

TWO Chromatius of Aquileia on John 21:22 and Rev. 10:11

Against a Legend about the Apostle John

Francis X. Gumerlock

In John 21:22, Jesus is recorded as saying to John, a disciple whom Jesus loved, "If I want him to remain until I come, what is that to you?" With this as a basis, a legend developed in early Christianity that claimed that John never died but remains alive. Then near the end of the world, shortly before the Second Coming, the legend goes on to say, John will resume his prophetic ministry in fulfillment of what an angel said to him in Rev. 10:11: "You must prophesy again concerning many peoples and nations and tongues and kings." This essay presents the interpretations of these two New Testament passages by Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 408), interpretations that differ from others associated with the contemporary legend claiming that John never died. After briefly reviewing the life and ministry of Chromatius, it goes on to discuss portions of his "Sermon XXI," which was delivered on a feast day dedicated to John. It becomes apparent that Chromatius, in contrast with exegetes who upheld the legend, attempted to elucidate the two passages in a manner that would provide his audience with a more cogent interpretation. Finally, the essay traces the reception of Chromatius's interpretation through the period of the Middle Ages and offers complete translations of two texts heretofore unavailable in English.

CHROMATIUS OF AQUILEIA AND HIS SERMON XXI

Chromatius was born and raised in a Christian family in Aquileia, a city on the north coast of the Adriatic Sea, between 335 and 340. He was well educated. From 370, he served among the clergy in Aquileia and, for a time, worked as secretary to Valerian, the bishop of that city. When Valerian died in 388, Chromatius was chosen as his successor and received ordination to the episcopate from Ambrose of Milan. During his episcopacy, he devoted himself to pastoral duties, including preaching and caring for the poor. He was friendly with several illustrious Christians of his time, including Rufinus and Jerome. To Jerome, Chromatius gave financial assistance, and in turn Jerome dedicated his commentaries on Habakkuk and Jonah to him. Chromatius also intervened on behalf of John Chrysostom by writing to the emperor when Chrysostom was deposed in 404. Chromatius died in 407 or 408. His literary output was voluminous, and forty homilies have survived in addition to sixty tractates on Matthew's Gospel.¹

Among his homilies is "Sermon XXI on Saint John the Evangelist and Apostle," preached in a liturgy celebrating the feast of this saint² in the church at Aquileia that housed his relics.³ The short sermon honors the memory of the apostle by recounting his suffering for Christ, his writing of both the Revelation and the Gospel, and his remarkable death, which Chromatius claimed was free of pain. A portion of the second paragraph reads as follows:

Indeed, when he was on the island "a book was given to me," he says, "and I was told to eat it. And I ate it; and it was," he says, "sweet as honey in my mouth, but bitter in my stomach. Then" he says that "it was said to me: You must still prophesy to the nations" (Rev. 10:9-11). This also happened. For that book, which he received for the purpose of eating, was the book of the Gospel, which afterward he wrote. For, when Caesar Domitian, who had banished him, had died, he was released from the island and thus wrote the book of the Gospel in his own name.

According to the sermon, the statement in Rev. 10:11 that John must prophesy again was fulfilled when the apostle was released from the island of Patmos and afterward wrote the Gospel of John.

The sermon of Chromatius continues, elucidating John 21:22:

Therefore, after having left the island, Saint John wrote the Gospel, which is preached throughout the whole world. After the many persecutions, which he sustained for the name of Jesus, since he was now very old, he departed from this world to the Lord. Indeed the Lord had spoken about him, as we read in the Gospel: "What if I want him to remain until I come" (John 21:22). For, the Lord comes to each of the saints when each leaves from the body. Therefore, John, since he was now weighed down with great age, said to his disciples, just as the

writing which refers to his dormition shows, that they should dig a grave for him. It had been told to him by the Lord on what day he would pass away. Therefore, his disciples dug a grave in which he could lay his body. Saint John brought himself there, and without any pain, without motion, without sound, he left his body in such a way that he seemed more to leave from his body than to be snuffed out [of it]. And for this reason the Lord had said about him: "What if I want him to remain until I come" (John 21:22) because he received dormition without pain. In that place such great wonders and such great miracles happen, that even unbelievers can hardly deny them. Truly, it is no wonder that his grace is at work there where his body was placed, when it is even at work a little where his ashes are held. Therefore, because our church also merited to have his relics, we ought to celebrate the feast of his dormition with all faith and devotion, that we may be able to receive a share with him and with all the saints of God.

When elucidating John 21:22 (about the apostle remaining until the Lord comes), Chromatius did not view the "coming" of Christ in this passage as the eschatological Second Advent but rather as the coming of Christ to each saint at the time of death.⁴ For Chromatius, Christ's statement concerning John was not a promise of freedom from bodily death but the privilege of undergoing death without pain.

The intention of Chromatius's interpretation of both Rev. 10:11 and John 21:22 appeared to provide his hearers with a sound interpretation in contrast to more fanciful legends that John had not actually died.

THE RUMOR THAT JOHN WAS ALIVE

Based upon the words of Jesus recorded in John 21:22 ("If I want him to remain until I come, what is that to you?"), a rumor was already in circulation before the time of the writing of the Gospel of John that claimed John would not die, as noted in the subsequent verse: "So the saying spread abroad among the brothers that this disciple was not to die" (John 21:23). The author of the Gospel, however, dispelled such a report: "Yet Jesus did not say to him that he would not die, but only 'If I want him to remain until I come, what is that to you?'" Nevertheless, the rumor that John did not die continued on.

Although reports seem to have differed from place to place and century to century, the general narrative goes something like this. Having resided in Ephesus until old age, John, near the time of his passing, commanded his disciples to dig a grave for him outside the city. After praying, he went down into the ditch, and his disciples drew dirt upon him and then departed because night was falling; John was never seen again.⁵ Although no longer a part of this world, he nevertheless remained alive (see John 21:22) in body and soul, hidden from view. Shortly before the Second Coming of Christ, however, when the Antichrist will try to de-

ceive the world, John will enter the world scene and "prophesy again" (Rev. 10:11) along with the two witnesses of Rev. 11, Enoch and Elijah.⁶

There were several versions about the location of John's body. One said that it remained buried but that John was not really dead, just sleeping. Those who advocated this position claimed that, near John's grave, the earth "presents a kind of heaving appearance" with "bubbling up of the dust" caused by the apostle's breathing. This commotion of the ground and air near his grave, together with stories about miracles allegedly occurring there, were used to support the legend. Augustine (d. 430) was familiar with this version but placed no credence in it.⁷ Another version about the location of John's body, more popular than the former, claimed that the disciples returned to John's grave the next day but his body was not there. It was believed that he was assumed body and soul into paradise to reside with Enoch and Elijah until the end of the world when he would once again prophesy.⁸

ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES

Several biblical expositors of early Christianity provided interpretations of John 21:22 and Rev. 10:11 that differ from the legend that John did not die. Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) affirmed that John actually died, and quoted the rhetorical question in Ps. 88:46: "Who is the man that shall live and not see death?" As for the statement of Jesus about John remaining until the Second Advent, Ambrose said that the Lord promised him the everlasting enjoyment of heavenly glory, not freedom from bodily death.⁹ Augustine taught that John himself, in John 21:23, flatly contradicted the report that he would not die. The bishop of Hippo continued: "His body lieth in its sepulcher lifeless like those of other deceased." The word "remain" in John 21:22, Augustine wrote, does not connote to "abide permanently" but rather means to wait in expectation of the blessedness to come.¹⁰

Furthermore, Victorinus of Pettau (c. 260) and Tyconius of Carthage (c. 380), the two expositors of the Apocalypse in the West whose commentaries were most widely disseminated, did not interpret Rev. 10:11, "You must prophesy again," to indicate that the apostle would return as a prophet of the end times. According to Victorinus, Rev. 10:11 was fulfilled when John left the island of Patmos after the death of the emperor Domitian and disseminated the Book of Revelation: "John was, therefore, released from the mines, and afterward he disseminated the revelation that he had received from the Lord. This is what it means when it says, 'You must prophesy again' [Rev. 10:9]." Tyconius saw John as a figure of the church that will never cease to prophesy throughout the whole world until the Second Coming (Rev. 10:10-11).¹²

In his "Sermon XXI," Chromatius, like other bishops of his time who did not embrace the legend, taught that the apostle John truly died, as evidenced by the liturgical feast of his passing to God and the fact that the very relics of the apostle were housed in the church in which the sermon was preached. However, he taught that John's death was unique in that it was pain free: "[H]e seemed more to leave his body than to be snuffed out." John's pain-free death was how Chromatius interpreted both John 21:22 and a text about the dormition of John with which he was familiar.¹³ Concerning Rev. 10:11, Chromatius thereby implied that there was no need to believe that John would return at the end of the world to preach against the Antichrist. The words "You must prophesy again" simply referred to the apostle's writing of the Gospel of John after his release from Patmos. Hence, in the sermon, Chromatius was providing a more sober interpretation of these two New Testament passages that adherents of the legend had used for support.

THE LEGACY OF CHROMATIUS'S INTERPRETATIONS

Legends that the apostle John was alive continued to circulate throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the Eastern churches. The *Andreas Salus Apocalypse*, written after the ninth century, mentioned Elijah, Enoch, and the Son of Thunder coming in the future and preaching against the Antichrist's deceit.¹⁴ A fragment from Hippolytus of Thbes (ca. 980) speaks of John being "taken up,"¹⁵ and a tenth-century Coptic text, "The Repose of Saint John the Evangelist and Apostle," taught that, when John's disciples returned to his grave the day after his burial, they could not find his body but only a sandal. Then "they remembered the word which the Lord had spoken to Peter, saying, 'If I will to make him remain until I come, what [is that] to thee?' . . . And they ascribed glory to the Lord Jesus, the Christ, because of His miracle." The miracle implied is that John was assumed body and soul into paradise.¹⁶ Arethas of Caesarea in Cappadocia (tenth century) wrote: "many think that this blessed man [i.e., John] is alive until the consummation of the world, and will come around the time of Antichrist with Enoch and Elijah."¹⁷ In the West, Honorius of Autun (d. 1156) wrote about how the elect, alive at the time of the Second Coming, will be caught up in the air to meet Christ. Precursors for this rapture were found "in Mary, the mother of the Lord and in John the Evangelist," whose bodies were taken up in glory.¹⁸ Additionally, a fifteenth-century Irish "Fragment of an Apocalypse and Death of John" spoke of John's ascension to heaven on the day of his burial.¹⁹

Despite the continuity of the legend that John was caught up alive in body and soul to heaven and will return with Enoch and Elijah during the time of Antichrist, the interpretations of John 21:22 and Rev. 10:11 by Chromatius and other early Christian writers gained a foothold in the

Western exegetical tradition. A preface to the Apocalypse, dated about 546 and ascribed to Victor of Capua, spoke of John going down into the ditch of his sepulcher and, after finishing a prayer, giving up his spirit as "a stranger to the pain of death."²⁰ Bede (d. 735), in a homily on John 21:22, stated that "It should not be thought that that disciple is not dead in the flesh" and, like Ambrose, quoted from Ps. 88: "Who is the man that lives and will not see death?" Instead, John was delivered "from the pain of death . . . and thus that true statement of the Savior, that he wanted him to remain until he should come, was fulfilled."²¹ Another preface to the Apocalypse, contained in a ninth-century manuscript of the Pseudo-Jerome *Handbook to the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, also mentioned that John, "going down into the ditch of his sepulcher, went to God a stranger from the pain of death."²²

On Rev. 10:11, about John prophesying again, Jerome and Bede followed Victorinus, as meaning that, when the apostle left Patmos, he returned to preaching in Asia and disseminated the Revelation that he had received on the island.²³ Beatus of Lieban (c. 786) and Pseudo-Alcuin (possibly ninth century) reiterated the interpretation of Tyconius that the person of John represented the church, whose preachers will never cease to preach or prophesy.²⁴ Ambrose Autpert (c. 767) also elucidated the passage as Chromatius had several centuries earlier. When Caesar Domitian was killed, John was released from exile; but certain heretics had arisen while John was on the island, and because of them John wrote his Gospel: "And in this manner he prophesied to so many people and nations and kings and tongues, because his Gospel came to their knowledge."²⁵ In like manner, Haimo of Auxerre (ninth century) explained that when the angel said to John, "You must prophesy again" (Rev. 10:11), he meant, "Not only will you announce this prophecy [i.e., the Revelation], but also for others you will write the Gospel to build up the faith of the saints."²⁶ Berengaudus also understood Rev. 10:11 similarly when he raised the question: "But since the holy Fathers relate that only for a short time after his return from exile to Ephesus, he preached in the neighborhood, and there he died and his body rests, how then is it said that he prophesied to many people, nations, tongues, and kings?" His answer was that John prophesied "through his Gospel which he afterwards wrote; because it is dispersed among all the nations."²⁷ Glosses on the Apocalypse, with extracts taken from Berengaudus's commentary, were used in many illustrated Apocalypses throughout Europe in the High Middle Ages.

In "Sermon XXI," Chromatius of Aquileia provided explanations of John 21:22 and Rev. 10:11 in the face of competing interpretations, which were untenable for him. John's body was neither asleep underground nor residing in paradise with Enoch and Elijah waiting to return in the time of Antichrist. Rather, the apostle-evangelist-revelator truly died, albeit granted the privilege of a pain-free death. That, for Chromatius, was the

best way to understand the statement in the Gospel of John about John remaining until the Lord comes. The "coming" referred to Christ's coming to take his soul at the time of John's death. Confirming that John was dead, Chromatius mentioned the fact that some of the apostle's ashes were housed in the very church where the sermon was preached. As for the statement in the Apocalypse that John was to prophesy again, it had already been fulfilled in his writing of the Gospel of John after his release from exile. Thus there is no reason to expect him to return in the time of Antichrist. These elucidations of John 21:22 and Rev. 10:11 resonated in the church for centuries afterward, and were repeated by influential medieval authors like Bede and Berengaudus.²⁸

TRANSLATIONS

Following are translations of Chromatius's "Sermon XXI" in its entirety and the full "Preface to the Apocalypse" of Victor of Capua, both of which, to my knowledge, have not been published in English. The Latin editions, on which the translations are based, can be found in footnotes 3 and 20, respectively.

Sermon XXI on Saint John the Evangelist and Apostle by Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 408)

Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist, whose feast²⁹ we are celebrating today, as we read in the Gospel, had a great and special grace with the Lord, because he was loved by Christ with a special affection.³⁰ He, after the passion of the Lord, as we read in the Apocalypse, having been banished on the island of Patmos on account of the name of the Lord,³¹ was bound in chains. But those chains were not a punishment to the Apostle but an honor. For, it is an honor to sustain injury for Christ, in fact a great honor because every injury or punishment of men for Christ raises one up to glory. Then John himself, although he was held on that island bound in chains, was lifted up in spirit and testified that the door in heaven was opened to him.³² Therefore, those chains were not for Saint John a burdensome weight but powerful wings with which he was lifted up to heaven.

And, with the door of heaven opened, he related in the Apocalypse the great glory which he saw. For, he saw the throne of God in heaven;³³ he saw the Son of God sitting at the right hand of the Father; he saw the choirs of angels; he saw the twenty-four elders³⁴ and the "four living creatures full of eyes on their front and back" (Rev. 4:6), shouting and saying with an unceasing voice in praise of the Lord: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts" (Rev. 4:8), heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. In imitation of them the whole multitude of the

faithful shouts this same thing in church in praise of God. Also he saw many other secret mysteries about which he was ordered to keep silent, as he testifies.³⁵

Indeed, when he was on the island "a book was given to me," he says, "and I was told to eat it. And I ate it; and it was," he says, "sweet as honey in my mouth, but bitter in my stomach. Then" he says that "it was said to me: You must still prophesy to the nations" (Rev. 10:9-11). This also happened. For that book, which he received for the purpose of eating, was the book of the Gospel, which afterward he wrote. For, when Caesar Domitian, who had banished him, had died, he was released from the island and thus wrote the book of the Gospel in his own name. He said that it was "sweet in" his mouth but bitter in his stomach: sweet because of the preaching, bitter because of the persecution. Nevertheless, this bitterness of persecution has great sweetness, since by persecution one reaches the sweet glory of martyrdom. For, tree roots also have bitterness but they are accustomed to bear sweet fruits. Thus also persecution indeed seems bitter but bears the sweet fruit of salvation, whether those who are persecuted return as confessors or become martyrs.

But that book of the Gospel, which he received for the purpose of eating, is also able to be understood in another way. He said that it was *sweet in his mouth but bitter in his stomach*. With a meaning in harmony with the faith, [some] understand the statements of John like this. They attribute the sweetness to his mouth, that is, to his preaching, because they understand the words with pious faith. But those who understand with a depraved sense the statements of that same [Apostle], as heretics [do], stir up bitterness, because they turn the sweetness of the faith into the bitterness of perfidy. And, therefore, the former are shown to be in his mouth, the latter in his stomach. In his mouth are Catholics. Accordingly, God is blessed. In his stomach are heretics. Accordingly, they are sent out to the latrine. Therefore, Catholics exhibit the sweetness in blessed John, [the sweetness] of his Gospel; but heretics exhibit bitterness. Photinus, who did not believe that Christ was God, embittered John, who showed that he [i.e., Christ] was God by saying: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word" (John 1:1). Arius, who did not believe that the Son proceeded from the Father, although the Son is believed to be the Word of the Father for no other reason except that he in a unique way had proceeded from the paternal bosom, embittered John. All heretics, who either destroy the faith of his preaching or impugn it, embitter John. Therefore, Saint John possesses sweetness in his preaching on account of Catholics, bitterness on account of the perfidy of the synagogue, which refused to receive the preaching of John.

Therefore, after having left the island, Saint John wrote the Gospel, which is preached throughout the whole world. After the many persecutions, which he sustained for the name of Jesus, since he was now very old, he departed from this world to the Lord. Indeed the Lord had spok-

en about him, as we read in the Gospel: "What if I want him to remain until I come" (John 21:22). For, the Lord comes to each of the saints when each leaves from the body. Therefore, John, since he was now weighed down with great age, said to his disciples, just as the writing which refers to his dormition shows, that they should dig a grave for him. It had been told to him by the Lord on what day he would pass away. Therefore, his disciples dug a grave in which he could lay his body. Saint John brought himself there, and without any pain, without motion, without sound, he left his body in such a way that he seemed more to leave from his body than to be snuffed out [of it]. And for this reason the Lord had said about him: "What if I want him to remain until I come" (John 21:22) because he received dormition without pain. In that place such great wonders and such great miracles happen, that even unbelievers can hardly deny them. Truly it is no wonder that his grace is at work there where his body was placed, when it is even at work a little where his ashes are held. Therefore, because our church also merited to have his relics, we ought to celebrate the feast of his dormition with all faith and devotion, that we may be able to receive a share with him and with all the saints of God.

Preface to the Apocalypse in Codex Fuldensis, Ascribed to Victor, Bishop of Capua (c. 546)

John the Apostle and Evangelist, chosen and beloved by Christ the Lord, was regarded with such affection of love by him, that at the [Last] Supper he reclined upon his chest;³⁶ and he had entrusted his own mother to him who was standing alone near the cross.³⁷ The one whom he had known did not want to marry, but wanted to embrace virginity. To that one also he had handed over the guardianship of the Virgin. And so this one, when he was sent into exile on the island of Patmos "because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. 1:7), is described there in the introduction of that same Apocalypse. And just as in the beginning of the canon, that is, the Book of Genesis, the incorruptible Beginning is mentioned, so also the incorruptible End is repeated in the Apocalypse through a virgin, saying: "I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end" (Rev. 22:13). He [i.e., the virgin] is John who, knowing that the day of the putting off of his body was coming upon him, after calling together his disciples in Ephesus, went down into the ditch of his sepulcher, and after finishing a prayer, returned his spirit, having been made as much a stranger to the pain of death as he is known to have been a foreigner to the corruption of the flesh.³⁸ Nevertheless, concerning this writing of his, the arrangement or order of the book is not explained by us section by section³⁹ for this reason: so that a desire for inquiring [about it] may be placed in those not knowing it, and the profit of labor [may be given] to those seeking it, and its authoritative teaching may be preserved for God.

NOTES

1. For brief accounts of Chromatius's life and writings, see B. Studer, "Chromatius of Aquileia," in *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino (Dowmers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2014), 1:517; B. Dünker, "Chromatius of Aquileia," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmund Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings and trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York: Crossroads, 2000), 123; John C. Cavadiu, "Chromatius of Aquileia (d. 408)," in *Encyclopaedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland, 1997), 1:252; B. Studer, "Chromatius of Aquileia," in *Encyclopaedia of the Early Church*, ed. Di Berardino and trans. Adrian Walford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 1:166; *Patrology*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino (Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, 1986), 4:572-74.
2. On Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran calendars, the feast of Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist is celebrated on December 27. Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic churches celebrate the Feast of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian on May 8 and the Repose of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian on September 26. The exact date on which this sermon was preached is unclear.
3. The sermon is edited in Raymond Étaix, "Nouvelle édition des Sermons XXI-XXII de saint Chromace d'Aquilée," *Revue bénédictine* 92 (1982):105-10; Raymond Étaix and J. Lennart, *Chromatii Aquileiensis opera*, CCSL 9A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 96-99. Translations of the two large excerpts are mine. A translation of the complete sermon is provided at the end of this essay.
4. The belief that Christ comes to each saint upon death was based upon Matt. 24:46, 50.
5. Pseudo-Prochorus, *Acts of John by Prochorus*, 162-65. Translated by R. Alan Culpepper, *John the Son of Zebedee: The Life of a Legend* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 221-22.
6. According to Pseudo-Hippolytus: "His second [advent] in which He is to come in glory, will exhibit Enoch, and Elias, and John the Divine" ("Sermon on the End of the World," ANF 5:247). See also Pseudo-Methodius on Rev. 14:11: "But he has sent his own servants, Enoch, Elijah, and John the theologian, to the confrontation with the Antichrist"; Thomas W. Mackay, "Early Christian Millenarianist Interpretations of the Two Witnesses in John's Apocalypse 11:3-13," in *By Study and Also by Faith*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1990), 1:266.
7. Augustine, *On the Gospel of John*, Tractate 124.2, NPNF, 1st series, 7:448. A similar version of the story appears in the ninth- or tenth-century *Homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom*, where it is related that John's body was in a beautiful golden tomb in which it "remains without putrefaction or corruption. Indeed it is as if he were in a deep sleep, and it will be thus until Doomsday." Cited in Culpepper, *John*, 243.
8. As summarized by Ephraem the Syrian in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 229 (PG 103:985): "Since they still remain in their bodies, Enoch and Elijah and John, the son of thunder, bear witness to these statements . . . the virgin John still survives alive—our tradition attests that he, too, is alive, just as it also attests to Enoch and Elijah . . . he continues to live with Enoch and Elijah until the second coming of our Lord" (Mackay, "Early Christian Millenarianist," 307-8).
9. Ambrose, *On Luke*, 7.3-5, in Saint Ambrose of Milan, *Exposition of the Holy Gospel According to Saint Luke*, trans. Theodosta Tomkinson (Etna, Calif.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1998), 238-39.
10. Augustine, *On the Gospel of John*, Tractate 124.1, 5, 7, in NPNF, 1st series, 7:447, 451.
11. Victorinus, "Commentary on the Apocalypse," in *Latin Commentaries on Revelation*, ed. and trans. William Weinrich, Ancient Christian Texts (Dowmers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Academic, 2011), 14.
12. Iyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, in CCSL 107A:166.
13. One early version of *The Acts of John*, which contains an account of the apostle's dormition, is translated in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), 188-259. But exactly which dormition texts of which Chromatius had knowledge is unclear.
14. Lennart Rydén, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Texts, Translation, and Commentary," *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 28:197-261, 223-24.
15. Cited in Culpepper, *John*, 174.
16. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), 240.
17. Arctas, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev. 10:10-11 in PG 106:646. Translation mine.
18. Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium*, 9, in PL 172:1164. Translation mine.
19. *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation*, ed. Maître Herbert and Martin McNamara (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 97-98.
20. Victor of Capua, "Preface to the Apocalypse," in *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*, ed. Donatien de Bryne (Namur: Auguste Godenne, 1920), 261. Translation mine. A translation of the entire preface is provided at the end of this essay.
21. Bede, *Homilies*, I, 9, *On Saint John the Evangelist*. CCSL 122:63-64. Translation mine.
22. Pseudo-Jerome, *Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Iohannis Apostoli*, Preface. CCSL 107:194. Translation mine.
23. Jerome, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. On Rev. 10:11: CSEL 49:95; Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev. 10:8, 11: Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries on Revelation*, 145.
24. Beatus of Liébana, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. On Rev. 10:11: Henry Sanders, ed., *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim* (Rome: American Academy, 1930), 443; Pseudo-Alcun, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. On Rev. 10:11: PL 100:1146.
25. Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev. 10:11: CCCM 27:405. Translation mine.
26. Haimo of Auxerre [Pseudo-Haimo of Halberstadt], *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, in PL 117:1067. Translation mine.
27. Berengaudus [Pseudo-Ambrose], *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, in PL 17:867. Translation from Nigel Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse* (London: Harvey Miller, 1990), 168.
28. Whether these interpretations were passed down through Chromatius's sermon directly or through other sources is unknown.
29. Lat. *natiuitatem*, literally "birth," but the last sentence of the sermon explains it as the *natiuitatem* of his "falling asleep" (*dormitionis*).
30. See John 13:23, 19:26; 20:2, 21:7, 20.
31. See Rev. 1:9.
32. See Rev. 4:1-2.
33. See Rev. 4:2-4.
34. See Rev. 4:4.
35. See Rev. 10:4.
36. See John 13:23.
37. See John 19:26-27.
38. That is, sexual impurity.
39. Lat. *per singula*.

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and Its Interpreters

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