

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Revelation of St. John

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PREFACE

IN 1894 Messrs. T. & T. Clark asked me to undertake a Commentary on the Apocalypse. The present Commentary, therefore, is the result of a study extending over twenty-five years. During the first fifteen years of the twenty-five not to speak of the preceding eight years, which were in large measure devoted to kindred subjects my time was mainly spent in the study of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic as a whole, and of the contributions of individual scholars of all the Christian centuries, but especially of the last fifty years, to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. The main results of these studies are embodied in my article on "Revelation," in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

But this work had hardly passed through Press before I became convinced that many of the conclusions therein set forth were in a high degree unsatisfactory, and that, if satisfactory results were to be reached, they could only be reached by working first hand from the foundation. From that period onwards I began to break with the traditions of the elders alike ancient and modern and to rewrite and that not once or twice the sections of my Commentary already written. Thus I soon came to learn that the Book of Revelation, which in earlier years I feared could offer no room for fresh light or discovery, presented in reality a field of research infinitely richer than any of those to which my earlier studies had been devoted. The first ground for such a revolution in my attitude to the Book was due to an exhaustive study of Jewish Apocalyptic. The knowledge thereby acquired helped to solve many problems, which could only prove to be hopeless enigmas to scholars unacquainted with this literature. But the second ground was of greater moment still. For the more I studied the Greek of the Apocalypse the more conscious I became that no scholar could appreciate the essential unity of the style of the greater part of the book, or even translate it, who had not made a special study of the Greek versions of the Old Testament, and combined there with an adequate knowledge of the Greek used by Palestinian Jewish writers and of the ordinary Greek of our author's time. From the lack of such a study arose the multitude of disintegrating theories with which I have dealt in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*. The bulk of these were due to their authors ignorance of John's style. They failed to recognize the presence in the text of certain phrases and passages which conflicted with John's style, while with the utmost light-heartedness they excised from his text chapters and groups of chapters which are indisputably Johannine.

John's Grammar.-In fact, John the Seer used a unique style, the true character of which no Grammar of the New Testament has as yet recognized. He thought in

Hebrew,⁽¹⁾ and he frequently reproduces Hebrew idioms literally in Greek. But his solecistic style cannot be wholly explained from its Hebraistic colouring. The language which he adopted in his old age formed for him no rigid medium of expression. Hence he remodelled its syntax freely, and created a Greek that is absolutely his own. This Greek I slowly mastered as I wrote and rewrote my Commentary chapter by chapter. The results of this study are embodied in the "Short Grammar" which is included in the Introduction that follows.

The Text.-The necessity of mastering John's style and grammar necessitated, further, a first-hand study of the chief MSS and Versions, and in reality the publication of a new text and a new translation. When once convinced of this necessity, I approached Sir John Clark and laid before him the need of such a text and such a translation. After consultation with Dr. Plummer, the General Editor of the Series, Sir John acceded to my request with a courtesy and an enthusiasm I have never yet met with in any publisher. Sir John's action in this matter recalls the best traditions of the great publishers of the past.

For the order of the text and the readings adopted, and for any critical discussion of the text in the *Apparatus Criticus*, I am myself wholly responsible. The readings followed in the Commentary do not always agree with those in the Greek Text and in the Translation. Where they disagree, the Text, Translation, and Introduction represent my final conclusions. But these disagreements only affect matters of detail as a rule, and not essential questions of method. The Text represents only a fuller development of the methods applied in the Commentary.

Apparatus Criticus.-In the formation of the *Appar. Crit.* I had to call in the help of other scholars, since owing to over twenty years spent largely in the collation of MSS and the formation of texts in several languages, I felt my eyes were wholly unequal to this fresh strain. When seeking such help, I had the good fortune to meet the Rev. F. S. Marsh, now Dean of Selwyn College, Cambridge. To his splendid services I am deeply indebted for the preparation of the *Appar. Crit.* At his disposal I placed the photographs of the Uncials A and a, of twenty-two Cursives, and of all the Versions save the Ethiopic. One-half of the twenty-two Cursives I examined personally in the Vatican Library, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and in St. Mark's in Venice, and had them photographed. The rest of the photographs I procured through the kind offices of the Librarians of the Bodley, the National Library in Paris, and of the Escorial. Three or even four of these Cursives are equal in many respects to the later Uncials, and in certain readings superior.

Mr. Marsh collated in full the readings of these MSS and practically all the readings of the Versions,⁽²⁾ and prepared the *Appar. Crit.* of chapters i.--v. Readings from other Cursives have been adopted from Tischendorf, Swete, and Hoskier. Unfortunately,

when the work was far advanced, Mr. Marsh was called off to the War for three years. During his absence, Professor R. M. Gwynn⁽³⁾ and Miss Gertrude Bevan most kindly came to my help, and verified the *Appar. Crit.* of i.--v., with the exception of the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions. There are three other scholars to whom my warm thanks are due. The first is the Rev. Cecil Cryer, who verified Mr. Marsh's collations of vi.--xiv. and embodied them in the *Appar. Crit.*, and subsequently carried i.--xiv. through the Press.⁽⁴⁾ During this process I verified here and there in the proofs thousands of readings from the MSS and Versions, but this revision was of necessity only partial. Mr. Marsh then made a complete revision of the *Apparatus Criticus* and corrected a large number of *errata*. The other two scholars are the Rev. D. Bruce-Walker and the Rev. J. H. Roberts. These in conjunction verified Mr. Marsh's collations of xv.--xxii., the former taking the larger share of the work. At this juncture Mr. Marsh returned, and prepared and carried through Press xv.--xxii. Once again I must record my grateful thanks to Mr. Marsh, and express the hope that he may find time and opportunity for research, and so make the contributions to scholarship for which he is so well qualified. Also I would express my gratitude to the Rev. George Homer for the large body of readings which he put at my service from the Sahidic Version, and the frequent help he gave in connection with readings from the Bohairic Version; and to Professor Grenfell for calling my attention to the Papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse (see vol. ii. 447--451). Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Plummer for his patience and kindness throughout the long years in which I was engaged on this Commentary, as well as for the many corrections he made in the revision of the proofs.

The Indexes.--For the first and fourth Indexes I am indebted to the competent services of the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, Warden of Ruthin, North Wales.

The Translation.--Translation is based on the text. While the text diverges in many passages from that accepted in the Commentary, the Translation diverges from the text practically only in one (ii. 27).

In the Translation I have sought to recover the poetical form in which the Seer wrote so large a part of the Apocalypse. Nearly always, when dealing with his greatest themes, the Seer's words assume--perhaps unconsciously at times--the forms of parallelism familiar in Hebrew poetry. Even the strophe and antistrophe are found (see vol. ii. 122, 434--435). To print such passages as prose is to rob them of half their force. It is not only the form that is thereby lost, but also much of the thought that in a variety of ways is reinforced by this parallelism.

The Apocalypse--a Book of Songs.--Though our author has for his theme the inevitable conflicts and antagonisms of good and evil, of God and the powers of darkness, yet his book is emphatically a Book of Songs. Dirges there are, indeed, and threnodies; but these are not over the martyrs, the faithful that had fallen, but spring

from the lips of the kings of the earth, its merchant princes, its seafolk, overwhelmed by the fall of the empire of this world and the destruction of its mighty ones in whom they had trusted, or from the lips of sinners in the face of actual or impending doom. But over the martyred Church, over those that had fallen faithful in the strife, the Seer has no song of lesser note to sing than the beatitude pronounced by Heaven itself: "Blessed--blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." A faith immeasurable, an optimism inexpugnable, a joy inextinguishable press for utterance and take form in anthems of praise and gladness and thanks~ giving, as the Seer follows in vision the varying fortunes of the world struggle, till at last he sees evil fully and finally destroyed, righteousness established for evermore, and all the faithful--even the weakest of God's servants amongst them--enjoying everlasting blessedness in the eternal City of God, bearing His name on their foreheads and growing more and more into His likeness.

The Apocalypse--a book for the present day.--The publication of this Commentary has been delayed in manifold ways by the War. But these delays have only served to adjourn its publication to the fittest year in which it could see the light--that is, the year that has witnessed the overthrow of the greatest conspiracy of might against right that has occurred in the history of the world, and at the same time the greatest fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apocalypse. But even though the powers of darkness have been vanquished in the open field, there remains a still more grievous strife to wage, a warfare from which there can be no discharge either for individuals or States. This, in contradistinction to the rest of the New Testament, is emphatically the teaching of our author. John the Seer insists not only that the individual follower of Christ should fashion his principles and conduct by the teaching of Christ, but that all governments should model their policies by the same Christian norm. He proclaims that there can be no divergence between the moral laws binding on the individual and those incumbent on the State, or any voluntary society or corporation within the State. None can be exempt from these obligations, and such as exempt themselves, however well-seeming their professions, cannot fail to go over with all their gifts, whether great or mean, to the kingdom of outer darkness. In any case, no matter how many individuals, societies, kingdoms, or races may rebel against such obligations, the warfare against sin and darkness must go on, and go on inexorably, till the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ.

It is at once with feelings of thankfulness and of regret that I part with a work that has engaged my thoughts in a greater or lesser measure for twenty-five years. On the one hand, I am thankful that I have been permitted to bring this study of the Apocalypse to a close, though this thankfulness is tempered by a keen sense of its many shortcomings, of which none can be so conscious as I am myself. On the other hand, I cannot help a feeling of regret that I am breaking with a study which has been at once the toil and the delight of so many years; and in parting with it I would repeat, as Professor Swete does in his work on the Apocalypse, St. Augustine's prayer:

Domine Deus . . . quaecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant et tui; si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et tui.⁽⁵⁾

R.H.C.

4 LITTLE CLOISTERS, WESTMINSTER ABBEY,

May 1920.

1. I have already in part dealt with this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79-102. I am glad to learn from the editor of Moulton's *Grammar of N. T. Greek* that Dr. Moulton abandoned his earlier attitude on this question after reading these lectures.

2. I am myself responsible throughout for the collation of the Ethiopic Version. For my own satisfaction also, I have collated and verified hundreds--in some cases thousands--of readings in each of the other Versions, and in each of the twenty-two MSS.

3. Professor Gwynn also read through the proofs of the Commentary, and Miss Bevan gave me most ungrudging help in part of the Introduction.

4. Mr. Cryer further helped me by verifying the references in the Introduction.

5. *Advice to the reader*.--Since the present work on the Apocalypse is a large one, and in many respects difficult, it would be advisable for the serious as well as for the ordinary student to read through the English translation first. This will introduce him to the main problems of the book, and help him to recognize that the thought of our author is orderly and progressive, and easier to follow than that of the Epistle to the Hebrews or of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. After the Translation he should read the Introduction, §§ I, 4, and such others as these may suggest to him. The serious student should master the chief sections of the Short Grammar (pp. cxvii--clix). So prepared, he can then face the problems discussed in the Commentary, and recognize the grounds for the adoption of certain readings and interpretations and the rejection of those opposed to them.

Each chapter (or, in two cases, groups of chapters) is preceded by an introduction. Such introductions are divided into sections. The first section (§ I) always gives the general thought of the chapter that follows, while the remaining sections discuss the diction and idiom of the chapter, its indebtedness to the Old Testament and other sources, and many other questions, exegetical, critical, and archaeological.

{p. xxxi}

INTRODUCTION.

I.

§ 1. Short Account of the Seer and his Work.

JOHN the Seer, to whom we owe the Apocalypse, was a Jewish Christian who had in all probability spent the greater part of his life in Galilee before he emigrated to Asia Minor and settled in Ephesus, the chief centre of Greek civilization in that province. This conclusion is in part to be drawn not only from his defective knowledge of Greek and the unparalleled liberties he takes with its syntax, but also from the fact that to a certain extent he creates a Greek grammar of his own.⁽¹⁾ He had never mastered the Greek of his own day. The language of his adoption was not for him a normalized and rigid medium of utterance: nay rather, it was still for him in a fluid condition, and so he used it freely, remodelling its syntactical usages and launching forth into unheard of expressions. Hence his style is absolutely unique. That he has set at defiance the grammarian and the usual rules of syntax is unquestionable, but he did not do so deliberately. He had no such intention. His object was to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in some of the sublimest passages in all literature. With such an object in view he had no thought of consistently committing breaches of Greek syntax. How then is the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions to be explained? The reason, as the present writer hopes to prove,⁽²⁾ is that while he wrote in Greek he thought in Hebrew and frequently translated Hebrew idioms literally into Greek. In Galilee he had no doubt used Aramaic as the ordinary vehicle of intercourse with his fellows, but all his serious studies were rooted in Hebrew. He had so profound a knowledge of the O.T. that he constantly uses its phraseology not only consciously, but even unconsciously. When using it consciously he uses the Hebrew

text, and translates it generally first hand; but not infrequently his renderings are influenced not only by the LXX, but also by a later version, {p. xxii} which is now lost in its original form, but which was re-edited by Theodotion 100 years later.⁽³⁾

John the Seer was quite distinct from the author of the Gospel and Epistles.⁽⁴⁾ That the Gospel and Epistles were from one and the same author, who was probably John the Elder, I have shown below.⁽⁵⁾ That these two Johns belonged to the same religious circle, or that the author of the Gospel was a pupil of John the Seer, is not improbable.⁽⁶⁾

We gather from the Apocalypse that John the Seer exercised an unquestioned authority over the Churches of the Province of Asia. To seven of these, chosen by him to be representatives of Christendom as a whole,⁽⁷⁾ he wrote his great Apocalypse in the form of a letter, about the year 95 A.D.⁽⁸⁾ The object⁽⁹⁾ of the Apocalypse was to encourage the faithful to resist even to death the blasphemous claims of the State, and to proclaim the coming victory of the cause of God and of His Christ not only in the individual Christian, and the corporate body of such individuals, but also in the nations as such in their national and international life and relations. It lays down the only true basis for national ethics and international law. Hence the Seer claims not only the after-world for God and for His people, but also this world. God's work will be carried on without haste, without rest, till "the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ."

The Seer has used freely not only his own visions of various dates,⁽¹⁰⁾ but also Jewish and Christian sources of Neronian and Vespasianic dates in the presentation of his great theme.⁽¹¹⁾

The fact of his having freely used sources might seem to militate against the unity of his work.⁽¹²⁾ But this is not so. A glance at the Plan⁽¹³⁾ of the book will show how thought and action steadily advance step by step from its very beginning till they reach their consummation and culminate at its close.

But unhappily the prophet did not live to revise his work, or even to put the materials of 20⁴-22 into their legitimate order.⁽¹⁴⁾ This task fell, to the misfortune of all students of the Apocalypse, into the hands of a very unintelligent disciple. This disciple was a better Greek scholar than his master, for he corrects his Greek occasionally, and was probably a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian of Asia Minor. He had not his master's knowledge of Hebrew, if he had any knowledge of it, and he was profoundly ignorant of his master's thought. If he had left {xxiii} his master's work as he found it, its teaching would not have been the unintelligible mystery it has been to subsequent ages; but unhappily he intervened repeatedly, rearranging the text in some cases, adding to it in others, and every such intervention has made the task of interpretation impossible for

all students who accepted such rearrangements and additions as genuine features of the text. Since, however, his handiwork and character are fully dealt with later, we need not waste more time here over his misdemeanours.⁽¹⁵⁾

When once the interpolations of John's editor, which amount to little more than twenty-two verses, are removed, and the dislocations of the text are set right,⁽¹⁶⁾ most of the difficulties of the text disappear and it becomes a comparatively easy task to follow the thought of our author as it develops from stage to stage, from its opening chapters darkened with the shadow of the great tribulation about to fall on entire Christendom, till it reaches its triumphant close in the eternal blessedness of all the faithful in the new heaven and the new earth.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue 1¹⁻³, the Apocalypse proper, consisting of seven parts—a significant number—and an Epilogue. The events in these seven parts are described in visions in strict chronological order, save in the case of certain proleptic visions which are inserted for purposes of encouragement and lie outside the orderly development of the theme of the Seer: *i.e.* 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 10-11¹³ 14, and 12, which relates to the past, but forms a necessary introduction to 13.⁽¹⁷⁾

Thus there is no need to resort to the theory of Recapitulation which from the time of Victorinus of Pettau (*circa* 270 A.D.) has dominated practically every school of interpretation from that date to the present. So far is it from being true that the Apocalypse represents more or less fully, under each successive series of the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, the same series of events, that the interpretation which is compelled to fall back on this device must be pronounced a failure. This principle of interpretation, like many other forlorn efforts in this field, arose mainly from the non-recognition by scholars in the past of the interpolations made in the text by the disciple and editor of the Seer.

§ 2. *Plan of the Book.*

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, 1¹⁻³, a letter consisting of seven distinct parts : (1) 1⁴⁻²⁰, (2) 2-3, (3) 4-5, (4) 6- 20³, (5) 21⁹⁻²². 14-15. 17 20⁴⁻¹⁰, (6) 20¹¹⁻¹⁵, (7) 21^{5a}. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22³⁻⁵, and an Epilogue, 21^{5c}. 6b-8 22⁶⁻⁷. 18a. 16. 13. 12. 10. 8-9. 20-21.

{xxiv} The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, the Apocalypse proper—consisting of seven distinct parts, and an Epilogue. In the Prologue, 1¹⁻³, the Apocalypse is affirmed to have been given by God to Christ and by Christ to John. In the Epilogue the truth of the claims made in the Prologue is attested by God, 21^{5c}. 6b-8; by Christ, 22⁶⁻⁷. 18a. 16.

13. 12. 10; and by John himself, 22⁶⁻⁷. 18a. 16. 13. 12. 10. 8-9. 20-21.

The seven parts and the Epilogue constitute a letter, 1⁴-22²¹, which, like the Pauline letters, opens with "John to the Seven Churches. . . . Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from Jesus Christ" (1^{4-5a}), and ends with the words, "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen."

The Prologue and Epilogue are not mere subsequent additions to the book. They are organic parts of it. Not to mention other grounds, this is at once obvious from the fact that the Prologue contains the first of the seven beatitudes of the Apocalypse (*i.e.* 1³), and the Epilogue the seventh (*i.e.* 22⁷). That there should be exactly seven beatitudes in our book and not more and not less, is at once intelligible to all students of the Apocalypse. [\(18\)](#)

The Book, apart from the Prologue and Epilogue, falls naturally into seven parts again a significant division. In Jewish writers the favorite division of a work was a fivefold one. Thus the five books of the Pentateuch, of the Psalms, of the Megilloth, of the Maccabean history by Jason of Cyrene, of I Enoch, of the Pirke Aboth. This fivefold division is clearly traceable in Matthew (see *Horae Synopticae*², 164; Hawkins). But the number five does not occur in our author save with evil associations (cf. 9^{5.10} 17¹⁰), whereas seven is a most sacred number in his regard.

The seven parts are as follows: (1) 1⁴⁻²⁰. John's letter to the Seven Churches, in which he tells how Christ had appeared to and bidden him to send to the Churches the visions written in this book. (2) 2-3. The problem of the book as reflected in the letters to the Churches how to reconcile God's righteousness and Christ's redemption with the condition of His servants on earth. (3) 4-5. A vision of God and a vision of Christ, who takes upon Himself the guidance of the world's destinies and its judgments. (4) 6-7⁸. 8¹⁻³⁻⁵. 2. 6. 13-9. 11¹⁴⁻¹³. 15-20³. Judgments of the world. (5) 21⁹⁻²²². 14-15. 17 20⁴⁻¹⁰. The Millennial Kingdom: attack of evil powers on the Beloved City at its close: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. (6) 20¹¹⁻¹⁵. Heaven and earth vanish: final judgment by God Himself. (7) 21^{5a}. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22³⁻⁵. The {xxv} everlasting Kingdom in the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem.

In these seven parts the events described in the visions are in strict chronological order, save that the Seer is obliged in chap. 12 to consider past events in order to prepare for those in 13. But there are certain sections of the book lying outside the orderly development of the Seer's theme, *sc.* 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 10¹¹⁻¹³ and 14.

These three additions, which do not carry on the action of the divine drama and are likewise breaches of unity in respect of time, are all proleptic. After 7¹⁻⁸ the visionary

gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady progressive unveiling of the events of his future and beholds in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ the more distant destinies of the martyred faithful triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven (although these sealed members of the Church are not martyred till 13), and of the same host of martyrs on Mount Zion (during the period of the Millennial Kingdom) in 14¹⁻⁵. These visions are recounted out of their due order to encourage and inspire the Church in the face of an impending universal martyrdom. In the case of 10-11¹³ the explanation is different. Our Seer sees Rome to be the impersonation of sheer might, of wickedness and lawlessness, i.e. the Antichrist. But before our Seer's time in Christian circles Jerusalem was expected to be the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2⁴) and Rome was regarded as the representative of order. This former view of the Antichrist is preserved in this proleptic section, but no reference is made again to it throughout the remaining chapters.

In the analysis which follows the three proleptic sections are inserted on the right hand of the page:

Prologue, 1¹⁻³.

1¹⁻³. The Revelation given by God to Christ and by Christ entrusted to John. John's testimony to it as from God and Christ. The first beatitude on those who keep the things written therein.

I. John writes to the Seven Churches to tell them that he has seen Christ and been bidden by Him to send them the visions written in this book-14-20.

14-7. John begins his letter to the Seven Churches with the blessing of grace and peace from the Everlasting God and Jesus Christ, Lord of the dead and Ruler of the living, the Redeemer.

19-20. John recounts his vision of the Son of Man in Patmos, who bids him to write down what he saw in a book and to send it to the Seven Churches.

{xxvi} II. Problem of the book set forth in the Letters to the Seven Churches, which reflect the seeming failure of the cause of both God and Christ on earth 2-3.

2-3. Letters to the Seven Churches. These implicitly set the problem. How are God's righteousness and Christ's redemption of the world to be reconciled with the condition of His servants on earth and the dominating power of evil thereon? Hence John's visions, embracing heaven and earth, begin in 4-5 with God and Christ as the Supreme Powers in the world

III. Vision of God, to whom the world owes its origin, and of Christ, to whom it owes its redemption 4-5.

4. Scene of John's visions is no longer earth with its failures, troubles, and outlook darkened with the apprehension of universal martyrdom, but heaven with its atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace and thanksgiving and joy. John's vision of God of a throne and of Him that sat thereon, to whom the Cherubim and Elders offered continual praise, and to whose will the whole creation owes its being.

5. Vision of Christ, who, having wrought redemption for God's people, takes upon Himself the guidance of the destinies of the world in a series of judgments.

IV. Judgments. First Series -the first Six Seals.

6. First series of judgments affecting all men alike, good and bad-the first six Seals.

Judgments. Second Series, 7-13- The seventh Seal and the Three Woes, bringing into manifestation the servants of God and the servants of Satan and Satan himself. Before the seventh Seal there is a pause on earth, during which God marks out His servants by a seal on their foreheads; after the seventh Seal there is a pause in heaven during which His servants prayers are presented before God both the sealing of the faithful and their prayers being designed to secure them against the Three Woes.

7¹⁻⁸. Further judgments stayed till the spiritual Israel are made manifest through the seal of God affixed on their foreheads and are thus secured against the Three Woes, against the first two absolutely, and against the *spiritual* effects of the third.

7⁹⁻¹⁷. Proleptic vision of a vast multitude of the faithful in heaven, *i.e.* of those who had just been sealed and had died as martyrs-a vision subsequent in point of time to the visions in 13.

8^{1.3-5. 2. 6. 13}. The seventh Seal, introducing the Three Woes, is followed by silence in heaven, during which the prayers of the faithful are offered before God in heaven for protection against the Three Woes.

First and Second Woes bring Satan s servants into manifestation and affect only those who had not been sealed.

9-11^{14a}. First and second demonic woes (heralded by trumpet blasts) affecting only those who had not been sealed, with torment and death respectively.

{xxvii} Third Woe, followed by two songs of triumph in heaven, brings into full manifestation Satan, his chief agents the two Beasts, and all his servants. Evil is now at its climax. All Satan's servants are visited with spiritual blindness and marked with the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.

10-11¹³. Proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem a vision contemporaneous in point of time with 13.

11^{14b-19}. Third and Satanic Woe heralded by a trumpet blast. Thereupon two songs of triumph burst forth in heaven declaring that God is King, and faithful and faithless alike will receive their due recompense.

12-13. Third or Satanic Woe. Satan at last fully manifest. Climax of his power and his apparent triumph on earth. In 12 the vision is *retrospective*: it recounts the birth and ascension of Christ and the casting

down of Satan to earth facts closely connected; also Satan's persecution of the Church. In 13 Satan summons to his help the first and second Beasts. The faithless are spiritually blinded and marked by the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.

14¹⁻⁷. Proleptic vision (*a*) of the Church triumphant on earth in the Millennial Kingdom and the conversion of the heathen a vision contemporaneous with 20⁴⁻⁶, and (*b*) in 14⁸⁻¹¹. 14. 18-20 of judgment of Rome and of the heathen nations-a vision contemporaneous with and summarizing 18. 19¹¹⁻²¹ 20⁷⁻¹⁰.

Vision of the entire martyr host in heaven who had proved themselves victorious over the Beast and his image.

15⁵⁻⁸. Vision of the martyred host (martyred in 13) standing on the sea of glass before God, singing praises and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations.

Judgments. Third Series, 15⁵-20³

(*a*) Preliminary judgments-the Seven Bowls affecting the heathen who alone survive.

15⁵⁻⁸. The Seven Bowls of God's wrath entrusted to the Seven Angels.

16. The Seven Bowls.

(*b*) Successive judgments affecting the powers of evil in succession.

(*c*) Destruction of Rome and the Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice over its doom.

The response of all the angel and martyr hosts in songs of thanksgiving.

17¹⁻⁶ Vision of the Great Harlot seated on the Beast.

17⁸⁻¹⁸. Interpretation of this vision.

18¹⁻¹⁹. 21-23^d Vision of her destruction.

18²⁰. 23^{f-24} The Seer's appeal to Heaven to rejoice.

	<p>19¹⁻³. Thanksgiving song of the angels.</p> <p>19⁴ 16^{5b-6} Thanksgiving song of the Elders and Cherubim.</p> <p>16⁷. Thanksgiving song of the altar beneath the throne.</p> <p>19⁵⁻⁸. Thanksgiving song of the martyr host in heaven.</p>
<p>{xxviii} (b) Destruction of the Parthian hosts by Christ and His elect.</p>	<p>Lost (though referred to proleptically in 17¹⁴ and presupposed in 19¹³: possibly displaced by the interpolated passage, 19⁹⁻¹⁰).</p>
<p>(g) Destruction of the hostile nations by Christ and the armies of Heaven. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, and Satan chained for 1000 years.</p>	<p>19¹¹⁻²¹. The Word of God and the armies of Heaven destroy the hostile nations. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire.</p> <p>20¹⁻³. As Satan was cast down from heaven on the fresh advent of Christ, on Christ's second advent he is cast into the abyss and chained for 1000 years.</p>
<p>V. Millennial Kingdom: Jerusalem down from heaven to be its Capital. Reign of the martyred Saints for 1000 years.</p>	<p>21⁹⁻²²². 14-15. 17 20⁴⁻⁶. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs who are to reign with Christ 1000 years and evangelize the nations.</p>
<p>Final attack of the evil powers on the Saints in the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.</p>	<p>20⁷⁻¹⁰. Close of the Millennial Kingdom. Satan loosed: march of Gog and Magog against the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.</p>

<p>VI. Heaven and Earth having vanished, a great white throne appears, before which the dead come to be judged by God Himself.</p>	<p>2011.15. Vision of a great white throne, and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of those risen from the dead, both bad and good. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.</p>
<p>VII. The Everlasting Kingdom established in which God and Christ dwell with man. Reign of all the saints for ever and ever.</p>	<p>21^{5a}. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22³⁻⁵. The new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem. The faithful reign as kings for ever and ever,</p>
<p>Epilogue.</p>	<p>21^{5c}. 6b-8. God's testimony to John's book and His message to mankind through John of divine sonship for them that overcome.</p> <p>22⁶⁻⁷. 18a. 16. 13. 12. 10 Christ's testimony to John's book. The seventh beatitude. Christ's speedy coming to judgment.</p> <p>22 8. 9. 20-21. John' own testimony. Christ's final words. John's prayer and benediction.</p>

1. See pp. cxvii-clix
2. See pp. cxlii-clii.
3. See pp. lxvi sqq., lxxx sq.
4. See pp. xxix-xl.
5. See pp. xli-xliii.
6. See pp. xxxii-xxxiv.
7. See p. lxxxix sq. note.
8. See p. xxiv.
9. See p. ciii sq.
10. See pp. xc, xciv.
11. See p. xc sq.
12. See pp. lxxxvii-xci.
13. See pp. xxiii-xxviii.
14. See pp. l-lv.

15. See pp. 1-lv.
 16. See pp. lvi-lx.
 17. See p. xxv.
 18. Sec note on i. 3; also footnote¹ in vol. ii. 445.
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{xxix.}

II. Authorship of the Johannine Writings -- Linguistic Evidence.

The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel⁽¹⁾ from Different Authors.

We shall deal here only with the linguistic evidence on this question, which is in itself decisive. We shall, however, discover later that the two writers were related to each other, either as master and pupil, or as pupils of the same master, or as members of the same school.

§ 1. The grammatical differences. -- These make the assumption of a common authorship of J and J^{ap} absolutely impossible, unless a very long interval intervenes between the dates of J^{ap} and J. But such an assumption is made impracticable by the best modern research. Furthermore, our author's style shows no essential change in the interval of from 10 to 20 or more years, which elapsed between the writings of the Letters to the Seven Churches and the Apocalypse as a whole (see vol. i. 43-47). The reader will find the grammatical differences between J^{ap} and J dealt with in the grammar. The main evidence is given under the heading "The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse"; but throughout the rest of the grammar (see particularly "The Order of the Words") the evidence is more than adequate to prove diversity of authorship. Observe amongst a host of other differences that, whereas J uses $\mu\eta$, with the participles 11 times and the genitive absolute frequently, our author uses neither. Also that whereas in our author the attracted relative never occurs, it often occurs in J: see 4¹⁴ 7³⁹ 15²⁰ 17⁵. 11-12 21¹⁰ and I J 3²⁴. Again, in J^{ap} $\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\jmath$ is followed by inf.; in J by $\iota\eta\alpha$.

§ 2. Differences in diction. -- Lists of words found in J^{ap} but not in J could be given here, or vice versa, but such divergence in the use of words might in the main be due to difference of subject. But it is instructive to touch upon a few phenomena of this nature. Thus our author has **pistij** 4 times and **pistoj** 8, whereas J has not **pistij** at all, **pistoj** once, but **pisteuein** nearly 100 times. Our author uses **upomonh**, 7 times and **sofia** 4, but J, neither. On the other hand, J uses **agapan** 36 times and **agaph** 7 (1. 2. 3. J 31 and 21 respectively), but our author has **agapan** only 4 and **agaph** only 2 times. Again, **alhgeia** (**alhghj**) and **cara**, found so frequently in J, are wholly absent from our author. J has **men**))) **de**, 6 or more {xxx.} times, our author not once: **yla**, 100 and **gar** 65, and our author 13 and 16 respectively. Again our author has **enwpion** 34 times and **iha** 45 times, whereas J has these once and 150 times respectively.

§ 3. Different words or forms used by these writers to express the same idea. -- Our author uses **arnion** (= Lamb of God) 29 times where J uses **annoj**: **mou** or **emou**⁽²⁾ (= "mine") where J uses **emoj** 36 times: **autoj** as an emphatic pronoun 3²⁰ 14¹⁰ 19¹², whereas J uses **ekeinoj** in this sense while he uses **autoj** as an unemphatic pronoun: see Abbott, *Gr.* 236. Again our author says **en mesw** | or **ana. meson** where J uses **mesoj**: **Verousalhm** where J has **Verosoluma**.⁽³⁾ Our author uses **idou**,⁽²⁶⁾ but J **ide**,⁽⁴⁾ **Vdoudaioj**, 2⁹ 3⁹ (= a member of the Chosen People of God, nearly so in Ro 2^{17.28}), where J has **Vsrahli thj**, 1⁴⁷. Again, whereas our author defines the historic city Jerusalem as **thj polewj**))) **htij kaleitai pneumatikwj Sodoma**, 11⁸, J names it as **Verosuluma**, 1¹⁹ 2¹³ etc.

A very interesting divergence is to be observed where the Greek equivalent of "called" or "named" occurs. Here our authors has **kalein** and J **legein**. Thus we have 1⁹ **thj nhsw** | t) **kaloumenh** | **Patmw** | 12⁹ o` **kaloumenoj Diaboloj**, while J writes 4⁵ **polin**))) **legomenhn Sucar**, 4²⁵ **Messiaj**))) o` **legomenoj Cristoj**, 11¹⁶ **qwnaj** o` **legomenoj Didumoj** (cf. 1³⁸ 5² 9¹¹ 11⁵⁴ 20²⁴ 21²): and just as our author says, 11⁸ **htij kaleitai**))) **Sodoma**, so J 19¹⁷ says o[**legetai**))) **Tolgoqa**. The divergence comes still more into relief when we compare J^{ap} 16¹⁶ **topon t). kaloumenon**))) : **Ar Magedwn** and J 19¹³ **topon legomenon Liqostrwton**. On this as well as on other grounds 8^{11a} **kai. to. onoma tou/ asteroj legetai** -O : **Ayinqoj** is to be excised as a gloss.

Again, our author always uses **katoikein** of living in a certain locality; J sometimes uses **menein** in this sense, but never **katoikein**: also **oligon**, 17¹⁰ (= "a little while"), whereas J says **mikron** in the same sense 9 times; and **ouj** 8 times while J uses **wtion** once.

A very delicate distinction calls for attention in their equivalents of the English "no longer." Thus our author⁽⁵⁾ says **ouk))) eti** (14, including chap. xviii.), but J always **ouketi** (12), and **wj** with finite verb by way of illustration (2²⁷), while J uses **kaqwj** with finite verb (13¹⁵ 15¹² 17²³ etc.).

Finally, whereas J frequently uses **kaqwj** (31, and 1. 2. 3. J 13 {**xxxi.**} times), our author uses always **wj** in the same sense. Where J says **kaqwj egw**, (15¹⁰), our author says **wj kagw**, (2²⁷).⁽⁶⁾ Where J^{ap} uses **acri** (11 times), J uses **elwj**. Neither J nor 1. 2. 3 J use **acri**. Where J^{ap} uses **sfodra**, 2. 3 J, uses **lian**. In this last contrast, I assume that 2. 3. J and J are from the same author.

§ 4. Words and phrases with one meaning in our author and a different one in J:

Apocalypse	Fourth Gospel
a^vhqinoj = true in word as opposed to false (= a^vhqhj).	= "genuine" as opposed to unreal. See vol. i. 85 sq.
akouein fwnhj akouein fwnhn.	Different meanings in J. See <i>Gram.</i> , vol. i. p. cxl.
autoj used as emphatic pronoun	.Used as unemphatic pronoun, ekeinoj being used as emphatic.

<p>oi` dou|oi tou/ qeou⁽⁷⁾ -- a title of the highest honour: cf. 1^{1(bis)} 7³ 10⁷ 11¹⁸ 19².</p>	<p>15¹⁵ ouke^{ti} legw u^{ma}j dou|ouj)</p>
<p>dwrean, 21⁶ 22¹⁷ = "freely."</p>	<p>15²⁵ "without a cause."</p>
<p>eqnoj or eqnh (23) = Gentiles, 2²⁶ 11² 15⁴ etc., or all nations, including the Jews (?).</p>	<p>eqnoj (5) only used of Jewish nation.</p>
<p>Voudaiobj, 2⁹ 3⁹ -- used in a good sense.</p>	<p>Used over 70 times, and generally in a bad sense.</p>
<p>kosmoj = the created world, 11¹⁵ 13⁸ 17⁸.</p>	<p>kosmoj = the world of man (frequently and often in a bad sense).</p>
<p>laoj = Gentiles generally, but = Christian believers twice.</p>	<p>Jewish nation (2, excluding 8²).</p>
<p>⊖ Logoj tou/ qeou, 19¹³ -- a conception developed in Jewish thought.</p>	<p>⊖ Logoj, J 1^{1sqq.}. This conception is quite different and presupposes, while opposing, Philonic speculations.</p>
<p>oua (6), always illative⁽⁸⁾, a particle of logical appeal.</p>	<p>195 times, and generally a narrative particle, i.e. of historical transition.</p>
<p>poimainein, 2²⁷ 12⁵ 19¹⁵ = "to destroy" (though in 7¹⁷ = "to feed").</p>	<p>21¹⁶ "to feed".</p>

{xxxii.}proskuneih, c. dat. = "to worship."
 " ", c. acc. = "to do homage
 to." See note on 7¹¹: vol. i. 211 sqq.

These constructions have exactly opposite meanings in J. See *Gr.* p. cxli, see also vol. i. 211-212; Abbott, *Voc.* 137 sqq.

uḏwr zwhj, 21⁶ 22¹⁷
 xu,ou zwhj, 2⁷ 22^{2.14}

uḏwr zwh, 4¹⁰ 7³⁸, which phrase includes the meanings of the two phrases in J^{ap}. See vol. i. 54 sq.

Again, though 7¹⁵ o` kaqhmenoꝝ epi. // t)qronou // skhnwsei epV autouj is similar to J 1¹⁴ o` logoꝝ sarx egeneto kai. eskhnwsen en hmiñ, the similarity is only an outward one. The same is true of 2²⁷ ei:hfa para. t) patroꝝ mou as compared with J 10¹⁸ tau:hn t) entolhn e:labon para. t) patroꝝ mou)

§ 5. The Authors of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel were in some way related to each other:

(a) The following phrases point in this direction:

Apocalypse	Fourth Gospel
2 ² ouvdunh| bastasai)	16 ² ouvdunasqe bastazein)
20 ⁶ o` e:wn meroꝝ en)	13 ⁸ e:eiꝝ meroꝝ meta)
22 ¹⁵ poiwh yeudoꝝ)	3 ²¹ poiwn t) a:hqeian(1 J 3 ⁸ poiwh t) a:martian).

22¹⁷ o` diywñ ercesqw)

737 ean tij diya/ercesqw proj m. kai.
pinetw)

(b) The spiritual significance attached to such terms as **zwh**(**qanatoj**(**diyañ**(**doxa**(**peinañ**(**nikañ** (16 times in J (1), in 1 J (6)), **odhgeiñ**)

(c) The occurrence of the following words and phrases exclusively in these two writers in the N.T. **laleiñ meta**,(elsewhere in N. T. the dative or **rpoj** cum. acc. follows **laleiñ**): **oyij** (1¹⁶ - J 11⁴⁴) = **proswpon: threiñ t) logon** or **logouj** (4 times -- J 8: see note vol. i. 369): **onoma autw/o` qanatoj**(6⁸ -- **ohoma autw/ Wwannahj**(J 1⁶ 3¹: **cropon mikron**, 6¹¹ - J 7³³: **mikron cropon**, 20³ - J 12³⁵: **kukleuein** once -- J once: **porfureoj** 2 times -- J 2 times: **skhnouñ**, 4 -- J once: **foiñix**, once -- J once.

(d) The agreement of both authors (in 1⁷ - J 19³⁷) in the rendering **exekenthosan** against the LXX. See, however, vol. i. 18 sq. The use of the suspensive **ot̄i**; see *Gram.* p. cxxxvii.

(e) The use by both authors of the following phrases and words -- found occasionally in the rest of the N.T. **poiein shmeiõn**, 4 - J 14 (only 4 times in the rest of the N.T.): **threiñ t) entolaj**, 2 - J 4 (1 J 5 times): **deiknunai** (of revelation), 8 - J 7: **ebraisti**, 2 - J 5: **marturia**, 9 - J 14 (1 J 6 times, 3 J once): **piazein**, 1 - J 8: **shmainein**, 1 - J 3: **fileiñ**, 2 - J 13: **sfazein**, 8 - 1 J 2 times.

{xxxiii.}(f) There is to be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem -- the Capital of the Messianic Kingdom, 21²². According to J 4²¹ the temple will cease to exist as the centre of worship.

(g) The same Jewish and Christian ideas underlie the phrase **o` annoj tou/ qeou/** J 1^{29.36}, and the equivalent phrase **to. arnion** in Jap.

(h) The number "seven" occurs more frequently in our author than in all the rest of the N.T. Though it does not occur at all in J, yet J is "permeated structurally with the idea of 'seven.' . . . John records only seven 'signs.' . . . The Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week . . . the witness to Christ is . . . of a sevenfold character" (see

Abbott, *Gr.* 463).

The above facts, when taken together with other resemblances, to which attention is drawn in the *Grammar*, point decidedly to some connection between the two authors. The Evangelist was apparently at one time a disciple of the Seer, or they were members of the same religious circle in Ephesus. We find perfect parallels to the latter relationship in earlier days. The authors of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs and of the Book of Jubilees, who wrote at the close of the 2nd century before the Christian era, studied clearly in the same school; for the text of the one has constantly to be interpreted by that of the other. Yet these two writers are poles asunder on some of the greatest questions of their day. The former hopes for the salvation of the Gentiles and sets forth a system of ethics without parallel before the N.T. The author of Jubilees is a legalist of the narrowest type: is mainly concerned with the Mosaic law and the deductions to be drawn from it, and declares categorically that no Gentile can be saved. The second parallel is to be found between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. The materials of these two works are in certain respects complementary. The former is all but hopeless as to the future alike of Judaism and the Gentiles, whereas the latter is a thoroughgoing optimistic Jew, who looks to Judaism for the conversion of the Gentiles, so far as these can be saved.

In the Seer and the Evangelist we have got just such another literary connection. But the literary connection is much less close than in the case of the Jewish authors just mentioned, while the theological affinities between the Seer and the Evangelist are much closer than those existing between the Jewish writers. The greater unity in spiritual outlook and theological concept is explicable, however, from the fact that the variations within Christianity of the 1st century are infinitesimal as {xxxiv.} compared with those that prevailed in contemporary and earlier Judaism.

§ 6. J and (1.) 2. 3. J were written by the same Author. --

That J and 1 J are derived from the same author is generally admitted. But from a very early date 2 and 3 J have been ascribed to a different writer.⁽⁹⁾ But a study of the internal evidence leads to the conclusion that all 2. 3. J and most probably 1 J are from one and the same writer, who was also the author of the Gospel. The same evidence shows that, though 2 or 3 J have a few points in common with J^{ap}, the style of these two Epistles is decidedly that of J (or 1 J) as opposed to that of J^{ap}. Their failure to study the linguistic relations of 2. 3 J have led Schmiedel, von Soden, and Moffatt into the grievous error of attributing 2. 3. J and J^{ap} to the same author. The pronouncement of these scholars led me to investigate this subject, and therein I am grateful to them, seeing that the result of this investigation appears to furnish the key to some important Johannine problems. No investigation of this nature has, so far as I am aware, ever been made.

There is one usage in 2 J which it has in common with J^{ap} and which is not found in J. In 2 J¹⁰ we have **ει tij (ercetai)**, which occurs occasionally in J^{ap} but never in J or 1 J, which have always **εαν tij**. But there seems to be a reason for using **ει** here and not **εαν**. The author assumes that the **εrcesqai** is not a mere possibility but a thing likely to happen. **Wj** with the part. is found in 2 J⁵ **ουc wj grafwn**, and in J^{ap} 1¹⁵ 5⁶ 13³ but not in J. But the usage is not really the same in 2 J⁵ and J^{ap}. In the latter **wj** conveys the idea of likeness, whereas in 2 J⁵ it implies a purpose. The Hebraism in 2 J² **δια. thn αἰῆσαν thn μενουςαν εν ἡμῖν kai. μεqV uἰνωῃ εἰται** (= "which abideth in us and shall be with us") is of frequent occurrence in J^{ap}. But it occurs probably in J 1³² **τεqεamai to. pneuma katabaihon)) kai. εμεinen epV auton**, and in Col. 1²⁶. Hence no real weight can be assigned to these coincidences in style.

On the other hand, the body of evidence in favour of a common authorship of J and (1.) 2. 3 J carries with it absolute conviction.

i. **2. 3 J are with one exception (2 J²) free from the solecisms and idiosyncrasies of J^{ap}.**

ii. **Constructions common to 2. 3. J and J, but not found in J^{ap}:**

(a) 2 and 3 J use **mh**, 3 times with the participle: J 11 times: 1 J 8 times: 3 J has **mhden** once with part.,

while J has it twice. But J^{ap} never {xxxv.} uses **mh**, or **mhden** with the participle. In this respect J^{ap} diverges from J, 1. 2. 3 J, exactly as the *Illiad* does from the *Odyssey*.

(b) In 2 J¹⁰ the writer uses **mh**, with the present imperative, i.e. **mh. lambanete** (3 J¹¹ **mh. mimou**) in

order to forbid an action not yet begun. Here the author of J^{ap} would have used **mh**, with the aor.

subj. In this respect the author of 2. 3 J has the support of J (see below, p. cxxvi)

(c) In 3 J³ we have the genitive absolute, which occurs often in J but never in J^{ap} (nor 1 J).

(d) The unemphatic possessive pronoun **autou**/(or **authj**) (i.e. the genitive

before its noun) occurs in

3 J¹⁰ 1 J 2⁵ and frequently in J, never in J^{ap} (save in a source 18⁵).

(e) **outoj** is used resumptively in regard to a preceding clause (consisting of **o`** with part. or **oj** with finite verb) in 2 J⁹ and 4 times in J but not in J^{ap}.

(f) **martureih** takes the dative 3 times in 3 J and 4 in J, but J^{ap} always construes it with the acc.

martureih is followed by **oti** in 1 J and by **peri**, in J, but by neither in J^{ap}.

(g) In 3 J⁹ the order of the words, **o` filoprwteuwn autwh Diotrefhj**, has several parallels in J

but none in J^{ap} (or 1 J). The author of J^{ap} would have written **o` Diotrefhj o` filoprwteuwn**

autwh. See *Gram.* p. clvi. **poluj** is a prepositive in 2 J⁷ 1 J 4¹ -- J 6⁵ 10³² 11⁴⁷ etc.; but always post-positive in J^{ap}, once in 1 J and J 3²³ 6^{2.10} 7¹².

(h) **erwtw/ se))) iha**, 2 J⁵ -- J 4⁴⁷ 17¹⁵ 19³⁸ [* The verb "ask" does not occur in J^{ap} though

erwtah is found in 2 J and J, and **aiteih** in 1 J and J. J uses also **exetazein(eperwtah(**

punqanesqai.] but not in J^{ap}. **auth estin))) iha**, 2 J⁶ (*bis*) -- J 15¹² 17³ (1 J 3^{11.23}), but not

in J^{ap}. **meizoteran toutwn ouc ecw caran(iha akouw**, 3 J⁴ -- **meizona tauthj agaphn**

oudeij epei(iha tij thn yuchn autou/ qh/J 15¹³. To this construction I know of no real parallel.

iii. Words, particles, and phrases common to 2. 3. J and J (1 J), but not found in Jap.

(a) Words. **a`hqhj(a`hqwj(a`hqeia(meizwn(menein(ofeilein(cara)**

(b) **Particles and phrases.** ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλου(καὶ. νῦν(peri,
 (cum gen.), τοῖσιν(
 ὑπὲρ: καὶ. ἡμεῖς de, 3 J¹² -- J 15²⁶: ἀρχῆς, 2 J^{bis} -- J 8⁴⁴ 15²⁷ (1 J 11^{27.13.14} etc.): τοῖς
 ἔργοις αὐτοῦ/ τοῖς πονηροῖς {xxxvi.} 2 J¹¹ -- J 7⁷ τα. ἔργα αὐτοῦ/
 πονηραῖς ὑπομῆσθαι,
 3 J¹⁰ -- J 14²⁶: το. κακῶν, 3 J¹¹ -- J 5²⁹.

iv. Words frequent in 1. 2. 3 J and J, but exceptional in J^{ap}. **ἐμοῦ** once in 3 J (in 15 verses), but only once in J^{ap} in 404 verses; thus 3 J uses it once in 15 verses approximates to J which uses it once in ever 22. J^{ap} uses no other possessive adjective, but 1 J uses **ἡμετέροισιν** twice, and J **ὑμετέροισιν** 3 times and **σοῦ** 6. **ἐπι**, does not occur in 1. 2. 3 J, but 150 times in J^{ap} and 35 in J. If J had it relatively as often as J^{ap}, it would occur 22t times instead of 35. Thus 1. 2. 3 J are strongly marked off here from J^{ap} but approximate to J.

v. The following parallel expressions are in themselves strong evidence of identity of authorship:

2 J⁹ παρ' οὐ()) μενῶν ἐν τῇ
 διδαχῇ/ τοῦ/ Χριστοῦ

J 7¹⁶ (cf. 18¹⁹) ἡ ἐν. διδαχ.
 οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν,

This parallel is full of significance; for in J **didach**, is used only of Christ's teaching (as derived from God, 7¹⁷), whereas J^{ap} it is used only of heretical teaching: cf. 2^{14.15.24}.

2 J⁴ ἐπιτολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ
 πατροῦ)

J 10¹⁸ ταῦτῃν τὴν ἐπιτολὴν
 ἐλάβον παρὰ τοῦ/ πατροῦ
 μου)

2 J⁶ ἠκούσατε ἀρχῆς (1 J 3¹¹).

J 16⁴ ἐκ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον)

2 J ⁵ entolhn grafwn soikainhn (entolhn kainhn grafw, 1 J 2 ⁷).	J 13 ³⁴ entolhn kainhn didwmi)
2 J ¹² (1 J 1 ⁴) iħa h` cara. uimwh peplhrwmenh h†	J 8 ³² gnwsesqe thn aħhgeian)
3 J ¹⁰ ek thj ekklhsiaj ekballei)	J 3 ²⁹ auħh oun h` cara. h` emh. peplhrwtai Cf. 15 ¹¹ 16 ²⁴ .
3 J ¹¹ oue ewraken ton qeon)	J 14 ⁹ o` ewrakwj eme. ewraken ton patera)
3 J ¹² h` marturia himwh aħhghj estin)	J 8 ¹⁴ aħhghj estin h` marturia mou)

The connection of 2. 3. J with 1 J could be shown by such examples as 2 J⁹ qeon ouk
exei -- 1 J 5¹²o`)) epcwn ton uion tou/qeou/ 3 J¹¹ ek tou/qeou/ estin -- 1
J 4²: 2 J⁷ o` anticristoj -- 1 J 2^{18.22}. The conception of the Antichrist in 1. 2. J is
quite different from that in J^{ap}.

vi. There are no quotations in 1. 2. 3. J. In this respect they show an affinity with J
where there are very few, and offer a strong contrast to J^{ap} where quotations abound.
Even in the Epistles to the Seven Churches this feature is prominent.

vii. The Greek of 2. 3. J is far more idiomatic than that of J^{ap}. The order of the words
exhibits none of the monotonous regularity of J^{ap}.

From the above evidence I conclude without hesitation that 1. 2. 3. J and J are
ultimately from the same author. J has {xxxvii.} undoubtedly undergone revision, and 1.
2. 3 J may have suffered somewhat in this respect.⁽¹⁰⁾

§ 7. This conclusion of criticism, completing as it does the work of Dionysius the

Greek of Alexandria, is one of tremendous importance. Before his time, from 135 A.D. onward (see p. xxxix sq.), Church writers began uncritically to assign J^{ap} to the Apostle John. This false conception led necessarily to intolerable confusion. No matter how valid the evidence might be for the martyrdom of this Apostle before 70 A.D., it could only be regarded as purely legendary, seeing that according to the most current view John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse and wrote it in Domitian's reign. If the Apostle were living about 95 A.D. he could not, of course, have been martyred before 70 A.D. This misconception has therefore vitiated the evidence of most Early Church writers on this question,⁽¹¹⁾ and has proved an *ignis fatuus* to many distinguished scholars of our own day. Hence it is not astonishing that so little evidence of the Apostle John's early martyrdom -- and yet, cumulatively considered, it is not little -- should have survived, but it is astonishing in the extreme that any evidence of any sort as to John's early martyrdom has survived at all, seeing that all but universal beliefs of the Church from the earliest ages worked for its absolute deletion from the pages of history. Happily such evidence has survived in out-of-the-way corners of Church history and Church observance, which, owing to the prevailing opinions on such subjects, must have been a hopeless enigma to those who sought to understand them. One Church writer -- Gregory of Nyssa in his *Laudatio s. Stephani* and *De Basilio magno*: see below, p. xlvii - has attempted to do so, and has explained away the evidence of the Church calendars for the early martyrdom of John in a way that can satisfy only those who share the same groundless hypothesis as himself as to John's joint authorship of J and J^{ap}.

NOTES

1. For convenience' sake J will designate the Gospel, 1 J the first Epistle, etc., J^{ap} the Apocalypse.
2. J uses **soj** (6), **umeteroj** (3), **ifioj** (15), and 1 J **himeteroj** (2), but our author uses the possessive pronouns always in their stead. He has **emoj** once.
3. In our author **Verousalhmis** is used only of the heavenly or the New Jerusalem. It is used by Paul always, and nearly always by Luke, of the historic city, whereas Mark always (and Matt. always save once) uses **Verosoluma**.
4. J uses **idou**, 4 times.
5. Our author has **ouketi** 3 times (2 of these in chap. xviii.).
6. J uses **wj** in a temporal sense (= "when") 20 times: our author never. On our author's various uses of **wj**, see vol. i. 35 sq.
7. The servant in J 15¹⁵ knows not his Master's will, in J^{ap} he does. In our author the word **doul oj** means (a) a slave as opposed to **evugeteraj**: cf. 6¹⁵ 13¹⁶ 19¹⁸, and (b) a willing servant of God, whether prophet or other faithful worshipper: cf. 1¹ 2²⁰ 7³ 10⁷ etc. Thus our author uses **doul oj** as the equivalent of **rb**[, But in J **doul oj** follows the Greek usage as denoting a bondman in the literal sense, cf. 15¹⁵, and in the

metaphorical sense δ^{34} $\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$))) $\theta\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\gamma$) $\rho\beta\iota$ is not used in this metaphorical sense. The verb $\rho\beta\iota$, however, is used of idolatrous service. See Abbott, *Johannine Voc.* 212, 227, 289-292, for the use made by the four Evangelists of this word.

8. In Homer $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ is non-illative, just as in the majority of passages in J. It is noteworthy that in J $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ occurs nearly always in the narrative portions, and only 8 times in Christ's words out of the 195, whereas in J^{ap} it occurs only in Christ's words, and never in the narrative portions. In the Synoptists it occurs mostly in Christ's words.

9. Origen (Eus. vi. 25. 10) writes that questions as to the genuineness of these Epistles were rife in certain quarters: Jerome (*De Viris Illust.* 9) distinctly assigns them to different hands.

10. 2 J⁷ $\omicron\iota$ $\mu\eta$. $\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma$ Ψ) C) **ercomenon en sarki**, presents no difficulty in the face of 1 J 4². The **ercomenon** is timeless: "confess not J. Christ as coming in the flesh." Nor does the phrase \omicron **presbuteroj** 2 J¹ 3 J¹ point to any connection with J^{ap}. For **presbuteroj** there has a different meaning. Even an apostle could designate himself thus: cf. 1 Pet 5¹ \omicron **sumpresbuteroj**. But Peter has already called himself **apostoloj** Ψ hsou/ Cristou/in 1¹. Hence there is no risk of confusion. No weight, moreover, attaches to the use of $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\eta$ for $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\iota\alpha\eta$ **exein**, or the occurrence of the greeting $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ ϵ $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\gamma$ $($ $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta)$

11. Justin Martyr believes in the Apostolic authorship of J^{ap} as early as 135 A.D. or thereabouts. A myth can arise in a very few years. Hence it is not strange that such writers as Hegesippus (*ob. circ.* 180) and subsequent writers, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, have lost all knowledge of the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.

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{xxxviii.}

III.

Authorship of the Johannine Writings

It may assist the reader if the conclusions arrived at in this chapter are put shortly as follows: (a) J^{ap} and J are from distinct authors. (b) 2. 3 J are from the author of J and not of J^{ap}. The evidence for this fact, which in the present writer's opinion furnishes the key to some of the chief Johannine problems, is given on pp. xxxiv sqq. (c) If John the Elder is the author of 2. 3. J, then he is according to all internal evidence the author of J and 1 J. (d) John the prophet -- a Palestinian Jew, who late in life migrated to Asia Minor, is author of J^{ap}. (e) The above conclusions, which are arrived at on internal grounds, and on external evidence mainly of the 2nd century, are confirmed by the Papias-tradition, that John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews before 70 A.D.

§ 1. The Apocalypse is not pseudonymous, but the work of a John. --

In Jewish literature practically every apocalyptic book was pseudonymous. I have elsewhere⁽¹⁾ shown the causes which forced works of this character to be pseudonymous. In the post-Exilic period the idea of an inspired Law -- adequate, infallible, and valid for all time -- became a dogma of Judaism. When this dogma was once established, there was no longer any room for the prophet, nor for the religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. The second cause for the adoption of pseudonymity was the formation of the Canon of the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. After this date -- say about 200 B.C. -- no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, and all real advances to a higher ethics or a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character published under the name of some ancient worthy. Accordingly, when a man of God, such as the author of Daniel, felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to issue it in this form. But with the advent of Christianity the Law was thrust into a wholly subordinate place; for the spirit of prophecy had descended afresh on the faithful, belief in inspiration was kindled anew, and for several generations no exclusive Canon of Christian writings was formed. There is, therefore, not a single *a priori* reason

for regarding the Apocalypse as pseudonymous. Furthermore, its author distinctly claims that the visions are his own, and that they are not for some far distant generation, as is universally the case in Jewish pseudonymous works, but for his own (22¹⁰). In four distinct {xxxix.} passages he gives his name as John (1^{1.4.9} 22⁸). He states that he is a servant of Jesus Christ (1¹), a brother of the Churches in Asia and one who has shared in their tribulations (1⁹), that he has himself seen and heard the things contained in his book (22⁸), and that he was vouchsafed these revelations during his stay (voluntary or enforced)⁽²⁾ in the island of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus (1⁹). To a more intimate study of our author we shall return later. So far it is clear that the Apocalypse before us was written by a prophet (22⁹) who lived in Asia Minor, and that his actual name was John. J^{ap} is just as assuredly the work of a John as 2 Tess 2 and 1 Cor 15 are apocalypses of St. Paul.⁽³⁾ Even the later Christian apocalypse of the Shepherd of Hermas bears, as is generally acknowledged, the name of its real author.

Finally, if the work were pseudonymous, it would have gone forth under the aegis -- not of a John who was a *prophet* of Asia Minor and otherwise unknown, but of John the Apostle. Furthermore he would not have ventured to claim the name and authorship of a prophet in the very lifetime of that prophet and in the immediate sphere of that prophet's activity. There is not a shred of evidence, not even the shadow of a probability, for the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is pseudonymous.

There is manifold early evidence of the Johannine authorship. Thus Justin, who lived about 135 A.D. in Ephesus, where one of the Seven Churches had its seat, declares that J^{ap} is by "John, one of the apostles of Christ" (*Dial.* 81). Melito, bishop of Sardis, another of the Seven Churches, wrote (*circ.* 165) a lost work on J^{ap} (*ta. peri.)) thj apokaluyewj Vwannou*: see Eus. iv. 26. 2). Irenaeus (*circ.* 180) upheld the Johannine authorship of all the Johannine writings in the N.T. For J^{ap}, see *Haer.* iii. 11. 1., iv. 20. 11, v. 35. 2, where John is called Domini discipulus (o` tou/ kuriou maqhtj) (a title, however, which does not exclude apostleship; cf. ii. 22. 5).

Tertullian cites J^{ap} as the work of the Apostle John (*c. Marc.* iii. 14, 24). So also Origen, Hippolytus, and others: also the Muratorian Canon.

§ 2. John, the author of J^{ap}, is distinct from the author of J. --

Tertullian⁽⁴⁾, Hippolytus,⁽⁵⁾ and Origen⁽⁶⁾ were assured that {xl.} both the Gospel and the Apocalypse proceeded from the son of Zebedee. But this view, that both works proceeded from one and the same author, was rejected by Dionysius (*ob.* 265 A.D.), bishop of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen. Dionysius (Eus. *H.E.* vii. 25. 7-27) accepts J^{ap} as the work of a John, but declares that he could not readily agree that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. In the following sections he enumerates a variety of

grounds. (a) The Evangelist does not prefix his name or mention it subsequently either in the Gospel or in his Epistle, whereas the writer of the Apocalypse definitely declares himself by name at the outset, and subsequently. That it was a John who wrote the Apocalypse he admitted, but this John did not claim to be the beloved disciple of the Lord, nor the one who leaned on His breast, nor the brother of James. (b) There is a large body of expressions of the same complexion and character common to the Gospel and of 1 J, but wholly absent from J^{ap}. Indeed, the latter "does not contain a syllable in common" with the two former works. (c) The phraseology of the Gospel and 1 J differs from that of J^{ap}. The former are written in irreprehensible Greek (**αἰσθητῶν**), and it would be difficult to discover in them any barbarism or solecism or idiotism (**ἰδιωτισμῶν**). But the dialect and language of J^{ap} is inaccurate Greek (**διὰλεκτῶν**))) **καὶ γλωτταν οὐκ ακριβῶς ἐλληνίζουσαν**), and is characterized by barbarous idioms and solecisms. Such is Dionysius' criticism of the style of J^{ap}; and from the standpoint of the Greek scholar it is more than justified. But that there was law and order underlying the seeming grammatical lawlessness of the Seer neither Dionysius nor any purely Greek scholar could ever discover -- a fact that widens immeasurably the breach discovered by Dionysius between J and J^{ap}. This will become apparent when we come to the grammar and vocabulary of our author (see pp. xcvi - clix). A study of these with a knowledge of the Hebraic style of our author makes it impossible to attribute J^{ap} and J to the same author. Thus the theory of Dionysius as to the diversity of authorship has passed out of the region of hypothesis and may not be safely regarded as an established conclusion. There were at all events two Johannine authors. Who were these?

§ 3. There were, according to Papias, two Johns, one the Apostle and the other John the Elder. Dionysius and Eusebius suggest that the latter is the author of J^{ap}. -- Eusebius in his history (iii. 39. 4)

quotes the following fragment of Papias which clearly distinguishes the Apostle and the Elder, both bearing the name John. "And if any one chanced to come who had been also a follower of the elder, I used to question (him) closely as to the sayings of the elders -- as to what Andrew or Peter *had said*(**ἔειπεν**) (ειπεν), or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord: also as to what Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord's disciples, *say* (**ἔλεγουσιν**)." Eusebius then goes on to emphasize the distinction made by Papias between these two Johns, and contends that this view is confirmed by the statements of those who said that there were two Johns in Asia and "there were two tombs in Ephesus, both of which bear the name of John even to this day. To which things it is needful also that we shall give heed; for it is probable that the second (i.e. the Elder), unless one will have it to be the first, saw the Apocalypse bearing the name of John (iii. 39. 6)." At an earlier date Dionysius of Alexandria threw out the same suggestion. He held that John the Apostle wrote J and 1 J (Eus. vii. 25. 7), but that another John -- one of the two Johns who according to report

had been in Asia and both of whose tombs were said to be there -- had written the Apocalypse (vii. 25. 16). Jerome testifies to the belief ("Johannis presbyteri . . . cujus hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur," *De viris illis*. 9), and also to the fact that in his day the tradition was still current that this John the Elder was the author of 2 and 3 J (*ibid.* 18).

§ 4. But 2 and 3 John appear on examination of the language and idiom to proceed even more certainly than 1 J from the author of J.⁽⁷⁾

-- The traditional view assigns 1 J and J to the same authorship. But in modern days a minority of competent scholars have rejected this view. The problem is discussed with great fairness by Brooke (*Johannine Epistles*, pp. i-xix), who comes to the conclusion that "there are no adequate reasons for setting aside the traditional view which attributes the Epistle and Gospel to the same authorship. It remains the most probable explanation of the facts known to us (p. xviii)."⁽⁸⁾ With this conclusion the present writer is in agreement.

But what as to the authorship of 2. 3. J? Some notable scholars disconnect these two Epistles wholly from J and 1 J. Thus Bousset (*Offenbarung*, 1906) at the close of a long discussion on the authorship of J^{ap} (pp. 34-49) concludes that a John of Asia Minor, and not John the Apostle, was the author of J^{ap}: that this John was probably identical with John the Elder of whom Papias tells us, with the Elder of 2. 3 J, with the unnamed disciple in J 21, and with the teacher of Polycarp, of whom Irenaeus writes in his letter to Florinus. Von Soden (*Books of the N.T.*, pp. {xlii.} 444-446, 1907) is also of the opinion that John the Elder was the author of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J as well as 1 J. Next, Schmiedel (*Johannine Writings*, pp. 208-209, 216-217, 229-231, 1908) attributes J^{ap} and 2. 3 J to an unknown writer who assumed the pseudonym of John the Elder, and 1 J to another author. The joint authorship of J^{ap} and 2. 3 J is also supported by Moffatt (*Introd. to Lit. of the N.T.*, p. 481).

But the present writer cannot accept this hypothesis. After a considerable time spent on the linguistic study⁽⁹⁾ of 2. 3 J in comparison with J and J^{ap}, he has been forced to conclude that 2. 3 J are connected linguistically with J, and that so closely as to postulate the same authorship. This study was first undertaken to discover what connection existed between 2. 3 J and J^{ap}, since an early tradition assigned the latter to John the Elder and the opening words (**ο` Presbuteroj**) of 2. 3 J received their most natural explanation on this hypothesis. In fact, this is more or less the view advocated by the scholars mentioned above.

Now on p. xxxiv sqq. I have dealt with the characteristic words and constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, or 2. 3 J and J^{ap}. The facts there set forth admit in the present

writer's opinion of only one conclusion as regards the relations of 2. 3 J with J and J^{ap}, and this is that *whereas 2. 3 J have nothing whatever to do with J^{ap}, they are more idiomatically connected with J than is 1 J, and postulate the same authorship.*

§ 5. If, then, (1.) 2. 3 J and J are derived from the same author and J^{ap} from quite a different author, and John the Elder is admitted to be the author of 2. 3 J, it follows further that John the Elder is the author not only of 2. 3 J, but also of J and of 1 J.

-- There is no evidence that John the Elder wrote J^{ap} beyond the conjectures of Dionysius and Eusebius. But there is some external evidence and good internal evidence that the Elder wrote 2. 3 J. The external evidence is of the slightest. It is found in Jerome (*De viris illis*. c. 18), "rettulimus traditum duas posteriores epistulas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri." But the internal evidence is strong. As Brooke writes (*Johannine Epp.* 166 sq.): "The evidence of Papias and Irenaeus points to a prevalent Christian usage of the word (**presbuteroj**), especially in Asia, to denote those who had companied with Apostles. . . . It is natural to suppose that throughout the fragment of his Introduction, which Eusebius quotes, Papias uses the expression **presbuteroj** in the same sense." The elders are the men from . . . whom Papias learnt the sayings {xlili.} of the Apostles. "The absolute use of the phrase in Papias (**kai. touqV o` presbuteroj elege**) and in 2 and 3 John makes it the distinctive title of some member of the circle to whom the words are addressed, or at least of one of who is well known to them." Hence *it is only natural to recognize the Elder, mentioned in Papias and in 2. 3 J, as John the Elder, whom Papias so carefully distinguishes from John the Apostle. The writer of 2. 3 J cannot have been an apostle.*⁽¹⁰⁾

But if John the Elder was the author of 2. 3 J, then we conclude further by means of the results arrived at in II. § 6 above that he was also the author of J.⁽¹¹⁾

This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that John the Elder was, as Harnack suggests, the pupil of John the Apostle. In this case J embodies materials which John the Elder learnt from John the Apostle, but the form is his own.

§ 6. If John the Elder is the author of J and (1.) 2. 3 J, is John the Apostle the author of J^{ap}? No. John, its author, claims to be a prophet, not an apostle. He was a Palestinian Jew who migrated to Asia Minor when probably advanced in years. --

John the author of J^{ap} nowhere claims that he is an apostle. He appears to look upon the apostles retrospectively and from without, 21¹⁴ (cf. 18²⁰). In these two passages he

enumerates as two distinct classes -- apostles and prophets. He never makes any claim to apostleship: he never suggests that he knew Christ personally. But he distinctly claims to be a prophet -- a member {xliv.} of the brotherhood of the Christian prophets, 22⁹, who are God's servants in a special sense, 1¹ 10⁷ 11¹⁸ 22⁶, whereas other Christians are God's servants so far as they observe the things revealed by the prophets, 22⁹. He is a servant of Jesus Christ, 1¹, a brother(12) of the Churches of Asia and a partaker in their sufferings, 1⁹. He is commanded "to prophesy" to the nations of the earth, 10¹¹. He designates his work as "the workds of the prophecy," 1³, or "the words of the prophecy of this book," 22^{7.10.18}. Hence it may be safely concluded that the author of J^{ap} was not an apostle.

The author of J^{ap} was a Palestinian Jew. He was a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies. His intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the O.T., of which his book contains multitudinous quotations based directly upon it, is best explained by this hypothesis. The fact also, that he thought in Hebrew and translated its idioms literally into Greek, points to Palestine as his original home. Though no doubt he used the Aramaic of his day, in a real sense Hebrew was his mother's tongue. His Greek also, which is unlike any Greek that was ever penned by mortal man, calls for the same hypothesis. No Greek document exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms and unparalleled idiosyncrasies. Most writers on J^{ap} have been struck with the unbridled license of his Greek constructions. But in reality there is no such license. The Greek, though without a parallel elsewhere, proceeds according to certain rules of the author's own devising. Now this fact is a proof that our author never mastered Greek idiomatically -- even the Greek of his own day.

But we may proceed still further. Just as his use of Hebrew practically as his mother tongue (for Hebrew was still the language of learned discussion in Palestine) points to his being a Palestinian Jew, so his extraordinary use of Greek appears to prove not only that he never mastered the ordinary Greek of his own times, but that he came to acquire whatever knowledge he had of his language when somewhat advanced in years.

Two other characteristics of the man and his work point not only to Palestine, but Galilee as his original home. The first is that he was a prophet or Seer. Now the writers of apocalypses, so far as we are aware, were generally natives of Galilee, not of Judaea. In the next place, our author exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the entire apocalyptic literature of his time, and this literature found most of its readers in Galilee, where the Law, which was hostile to it, had less power than in Judaea.

{xliv.} § 7. The silence of ecclesiastical writers down to 180 A.D. as to any residence of John the Apostle in Asia Minor is against his being the author of J^{ap}. -- The conclusion reached in § 6 is confirmed by

external evidence. No sub-apostolic writer betrays any knowledge that John the Apostle ever resided in Ephesus. Yet the author of J^{ap} was evidently the chief authority in the Ephesian Church, or at least one of his chief authorities. Thus Ignatius (*circ.* 110 A.D.) in his letter to the Church of Ephesus (12²) speaks only of Paul, but makes no allusion whatever to John the Apostle, *though according to the later tradition John had exercised his apostolic authority in Ephesus long after Paul, and had written both J and J^{ap}.* The reasonable inference from the above silence is that Ignatius was not aware of any residence of John the Apostle in Ephesus. That Clemens Romanus (*circ.* 96 A.D.) was silent as to John's residence in Ephesus, may have some bearing on this question when taken in connection with that of Ignatius. Justin and Hegesippus (150-180 A.D.) in like manner tell nothing of John's residence in Ephesus. Yet Justin lived in Ephesus about 135 A.D., which city, according to later traditions, was the scene of John's apostolic labours.

§ 8. The above conclusions are confirmed by the tradition of John the Apostle's martyrdom, which, if trustworthy, renders his authorship of J^{ap} as well as of the other Johannine literature impossible.⁽¹³⁾ -- That John the Apostle, like his brother James, died a martyr's death, has been inferred from the following evidence: --

(a) The prophecy of Jesus. -- This recorded in Mk 10³⁵⁻⁴⁰ = Mt 20²⁰⁻²³, and especially the words: "The cup that I drink shall ye drink" (to. pothrion o] egw. piesqe kai. to. baptisma o] egw. baptizomai baptisqhsesqe, Mk 10³⁹ = to. men pothrion mou piesqe, Mt 20²³).⁽¹⁴⁾ In Mark the above words are followed by a parallel clause: "And with the baptism that I am baptized with shall ye be baptized." The meaning is unmistakable. Jesus predicts for James and John the same destiny that awaits Himself. That this prediction was in part fulfilled when Herod Agrippa I. put James to death, we learn from Acts 12², but not in the case of John. Now, if John's martyrdom fell within the period covered in Acts, we may conclude with Wellhausen and {xlv.} Moffatt that we have here one of the many gaps discoverable in Luke's narrative, who fails to record John's death as he does that of Peter. But it is not necessary to assume that John was martyred before 66 A.D., as we shall see presently.

(b) But though Acts 12² fails us here, there is a Papias-tradition recounting the martyrdom of John. -- A MS of Georgius Hamartolous (9th cent.) states on the authority of Papias that John the son of Zebedee was slain by the Jews ((Vwannahj) marturiou kathxiwtai\ Papiaj gar))) faskei oti upo. Voudaiwn anhreqh(plhrwsaj dhladh. meta. tou/ adel fou/ thn tou/ Cristou/ peri. autwn prorrhsin). This statement is confirmed by an extract

published by De Boor (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1888, v. 2. 170) from an Oxford MS. (7th or 8th cent.) of an epitome of the Chronicle of Philip of Side (5th cen.) "Papias in the second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were slain by the Jews" (Papiaj en t) deuterw| logw| legei ofi Vwannahj o` qeologoj⁽¹⁵⁾kai. Vakwboj o` adelfoj autou/ upo. Moudaiwn anhreghsan). Swete (*Apoc.* clxxix. sq.) adds here the following pertinent comment: "If Papias made it (this statement), the question remains whether he made it under some misapprehension, or merely by way of expressing his conviction that the prophecy of Mk x. 39 had found a literal fulfilment. Neither explanation is very probable in view of the early date of Papias. He does not, however, affirm that the brothers suffered at the same time: *the martyrdom of John at the hand of the Jews might have taken place at any date before the last days of Jerusalem.*"⁽¹⁶⁾

This Papias-tradition is rejected by Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, 260-284; Harnack, *TLZ.*, 1909, 10-12; Drummond, 227 sq.; Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 147 sq.; Armitage Robinson, *Historical Character of John's Gospel*, 64 sqq.; Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, i. 166 sq.; but such a rejection is hazardous in face of the evidence furnished by subsequent and independent authorities, not to speak of the results already arrived at independently in this chapter.⁽¹⁷⁾

(c) Certain ancient writers imply or recount the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee. -- The first evidence is that of Heracleon (an early Gnostic commentator on J, about 145 A.D.), preserved in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9). Heracleon in connection with Lk 12¹¹⁻¹² states that "Matthew, Philip, Thomas, {xlvi.} Levi,⁽¹⁸⁾ and many others" had escaped public testimony to Christ. The omission of John's name is full of significance. He cannot, in view of his prominence both in the N.T. and in the 2nd cent., be relegated to the nameless body of the "many others." Clement does not call in question this statement of Heracleon. Archbishop Bernard weakens this evidence, but his (*Studia Sacra*, 283 sq.) argument proceeds on the hypothesis that John the Apostle was the author of the Apocalypse.

The next evidence is furnished by the *Martyrium Andreae* i. 2 (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* II. i. 46 sq.). Here it is recounted how the apostles cast lots as to which people they should severally adopt as their sphere of missionary effort. The result of the casting of the lots was that the circumcision was assigned to Peter, *the East to James and John*, and the cities of Samaria and Asia to Philip (eklhrwqh Petroj thn peritomhn(Vakwboj kai. Vwannahj thn anatolhn\ Filippoj taj poleij thj Samariaj kai. thn Asian), and so on. What is significant in this legend is that it ignores wholly any residence of John in Asia Minor.⁽¹⁹⁾

Next, in Clement (*Strom.* vii. 17) it is stated definitely that the teaching of the apostles,

embracing the ministry of Paul, was brought to a close in the reign of Nero⁽²⁰⁾ (h' de. **apostolwn autou** (i.e. **Cristou% mecri ge thj Paulou leitourgiaj epi. Nerwnoj teleioutai**). These words presuppose the death of all the apostles before 70 A.D. In Epiphanius (li. 33), John's activity is assigned to the times of the Emperor Claudius: **tou/ agiou Vwannou))) profhteusantoj en cronioj Klaudioj kaisaroj**.

The same tradition of John's martyrdom is attested in Chrysostom (*Hom. lxxv. on Mt 20*²³), though in *Hom. lxxvi.* he says that John long survived the fall of Jerusalem.

According to Moffatt (p. 607), even Gregory of Nyssa (*Laudatio Stephani: De Basilio Magno*) mentions Peter, James, and John as martyred apostles and places them between Stephen and Paul. But Bernard (*Studia Sacra*, 280 sqq.) has rightly objected to Gregory being cited as supporting such a thesis. The fact is that Gregory is mystified naturally by this attestation of the Church calendar to the martyrdom of John and seeks to explain it away.

{xlviii.} As Clemens and Chrysostom reflect the conflicting traditions as to the manner of John's death and the age at which he died, the Muratorian Canon attests indirectly the survival of the older tradition. It states that Paul wrote to seven churches after the precedent set by John. This statement cannot be accepted, since most (if not all) of the Pauline Epistles were written before all the Seven Churches of Asia were founded. Thus the Church in Smyrna was not founded till 61-64 A.D. at earliest: cf. Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* ii. But the statement becomes intelligible, if John's apostolic activity belonged to the decades before 70 A.D. Thus the older tradition discovers the element of fact in this statement of the Muratorian Canon. For in its enumeration of the works of St. Paul it proceeds: "Ex quibus singulis (non) necesse est a nobis disputari, cum ipse beatus apostolos Paulus, *sequens prodecessoris sui Johannis ordinem*, non nisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat. . . ." Here the composition J^{ap} is set before that of the Pauline Epistles. This fact justifies the assumption that the Muratorian Canon represents the composition of J as prior to the dispersion of the apostles. "Quartum evangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis. (Is) cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Conjungete mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret." That the *condiscipuli* = the rest of the apostles, is to be inferred from John himself being called *ex discipulis*. It may be remarked in passing that the revision of J is here plainly stated.

The North African work *De Rebaptismate* (circ. 250 A.D.) supports the Papias-tradition: "He said to the sons of Zebedee: "Are yet able?" For he knew the men had to be baptized, not only in water but also in their blood."

Finally, the Syrian Aphraates (*De Persecutione* (344 A.D.)) writes: "Great and excellent is the martyrdom of Jesus. . . . After Him was the faithful martyr Stephen, whom the Jews stoned. Simon also and Paul were perfect martyrs. And James and John walked in the footsteps of their Master Christ. . . . Also others of the apostles thereafter in diverse places confessed and proved themselves true martyrs." Here the actual martyrs are mentioned first, including John. Then come the confessors to whom the honorary rank of martyrs is accorded.

(d) The Syriac Martyrology postulates the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.

This martyrology (411 A.D.) was drawn up at Edessa for the use of the local church. It contains the following festivals:

Dec. 27. **Մաննի կայ Վաքբոյ օյ` աստօլօյ ևն Վերօսօլումօյ.**

Dec. 28. **Մեն Քրիստոսի թղթի Պաւլոյ կայ. Տաւրոսի Կիսի.**

{xlix.} Here the martyrdom of James and John in Jerusalem is commemorated between that of Stephen on Dec. 26 and that of Paul and Peter on Dec. 28.

Seeing that the statements with regard to James, Paul, and Peter are trustworthy, there appears no reason for questioning that respecting John. In the Calendar of Carthage (*circ.* 505) there is the entry, "Commemoration of St. John Baptist, and of James the Apostle, whom Herod slew." Since in the same calendar the Baptist is commemorated on June 24, it is clear that John the son of Zebedee is here intended. Thus the two sons of Zebedee are here conjoined, and evidently on the ground of their common martyrdom. According to Moffatt (*Introd. Lit. N.T.* p. 605), the Armenian and Gothico-Gallic Calendars agree with the Syriac.

This considerable body of independent and diverse forms of evidence appears to the present writer to remove the Papias-tradition from the sphere of hypothesis into that of reasonably established facts of history. Finally, the date of John's martyrdom can be fixed within certain limits. He was alive when Paul had his conference with the "pillar-apostles" in Jerusalem (Gal 2⁹). This was not later than 64 A.D.⁽²¹⁾ Since he was martyred by the Jews, he must have died before 70 A.D.

That the later testimony of Irenaeus that John the Apostle resided in Asia, as well as the statement that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle, must be rejected if the Papias-tradition is correct, follows as a matter of course. Irenaeus is occasionally very inaccurate. His confusion of John the Elder with John the Apostle⁽²²⁾ finds (III. 12. 15) an exact parallel in his confusion of James the Lord's brother, who in Acts 15¹³ takes part in the Council of Jerusalem, with James the son of Zebedee, who has already been martyred in Acts 12². In iv. 27. 1 he states that one of his authorities is a disciple of the disciples of the apostles; yet in 32. 2 he designates the same man as a disciple of the

apostles. In *H.E.* iii. 39. 2, Eusebius charges Irenaeus with wrongly representing Papias as a disciple of John the Apostle. Irenaeus states on the authority of certain elders, who maintained that they had heard it from John, that Jesus did not die {1.} till the reign of Claudius (II. 22. 5). The confusion of Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, whom Luke in the Acts distinguishes carefully, is found in several ancient writers, most probably in Polycrates of Ephesus (*circ.* 196 A.D.) and Proclus: cf. *Eus.* iii. 31. 3-4, v. 24. 2; in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6. 52), Tertullian and Eusebius. See *Encyc. Bib.* (2511); Moffatt, *Introd.* 608 sqq.; otherwise Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 45 sq.

The primitive tradition as to the martyrdom of John the Apostle was gradually displaced by the later tradition represented by Irenaeus; but even so the primitive tradition maintained itself in various places down to the 7th cent., as we have shown above.

The conclusion to which the above facts and inferences point is that John the Apostle was never in Asia Minor, and that he died a martyr's death between the visit of St. Paul to the "pillar" apostles in Jerusalem, *circ.* 64 (?) and 70 A.D.

NOTES

1. See my *Eschatology*, 173-205 (especially 198-205), 403 sq.; Daniel, p. xi. sq., *Religious Development between the O. and N. Testaments*, 41, 46.
2. There is no evidence that John was *exiled* to Patmos before Clement of Alexandria, and that evidence is chiefly Western.
3. Hence the attribution of the Apocalypse to the heretic Cerinthus by Caius (200-220 A.D. See *Eus.* ii. 25, vii. 25) and the Alogi (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 3, 4), in ancient times and by certain modern scholars, is an utterly baseless and gratuitous hypothesis.
4. *C. Marc.* iii. 14, 24.
5. See his *Comment. on Daniel*, edited by Achelis, 1897, pp. 142, 240, 244, etc., and his *Peri. tou/ Anticristou(xxxvi., Outoj gar en Patmw|)) ora/ apokaluyin)) lege moi(w=makarie Wwannh(apostole kai. maqhta. tou/ kuriou(ti, eidej)*
6. *In Joann.*, tom. i. 14: fhsin oua th/ apokaluyei o` tou/ Zebedaiou Wwannhj: tom. v. 3: see also the quotation from Origen in *Eus.* vi. 25. 9.
7. I take J as it stands, since its relation to 1. 2. 3 J does not require any critical study of its composition. J and 1 J (?) have been more or less edited, but the work of the editors does not affect the question now at issue.
8. The list of linguistic differentiae in 1 J, which is given in Moffatt's *Introd. to N.T.*, p. 590 sq., should be noted. They are important.
9. No linguistic study of 2. 3 J in relation to J and J^{ap} is known to me. But for my previous study of J^{ap} I should have missed most of the points that determine the question at issue.
10. It has, however, been urged that an apostle could designate himself an elder. This is

true under certain conditions but not in 2. 3 J. That the writer is an elder and not an apostle we infer from the fact that he claims no higher title in 3 J, where, he had been an apostle, *he would naturally have availed himself of his power as an apostle to suppress Diotrefes and others who disowned his jurisdiction and authority*, which they could not have done had he been an apostle. Further, in case 1 Pet 5¹ (**presbuterouj oun en umih parakalw/ o` sunpresbuterouj**), we have only to observe that Peter has at the outset indicated his apostolic authority, so that the words in 5¹ form no true parallel to 2. 3 J¹.

11. The statement in Irenaeus (ii. 22. 5), that according to the elders in Asia, John the disciple declared that Jesus reached the age of 50, is professedly second-hand, and is therefore to be estimated accordingly. If this evidence were trustworthy, it would be practically impossible to assign J to John the Elder. But as we have seen elsewhere, Irenaeus is often quite untrustworthy. The extravagant account of the fruitfulness of the vine is also attributed by Irenaeus (v. 33³) to the elders, who said that they had heard it from John the disciple. Such an expectation, if it was *literally* accepted and really transmitted by John the Elder, would be against his authorship of J. But it was obviously to be interpreted in a purely metaphorical sense. In these passages Irenaeus believes that the John he is speaking of is the Apostle and not the Elder, although he never designates him as **apostolouj**, but only as **maqthj**.

12. The author describes himself simply as a brother of his readers. In 2 Pet 3¹⁵ Paul is similarly described (**o` agaphtouj himwih adel fouj**); but there one apostle is supposed to be referring to another.

13. See Schwartz, *Uber den Tod der Sohne Zebedaei*, 1904; Wellhausen and J. Weiss on Mk 10³⁹; Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2509-2510; Burkitt, *Gospel History*, 250 sq.; Moffatt, *Introd. to Literature of the N.T.* 602 sq., 613 sq.; Swete, *The Apocalypse*, p. clxxix sq.; Bacon, *Fourth Gospel in Research*, 133, 147; Latimer Jackson, *Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, 142-150.

14. If these words are taken to be a vaticination *post eventum*, as they are by certain scholars, then the evidence for the martyrdom of John is simply a fact of history. But the present writer accepts the words as an actual prophecy of Christ and one that was fulfilled in actual fact.

15. **o` qeologoj** is, of course, a late addition. It is found in most cursives of the Apocalypse in its title.

16. The italics are mine.

17. The results exclude the possibility of John the son of Zebedee being the author of Jap, and also of 1. 2. 3 J, J, if as is highly probable, John the Elder wrote 2. 3. J. John the Apostle may have been the teacher of John the Elder. This Papias-tradition would account perfectly for the absence of his writings from the N.T.

18. This reduplication in Matthew . . . Levi is found elsewhere.

19. As Latimer Jackson observes, "the allusion in Gal 2⁹ is significant; it suggests that John, extending the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas (who had taken the

Gentiles as their sphere of work), decides to cast in his lot with the circumcision (p. 149)." But we have to remember also that Peter went to the West and was martyred in Rome.

20. It is true that elsewhere Clement (*Quis dives salv.* 42) tells the story of John and the robber, which, if true, would imply his living to old age.

21. Galatians is variously dated from 53 to 64 A.D.

22. Though Irenaeus has transferred to John the Apostle the labours of John the Elder and the scene of these labours, he still distinguishes the Elder whom he frequently quotes alike from the body of the Elders whom he also quotes, and from John the disciple of the Lord; cf. iv. 30. 4: "Si quis autem diligentius intendat his, . . . quaecunque Johannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi," and 31. 1: "Talia quaedam enarrans de antiquis presbyter reficiebat nos"; 32. 1: "Senior apostolorum discipulus"; also iv. 28. 1. It is significant, however, that Irenaeus never calls this John, whom he regards as the author of the Johannine writings, an apostle, but only a disciple of the Lord. This element of truth still survives in his treatment of this question.

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{i.}

IV. The Editor of the Apocalypse.

From the section dealing with the Plan, pp. xxiii-xxviii, we have seen that J^{ap} exhibits, except in short passages, and especially towards the close of chap. 18, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning of 20³. In 20⁴-22, on the other hand, the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental confusion and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions. In vol. ii. 144-154 I have gone at length into this question, and shown the necessity for the hypothesis that *John died when he had completed 1-20³ of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.* Such was the solution of the problem I arrived at five years ago, and all my subsequent study has served to confirm the truth of this hypothesis. In the earlier chapters (1-20³) I adopted tentatively and occasionally the hypothesis of an editor, but generally that of an interpolator or interpolators, but it was nothing but one hypothesis possible amongst many others, till I came to deal with 20⁴-22. This present section, therefore, represents a brief restudy of the interpolations which can with most probability be attributed to the editor from the standpoint of the solution of the problem discovered in connection with 20⁴-22. For the main grounds for this hypothesis the reader should consult ii. 144-154 and the commentary that follows.

{ii.} On p. lvii sq. we have given a complete list of the interpolations in the text, and marked by an asterisk those which appear to proceed from the editor.

Now, if we wish to learn something about this editor we should begin with his editing of 20⁴-22. We are here first of all seeking to learn his grammatical usages, though

occasionally we shall consider his opinions so far as they have led him to change the text. He is a more accurate Greek scholar than our author, and, as he shows no sign of really knowing Hebrew, he was probably a native of Asia Minor.

As regards grammar, the construction in 20¹¹ **ton kaqhmenon epV// autou///** and 21⁵ **o` kaqhmenoj epi.// tou/ qronou //**, which is not that of our author (see p. cxxxii), is probably due to him. This construction with the gen. is more usual in classical Greek.⁽¹⁾ Now in the interpolation which he has made in 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷ we find this same construction twice: **tw/ kaqhmenw| epi. thj kefa|hs** and **o` kaqhmenoj epi. thj nefel|hj**; and in 9¹⁷ we find the same non-Johannine construction **t) kaqhmenouj epV// autwn //**, which may be traced to the editor. In any case, in three passages at least the editor appears to have corrected the Johannine construction into the more usual Greek one. 21⁵ **o` kaqhmenoj epi.// tw/ qronw|///** seems to be a primitive corruption for **epi. ton qronon**.

In 20⁴⁻²² there are three other passages where the editor has changed the text. In 20⁴ the **oifinej** is an insertion of the editor to make the text possible Greek. But the construction without the **oifinej**, i.e. **tw|n pepelekismenwn kai. ouv prosekunhsan**, is *always* elsewhere the Hebraism used by our author. See vol. i. 14 sq. Again, in 21⁶ **tw/ diywhti dwsW** we should expect, in accordance with our author's usage, **autw/|after dwsW** (which 046 and certain cursives actually add). Here again the editor was improving the author's Greek. In 22¹² the order of the words, **to. ergon estin autou/** is the editor's. In any case it is not John's. Here 046 and a few cursives restore John's order.

That the editor was a better Greek scholar than the author is apparent also in his interpolations in 22^{11. 18b-19}. To these passages, which are interpolations (see ii. 221-224), we shall return presently.

But though a fair Greek scholar, the editor is very unintelligent. He has made a chaos of 20⁴⁻²², and wherever else he has intervened he has introduced confusion and made it impossible in many cases for students, who accepted his interpolations as part of the text, to understand the author. In 1⁴ he has sought **{lii.}** by his interpolations to make the text enumerate the Persons of the Trinity -- a grotesque conception indeed, but with a parallel in Justin Martyr. His interpolation of 1⁸ is singularly infelicitous as well as being impossible. Not understanding that **o` qeoj o` pantokratwr** is a stock rendering of the Hebrew "God of Hosts," and that accordingly this title cannot be broken into two parts, he actually divides **o` qeoj** from **o` pantokratwr** by eight

words, and next represents the Seer as hearing God speaking this verse, although he has not yet fallen into a trance. The intrusion 8⁷⁻¹² with the necessary changes in the adjoining context is to be traced to him also (see vol. i. 218-223). This fragment is of unknown provenance. In order to introduce this interpolation the editor has, as already observed, made many changes in the adjoining contexts. One of these changes bears clear testimony to his ignorance of our author's style. Thus in 8⁵ he represents our author as saying **brontai. kai. fwnai. kai. astrapai**, But our author knows well that the **astrapai**, always precede the **brontai**; cf. 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. But apparently this editor neither knew this fact nor his master's usage. This interpolation made it impossible for all interpreters of the Apocalypse to understand the meaning of the clause **egeneto sigh. en tw/ ouranw/ wj hmiwrion**. Besides, 8⁷⁻¹² is a weaker repetition of what is said elsewhere in our author, and is frequently at variance with its adjoining context.

In 9¹¹ the clause **kai. en th/ Ellhnikh/ onoma epei Apolluwn** (which is good Greek) appears to come from the editor's hand. Our author would naturally have written **kai. Ellhnisti. Apolluwn**, if he had written the words at all, since the preceding words run, **onoma autw/ Ebraiŝti. Abaddwn**, and *our author never aims at variety of construction in repeating the same simple fact. onoma autw/* is frequent in the LXX. See also 6⁸ and the note on 9¹¹.

The next interpolation due to this editor is 14^{3e-4ab}. If these clauses are from his pen they help us to recognize another trait in his character. He is a narrow ascetic, and introduces into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity. According to the teaching of 14^{3e-4ab}, neither St. Peter nor any other married apostle nor any woman whatever would be allowed to follow the Lamb on Mt. Zion. But it is chastity not celibacy that is a Christian virtue. To regard marriage as a pollution is impossible in our author, who compares the covenant between Christ and the Church to a marriage, 19⁹, and calls the Church the Bride, 21^{2.9} 22¹⁷.

In 14¹⁴⁻²⁰, however, the editor reaches the climax of his stupidity. Here by his insertion of the impossible verses, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷, which he found elsewhere, he has first of all divided the Messianic judgment into two acts, the first of which -- added by {liii.} him -- is called the harvesting of the earth, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷, and the second of which is called the vintaging of the earth, 14¹⁸⁻²⁰. The first is assigned to the Son of Man! and the second and greater part to an angel. Thus the Son of Man is treated as an angel -- a conception impossible not only in J^{ap}, but in Jewish and Christian literature as a whole. But our author never speaks of the judgment as a harvesting of the earth, but as a vintaging, and this vintaging is described at length in 19¹¹⁻²¹ and assigned to the Word of God (0`

Logoj tou/qeou), who "treadeth the winepress of the fierce anger of God Almighty" (19¹⁵). The fact that our editor, in the face of this clear assignment of the *entire* Messianic judgment -- described as a vintaging of the earth -- to the Son of Man, could assign it to an angel, betrays a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible, and brands him as an arch heretic of the first century though probably an unconscious one. And the irony of it is that, despite his abyssmal stupidity and heresies, he has achieved immortality by securing a covert in the great work which he has done so much to discredit and obscure. ⁽²⁾

In 15¹ we have, no doubt, another of his additions. It is designed to introduce the Seven Bowls. Now ever new important section our author begins with the words **meta. tauta eidon** (see note on 4¹ in Commentary). Less important divisions are introduced by **kai. eidon**. Here, however, we find the latter words used, which at once provokes our astonishment. But that is not all. The vision breaks off, and a new vision -- that of the blessed martyrs in heaven, 15²⁻⁴ -- is recounted; and then at last we come to the real introduction to the Seven Bowls in 15⁵, which rightly begins with the words **kai. meta. tauta eidon** -- a fact which shows that the Seven Bowls are here mentioned for the first time. Such an interference with the text can hardly be assigned to any mere scribe (see vol. ii. 30-32).

Passing over 16^{2c}, which was most probably interpolated by the editor, since it exhibits a wrong construction of **proskuneih** from the standpoint of our author, we come to 16^{5a} **kai. hkousa tou/aggelou twh udatwn** -- a clause which he added in order to introduce some actual sentences of our author, i.e 16^{5b-7}. These verses belong after 19⁴. The editor may have found them detached on a separate piece of papyrus, and owing to his inability to recognize their true context inserted them after 16⁴. It is true that to the uninstructed mind they present a {liv.} superficial fitness for the place they occupy in the traditional text, but they are in reality wholly unsuited to it, as its technical expressions prove. See vol. ii. 120-123. 16^{13b-14a} (**wj batracoi\ eisin gar pneuanta daimoniwn poiouhta shmeia**) was also apparently foisted into the text by the editor. It is against our author's grammar, which would require **wj batracouj**. To adapt the context to the interpolation he has changed **ekporeuomena** into **a]ekporeuontai**. 17^{9b} (**orh eisin opou h`gunh. kaqhtai epV autwn**⁽³⁾**kai. with epta, added after basileij**), which gives a second explanation of the **epta, basileij**, appears also to be from his hand. 19^{9b-10} is quite clearly an interpolation (see vol. ii. p. 128 sq.), and owes its insertion here very probably to the editor. It has dislodged a necessary part of the original text. Was the original undecipherable, or was it simply expunged in order to receive the contributions of the

editor?

We now return to 20⁴-22 with which we began. I have shown at length in ii. 144-154 the chaos to which the editor has reduced the work of his master in 20⁴-22. Notwithstanding, it will be instructive to touch here also on a few of the hopeless incongruities he has introduced through his sheer incapacity to understand his master's teaching. In 20⁴-22, as it stood originally, *our author* sees in a vision the coming evangelization of the world by Christ and the glorified martyrs on the Second Advent. This is already foretold in advance in 15⁴ by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God, "All the nations shall come and worship before Thee," and in a vision in 14⁶⁻⁷, and again in 11¹⁵ where proleptically the angelic song declares that "the kingdom of this world hath become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." The evangelization of the world is thus committed to the glorified martyrs at once as their task and the guerdon of their faithfulness in the past. They preach afresh the Gospel to the nations of the earth, and all who receive it are healed of their diseases, cleansed from their sins, admitted to the Heavenly City, and allowed to eat of the bread of life. Thus the Millennial Reign is one of arduous spiritual toil, and the thrones assigned to these glorified martyrs are simply a symbol of faithful service, which vary in glory in the measure of their service.

Such is our author's teaching, but through the *editor's* rearrangement of the text the Millennial Reign is emptied of all significance. The glorified martyrs return to earth with Christ and enjoy a dramatic but rather secular victory, sitting on thrones in splendid idleness for full one thousand years (20⁴⁻⁶)!

{**lv.**} Nearly all the incongruities in 20⁴-22 are due to the editor's incompetence. But in 20¹³ there is something worse. Dishonesty has taken the part of incapacity. The editor has tampered with his master's text. In order to make the text teach a physical resurrection he has changed some such word as "treasuries" or "chambers" (i.e. the abode of righteous souls -- not of the martyrs who went direct to heaven) and inserted **h` qal assa**. But the sea can only give up bodies, not souls. Yet the phrase "the dead" (**touj nekrouj**) implies personalities, i.e. souls, just as certainly as it does in the next line, where death and Hades give up "the dead" (**t) nekrouj**) in them. Hence it follows that **h` qal assa** cannot have stood originally in the text. Besides, before the final judgment began the sea had already vanished, 20¹¹. On this depravation of his text by the editor, see vol. ii. 194-199, where, as well as in the English trans., I have restored the text.

22¹¹ is written in a form of parallelism unexampled elsewhere in our author, while its subject-matter is in conflict with other passages in our author. The last interpolation,⁽⁴⁾

22^{18b-19}, exhibits the editor at his worst. Having taken the most unwarrantable liberties with his author's text by perverting its teaching in some passages and by his interpolations making it wholly unintelligible in others, he sets the crown on his misdemeanours by invoking an anathema on any person who should in any respect follow the method which had the sanction of his own example.⁽⁵⁾ By this and other like unwarrantable devices this shallow-brained fanatic and celibate, whose dogmatism varies directly with the narrowness of his understanding, has often stood between John and his readers for nearly 2000 years. But such obscurantism cannot outlive the limits assigned to it; the reverent and patient research of the present age is steadily discovering and bringing to light the teaching of this great Christian prophet whose work fitly closes the Canon, and closes it with his benediction: "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints."

NOTES

1. **epi**, c. gen. dat. or acc., is found in our author as elsewhere after **kqhsqai**. But where the idea is resting on is present, the genitive is most natural. But the use of the case after **kqhsqai epi** in our author is wholly unique. See p. cxxxii.
2. History has here in part repeated itself; for in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (see my edition, pp. xvi. sq., lvii-lix) for the work of a bitter assailant of the Maccabean priest-kings has gained a place in the heart of a book that was written by an ardent upholder of the earlier members of that dynasty.
3. The editor prefers the genitive always after **kqhsqai epi**, as we have seen above.
4. In addition to the arguments advanced in vol. ii. 222-223 against the authenticity of 21^{18b-19}, we should observe that in the writer's use of **epitiqenai** there is a play on the two meanings of this verb, i.e. "to add" and "to inflict." The latter use is found in Luke 10³⁰, Acts 16²³, and frequently in classical Greek. Such a play on words is not found in our author.
5. The use of such anathemas by writers of an inferior stamp was quite common as I have shown in vol. ii. 223-224.

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{lvi.}

V.

Depravation of the Text Through Interpolations, Dislocations, Lacunae, and Dittographs.

§ 1. Interpolations. -- There are in all some 22 or more interpolated verses in our text, if we add together all the interpolated verses, clauses, phrases, and words. The grounds for regarding these as interpolations are nearly always given in the Commentary, *in loc.*, and in footnotes to the English translation in vol. ii. in a more popular and less technical form. But in a few cases these will be found only in the latter, since they were not recognized as interpolations, or else wrongly condemned as such when the Commentary was written.

The interpolations are rejected as such either because they are wrong in their subject-matter, that is, against the context, or because they are against our author's linguistic usage. *But generally an interpolated passage betrays its intrusive character both by its linguistic form and subject-matter.* Where these two kinds of evidence combine, they are conclusive. As notable interpolations of this kind, the reader should study 1⁸ 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷. First, as regards 1⁸ we discover that this verse is impossible in its present context; for it represents the Seer as hearing God pronounce these words, although the Seer does not fall into a trance until 1¹⁰. Next, we discover that it could not occur in any context in our author, since, contrary to his universal usage and that of all Palestinian writers, he separates ο` pantokraτwr from ο` qeoj by eight words, whereas it should immediately follow it, as it is a rendering of the Hebrew genitive (twabc)

immediately dependent on ο` qeoj (yh| a). Next, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷ is against our author's usage in respect to constructions. But it errs still more grievously against the context. The interpolator, failing to recognize "one like a son of man" (14¹⁴) as Christ, has treated Him merely as an angel, and assigned Him only one-half of the Messianic judgment, wherein the judgment is compared to a harvesting of the earth -- a figure not used by our author. But this is not all. He has assigned to "another angel" the Messianic judgment -- i.e., the vintaging of the earth -- the duty expressly attributed by our author to Christ in 19¹¹⁻²¹.

But interpolation sometimes leads to further depravation of the text. This occurs when the interpolated passage obliges the interpolator to adapt the immediate context to his additions to the text. The classical instance of such tampering with the text will be found in connection with the interpolation of 8⁷⁻¹², whereby "the three Woes," each preceded by a trumpet blast, have been {lvii.} transformed into "the Seven Trumpets." This drastic intervention of the interpolator has necessitated slight changes in 8^{2. 6. 13 9^{1. 13 10^{7 11¹⁵}} and the transposition of certain clauses. This addition is at variance with the entire context: it has destroyed the dramatic development of our author's theme, and represents him as indulging in vain and inconsistent repetitions.⁽¹⁾ The presence of this interpolation in our text has hidden from all interpreters up to the present the true meaning of the phrase -- "there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour," as well as other important matters.}

Several interpolations have arisen from marginal glosses. 5^{8d} 14¹⁸ (ο` εϕων exousian epi. t) puroj), 17^{9b} (οrh eisin))) epV autwh kai) -- a second interpretation of "the seven heads" from the hand of the editor or an interpolator. 19^{9b-10} is mainly a doublet of 22⁸⁻⁹, and in 11^{5b} 17¹⁷ the additions appear to be simply dittographs.

The complete list of interpolations in and additions to the text is as follows. Those which appear to be due to the editor are marked with an asterisk.

* 14^c (kai. apo. twh etta.))) autou). See vol. 11-13.

* 1⁸ (Egw, eimi to. :Alfa))) ο` pantokratwr).

See footnote on English translation *in loc.*, vol. ii. 1¹⁴ (w] ciwn).

2⁵ (ean mh. metanohshj). 2²² (ean mh. metanohsousin ek twh ergwn authj). See footnote on Eng. translation in *loc.*, vol. ii.

4⁵ (a|estin ta. epta. pneumata tou/ qeou/): 4⁶ (en mesw| tou/ qronou kai): 4⁸ (kuklogen kai. eswqen gemousin ofqalmwh).

5^{8d} (ai|eisin ai` proseukai. twh agiwn): 5¹¹ (kai. t) zw|wn kai. t) presbuterwn). See vol. i. 145, 148 respectively.

6^{8b} (kai. o` a|hj hkolougei metV autou/). See vol. i. 169 sq. 6^{8de} (apokteihai))) upo. t) qhriwn t) ghj). See i. 171.

* 8² (oi|enwpion t) qeou/ esthkasin). See i. 221: also footnote on Eng. trans. in *loc.* 8⁷⁻¹². To adapt this interpolation of the first four Trumpets to its new context, changes were introduced in 8². 6. 13 9¹. 13 10⁷ 11¹⁵ and 8² transposed from its original position after 8⁵. See i. 219-222.

9^{5c} (kai. o` basanismoj))) anqrwpon? See footnote: Eng. trans.).

* 9^{11c} (kai. en th/))) VApolluwn). See i. 246. * 9^{16b-17a} (hkousa t) ariqmon))) orasei). Observe that the wrong construction, t) kaqhmenouj // epV autwh //, is due to editor. See i. 252. 9^{19b} (kai. en taij))) kefalaj). See i. 254.

{liviii.} 11^{5b} (kai. ei; tij))) apoktanqhhai). See i. 284.

* 14³⁻⁴ (oi` hgorasmenoi apo. t) ghj))) eisin and kai. tw/ arniw). See ii. 5-10, 422, footnote. * 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷ (kai. al|loj aggeloj))) drepanon oxu). See ii. 18-19, 20-22. 14¹⁸ (o` erwn exousian epi. tou/ puroj). 14¹⁹ (o` aggeloj).

15¹. See ii. 30-32. 15³ (t) w~~h~~hn))) t) qeou/kai). See ii. 34. 15⁶ (oi`epta. aggeloi oi`econtej))) plhgaj - a deliberate change for **aggeloi epta**, owing to interpolation of 15¹). See ii. 31-32, 38.

* 16^{2c} (touj econtaj))) eikoni autou). See ii. 43. * 16^{5a} (kai. hkousa tou/aggelou twh adatwn legontoj) added by editor when he wrongly introduced 16^{5b-7}, which properly belongs after 19⁴. ii. 44, 120-123. * 16^{13b-14a} (wj batracoi))) shmeia). See ii. 47-48. 16^{19a} (kai, egeneto))) merh). See ii. 52.

* 17^{9b} (orh eisin))) epV autwn\ kai. and epta, after **basileij**). See ii. 68-69. 17¹⁵ -- a gloss on 17¹. See ii. 72. 17¹⁷ (kai. toihsan mian gnwmhn). See ii. 73.

18¹³ (kai. ippwn))) swmatwn). See ii. 104.

19^{8b} (to. gar bussinon))) estin). See vol. i. 127-127. 19^{9b-10}, doublet of 22⁸⁻⁹, which has dislodged part of the original text. See ii. 128-129. 19^{12c} (ecwn onoma))) eiv mh. autoj). See ii. 132. 19¹⁶ (epi. t) imation kai). See ii. 137.

* 20⁴ (oi finej). * 20⁵ (oi`loipoi. twh nekrwh ouk ezhsan apri telesqh/ta. cilia eth). See note on text *in loc.*, vol. ii. 372. 20¹² (kata. ta. erga autwn). * 20¹³ (h`qalassa -- an interpolation which has dislodged the original). ii. 194 sqq. 20^{14b} (outoj o`qanatoj))) puroj). See ii. 199 sq.

* 21^{6a} (kai. eipen moi\ Tegenan). See English translation, *in loc.* ii. 443. * 21²⁵ text changed by editor. See ii. 173, 439.

* 22¹¹. See ii. 221 sq. * 22¹² wj to. ergon // **estin autou/** // . The order **estin autou/** is due to the editor. Our author wrote **autou/ estin**. * 22^{18b-19}. See ii. 222 sq.

§ 2. Dislocations in 20⁴-22. -- In vol. ii. 144, I have emphasized the fact that

apocalyptic is distinguished from prophecy in its structural unity and its orderly development of thought to the final consummation. In the pages that follow (145-154) I have shown at some length that the text is incoherent and self-contradictory as it stands, and that these characteristics of 20⁴-22, which are wholly impossible in apocalyptic (if the work is from one and the same author), are due to vast dislocations of the text. No mere accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in 20⁴-22 (see vol. ii. 144-154). Since this entire {lix.} section, with the exception of two or more verses, comes from the hand of our author, the only hypothesis that can account for the present condition of the text is that John died when he completed 1-20³ of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together and visions of the Seer. Alike in the Commentary, Text, and Translation, the present writer has sought to recover the original order of the text (see vol. ii. 153-154) and given the grounds which have guided this reconstruction throughout. Manifold traces of the activity of this unintelligent editor are to be found in the earlier chapters, and it is more than probable that most of the interpolations are to be traced to his hand.

Dislocations in 1-20³. -- Though there is nothing in the text of 1-20³ in the least comparable to the confusion that dominates the traditional structure of 20⁴-22, yet there are some very astonishing dislocations of isolated clauses and verses.

Of the many dislocations of the text in 1-20³ only one appears to have been deliberate, i.e., the transposition of 8² in order with other changes to adapt the interpolated section 8⁷⁻¹² (the first four Trumpets) to its new context.

The remaining dislocations in 1-20³ are as follows: --

2^{27c} has been restored after 2^{26b}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*

3^{8bc} has been restored before 3^{8a}. See Eng. trans. *in loc.*

7^{5c-6} has been restored after 7⁸. See vol. i. 207.

11^{18h} has been restored after 11^{18b}. See vol. i. 295 sq.

11^{18g} has been restored after 11^{18c}. See vol. ii. 416, footnote to Eng. transl.
in loc.

13^{5b} has been restored after 13^{6b}. See vol. ii. 419, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*

14¹²⁻¹³ has been restored after 13¹⁸. See vol. i. 368 sq.

16^{5b-7} has been restored after 19⁴. See vol. ii. 120-123.

16¹⁵ has been restored after 3^{3b}. See vol. i. 80 sq.

17¹⁴⁻¹⁷ has been restored as follows: 17¹⁷. 16. 14. See vol. ii. 60 sq.

18¹⁴⁻²³ has been restored as follows: 18¹⁵⁻¹⁹. 21. 14. 22a-d. 23cd. 22e-h. 23ab. 20.

23f.

The most startling of the above dislocations of the text is that in 18¹⁴⁻²³. How this dislocation arose we cannot determine, but that the text is dislocated is beyond question. First, we observe that 18¹⁴ comes in wrongly between 18¹³ and 18¹⁵, and that both its sense and structure connect it immediately with 18²²⁻²³ and, as an introduction to these verses, which, combined with it, express in due gradation the destruction of everything in Rome {ix.} from the greatest luxuries to the barest necessities. Thus 18¹⁴. 22-23 (four stanzas) compose a special dirge over Rome. Next, 18²⁰ breaks the close sequence between 18¹⁹ and 18²¹ by introducing an apostrophe to heaven between the descriptive passages dealing with the ruin of Rome, 18¹⁹, and the dramatic action of the angel, 18²¹. But, though it cannot stand after 18¹⁹, it comes in with the most perfect fitness at the close of the dirge over Rome (18¹⁴. 22-23), as an appeal to heaven to rejoice over the doom of Rome -- an appeal that is immediately answered by choir after choir from heaven of a mighty multitude of angels, of the Elders and Cherubim, and of the martyr host in 19¹⁻⁴ 16^{5bc-7} 19⁵⁻⁷.

The dislocations in 7^{5c-8} 11¹⁸ 13^{5b-6b} 17¹⁴⁻¹⁷ could easily have arisen. Parallels to such dislocations are to be found in other books of the Bible and in other documents. Only three other dislocations remain, but two of these are suggestive. As to 16¹⁵ which is to be restored after 3^{3b}, it is possible that it was written on a separate slip of papyrus which got displaced and was subsequently inserted after the sheet of papyrus ending 16¹⁴. However this may be, it cannot possibly have stood originally after 16¹⁴, with which it has no connection of any kind. Its natural place is after 3^{3b}, and nowhere else.

Now we come to the two interesting dislocations, 14¹²⁻¹³, 17¹⁵.⁽²⁾ These two passages appear to have been inserted above the written columns on the papyrus sheets, the first by the Seer himself, the second by the editor. The scribe who copied the original MS incorporated these marginal additions in the wrong columns. It is noteworthy that 14¹²⁻¹³ is exactly the same number of lines from 13¹⁸ that 17¹⁵ is from 17¹, of which it is a gloss.

§ 3. Lacunae in the Text. -- Apart from 20⁴⁻²² where it is impossible to determine what lacunae exist (save in 21²²; see below) owing to the disorder of the text, there do not appear to be many in 1-20³. There are, however, lacunae, and these are important. The first consists of a loss of several clauses in 16¹⁰ (see vol. ii. 45-46). The second is a still graver loss after 19^{9a}. These lost verses after 19^{9a} (whose place has been taken by an {ixi.} interpolation, i.e., 19^{9b-10} modelled on 22⁸⁻⁹) recounted the destruction of the Parthian kings. Their destruction was prophesied in 17¹⁴, and the vision recounting their destruction should have been given here. In 17¹⁷. 16 there is a prophecy of the destruction of Rome: in 18 a vision of this destruction. In 14¹⁴. 18-20 (see also 16¹³⁻¹⁴. 16) we have a proleptic vision of the judgment of the nations by the Word of God in 19¹¹⁻²¹ (20⁷⁻¹⁰). Thus it is clear that a vision dealing with the destruction of the Parthian hosts by the Lamb and the Saints (see 17¹⁴) should have been recorded in our text. That it actually did stand in the autograph of the Seer may be reasonably concluded from 19¹³, where the Word of God is said to be "clothed with a garment dipped in blood." that this is the blood of the Parthian hosts follows from any just interpretation of the text. See vol. ii. 133.

A third lacuna occurs after 18^{22a}. The context makes the restoration easy, i.e. **ouvmh. akousqh/ en soi. eti.** Again, in 21²², where we should have a couplet, but where only the words **kai. to. arnion** survive of the second line, we can with great probability restore the missing words by a comparison of 11⁹¹. These are **h` kibwtoj thj diaqhkhj authj**. See vol ii. 170 sq.

§ 4. Dittographs. -- There are several dittographs, i.e. (a) 13^{3c. 8} = 17⁸; (b) 19^{9b} = 21^{5c} = 22^{6a}; (c) 19¹⁰ = 22^{8b. 9}; (d) 20^{14b} = 21^{8e}.

(a) Both members of the first, i.e. 13^{3c. 8} = 17⁸, belongs to our text. See vol. i. 337.

(b) Here practically the same clause (**kai. eipen moi Outoi oi` logoi pistoi. k) avhqinoi**) is repeated three times. In 21^{5c} 22^{6a} it is a genuine part of the text. On 21^{5c} see note on English translation vol. ii. 443, in accordance with which the note in vol. ii. 203 (*ad fin.*) sq. is to be corrected. In 19^{9b} it is manifestly interpolated (see vol. ii. 128, 203 sq.), probably by the editor.

(c) Here 22^{8b. 9} is original and 19¹⁰ is an interpolation of the editor in the main from 22⁸⁻⁹ but giving to **sundoul oj** quite a different meaning. See vol. ii. 128 sq.

(d) 21^{8e} **o`stin o` qanatoj o` deuterof** is an original. But in 20^{14b}, where this phrase also occurs, it is quite meaningless. It represents the casting of death and Hades (as distinct from their inhabitants) into the lake of fire as the second death!

NOTES

1. Hence practically every editor who accepts the entire work as from John's hand, whether he adopts or not the hypothesis of sources, is obliged to resort to the "Recapitulation Theory" in a greater or lesser degree, that is, that the Apocalypse does not represent a strict succession of events, but that *the same events are either wholly or in part dealt with under each successive series of seven Seals, seven trumpets, and seven Bowls.*

2. That 14¹²⁻¹³ (**wde h` upomnh. twh agiwn ktl**) is wholly out of place in a section that deals with the judgments inflicted on the wicked is clear at a glance, and that they should be restored at the close of the account of the persecution of the second Beast, i.e 13¹⁸, is at once manifest, when we compare the closing words of the persecution of the first Beast, 13^{10e} (**wde, estin h` upomnh.)) twh agiwn**). These words are added for the encouragement and strengthening of the victims of the two persecutions. Next, it is clear that 17¹⁵ was originally an explanatory marginal gloss on 17¹. Since it has no connection whatever with its present context, the explanation given above for its position in its present context seems adequate.

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VI. Greek and Hebrew Sources and their Dates.

Our author has used sources. Nearly one-fifth of his text appears to be based on sources, i.e. 7¹⁻⁸ 11¹⁻¹³ 12-13 (15⁵⁻⁸ ?) 17-18. These sources he has adapted to his own purposes, and in the course of such adaptation has, except in certain details, transformed their meaning. (a) Sources he found in Hebrew or Greek. (b) Sources he found in Greek. (c) Sources in Hebrew.

(a) Chap. 7¹⁻⁸ (before 70 A.D.) That there are two sources here is shown in vol. i. 191 sqq. Whether our author found these sources already existing in Greek and recast them in his own diction or translated them directly from the Hebrew is uncertain.

Chap. 7¹⁻³. Here "*the four winds*" (so designated though not previously mentioned) are not to be let loose till the faithful are sealed. A pause is enjoined in the course of judgment for this purpose as in 1 En 66¹⁻², 67, and in 2 Bar 6⁴ sqq. The four winds appear in earlier tradition. See vol. i. 192-193.

Chap 7⁴⁻⁸. From a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source. See vol. i. 193-194. The "sealing" in our text is also derived from tradition, but the meaning is wholly transformed from what it bears in the O.T. and Pss. Sol 15⁶⁻¹⁰.¹³, which later work appears to have been before our author.

(b) **Greek Sources**, i.e. sources already existing in Greek, 11¹⁻³ 12.* 17-18.

Chap. 11¹⁻¹³ (before 70 A.D.). This section had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from a source written before 70 A.D. 11¹⁻¹³ consists of two earlier fragments, both of which presuppose Jerusalem to be still standing (11¹. 8). The diction, idiom, and order of words differ perceptibly from that of our author, and they contain certain phrases which bear a different meaning from that which they bear in our

author. In 11³⁻¹³ our author's hand is discernible in the additions 11^{8bc-9a} and the entire recasting of 11⁷, so that what stood there originally cannot be known. *In our text* the temple in 11¹ must be interpreted not as the actual temple which no longer existed, but as the spiritual temple, of which all the faithful are constituent members -- a figure which our author has already used in 3¹², and the words "the measuring of his temple, the altar and those that worshipped therein," mean in their new context the securing of {lxiii.} the faithful against the spiritual influences of the demonic and Satanic powers. But all the ideas in the text do not lend themselves to such reinterpretation, and the presence of such inexplicable details is *prima facie* evidence that the sections in which they occur are not original creations of our author but are derived from traditional material. See vol. i. 269-292.

Chap. 12 (before 70 A.D.). In vol. i. 298-299 the meaning of this chapter in its Christian setting is given. But that this was not its original meaning, and that it could not have been written originally by a Christian, is shown in vol. i. 299-300. A full discussion of the two sources which underlie this chapter and were translated from Semitic originals but not by our author, is given in vol. i. 305-314. Our author most probably found these sources already in a Greek form, and the conclusion recorded in i. 303 is here withdrawn. These two sources, so far as they survive in our text, consist of 12¹⁻⁵. 13-17 and 12⁷⁻¹⁰. 12. These were adapted by our author to their new Christian context by the addition of 12⁶. 11 and by certain additions in 12³(?), 12⁵ (**oj mellei poimainein panta ta. eqnh en rabdw| sidhra**), 12⁹ (**o` ofoj o` arcaioj(o` kaloumenoj Diaboloj))) eblhgh**), 12¹⁰ (**kai. h` exousia tou/ Cristou/ autou/ and twh adel fwh himwh** dislodging a Jewish phrase), 12¹³ (**ote eiden and oti eblhgh eij thn gh**), 12¹⁷ (**twh thrountwn taj entolaj tou/ qeou/ kai. ecowntwn thn marturian Vhsou**). The expectation expressed in 12¹⁴⁻¹⁶ is a survival of an earlier time, being found by our author in his source. It referred to or prophesied the escape of Jewish Christians before 70 A.D. But the idea of such an escape during the entire sway of the Antichrist (12¹⁴ **kairon kai. kairouj kai. hmisu kairou**) is impossible in our text, where our author's expectation is that of a martyrdom of the entire Christian Church. No part of the Church escapes.

Chaps. 17-18 (71-79 A.D.). These chapters, though recast by our author to serve his own main purpose, preserve incongruous elements and traces of an earlier date. Thus 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ cannot be reasonably interpreted of a later time than Vespasian. And yet our author's additions in 17⁸. 11, which refers to the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss, can only be explained by a Domitianic date. The sense is confused, but the date is clear. To leave this passage unaltered was an oversight on the part of our author. Similarly, 18⁴ (see vol. ii. 96 sq.) postulates a Vespasianic date.

These chapters, the greater part of which our author found in a Greek form, were derived from two Hebrew sources, which for convenience' sake we designate A and B. A consisted originally of 17^{1c-2}. 3^{b-6}. 7. 18. 8-10 (greater part) 18²⁻²³. See vol. ii. 88-89, 94-95. B consisted of 17¹¹ (greater part). 12-13. 17. 16. See vol. ii. 59-60.

Our author has adapted these sources to his own purposes {**Ixiv.**} by inserting the following clauses: 17¹ (kai. h₁qen))) dei₁w soi), ^{3a} (kai. aphnegken me))) pneumat₁i), ^{3c} (kai. kerata deka), ^{6b} (kai. ek t) a₁hatoj))) Vhsou), ⁸ (h₁ kai. ouk))) u₁pagei), and (o₁ti h₁))) parestai), ⁹ (wde o` nouj o` e₁rcwn sofian), ¹¹ (o₁ h₁ kai. ouk estin), and (kai. ei₁j apw₁leian u₁pagei), ¹⁴. But the text of 17¹¹⁻¹⁷ is in disorder. 17¹⁵ is a gloss (see vol. ii. 72), 17¹⁷ should precede 17¹⁶, and 17¹⁴ (our author's addition) should follow immediately on 17¹⁶. Hence the right order of the text (see vol. ii. 61) is 17¹¹⁻¹³. 17. 16. 14. After 17¹⁴ our author transferred 17¹⁸, which originally belonged to A (see above), to the close of the chapter in order to introduce chap. 18.

Chap. 18^{2-23a-e}. This chapter, as we have already seen, belongs to the source A. Our author apparently found it in some disorder in a Greek form. He has made a few changes in it. He has introduced it by prefixing 18¹, by inserting 18²⁰, and closing it by 18^{23f}. ²⁴. Since 18²⁰ is an appeal to the heavenly hosts -- an appeal that is immediately answered in 19¹⁻⁷, our author would naturally have placed it at the close of 18 and not where it stands in the traditional text. 18²⁰. ^{23f}. ²⁴ would thus form the close of this chapter coming from our author's hand and serving to introduce the theme of 19¹⁻⁴ 16^{5bc-7} 19⁵⁻⁷.

Since, therefore, 18²⁰ does not apparently stand where our author inserted it, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the great disorder that exists in 18¹⁴⁻²³ arose subsequently to our author's composition of the work as a whole.

(c) **Hebrew Sources.** One chapter, i.e. 13, is mainly composed of translations from three Hebrew sources by our author (see vol. i. 334-338). To the first source, written by a Pharisaic Quietist before 70 A.D., is to be traced 13^{1abd}. 2. 4-7a. 10. See vol. i. 340-342. To the second source, 13^{3c}. ⁸, of which we find a second Greek translation from another hand in 17⁸. See vol. i. 337. To the third, 13¹¹. 12ab. 13-14ab. 16ad.-17a. See vol. i. 342-344. The date is probably prior to 70 A.D.

The original meaning of these sources is transformed by their incorporation into our author's text. He has adapted them to his own purpose by the insertion of the following clauses: 13^{1c} (kai. epi. tw₁h))) diadh₁mata), ^{3ab} (kai. mian)))

εϋεραπευϋη), ^{6c} (του))) σκηνουηταϋ), ^{7b} (kai. εδοϋη))) εϋνοϋ), ^{8b-9}
 (του/αρνιου))) ακουσατω), ^{10c} (ωδε))) αϋιων), ^{12bc} (to. ϋhrion to.
 prwton ou-εϋεραπευϋη))) αυτου), ^{14b-15} (ενωπιον)))
 αποκτανϋσιν), ¹⁶ (t) μικρουϋ))) δουλουϋ), ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ (to. ονομα))) εϋ).

Possibly 15⁵⁻⁸ is translated from a Hebrew source by our author. The grounds for this hypothesis are to be found in the two possible phrases in 15⁵⁻⁶. It is remarkable that both these phrases can be explained by retranslation into Hebrew. See vol. ii. 37-38. On this hypothesis we should expect the whole {lxv.} narrative of the Bowls to be likewise a translation from the Hebrew. But if it is, it is so thoroughly recast that no evidence for this hypothesis survives.

If we reject this hypothesis, we might assume that **linon** is a primitive error for **linouh** in 15⁶, and that **thj sknhj tou/marturiou** was originally a marginal gloss which was derived from Ex. 40²⁹, on which our text is based, and was subsequently incorporated in the text against both the sense and the grammar. The editor, however, was capable of the grossest misconceptions, as we have been elsewhere: see pp. l-lv.

NOTES

* In vol. i. 300-305 I took chapter 12 to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source, but subsequent study has obliged me to abandon this view. See *Introd.* p. clviii n.

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{lxv.}

VII.

Books of the O.T., of the Pseudepigrapha and of the N.T. Used By Our Author

§ 1. General statement of our author's dependence on the above

books -- Our author makes most use of the prophetical books. He constantly uses Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekial, and Daniel; also, but in a less degree, Zechariah, Joel, Amos, and Hosea; and in a very minor degree Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Next to the prophetical books he is most indebted to the Psalms, slightly to Proverbs, and still less to Canticles. He possessed the Pentateuch and makes occasional use of all its books, particularly of Exodus. Amongst others, that he and his sources probably drew upon, are Joshua, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 2 Kings.

The evidence for the above summary of facts will be found below in §§ 3-5.

Of the Pseudepigraphia the evidence that our author used the Testament of Levi, 1 Enoch, and the Assumption of Moses, is sufficiently strong; see below, § 7. It is not improbable that he was acquainted with 2 Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon. See below, § 7. But the direct evidence is not so convincing as the indirect. Repeatedly in the commentary that follows it is shown that without a knowledge of the Pseudipigrapha it would be impossible to understand our author. As a few proofs of this fact, see on 4⁶ (the Cherubim), pp. 117-123; 6³ ("a great sword"), p. 165; 6⁹ (Martyrs = a sacrifice to God, cf. 14⁴), p. 174 (vol. ii. 6; 6⁹ (the one altar in heaven), p. 172 sqq.; 6¹¹ (world to come to an end when the roll of the martyrs is complete), pp. 177-179; (white robes = spiritual bodies), pp. 184-188 and *passim*.

From an examination of the passages given below in § 8, it follows quite decidedly that our autor had the Gospels of Matthew and Luke before him, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians (or else the lost Ep. to the Laodiceans, which presumably was

of a kindred character), Ephesians, and possibly {lxvi.} Galatians, 1 Peter, and James. Our author shows no acquaintance with St. Mark.

That our author used Matthew is deducible from the following facts. In 1⁷ he has had Matt 24³⁰ before him, where our author's combination of Dan 7¹³ and Zech 12^{10, 12} occurs already. Our author derives from Matthew the words *pasai ai`fulai. t) ghj*, which are not in the O.T. or Versions. Next, a reference to 2⁷ shows that it is the Matthaean (or Lucan: cf. 8⁸) form of the command, *o` erwn ouj ktl*), Matt 11¹⁵ 139 etc., that our author was familiar with. The dependence of 3³, 16¹⁵ on Matt 24^{42, 43, 46} is obvious at the first glance. 3⁵ presupposes both Matt 10³² and the parallel passage in Luke 12⁸. Other passages showing dependence on Matthew, though not so conclusively, will be found under 1^{3d} 1¹⁶ 6⁴ 11¹⁵ below.

That our author used Luke appears certain, though the evidence is less conclusive, from a comparison of 1³ with Luke 11²⁸, 3⁵ with Luke 12⁸, 11⁶ with Luke 4²⁵, and 18²⁴ with Luke 11⁵⁰. Unless we assume our author's acquaintance with the Little Apocalypse (embodied in Luke 21, Matt 24, Mark 13), then he is indebted to Luke for his fourth plague, i.e the pestilence, Luke 21¹¹ (*loimi*).⁽¹⁾

Possibly 13⁸ (*t) arniou t) esfagmenou apo. katabolhj kosmou*) implies an acquaintance with 1 Pet 1¹⁹⁻²⁰. Compare 16¹⁹ and 1 Pet 5¹³, and 1⁶ and 1 Pet 2⁹.

