ov ₁	10 th century	A	Oldest surviving Greek text?
Vc ₁	10th-11th century	A	
Vc ₂	1022-1023	A	
Bo ₁	1064-1065	A	
Fp ₁	11 th century	B	Truncated
Vc ₄	c10th-12 th century?	C	
Bo ₂	11th-12th century	B	Assemani (Mostly)
Sm ₁	1107	[Unknown]	Variant recension
Imil ₁	1112-1113	C	
Ha ₁	12 th century	[Unknown]	Confused Scribe?
Vc ₃	12th century	D	Byzantine spellings
Yj ₁	12th century	D	Condensed?
Fp ₂	12th-14 th century	D	Very Divergent
Yj ₂	13 th century	A?	Damaged
Imil ₂	13 th century	D	<i>differt ab editis</i>
Imil ₃	13 th century	D	<i>scripta superior</i>
Av ₁	1310	D	<i>differt ab editis</i>
Fp ₃	1315	D	

Ha ₁	1373	[Unknown]	
Iv ₁	14 th century	[Unknown]	
Yj ₃	14 th century	[Unknown]	
Λ	c.1400 <i>term. ante quem</i>	A	Latin base text
Fp ₄	15 th century	A?	Damaged
Ha ₂	15 th century	D	<i>differt ab editis</i>
Ov ₂	15 th century	D	
Ha ₄	16 th century	B	
Iv ₂	16 th century	[Unknown]	
Ha ₈	16 th century	D	
Sm ₂	16 th century	D	
Ha ₆	17 th century	[Unknown]	
Iv ₃	17 th century	[Unknown]	
Ib ₁	[Undated]	D	<i>ab editis diversum</i>

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Shawn D. McAvoy was born in Willoughby, Ohio on 5 December 1970. He graduated from Patrick Henry High School in Ashland, Virginia in 1989. In 1995, he earned a BA in ancient Greek, with two minors in German and Religious Studies, from Randolph-Macon College, where he won the Robert Epps Jones Prize in Classics. In 1998, he earned an MA in US Diplomatic History at New Mexico State University with a thesis on American and Allied denazification policy in occupied Germany, 1944-1949. In 2010, he earned an MA in Religious Studies at Arizona State University with a thesis on the origin and development of the early and eastern Christian construct of the *telōnia*. He currently holds an assistant professorship at Patrick Henry Community College in Martinsville, Virginia, and works as a Faculty Associate at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona.