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A table of contents for the *Journal of Theological Studies* (old series) can be found here:

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pdfs are named: [Volume]\_[1<sup>st</sup> page of article]

# The Journal of Theological Studies

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DOCUMENT

ORIGEN SCHOLIA IN APOCALYPSIN

XXVIII

(Μετὰ τὸ ἐγνωκέναι μέ, φησιν, ὅτι ἡ ρίζα Δαυεὶδ, ὁ νικῆσας λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, εἴληφεν τὸ βιβλίον ἐπὶ τῷ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ) Εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ <θ>ρ(ό)νου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄρνιον ἑστηκὸς (ὡς) ἐσφαγμένον. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὄφθην τὸ ἄρνιον οὐκέτι ἐσφαγμένον (ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσφαγμένον) ὤφθη καὶ ἔ(τ)ι ἐστός, τουτέστιν, οὐκέτι ἀλλοιούμενον.

(εἰ) ὄν κατὰ καιν(ῆ)ν στάσιν ἔχει λοιπὸν ἐπτὰ κ(έ)ρατα, ἄγιαν βασιλείαν καὶ εὐλογημένην ἔχει, ταύτης γὰρ σύμβολον τὰ (έ)πτά.

XXVIII. 1. Apoc. v 5, 7      2. Apoc. v 6      7. Gen. ii 3 = Exod. xx 11

XXVIII. 2. τῷ *scripsi*: τό *cod.* I think the dative is more natural. 3. θρόνου Wohlenberg: οὐρανον *cod*      4. ὡς Diobouniotis: *om cod* (lost between -oc and ec-), but it is not only part of the text of Apoc. but is implied in Origen's comment, if I have interpreted that rightly. 5. ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσφαγμένον *supplevi*: *om cod.* The text of the comment as it stands in the MS contradicts the text of Apoc., as Harnack rightly sees (p. 58): but when, instead of mistrusting the comment as it stands, he says that Origen here develops a favourite thought of his own 'in opposition to the text' 'im Gegensatz zum Text', his explanation is surely quite impossible. Origen may allegorize his text, and allegorize its plain meaning away: but he would never have dreamed of contradicting his text. The suggestion of an omission by *homoeoteleuton* seems to me to dispose of the difficulty. 5. ἔτι ἐστός *scripsi*: ἐπιστος *cod*, but this is a *vox nihili*. ἐστός is a variant and more correct form for ἑστηκός: ἔτι is a very simple correction of ἐπί, though I admit that *προσέτι* would be more natural, as the sense wanted is 'furthermore'. 6. ἀλλοιούμενον *cod*: if correct, this must mean 'subject to change'; the sense is good enough, but it is not easy to see why 'standing' should mean 'no longer subject to change'. 7. εἰ H.: η *cod* κατὰ καινήν H.: κατάκαινον *cod* κέρατα H.: καιπερα *cod* ἄγιαν . . . καὶ εὐλογημένην: Harnack has noted that the same combination of epithets is found in Schol. ix, but he has not apparently realised that Origen is referring us to the 'blessing and hallowing' of the seventh day, that is, of the number seven. 8. ἐπτά

πρὸς τοὺς ἑπτὰ κέρασι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτὰ ἔχει, οὐκ ἄλλους ὄντας τῶν ἑπτὰ  
 10 τοῦ θεοῦ πνευμάτων ἃ πορεύεται (ἐπ(ι) τῆς γῆς ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώ-  
 πων πραττόμενα· συνάδει τούτοις τὸ Ἑπτὰ ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου εἰς ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ  
 ΠΑΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΓῆΝ.

## XXIX

Εἰρηταί που Κατεγθνήθω ἡ προσεγγίη μοι ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου· πλήρεις  
 τούτων τῶν θυμιαμάτων φιάλαι τυγχάνουσι τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ τῶν γησιῶς εὐχομέ-  
 νων Χριστῷ. ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰς κιθάρας τὴν ἡρμοσμένην εὐμούσως καὶ εὐμελῶς  
 δύναμιν αὐτῶν καθ' ἣν νοοῦσι καὶ ἀγαπῶσιν Χριστόν.

5 τί δὲ (κα)τὰ τὸ ἄδειν τὴν καινὴν ᾠδὴν λέγουσιν ἢ τὸ Ἄξιος εἶ, ὃ δέσποτα  
 σωτήρ, λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς; προφανῶς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος  
 ἐστὶ ταῦτα, ἀχθέντος ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν· ἐκ τῆς οὗτω γεναμένης σφαγῆς  
 τὸ ρεῦσαν αἷμα τιμὴ διδ(ο)ται ὑπὲρ τῶν σεσωσμένων.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπὲρ μέρους ἢ ἐνὸς ἔθνους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσταυρώθη,  
 10 ἠγόρασεν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάσης φυλῆς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διαλέκτου πάσης τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων. ἔτι μὴν καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους διαφορὰν διαφόρ(ως ἔστι) λαβεῖν

11. Zach. iv 10

XXIX. 1. Ps. cxl (cxli) 2. 2, 3. Apoc. v 8 5, 10, 11. *ib.* v 9. 7 Is. liii 7

*scripsi*: πνευματα *cod.* In the light of what I have urged in the pre-  
 ceding note, I cannot doubt that not 'spirits' but 'seven' is the  
 symbol of the kingdom that is 'blessed and hallowed'; and if, as  
 I suspect, some abbreviation for πνεύματα is either in our MS or was in  
 its ancestor, the change is not a serious one. I should prefer τὸ ἑπτὰ  
 το τὰ ἑπτὰ, but have not ventured to make the change. 10. ἐπὶ  
 Harnack (in the notes, but not in the text): ἀπο *cod*

XXIX. 5. κατὰ *scripsi*: μετὰ *cod*, but according to the text of Apoc.  
 the 'new song' was the Ἄξιος εἶ κτλ. If μετὰ is right, Origen must  
 have read καὶ λέγουσιν instead of λέγοντες, and have treated what  
 follows as something different from the 'new song'. 6. δέ *cod* :

possibly δῆ. 7. γεναμένης *cod*: γενομένης H. But there is no justifica-  
 tion for altering what is a known form (Moulton *Grammar of N. T.*  
*Greek*, Prolegomena p. 51 n. 2, and vol. ii p. 213). 8. τιμὴ διδ(ο)ται *scripsi* :  
 τιμονδοτε *cod*, τίμιον δέδοται H. Origen is expounding the words  
 ἠγόρασας ἐν τῷ αἵματι, and his meaning must surely be that the blood  
 is the 'price given' for the purchase or redemption of the σεσωσμένοι.  
 If τίμιον is really the MS reading, the scribe's thought may have been  
 running on the τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἄμνοῦ of 1 Pet. i 19. 10. διαλέκτου :  
 substituted by Origen for the γλώσσης of Apoc. Was γλώσσα going  
 out of use in the sense of 'language'?

11. ἔτι μὴν : I think that  
 this phrase must introduce a new thought, and that therefore a full-stop  
 must be placed before it. What the new thought is I think the words  
 ἢ προτέρα ὑπόθεσις in l. 14 make clear: Origen has given alternative  
 explanations of the contrast of λαός and ἔθνος, first the literal view that

φάσκοντα ὅ(τ)ι ἐκ τῶν καθαρῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνθρώπων ληφθέντες ἀπὸ λαοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χυδαιότερων καὶ πολλῶν ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἡγοράσθησαν. πιστοῦτ(αι) ἢ προτέρα (ὑ)πόθεσις τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσαρῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης λέξεως· αὐτοὶ γὰρ (ὠ)μολόγησαν ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡγοράσθη- 15  
σαν καὶ ἐξελέγησαν.

ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ἀναγι(ώ)σκοντες ταῦτα καὶ μαθόντες ὅτι τὰ θυμιάματά εἰσιν

15. Apoc. xiv 4      17. Apoc. v 8

λαός like φυλή refers to Israel, ἔθνος like γλώσσα (διάλεκτος) to the Gentiles (l. 10), secondly the more remote idea that the λαός are the more advanced, the ἔθνος the more ordinary Christians. That being so, if the MS reads και λαου και εθνους και λαου it is simpler to omit και λαου once than with Diobouniotis and Harnack to add και ἔθνους ἐστί. διαφορὰν διαφόρ(ως ἔστι) λαβεῖν *scripsi* ('it is possible to interpret differently the difference between λαός and ἔθνος'): διαφοραν διαφοραν *cod.*, διαφοράν H. There seems reason to suppose that at certain parts of the MS or its ancestor four or five letters were mutilated or illegible: cf. xxx 1 ἀγία (ἐνεργία?)      12. φάσκοντα ὅτι *scripsi*: φασκοντα οὐ *cod.*, τὸν φάσκοντα οἱ H. The insertion of τόν is unnecessary, once the drift of the sentence is grasped: 'it is possible to interpret . . . if one says', 'by saying'. ὅτι seems to be essential: it may either replace οἱ, with which I think Origen's style could dispense (if οἱ were right, one would expect οἱ μὲν), or be inserted before it      13. πιστοῦται H.: πιστουτε *cod.* The word is a favourite of Origen's: cf. Schol. xxv l. 9.

14. ὑπόθεσις H.: ἀποθεσις *cod.* The first of the two 'hypotheses' is that λαός and ἔθνος are the chosen race and the peoples of mankind: and this tallies with the number of 24 πρεσβύτεροι, since 24 suggests two groups of 12. And the πρεσβύτεροι must somehow represent humanity, since we are told that they were 'redeemed from among men', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. l. 15), Apoc. xiv 4      15. ὁμολόγησαν *cod.*      17. ἀναγινοσκοντες *cod.* Obviously 'we who read' must mean 'we who study the scriptures', not 'we who read the scriptures to the congregation'. It is quite true that ἀναγινώσκειν means 'to read aloud': but it does not necessarily mean 'read aloud to others'. If St Mark wrote (xiii 14) 'when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not (let him that readeth detect what is meant) . . .', he was not thinking about the order of Readers. Even if the Gospel had been written for the purpose of being read in church, the evangelist certainly did not intend to suggest that the Reader should understand and the congregation should not. He wanted every one who read his Gospel to understand that at this point he meant something that he could not afford to say. Just as in Apoc. xiii 18, the Roman power is referred to in veiled language, and νοεῖν νοῦς is in each case the capacity to read between the lines, to solve the riddle. τὰ θυμιάματα κτλ: the punctuation

αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ πνευματικαὶ θυσίαι καὶ εὑπρόσδεκ(ο)ι θεῷ αἱ ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις, ὁρῶμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα 20 προ(ς)άγεται τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου καὶ θυσία καθαρὰ· μέγα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ προφήτης.

## XXX

Ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ὡς (ὡς)περ σῶμα θεοῦ (ἐνεργ)ῖαι εἰσὶ τινες, οἶον αἱ ὑπηρετικαὶ χεῖρε(ς), καὶ ἐποπτικαὶ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐχῶν τεταγμένα

19. Mal. i 11

XXX. 2. cf. Ps. cxviii (cxix) 73 cf. Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv) 16

of this passage follows from the recognition of its dependence on 1 Pet. ii 5; 'we who learn from Scripture that "incense" means the prayers of the saints, and "spiritual and acceptable sacrifices" mean good actions . . .' Harnack, failing to see this, has divided the words wrongly, and inserted an unnecessary ὅτι. 18. εὐπροσδεκτεῖ cod

20. προαγεται cod

XXX. Harnack (p. 60) expresses doubt both as to the appropriateness and the intelligibility of this long comment, and would attribute it to some other commentary of Origen's. I do not share his doubts. The subject is the great judgement that brings to an end this present age. The comment comes in as an explanation of the 'great day of the wrath of God and the Lamb' (vi 17), and the point of the first part is to draw a sharp distinction between the 'wrath of God' elsewhere mentioned, and this 'great wrath'. The former is external and accidental: the latter is not. I do not indeed feel clear as to the connexion of the first sentence with what succeeds: but I think Origen means that, just as Scripture uses the material terms of the parts of a human body, hands, eyes, ears, feet, to express corresponding spiritual actions of God's providence, so terms of human emotion, like 'anger', may be used to express aspects of His nature. But here we must carefully distinguish between this ultimate judgement and the O. T. employment of the phrase 'the wrath of God' on particular occasions, where it is really equivalent to 'the devil'. 1. ὡς ὡςπερ σῶμα θεοῦ ἐνεργῖαι εἰσὶ τινες scripsi: ὡςπερ σωμα θεοῦ ἅγια εἰσὶ τινες cod; ὡςπερ σῶμα θεοῦ ἅγιον, ἅγια καὶ εἰσὶ . . . τινες H. It is so clear that ἅγια is wrong, and that an abstract noun is wanted, that I make no apology for ἐνεργῖαι.

Certain workings of God in relation to men are expressed anthropomorphically, in terms of a human body. If this is right, ὡς seems to be required before ὡςπερ: it could easily have dropped out. 2. χεῖρες H.: χεῖρει cod. Note the numerous occasions on which sense can be restored to our text by assuming a confusion of ς and ι. I cannot profess to explain it palaeographically: but the fact is beyond dispute:

ὅτα, καὶ (ἀ)πελαστικά(ς) θεοῦ πόδες, τοῖς κατὰ γῆν διαιωμένοις. ἐπ(ε)ὶ οὖν μέλλει (ἐ)ρεῖν ὄργην θεοῦ μεγάλην, οὐ τ(ὸ) συμβεβηκὸς πάθος ὀνομάζεται, θεοῦ ὄργη καλούμενον, ἕξω ὑπάρχ(ο)ν αὐτοῦ, πλὴν εἰς χρεῖαν 5 κατατασσόμενον τοῖς δεομένοις, ᾧ καὶ παραδίδονται, ὡς ἀνάξιο(ι) θεοῦ, ἵνα ποθήσ(ω)σι τὸν θεὸν οὐ καταπεφρονήκασιν ὅτε ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ χείρονος ἑξουσίαν γίνονται. καὶ ἐστὶν ὄργη θεοῦ ὁ διάβολος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν (τ)ῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Βασιλειῶν εἴρηται Καὶ προσέθετο ὄργην Κυρίου ἐκκαῆσαι ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπέ(σει)σε τὸν Δαγὶδ λέγων· Βάδιζε καὶ ἀριθμῆσον τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ 10 ὄργη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ἐπισείασα τὸν Δαγὶδ οὐχὶ λέγουσα ἀλλὰ λέγων· παρὰ αὐτὸν ἄρα τὸν θεόν, τὸν λεγόμενον εἰρηκέναι πολλά τινα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, ἕτερα τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ὄργη αὐτοῦ ἡ (ταῦ)τα λέγουσα καὶ κελεύουσα ἁμαρτάνειν ἁμαρτῶν

3. cf. Ps. cix (cx) 1?

4. Apoc. vi 17

9. 2 Reg. xxiv 1

cf. inf. l. 3 *προνοια, προνοίας; l. 9 επεισε, ἐπέσεισε: ix supra l. 3 λυχνιας ου, λυχνιαίου: ix io ἐπι λυχνια, ἐπὶ λυχνίας: xxxiii 2 ai, ūs, etc. ἐποπτικά . . . τεταγμένα . . . ἀπελαστικά: H., not seeing that the feminine adjectives are in agreement not with the nouns that follow but with the abstract noun (ἐνεργαίαι or whatever word may be preferred), causelessly alters to masculine, neuter, masculine.*

3. ἀπελαστικά(ς) προνοίας θεοῦ *scripsi: ἐπελαστικά(ς) προνοια θεου cod.* L.S. give no such word as ἐπελαστικός: for ἀπελαστικός see appended note on p. 15. And the purpose of 'feet' in this connexion must presumably be for pushing away: I conjecture therefore 'function of driving away from the providence of God', e.g. 'make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet'.

4. ἐπεὶ H.: ἐπι *cod* ἔρεῖν, H.: αἰρεῖν *cod* οὐ τό ὀφίμῃ H.: οὕτω *cod.* What is called the 'wrath of God' during the present dispensation is something non-essential to God and external to Him, but used by Him for the purpose of reclaiming sinners. 5. ὑπάρχων H.: ὑπαρχων *cod* 6. τοῖς δεομένοις: cf. Schol. ix *supra l. 9* τοῖς δυναμένοις, where in 1912 I conjectured (without I think any conscious knowledge of this passage) τοῖς δεομένους. ἀνάξιοι H.: ἀναξίους *cod.* Or we might invert the order of the words and read ὡς ἀναξίους θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ παραδίδονται ἵνα . . .

7. ποθήσωσι (suggested by H. though not placed in the text): ποθησουσι *cod*, which may perhaps stand.

8. ὄργην *cod* ἐν τῇ Diobouniotis: ἐνοη *cod* 9. ἐπέσεισε: ἐπεισε *cod*

11. The argument appears to be that ὄργη θεοῦ would have governed a feminine; and that as we have a masculine, we must understand that the wrath of God is personified in some one not God. One might say, why not in God? Origen answers that in plenty of places God is represented directly as speaking, no circumlocution being used: where a circumlocution is used, it is some one not God who speaks. Later on follows the real argument (*ll.* 13 ff), that what was suggested was sin, and God who punishes sin cannot conceivably suggest it.

13. ἡ ταῦτα H.: ἡτα *cod*

ἐφ' ἧ κόλασις ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ π(ε)ισθεντι τῇ τοιάδε εἰρηκν(ί)α ὄργῃ—  
 15 καὶ πῶς ἡ κολάζουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ δικαίως κολάζουσα ἀνασείει  
 ἐπὶ ἁμαρτῖαν, ἵνα πείσασα ἐπὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν κολάσῃ δικαίως; ἀδίκως γὰρ  
 κολάσει ἢ αἰτία τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν ἁμαρτηκότα. ἀλλά, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὄργῃν  
 θεοῦ (οἶμαι) εἶναι τὸν διάβολον τ(ῷ) ἀναπείθ(ει)ν ἁμαρτάνειν, βουλόμενον  
 20 τῶν Παραλειπομένων τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἰστορῶν οὕτω φησὶν Καὶ  
 ἔστι ὁ διάβολος ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπέσειε τὸν Δαυὶδ τοῦ ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ·  
 τῇ γὰρ ἐπέσειε προσηγορίᾳ ἐχρήσατο καὶ (τ)ῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Βασιλειῶν καὶ (τ)ῇ  
 πρώτῃ τῶν Παραλειπομένων, τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄργῃς τοῦ κυρίου τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 διαβόλου. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐπέσειεν αἴτιον τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔστιν, αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ  
 25 ἁμαρτάνειν ὁ διάβολός ἐστιν, διάβολος δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προσηγοριῶν  
 (ὠ)νομάσθη, διὰ (τ)ε τῆς καθ(η)μαξευμένης καὶ τῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσης,  
 τῆς αὐτὸν ὀνομαζούσης ὄργῃν Κυρίου, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην Ὁδὴν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ

20. 1 Paral. xxi 1

14. πισθεντι *cod* εἰρηκνα *cod* 15-17. 'corrupta sanare nequeo' H. But nothing was needed in the first part of the sentence than a note of interrogation after δικαίως. 'How can that anger which punishes, and justly punishes, men for sins incite them to sinning, so that after persuading them to sin it could justly punish them?' In the second part of the sentence we must restore (*l.* 17) κολάσει of the MS for Harnack's κολάζει, and I think we must omit the μή of the MS before ἁμαρτηκότα. 17. καθὼς εἴρηται *cod*: if this is right, we must refer back to *l.* 8, but the construction is imperfect, and I have suggested οἶμαι as easily lost before εἶναι. If Origen were borrowing this exegesis from some earlier writer, we might write καλῶς εἴρηται ὄργῃν θεοῦ εἶναι κτλ. 18. τῷ ἀναπείθειν *haesitans scripsi: idem conicit Diekamp: το ἀναπειθον cod* 19. ἁμαρτικοτα *cod* 22. τῇ (10): τὴν *cod* τῇ δευτέρᾳ . . . τῇ πρώτῃ *scripsi: ἡ δευτερα . . . ἡ πρωτη cod*. It is more natural in Origen's Greek to take ἐχρήσατο as parallel with φησί (*l.* 20), in the sense of 'Scripture uses', than to put the names of the books in the nominative as we do. 23. τοῦ διαβόλου *scripsi: praet τῆς cod*. But the wrath of God in 2 Reg. is equivalent, not to the wrath of the devil, but to the devil in 1 Paral. 26. ὀνομάσθη *cod* 26-27. διὰ . . . ὄργῃν κυρίου: 'sanare nequeo' Harnack. Besides the change that he himself has made, καθημαξευμένης (for which he produces, p. 59, an excellent parallel from *Hom. in Jerem.* xiv 3 τὸ καθημαξευμένον καὶ φερόμενον) in place of the MS κατεμαξευμένης, the only alteration to be made is τε for MS δέ [so also, I see, Klostermann] in *l.* 26. Translate 'the devil is named on both occasions, whether by the ordinary name of "devil" or by the less familiar name of "wrath of God", for which compare the Song of Miriam etc.'

λέγουσαν Ἀπέστειλας τὴν ὄργην σοῦ (καί) κατέφαγεν αἴτο(γ)ς ὡς καλᾶμην καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀποστελλόμενον ὑπό τινος, τοῦτο ἕτερόν ἐστιν τοῦ ἐξαποστελλόντος. τίς οὖν ἂν εἴη ἡ ὄργη ἢ ἀποστελλομένη ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἢ, 30 ὡς ἐδιδάξαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Παραλειπομένων, ὁ διάβολος; εἰ τοῦνν παραδίδ(ο)σθαι τῇ ὄργῃ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγονται οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, νοητέον αὐτοὺς παραδίδ(ο)σθαι τῷ διαβόλῳ, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Κορίνθιον καὶ οὐκ παρέδωκε τῷ ΣΑΤΑΝᾷ ἵνα παιδεγηθῶσιν μὴ βλασφημεῖν.

## XXX b

\*Ἐχομεν καὶ ἀγγέλους ἐφορῶντας καὶ βοηθοῦντας ἡμῖν εὖ πράττουσι, καὶ κρίσις γίνεται καθολικὴ πρὸς τούτους πάντας, ὡς φησὶν· ἀνάσταθι γάρ φησι, κρήνη πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἀκούσάτωσαν οἱ βοῦνοὶ φωνὴν σοῦ· ἀκούσατε, βοῦνοὶ, τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ δοκεῖ ἐν τούτοις προστάσ(σ)εσθαι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ κρῖνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων τὰ ἀνθρώπ(ι)να δυνάμειν, ἵνα δύν(η)ταί 5 τις παραστήσαι (εἰ), διὰ τὴν τινος ἀμέλειαν καὶ παράλειψιν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων

28. Exod. xv 7      33. 1 Cor. v 5, 1 Tim. i 20

XXX b. 2. Mic. vi 1, 2

28. καὶ *supplet* H.: *om cod.* Of course καὶ could easily enough have dropped out before κατά: otherwise I should have hesitated to insert it. αὐτούς (suggested by Harnack, but not put in his text): αὐτον *cod.* But αὐτούς is not only the reading of the passage in Exodus, it is implied by τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους of l. 30. 29. τοῦτο *cod*: *om H.*, but I will not venture to say that Origen could not have written it. 31. ἐδιδάξαμεν: we should have expected ἐμάθομεν or ἐδιδάχθημεν. 32, 33. παραδιδωσθαι *bis cod* 32. τὴν ὄργην *cod*

XXX b. The connexion of this second part of Schol. xxx with the first appears to lie in the thought that the great day of judgement includes in its scope all rational creation, angels as well as men. 2. ὡς φησὶν . . . φησι: φησι refers both times to the same quotation, so that the second is redundant. A double use of *inquit* is not uncommon in some of the Latin fathers in the case of Scriptural quotations. 4. προστάσεσθαι *cod* ὁ λόγος *cod*: τὸν λόγον H., but δοκεῖ can just as well be construed 'the Word seems' as 'it seems that the Word'. 5. ἀνθρωπινα *cod* δύνηται H.: δυναται *cod* 6. διὰ τὴν τινος . . . γέγονεν (l. 7) *cod*: 'corrupta sanare nequeo' H., but all that is needful to make the sentence quite straightforward is to insert εἰ (better than ὅτι, because it could so easily have been lost after παραστήσαι) before διὰ, and translate 'in order that every one may have a chance of shewing whether it is owing to the neglect or omission by any of them [the



αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ἁμαρτήματι ἢ αἰτία γέγονεν. νοήσ(ο)μεν δὲ τοῦτο  
 χρυσάμενοι παραδείγματι, φέρε εἰπεῖν, κρίσει λαοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ  
 κρίσει υἱῶν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κρίσει μανθανόντων μετὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου,  
 10 ὅτε ποτὲ μὲν ὁ λαὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτοῦ δεῖξει παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐπισκόπων γεγενῆαι, ποτὲ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, παραστήσ(ας) πάντα τὰ παρ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ πεποιηκῆναι (μηδὲ) ἠλλελοιπέναι τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων σπουδαίῳ  
 ἄρχοντι, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔνοχον ἀποδείξει τὸν λαόν. τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον νόει καὶ  
 15 περὶ υἱῶν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀνατροφὴν αἰτι(ω)μένων, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν μὲν  
 ἀπολογουμένων ἀποδεικνύοντων δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αἰτίους γεγενῆαι τοιούτων  
 πταισμάτων· ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦναντίον τῶν πατέρων ἀπολογουμένων ὡς μηδὲν  
 παραλιπόντων εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὸν θεοῦ λόγον ἀνατροφὴν πρὸς τοὺς υἱούς, τῶν δὲ  
 υἱῶν ἐλεγχόμενων (ὡς) παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ῥαθυμίαν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γενομένων.  
 οὐ μακρὰν δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν νοῆσαι καὶ περὶ μαθητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

angels] of duties on men's behalf that he [the man] has...'. The same result is reached in an even simpler way by Diekamp's emendation, *γεγονῆναι* for *γένεονεν*. Or if we like to accent *τίνος*, we could do without any change at all: but that reading would imply that there was neglect on the part of some angel or another, which is exactly what Origen leaves open. 7. *νοήσομεν* (suggested by Harnack, but not put in his text): *νοήσωμεν cod* 8. *κρίσει λαοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων*: Harnack begs us to notice this particularly, and adds that Origen had often to make bitter complaints about bishops. By parity of reasoning, as Origen continues *κρίσει υἱῶν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*, we ought to conclude that he had personal reasons for complaint against his father, the martyr Leonidas! Surely the point rather is that Origen is emphasizing the responsibility of the episcopal office: his relation to his people is that of a father to his sons. 11. *παραστήσας scripsi* [so too Diekamp]:

*παραστήσει cod, παραστήσει H.*, who, having thus put in an indicative verb, found it difficult to construe the sentence. *παραστήσας* introduces the dependent clause: 'by shewing that he himself has done his duty he will prove that it is the people who are guilty'. 12. *μηδέ scripsi*: *καὶ cod*. We need a negative somewhere: the bishop shews that he has done all his part and has omitted nothing of the duty of a good ruler.

14, 17. *ἀνατροφὴν bis cod*: *ἀναστροφὴν* is of course a commoner word but I think that 'nurture', 'education' of the MS is right. 14. *αἰτιομένων cod* 17. *παραλιπόντων scripsi*: *παραλειπόντων cod*, but the reference is to their conduct in the past; cf. *γεγονῆναι l. 15, γενομένων l. 18*

18. *ὡς συρρίπει: om cod*, but the parallel in *l. 16 ἀπολογουμένων ὡς* shews that the word is natural before the second participle, though perhaps it is not absolutely indispensable.

## XXXI

Σκυθρωπῶν μελλόντων ἐπιφέρεσθαι, ὑπηρετῶν τις ἄγγελος θεοῦ φωνεῖ) πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχειρισθέντας τὰ ἐπίπονα, τέως μὴ ἐπάγειν αὐτὰ ἕως σφραγίδας ἐπὶ τῶν μετ(ώ)πων λάβ(ω)σιν οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ δούλοι. ἐντέλλεται τοῦτο αὐτὸ λέξεσιν ἐτέραις ἐν Ἰεζεκιήλ τῷ προφήτῃ Κόπτετε καὶ μὴ φ(ε)ῖδεσθε τι, ἐφ' οἷς δέ ἐστι τὸ σημεῖον μὴ ἐγγ(ί)χθε. μήποτε οὖν, ἐπεὶ οἱ κολαζόμενοι διὰ 5 ἰδίας ἁμαρτίας τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, τοῖς δικαίοις χαρακτήρ τις σημαίνων τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτοῖς δικαιοσύνην τίθεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῆς (ἐπ') ἀρετῇ παρρησία(ς) αὐτῶν, οὐ τοῦ προκειμένου τυχόντες σημείου χάριν ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ δεδωκότι φασὶν Ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου Κύριε, καὶ πάλιν Δέδωκας τοῖς φοβογμένοις σε σημεῖωσιν τοῦ φγεῖν ἀπὸ προ- 10 σώπου τόζο(γ).

## XXXI b

Ζητητέον εἰ (δυνα)τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ σ(άρ)κ(α) Ἰσραήλ, ἔτι ἐν (τοῦ)τῳ Ἰωάννου τῷ βίῳ περιόντ(ο)ς, ἀνδρῶν παρθένων τσοαύτας εἶναι χιλιάδας.

XXXI. 1-3. Apoc. vii 2, 3 4. Ezech. ix 5, 6 9. Ps. iv 7 10. Ps. lix (lx) 6

XXXI b. 2. Apoc. vii 4, xiv 3, 4

XXXI. 1. ὑπηρετῶν: nominative participle, I suppose, 'a ministering angel', 'an angel in waiting'. θεοῦ φωνεῖ *scripsi*: τῆ θεου φωνῆ *cod*. But φωνῆ is, I do not doubt, a miswriting of φωνεῖ, and τῆ was presumably then added to make the construction clear. 2. τὰ ἐπίπονα: cf. *Comm. in Io.* I 36 (ed. Brooke i 49. 18) ἐπιπόνου... ἀγωγῆς 3. μετοπων *cod* λαβουσιν *cod* 4. φιδεσθε *cod* 5. ἐγγησητε *cod* 7. ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρρησίας *scripsi*: ἐπι τὴν συναρετὴν παρρησία *cod*. Harnack remarks that he is unacquainted with the word συναρετή, but suggests *probatio* as its meaning. συναρετὴν, if genuine, must be an adjective: but it is much more likely to be corrupt. I have puzzled over the phrase, but can suggest nothing better than ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρρησίας. A genitive seems wanted to carry out the parallelism with ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων: for παρρησία = παρρησίας see on Schol. xxx l. 2. Both here and in l. 3 Harnack's punctuation is quite misleading: παρρησία(ς) must certainly go with what precedes, and I think that οἱ must be relative, not article. 11. τοξον *cod*, unless it is a misprint for τόξου.

XXXI b. 1. δυνατὸν *scripsi* (*similiter Diekamp, qui tamen retinet τῶν*): τον *cod*, τῶν H. I have noticed that losses of about four letters seem to be especially frequent in our MS. σάρκα *scripsi*: σπέρμα *cod*. In the admirable parallel adduced by Harnack (p. 60) from the *Comm. in Io.* I 1 (i pp. 2, 3 ed. Brooke) the phrase ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραήλ occurs twice. ὁ κατὰ σπέρμα Ἰσραήλ is barely intelligible. ἐν τούτῳ Ἰωάννου τῷ βίῳ περιόντος *scripsi*: ἐν τῷ του Ἰ. τῷ βίῳ περιοντες *cod*, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἰ. βίῳ περιόντων H. I have made no change beyond writing τουτῳ for τῷ του and -ος for -ες, and though the order of the words is artificial (hardly too

ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν πολλὸ τὸ ἀδύνατον ἢ αἰσθητὴ διήγησις φέρει, ἀληθῆ δὲ (δεῖ) εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀγία οὐση, ἀνάγκη κατὰ πνευματικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐκλαμβά-  
 5 νειν τὰ προκειμένα. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ τὸν ἀληθινὸν Ἰσραήλ, τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα δόλον, εἰς φυλὰς διαιρέσθαι· τούτο(ν) οὖν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (ἐὰν τοσοῦτο) λέγωμεν πλήθος ἀνδρῶν παρθένων εἶναι, οὐκ ἀδύνατόν τί φαμεν, οἱ γὰρ Χριστῷ προσεληλυθότες πάντες Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες συμπληροῦσι τὸ νοητὸν τοῦτο ἔθνος. καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι πολλή(ν) ἁρμονίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἔχουσιν, στρεφό-  
 10 μοι περιὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καταρτίζεσθαι ἐνὶ νοῦ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ, τοσοῦτῳ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ἴσαι διαιρέσει(ς) αὐτοῦ ὑπόκει(ν)ται. ἐστὶν τοῖνυν τετρά(ω)νος ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἰσάκις ἰσοσκε(ε)λισθ(ει)ς ἀπὸ τοῦ ιβ'. δωδεκάκις γὰρ ιβ' ρμδ'. βεβαίαις δὲ στάσεως σύμβολον τὸ τετρά(ω)νον σχῆμα φέρει.

## XXXII

Παρακατιῶν λέγει ταύτας ρμδ' χιλιάδας παρθένους· καὶ ἐὰν λαμβάνῃς φυλὰς ταύτας τὰς σωματικὰς τὰς λεγομένας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, τοῦ παρθένου(ς),

5. cf. Io. i 47

10. I Cor. i 10

XXXII. I. Apoc. xiv 4

artificial for cent. 3 A.D.) the sense is what we want. 3. ἀληθῆ δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀγία οὐση *scripsi* (δὲ δεῖ Klostermann, ἀγία οὐση Diekamp): ἀληθῆ δε εἶναι τα ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀγία οὐσας *cod*, ἀληθῆ δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀγία, ἴσως (ἴσως is due to Diobouniotis) H. but ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἀγία is impossible. Text is the simplest way of making sense of the MS: it would also be possible, instead of inserting δεῖ, to take ἀνάγκη with what precedes and read ἐκλαμβάνωμεν for ἐκλαμβάνειν. 6. τοῦτο οὖν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ *scripsi*: τοῦτο οὖν τοῦ Ἰ. *cod*, τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Ἰ. H. ἐὰν τοσοῦτο λέγωμεν *haesitans scripsi*: λεγωμεν *cod*, λέγοντες Diobouniotis, but τοσοῦτο or some such word seems to be required with πλήθος, and if we insert that we may as well insert ἐὰν also. 7. Χριστῷ *scripsi*: ἐν Χριστῷ *cod*, but προσέρχομαι implies a dative, as in the parallel from *Comm. in Io.* referred to on l. 1 ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῷ θεῷ προσερχομένων λόγῳ προσεληλυθότες *cod*. 8. συμπληροῦσαι *cod*. 9. πολλῆ *cod*. 10. νοεῖ *cod*. 11. ἴσαι διαιρέσεις αὐτοῦ ὑπόκεινται *scripsi*: ἴσαις διαιρέσεσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπόκειται *cod*, ἴσαις διαιρέσεσιν αὐτοὶ ὑπόκεινται H. 144 is a square, and the true Hebrews correspond to it and to the number which is squared to make it, 12. With ὑπόκεινται cf. Schol. ix 6 ὑποβάλλον αὐτὰς τῷ ζ' ἀριθμῷ. τετραγονος *cod*. 12. ἰσάκις ἰσοσκελισθείς *audax coniecti*: ἰσακεῖς ἴσος κυλισθῆς *cod*, ἰσάκις ἴσος κυλισθείς H. But I do not know what 'rolling' could have to do with it. And though I cannot find ἰσοσκελίζω 'to make isosceles' in the Lexicon, the formation is a natural one, and ἰσάκις ἰσοσκελίζειν might I suppose mean 'to square'. 13. τετραγονον *cod*.

XXXII. I. παρακατιῶν *cod* 2. φυλὰς ταύτας τὰς σωματικὰς *cod*, *recte*: τὴν τὰς φυλὰς ταύτας σωματικὰς H., to the detriment of the Greek:

ποῦ ἰβ' χιλιάδας παρθενίας, εὔροις ἂν κατὰ φυλήν; ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦτο εὐρίσκομεν, παρθενίαν ἐξηλ(ω)μένην διδάσκοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Λόγου, οὐ κατ' ἐπ(ι)ταγήν οὐδὲ ἵνα βρόχον ἐπιβάλλῃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐθ(αί)ρετον ἐν 5 εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει, καθὼς γέγραπται. οὗτοι οὖν εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, ὡς εἴρηται, παρθένοι γὰρ εἰσιν· καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεύδος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν.

## XXXIII

Αὗται αἱ λευκαὶ στολαὶ δύνανται δηλοῦν τὰς ἀχράντους προθέσεις καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν. πρὸς ταῖς λευκαῖς στολαῖς ἄ(ς) εἰσιν περιβεβλημένοι, φ(οί)νικας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν κατέχουσιν, σύμβολον τῆς νίκης ἢ ΝΕΝΙΚΗΚΑΣΙΝ ΤὸΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ.

## XXXIII β

Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θλ(ί)ψews ἐρχόμενοι, διὰ μαρτυρίου καὶ ὁμολογίας δηλονότι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιστάσεων τῶν διὰ Χριστὸν ἄς ἐπάγουσιν τοῖς Ἰησοῦ μαθηταῖς οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ δαίμονες, λευκάναντες καὶ πλύναντες ἄς περιέκνται στολὰς τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σφαγέντος ἀρνίου.

4, 5. 1 Cor. vii 6, 35      5. Ps. xlv (xlv) 16      6. Apoc. xiv 4, 5  
 XXXIII. 1, 2. Apoc. vii 9      3. Cf. 1 Io. v 5  
 XXXIII β. 1-4. Apoc. vii 14

'If you understand these tribes to be the material ones', was what Origen wrote and meant. ποῦ παρθένοῦς H.: που παρθενοῦς cod. I am not quite satisfied, but have nothing better to offer. 3. παρθενίας: no doubt the adjective, not (as in l. 4) the abstract noun. 4. ἐξηλομένην cod αὐτὴν cod: αὐτοῦ H., not recognizing (I suppose) that διδάσκειν governs two accusatives. αὐτὴν is 'the Church'. 5. ἐπιταγήν cod αὐθρετον cod ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει. Harnack, not recognizing the reference to the virgins who shall be brought 'with joy and gladness' to the king's palace, has wrongly connected καθὼς γέγραπται with the following instead of with the preceding words, and has consequently made οὖν part of the quotation of Apoc. xiv 4.

XXXIII. 1. δηλοῦν cod, and this form of the contracted infinitive is defended for N.T. by Hort (*Introduction* § 410) though rejected by Moulton (*Prolegomena* p. 53): δηλοῦν H. 2. ἄς scripsi (cf. xxxiii β l. 4 ἄς περιέκνται στολὰς): αἱ cod, αἷς H. For ι = ς see next line, and on Schol. xxx l. 2 above. φυνικας cod 3. ἦ scripsi: ἡς cod. See on l. 2.

XXXIII β. 1. θληψews cod 2. δηλονότι: should be written as one word and connected with what precedes, not as by Harnack in two words connected with what follows—he has in consequence to add a second διά, against the MS, before τῶν ἄλλων περιστάσεων.

5 ὅπως δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νοήσωμεν τὸ ἀδιάστατον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν, (ὠ)νομάσθη  
ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν χρόνος τεμνόμενος εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα.

## XXXIV

Ἐπίστησον εἰ αἱ πλυθεῖσαι καὶ λευκανθεῖσαι στολαὶ τῶν ἐκ μεγάλης  
θλ(ί)ψεως ἀναβεβηκότων εἶναι δύναται τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν, ἥδη προτεθεωρημένα  
ὡς ἀν(α)στάνα ἀφθαρτα καὶ πνευματικά.

## XXXV

Κρίνας ὁ θεὸς(ς) πληγαῖς ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς, ἀπειράτους τῶν  
πληγῶν τούτων ἐνίους ἀνθρώπους (ε)ῖασεν, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ἐμμένοντας οἷς  
εἰργάζοντο καὶ ὄσοι(ι) ἄγεστοι δι(ς) τῶν πληγῶν ἀπελείφθησαν, ἵνα ἔχωσι  
μετανοίας τόπον, ὥστε μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἔτι τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσε(ε)α καὶ τὰ ἐξ  
5 ἐτέρας ὕλης κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλματα. δηλοῦτα(ι) ὡς προσκυνουσί τινες τὰ  
δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεια καὶ τὰ ἀργύρεα, χάλκ(ε)ᾶ τε καὶ ξύλινα· ἵνα δαιμόνια  
νοήτ(αι) τὰ ἐφεδρεύοντα πνεύματα τοῖς ἀψύχοις μορφώμασι. χρύσε(ε)ᾶ τε καὶ  
τὰ λοιπὰ, μὴ αἰσθανόμενα δι' ὄψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς μηδὲ βαδίζοντα, τὰ αἰσθητὰ  
ἀγάλματα. Στόμα γὰρ ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν  
10 τοῖς ψαλμοῖς.

6. Apoc. vii 15. XXXIV. 1. Apoc. vii 14  
XXXV. 2. Apoc. ix 20 9. Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxv) 16

5. οἱ ἄνθρωποι, i.e. we men on earth who use the chronology of day and night. Harnack needlessly suggests omission.

XXXIV. 2. θλήψεως *cod* δύναται *cod*: attracted into the singular number by σώματα immediately following. 3. ἀναστάνα *scripsi*: ἀνίσταντα *cod*. I make the change with hesitation: but the present ἀνίσταντα ought to be causal, not intransitive.

XXXV. 1. θεός: θου *cod* 2. ἴασεν *cod* 3. ὄσοι H.: ὄσον *cod* δις τῶν *haesitans scripsi*: διετων *cod*, δι' ἐτῶν H. My suggestion involves only a very small change (c for ε), and I think it may be justified as a reference to the plagues that accompanied the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets respectively. But I propose it *faute de mieux* 4. χρυσοια *cod* 5. δηλοῦται ὡς *scripsi*: δηλοῦντα ὡς *cod* τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεια *cod*: neither here nor in l. 4 nor in l. 7 is there any trace of the words καὶ τὰ εἶδωλα before τὰ χρύσεια. Origen's text must have been without them, and that fact accounts for his exegesis in this sentence. 6. χαλκαία *cod* 7. νοῆται *scripsi* [so too Klostermann]: νοῆται *cod*: νοεῖται (omitting ἵνα as dittography after ξύλινα) Diekamp χρυσοια *cod*. The meaning of the sentence, which baffles Harnack, seems to be that 'these things of gold, which neither see nor hear nor walk (Apoc. ix 20), are the material images'. It is correct punctuation which helps in a case of this sort.

## XXXVI

Οτι οἱ μεγάλοι λόγοι σαφηνιζόμενοι βρονταί εἰσι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ὁ προφήτης τάχα μὲν δηλοῖ φάσκων φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς (ε)ΟΥ ἔν τῷ τροχῷ· ζητήσεις γὰρ ἐκεῖ τροχόν, καὶ κυκλο(ύμενον) τὸν τροχὸν ἰδὼν ὄψει ἐκεῖ βροντῆν. ἐξετάζων δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς βροντῆς Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς Βοανεργῆς, ὁ ἔστιν γίσι βροντῆς, εὐρήσεις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως γίσι βροντῆς 5 κεκλημένους διὰ τὴν μεγαλοφωνίαν τῶν νοημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῶν.

## XXXVI b

\*Ἦκουσα γὰρ (φησί) βροντῶν ἑπτὰ, καὶ ὅσα ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ ἔμελλον γράφειν καὶ ἐλέχθη μοι Μὴ γράψῃς ὅσα ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί. ἄρα νοεῖς ἐπὶ τούτων ὅτι αἱ τοιαῦται βρονταὶ ἐλάλησαν λόγους δυναμένους γράφεσθαι καὶ μὴ γράφεισθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἤκουσεν ἐνάρθρου φωνῆς διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς ὁ ἱερός Ἰωάννης. ἀλλὰ μήποτε αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταὶ αἱ ἐλαληκῦναι 5 τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ἐὰν προσσχῆς τῇ γραφῇ, εὐρήσεις τίνες εἰσὶν· μία βροντὴ σοφία· ἄλλη βροντὴ σύνεσις· τρίτη βροντὴ βοῆ· τετάρτη βροντὴ ἰσχί· ἑνῶσις πέμπτη βροντὴ· (εἰσέβεια) ἕκτη· ἑβδόμη βροντὴ φόβος. ἐὰν ταῦτα

XXXVI. 1. Αποκ. x 3

2. Ps. lxxvi (lxxvii) 18 (19)

5. Mc. iii 17

XXXVI b. 1. Αποκ. x 4.

7 Is. xi 2, 3

XXXVI. 2. σου Η.: του *cod* ζήτησεις *cod*, compare the futures ὄψει and εὐρήσεις in ll. 3, 5; ζήτησης unnecessarily H. 3. κυκλοῦμενον τὸν τροχὸν *coniecti*: κυκλον και τον τροχον *cod*. The passage is difficult, and I cannot translate it as it stands. What is the relation of 'wheel' and 'thunder'? I can only answer by recalling that one I knew well, who always loved thunder, used to call it 'the noise of the chariot-wheels of God upon the mountains'. Only in the movement of the wheel can the resemblance to thunder be found. But how the 'great words' come in I cannot say, unless the movement of the wheel is parallel to the utterance of the thought. I do not pretend that the emendation I offer is more than an attempt to get at the idea of the passage: it is not near enough to the *ductus litterarum* to claim to restore the exact wording.

XXXVI b. 5. ἀλλὰ μήποτε *cod*: ἀλλά (om μήποτε) H. The omission of μήποτε is wrong: it is a quite common locution with the indicative in Origen's exegetical language—fully expressed it would be rendered 'see whether it is not the case that': it is 'perhaps', with a balance in favour of the idea suggested.

5. ἐλαληκῦναι *cod*: λελαληκῦναι H., but I do not venture to desert the MS where an irregular form could so easily arise from the desire to avoid the three successive *lambdas*.

6. προσσχῆς H.: προσχης *cod*

8. εἰσέβεια Diobouniotis, followed

by H.: συνεσις *cod*, which word has however already been used for the second thunder, l. 7.

λαλουσῶν ἀκούσω τῶν βροντῶν, (οὐ) δύναμαι γράφειν, οἷός ἐστι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸν  
 10 κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία ἀπὸ φωνῆς τῶν ἁγίων (β)ροντῶν τῶν  
 λαλουσῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

## XXXVII

Καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κατὰ τὸν τῆς συντελείας  
 καιρὸν, φανερωθέντων πάντων τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τ(ῷ) λαβεῖν ἕκαστον  
 ἐπαξίως τῶν βεβιωμένων. ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ συνίσταται, ἣν ἕκαστος ἐθησαύρισεν  
 ἐαγῶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ ὁ  
 5 τῶν προφητῶν καὶ ἁγίων (καὶ) φοβουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μισθὸς ἀπο-  
 δοθήσεται. τῶν οὖν μισθὸν ληψομένων τρία τάγματα δηλοῦνται, προφητῶν  
 καὶ ἁγίων (καὶ) ἐτέρων φοβουμένων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ὅρα (εἰ) οἱ  
 εἰσαγόμενοι εἰς εὐλάβειαν σημαίνονται τῷ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ  
 αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπι φοβούμενοι τῇ τῶν ἁγίων προσηγορίᾳ·  
 10 φοβήθητε γὰρ τὸν Κύριον οἱ ἄγιοι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὑστέρημα τοῖς φοβομένοις  
 αὐτόν. (καὶ εἰκὸς) ὡς ἐν εἶδει τούτων τῶν ἁγίων εὐρήσεις τοὺς προφήτας· ἐπὶ  
 πλείον γὰρ προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν θεοῦ προφήτην καὶ ἅγιον  
 εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει· πολλοὶ ἅγιοι ὄντες οὐ προφητεύουσιν.

9. Io. xxi 25

XXXVII. 1-5. Apoc. xi 18      2. 2 Cor. v 10      3. Rom. ii 5, 6      10. Ps.  
 xxxiii 10 (xxxiv 9)

9. οὐ *supplevi*: *om cod.* The negative seems to me to be necessary  
 for the sense, and to be implied by the οὐδέ that follows. 10. βροντῶν  
 H.: ἐροντων *cod.*

XXXVII. 2. τῷ *scripsi*: το *cod*      3. συνίσταται: I suppose this  
 is equivalent to the late Latin *constitutus est*: 'it is that wrath of  
 God, which . . .'

5, 7. καὶ . . . καὶ H.: *om bis cod.* The insertions  
 appear necessary to the sense, for Origen speaks definitely of τρία  
 τάγματα.

7. εἰ *supplevi*: *om cod.* I do not think it is like Origen's  
 style to say 'And see, immature Christians are signified by . . .': he  
 would say 'consider whether immature Christians are meant by . . .'  
 or as we phrase it 'are not meant by . . .' And εἰ would easily drop out  
 before οἱ.

11. καὶ εἰκὸς *supplevi*: *om cod.* Some such insertion  
 seems wanted before ὡς. I do not of course suggest that these are  
 necessarily the actual words.

12. προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος *cod*: προφήτης  
 τοῦ ἁγίου H., but the MS is right. 'The term "saint" is a wider one  
 than "prophet": for all prophets must be saints, but not all saints do  
 in fact prophesy.' Possibly ἐπιπλείον should be printed as one word.

## XXXVIII

Ὅρ(α) μὴ ὁ δράκων πολεμήσας μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ θλιβεῖς, βληθεὶς κάτω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσυρεν πίπτων τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων, ἅτινα ἄστρα θείας δυνάμεις οὖσας (εἰκός) συναπ(ε)στατηκέναι αὐτῷ καὶ συγκατενεχθῆναι τῷ δράκοντι ὡς Ἡσαΐας φησὶν πῶς ἐζέπεσεν ὁ ἕωςφόρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ;

XXXVIII. 1, 2. Apoc. xii 7, 9, 4      4. Is. xiv 12

XXXVIII. 1. ὄρα μὴ *scripsi*: ὀρμη *cod*, ὀρμῆ H. Origen asks us to consider whether, when we are told (Apoc. xii 4) that the dragon's tail draws the third part of the stars of heaven and has thrown them to the ground, we are not to understand that these stars were spiritual beings who rebelled with the dragon and were cast down from heaven with him ; and so Isaiah speaks of the star of the morning as having fallen from heaven. θλιβεῖς H. : θληβεις *cod*      3. δυνάμεις H. : δυναμεις *cod*      εἰκός *supplevi* : om *cod*. As before, it seems imperative to supply a word to govern the infinitives. συναπεστατηκέναι H. : συναποστατηκέναι *cod*

## Introduction

Ten years ago I published (*J. T. S.* xiii 386–397, April 1912) critical notes on the first half of the then newly known Scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse. Now I complete the task, but in order to make the notes more intelligible I print above the notes my revised text of the Scholia, xxviii–xxxviii, on which I am commenting.

The material is as follows: the *editio princeps* by Harnack and Diobouniotis *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis* in *Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. xxxviii part 3 (1911): early published notes included contributions by Dr Armitage Robinson in *J. T. S.* Jan. 1912 pp. 295–298; Dr G. Wohlenberg in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* Jan. 19, Feb. 2, May 10, 1912; Dr O. Stählin in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* Feb. 3, 1912; Dr E. Klostermann in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Feb. 3, 1912; Dr Fr. Diekamp in *Theologische Revue*, Feb. 12, 1912.

My own notes to the text will I think sufficiently explain themselves. But I append two further notes: one on the word ἀπελαστικός which I have conjecturally restored in Schol. xxx l. 3, the other on the text of Origen's Biblical citations.

a. ἀπελαστικός<sup>1</sup>

ἀπελαστικός, *driving away*, Eus. *praef. ev. iv i* πολλὰ εἶδη ῥιζῶν . . .

<sup>1</sup> Kindly contributed by Dr Darwell Stone, being his article on the word for the *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*.



τινῶν [diseases] ἀπελαστικά. Eriph. *haer.* li ι ταῦτα τὰ εἶδη [of plants etc.] ἀπελαστικά εἶναι ἐρπετῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων. Chrys. *in Heb.* xxix 4 [277 A] σιτίον καλῶς κατεργασθέν . . . νόσου ἀπελαστικόν. In the form ἀπελατικός, [Justin] *quaest. et resp. ad orthodoxos* 107 δ . . . δαιμόνων ἀπελατικόν.

*b.* Biblical text

*Old Testament*

- 2 Reg. xxiv ι ὀργὴν Κυρίου with B<sup>2</sup>A: ὀργὴν Κύριος B\* ἐπί Origen: ἐν AB καὶ (ante ἀρίθμῃσον) Origen: om AB Ἰούδαν with AB<sup>2</sup>: Ἰούδα B\*
- ι Paral. xxi ι ὁ διάβολος Origen: om ὁ AB
- Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv) ιο οἱ ἄγιοι with N\*U: *praem pantes* N<sup>2</sup>AB R
- lix (lx) 6 δέδωκας Origen: ἔδωκας NBR T
- εxxxiv (εxxxv) ιβ λαλήσουσι with ART: λαλοῦσι B
- Mic. vi ι, 2 ἀνάσταθι (I can find no authority for this form) Origen: ἀνάστηθι ABQ κρήνητι with B: καὶ κρήνητι AQ βουνοί with AQ\*: λαοί B
- Zach. iv ιο κυρίου with NQ (A): om B
- Isa. xi 2 σύνεσις (2<sup>o</sup>) Origen: εὐσέβεια NABQ
- Ezech. ix 5, 6 φείδεσθε with BQ: φείσησθε A τι Origen: om ABQ ἐφ' οὓς Origen: ἐφ' οὓς ABQ

*New Testament*

- Mc. iii 17 βοανηγές with later MSS: βοανηγές NABC etc. Our MS doubtless misrepresents Origen
- Io. xxi 25 χωρήσαι with A etc.: χωρήσειν NBC\*
- Rom. ii 5 ἀποκαλύψεις δικαιοκρισίας with N\*ABD<sub>2</sub>\*: ἀ. καὶ δ. later MSS

*Apocalypse*

- v 5 ὁ νικῆσας λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς with N: ὁ ν. λ. ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς *cett*
- v 6 εἶδον with N: ἰδοὺ A  
καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Origen: καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν π. *cett*  
ἔστηκός with A etc.: ἔστηκός N
- ix 20 τὰ δαιμόνια τὰ χρύσεια Origen (see note on Schol. xxxv l. 5): τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἶδωλα τὰ χρύσεια *cett*
- x 4 ὅσα ἐλάλησαν with N: ὅτε ἐλάλησαν A etc.
- xiv 4 οὗτοί εἰσιν (1<sup>o</sup>) with N etc.: om A

The material is not on a large scale: but the persistent tendency of N Origen to be found together—about which I hope some day to write something in the JOURNAL—is once more in evidence.

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