§ 2. John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the o, (i.e. the LXX), which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version. Our author never definitely makes a quotation, though he continually incorporates phrases and clauses of the O.T. The question naturally arises: Do he and his sources (11¹⁻¹³ 12-13 17-18) derive such phrases and clauses directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic), or from o, or from the Hebrew combined with o? (see §§ 3-5).

An examination of the passages based on the O.T. makes it clear that our author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text, and apparently never solely from o, or any other version.⁽²⁾ And this is no less true of the sources our {lxvii.} author incorporated and edited. But this fact does not exclude the possibility that our author was acquainted with and at times guided by o, and some other Greek version. The latter clause is added deliberately, "and some other Greek version."

That our author was influenced in his renderings of O.T. passages by *o*, may be taken as proved after an examination of the list of passages given in § 4. But in the list of passages that follow in § 5, we discover that our author's renderings of the Hebrew are closely related to those which appear in *q*, (i.e. Theodotion), where *q*, differs from *o*. But since Theodotion lived several decades later than our author, we must assume with Gwynn (*Dict: Christ. Biog.* iv. 974-978) that side by side with *o*, (preserved in a corrupt form in the Chisian MS of Daniel) there existed a rival Greek version from pre-Christian times. ⁽³⁾

But Gwynn's hypothesis, although adequate to a certain extent, is inadequate when confronted with fresh facts that have emerged in my study of this question. For from § 5 we learn that in 1^{17b} our text agrees not with *o*, but *q*, in Is 48¹²: similarly 3⁷ with *q* of Is 22²² and 3^{9c} with *q*, of Is 60¹⁴. Again the quotation 15³⁻⁴ ο` basileuj t) eqnwh\ tij ouvmh. fobhqh\ agrees word for word (though differing in case and tense) with *q*, of Jer 10⁷, whereas *o*, is here wholly defective. Finally, 1⁶ (5¹⁰) basileian iereij is found in *q*, of Ex 19⁶ where *o*, is different. Now one or more of these might be coincidences, but it is highly improbable that all five are. Hence we have good grounds for concluding that there existed either a rival Greek version alongside *o*, from pre-Christian times or a revised edition of *o*, which was revised afresh by Theodotion and circulated henceforth under his name. How many books of the O.T. were so translated afresh cannot be determined. The above evidence would imply that Isaiah and Jeremiah were so translated. ⁽⁴⁾ Possibly all the prophetic books were rendered {*lxviii.*} afresh into Greek and this work incorporated and revised by Theodotion in his version. But the matter calls for further investigation.

§ 3. Passages based directly on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel). These are hardly ever literal quotations: in any case the words carry with them a developed and often different meaning.

1^{7b} oyetai auton paj ofqalmoj
 kai. oiġinej auton
 exekeñhsan⁽⁵⁾ kai. koyontai
 epV auton paſai ai`fulai. t)
 ghj)⁽⁶⁾

Zech 12¹⁰ oq) epibleyontai
 proj me(anqV wn
 katwrchsanto (q) eiġ oñ
 exekeñhsan) kai. koyontai
 epV (>q) auton. 12¹² o)
 koyetai h`gh/ kata. fulaj
 fulaj)

1¹⁰ egenomhn en pneumatì)))
 hkousa fwnhn megalhn
 opisqen mou)

Ezek 3¹² anelaben me pneuma(
 kai. hkousa katopisqen mou
))) fwnhn seismou/
 megalou)

1¹³ (14¹⁴) oñmion uiòn
 anqrwpou) endedumenon
 podhrh)

Dan 7¹³ (o, q) wġ uiòj
 anqrwpou)
 Dan 10⁵ ~yrb vwbl . o, q ,
 endedumenoj bussina (q ,
 baddein% Ezek 10² renders the
 same words, endedukoġa thn
 stolhn)

periezwsmeñon proj t)
 mastoiġ zwñhn crusan) Cf. 15⁶
 where the text recalls the present.

Dan 10⁵ ~tkb ~yrgt wygtm. q
) h`oſfuj autou/
 periezwsmeñh en crusiw) oġ
 oſfun periezwsmeñoj
 bussinw)

<p>1^{14a} h` de. kefal h. autou/ kai. ai` tricej leukai. wj erion leukon. (7)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁹ q) kai. h` qrix t) kefalhj autou/ wsei. erion kaqaron) o) kai. t) tricwma t) kefalhj autou/ wsei. erion leukon kaqaron)</p>
<p>1^{14b} (19¹²) oi` ofqal moi. autou/ wj flox puroj)</p>	<p>Dan 10⁶ (o, q % oi` oflal moi. autou/ wsei. lampadej puroj)</p>
<p>oi` podej autou/ ofmioi calkolibanw)</p>	<p>Dan 10⁶ o, q , quite different.</p>
<p>{lxix.} 1¹⁵ (19⁶) h` fwnh. autou/ wj fwnh. udatwn pollwh)</p>	<p>Ezek 43² (o) fwnh. t) parenbolhj wj fwnh. diplasiazontwn pollwh) But our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew ~ybw ~ym l wqk w l wq. Dan 10⁶ is based on Ezek 43² but only remotely, and is not followed by our author. Jerome remarks how Rev 1¹⁵ supports the Mass. here.</p>
<p>1^{16a} ek t) stomatoj autou/ romfaiá))) oxeiá. Cf. 2¹². 16 19¹⁵.</p>	<p>Is 49² eqhken t) stoma mou wj macairan oxeian)</p>

1¹⁷ epesa proj t) podaj qutou/
wj nekroj\ kai. eqhken t)
dexian autou/ epVeme. legwn
Mh. fobou)

Dan 10⁹. 10. 12 Heb. = "Then was I
fallen into a deep sleep on my face. .
. . And behold a hand touched me. .
. And he said unto me, Fear not."
(Greek Versions very different from
our text.)

1¹⁸ zwh eimi. eij t) aiwhaj t)
aiwnwn)

Dan 4³¹ (q) 12⁷, 1 Enoch 5¹

2¹⁴ edidasken))) fageih
eidwloquta kai. porneusai)

Num 25¹⁻² ebebhl wqh o` laoj
ekporneusai))) kai.
efagen)

2¹⁸ touj ofqalmouj ktl) See 1¹⁴
above.

2²³ Egw, eimi o` eraunwh
nefrouj kai. kardiaj(kai.
dwsu umih ekastw| kata. ta.
erga umwh)

Jer 17¹⁰ Egw. kurioj etazwn
kardiaj kai. dokimazwn
nefrouj(tou/ douhai (ttl)
ekastw| kata. t) odouj
autou/(9)

3^{9a} h̄kousin kai.
proskunhsousin enwpion t)
podwh sou.(8)

Is 60¹⁴ o) poreusontai proj
se) q) poreusontai proj se(
kai. proskunhsousin epi. t)
icnh twh podwh sou: cf 45¹⁴.

3¹⁰ t) katoikouhtaj epi. t) ghj)

Though this construction occurs in
the LXX it is comparatively rare and
represents a special Hebrew phrase:
see vol. i. 289 sq., 336.

<p>3¹⁷ plousioj eimi kai. peplouthka)</p>	<p>Hos 12⁹. See vol. i. 96.</p>
<p>3¹⁹ egw. oßouj ean filw/ eʒegcw kai. paideuw)</p>	<p>Prov 3^{11. 12} mh. oʒigwrei paideiaj kuriou)) oß gar agapa/ kurioj eʒegcei (aA paideuei).(10)</p>
<p>3²⁰ eßthka epi. t) quran kai. krouw\ ean tij))) anoixh|</p>	<p>Cant 5² krouei epi. t) quran) : Anoixon moi.</p>
<p>4¹ (7⁹) meta. tauta eidon kai. idou)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁶ q) opisw toutou eqewroun kai. idou) o) kai. meta. tauta eqewroun)</p>
<p>{lxx.} 4⁵ ekporeuontai astrapai. kai. fwnai. kai. brontai)</p>	<p>Ex 19¹⁶ eginonto fwnai. kai. astrapai) See vol. i. 116. Cf. Jub 2² aggeloi fwnwh brontwh kai. astrapwn)</p>
<p>4⁶ kuklw| t) qronoutessera zwß gemonta ofqalmwh emprosqen kai. opisqen)</p>	<p>Ezek 1⁵ en t) mesw| wj oimiwma tessarwn zwßwn. 1¹⁸ plhrej ofqalmwh kuklogen. See vol. i. 118.</p>
<p>4⁷ ofmoion leonti))) moscw| ) ) ) ecwn to. proswpon wj anqrwpou))) ofmoion aetw|</p>	<p>Ezek 1¹⁰ h` oimiwsij))) proswpon anqrwpou))) leontoj))) moscou))) aetou)</p>

<p>48a en kaqVen autwh erwn ana. pterugaj ex)</p>	<p>Is 6² ex pterugej tw/eni. kai. ex pterugej tw/eni, (rtal ~ypgk vv ~YPgk vv)</p>
<p>48c legontej {Agioj agioj agioj kurioj o`qeoj o` pantokratwr.(11)</p>	<p>Is 6³ elegon {Agioj agioj agioj kurioj sabawq)</p>
<p>5¹ epi. t) dexian))) bibliou gegrammenon eswqen kai. opisqen(katesfragismenon)</p>	<p>Ezek 2⁹. 10 en auth/ (i.e. ceiri) kefalij bibliou))) en auth/ gegrammena ha ta. emprosqen kai. ta. opisw. Is 29¹¹ tou/bibliou tou/ esfragismenou: Dan 8²⁶.</p>
<p>5⁶ (5¹² 13⁸) arnion))) wj esfragmenon)</p>	<p>Is 53⁷ wj probaton epi. sfaghn hcqh kai. wj amnoj)</p>
<p>ofqalmouj epta(oi)))) apestalmenoi (~ymmwvm) eij pasan t) gh)</p>	<p>Zech 4¹⁰ epta. outoi ofqalmoi, eisin oi epiblepontej epi. pasan t) gh)</p>
<p>5⁹ fulhj kai. glwsshj kai. eqnouj)</p>	<p>From an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon. See vol. i. 147 sq.</p>
<p>5¹¹ muriadej muriadwn kai. ciliadej ciliadwn)</p>	<p>Dan 7¹⁰ o, q) ciliai ciliadej)) muriai muriadej)</p>

6²⁻⁸ iḗpoj leukoj))) iḗpoj
purroj))) iḗpoj meḗas)))
iḗpoj clwroj)

From Zech 1⁸ 6¹⁻⁸. Our author has not used the Greek Versions but the Hebrew freely for his own purposes. See vol. i. 161 sq.

6¹³ oi`asterej t) oouranou/
epesan))) wj sukh/ballei t)
oḗunqouj authj)

Is 34⁴ o) panta t) astra
peseitai))) wj piptei
fulla apo. sukhj) Our text is independent of the o, here, but like o, and s, presuppose ἰωπυ (peseitai) instead of the Mass. ἰωβυ.

6¹⁵ ekruyan eautouj eij t)
sphlaia kai. eij t) petraj t)
orewn)

Is 2^{10. 19} eiselqete eij t)
petraj kai. kruptesqe)))
kai. ta. ceiropoihta)))
eisenegkantej eij t)
sphlaia. See vol. i. 182.

6¹⁶ kai. legousin t) oresin kai.
t) petraij Pesate efVhima
kai. kruyate hima apo.
proswpou t) kaqhmenou ktl)
Contrast Luke 23³⁰ which is drawn from o,

Hos 10⁸ kai. erousin t)
oresin Kaluyate hima (kai.
t) bounoij Pesate efVhima)
Is 2¹⁰ kruptesqe eij t) gh
apo. proswpou t) fobou
kuriou)

<p>6¹⁷ h̄qen h` h̄mep̄ra h` megal̄h t) orgh̄j qutwh(kai. tij dunatai staqh̄hai;</p>	<p>Joel 2¹¹ megal̄h h̄mep̄ra t) kuriou))) kai. tij estai ikanoj auth̄j(wgl̄ yky); 2^{31b} prin eṽqeiñ h̄mep̄ran kuriou t) megal̄hn) Nah 1⁶ apo. proswpou orgh̄j autou/ tij ūposthsetai (rwm [y).</p>
<p>7¹ (20⁸) epi. t) tessaraj gwniaj t) gh̄j)</p>	<p>Ezek 7² epi. t) pessaraj pterugaj (twpgk) t) gh̄j.</p>
<p>{lxxi.} 7³ (9⁴ 14¹ 22⁴) ac̄ri sfragiswmen))) epi. t) metwpwn)</p>	<p>Ezek 9⁴ doj shmeiõn epi. t) metwpa. (15)</p>
<p>7¹⁰ h` swthria t) qew̄j)</p>	<p>Ps 3⁹ t) kuriou h` swthria (h [wvyh hwhyl).</p>
<p>7¹⁶⁻¹⁷ ouvpeinasousin eti oude. diyhsousin eti(ktl)</p>	<p>Is 49¹⁰ See vol. i. 216</p>
<p>7¹⁷ (21⁴) exaleiyei))) pah̄ dakruon ek t) ofqalmwh autwh)</p>	<p>Is 25⁸ afeileu))) pah̄ dakruon apo. pantoj proswpou (h [mr ... htm) (~ygp-l k-l [m).</p>
<p>[8² enwpion t) qeou/ esth̄kasin.]</p>	<p>[A common Hebrew expression.]</p>

8 ³ estaqh epi. t) qusiasth̄rion)	Amos 9 ¹ t) kurion efestwta epi. t) qusiasthriou)
8 ⁴ anebh o` kapnoj twh qumiamatwn)	Ezek 8 ¹¹ h` atmij t) qumiamatoj anebainen)
[8 ⁷ calaza kai. pu'r memigmena.]	[Ex 9 ²⁴ (see i. 233).]
9 ⁶ zhthsousin))) t) qanaton kai. ouvmh. erwsin auton)	Job 3 ²¹ oi]omeirontai t) qanatu kai. ouv tugcanousin)
9 ⁷ ta. omoiwmatat) akridwn ofmia ippoj htoimasmenoij eij polemon)	Joel 2 ⁴⁻⁵ wj ofasij ippwn h` ofasij autwh\))) paratassomenoj eij polemon (i. 244).
9 ⁸ oi` odontej autwh wj lesntwn)	Joel 1 ⁶ (i. 245)
9 ⁹ fwnh. armatwn ippwn))) trecontwn)	Joel 2 ⁴⁻⁵ (i. 245)
9 ²⁰ oute blepein))) oute akouein ⁽¹²⁾ oute peripateih or under § 4).	Ps 113 ¹³⁻¹⁵ (115 ⁵⁻⁷) ouk oyontai))) kai. ouk akousontai))) kai. ouvperipathsousin)

<p>10¹ oi` podej autou/wj stuloi puroj) en th/ ceiri. autou/ biblaridion)</p>	<p>Dan 10⁶ (q) ta. skel(h) o) oi` podej). Ezek 2⁹ en auth/ (i.e. ceiri) kefalij bibliou)</p>
<p>10² wpper lewn mukatai)</p>	<p>Hos 11¹⁰ wj lewn ereuxetai)</p>
<p>10⁵⁻⁶ hren(13)t) ceira autou/ t) dexian eij t) ouranon kai. wmosen en t) zwhti eij t) aiwhaj)</p>	<p>Dan 12⁷ (q , o) ufwysen t) dexian autou/)) (> o) eij t) ouranon kai. wmosen en t) zwhti st) zwhta eij o %t) aiwha)</p>
<p>10^{6b} oj ektisen(14) t) ouranon kai. t) en autw/ kai. t) gh h kai. t) en auth/ kai. t) qal assan kai. t) en auth/ See on 147 under II.</p>	<p>Ex 20¹¹ o) epoihsen shf [% kurioj t) our) kai. t) gh h kai. panta ta. en autoij: Neh 9⁶.</p>
<p>10⁷ to. musth rion t) qeou(wj euhggelisen t) e autou/ dou louj t) profhtaj)</p>	<p>Amos 3⁷ ean mh. apokaluyh| paideian (= r ~wm corrupt for wrw~ = t) boulhn autou/ q ,and musth rion in our text) proj t) dou louj autou/ t) profhtaj)</p>
<p>10⁹ to. biblaridion kai. legei moi))) meli)</p>	<p>Ezek 3^{1. 3} (i. 267-268)</p>
<p>{lxxii.} 11² mh/haj tesserakonta kai. duo)</p>	<p>Dan 7²⁵ 12⁷ (i. 279)</p>

<p>11⁴ ai` dup ełaiai kai. ai` dup lucniai ai` enwpion t) kuriou t) ghj eštwtėj)</p>	<p>Zech 4² lucnia crush. 4³ dup ełaiai) 4¹⁴ paresthkasin kuriw| pashj t) ghj.</p>
<p>11⁵ pułr eksporeuėtai ek t) stomatoj autwh kai. katesqiei)</p>	<p>2 Sam 22⁹ pułr ek t) stomatoj autou/ katedetai) Cf. Jer 5¹⁴ dedwka t) logouj mou eij t) stooma sou pułr))) kai. katafagetai)</p>
<p>11⁷ (13¹ 17⁸) t) qhriøn t) anabaiøn ek t) abussou)</p>	<p>Dan 7³ q) tessera qhria))) anebainen ek t) qalasshj)</p>
<p>11⁷ (13⁷) poihsai metV autwh polemon kai. nikhsei autouj)</p>	<p>Dan 7²¹ q) epoiiei polemon meta. t) agiwn kai. iscusen proj autouj) o) polemon sunistamenon proj t) agiouj kai. tropoumenon autouj)</p>
<p>11¹⁵ t) kuriou himwh kai. t) Cristou/ autou(kai. basileusei eij t) aiwhaj t) aiwṗwn)</p>	<p>Ps 2² kata. t) kuriou kai. kata. t) Cristou/ autou) 9³ (10¹⁶) basileusei kurioj eij t) aiwha kai. eij t) aiwha t) aiwhoj)</p>
<p>12³ eṗwn))) kerata deka)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁷ q) kerata deka autwł)</p>

<p>12⁴ surei t) tripton t) asterwn t) ouranou/ kai. ebalen autouj eij t) gh)h)</p>	<p>Dan 8¹⁰ (q % epesen serracqh(o % epi. t) gh)h apo. t) dunamewj t) ouranou/ kai. apo. t) astrwn)</p>
<p>12⁵ eteken ui)on(arsen)</p>	<p>Is 66⁷ eteken arsen (Mass. rkw !b).</p>
<p>12⁸ oude. topo] eureqh autwh)</p>	<p>Dan 2³⁵ (q % topo] ouc eureqh autoij) This clause is missing in o)</p>
<p>12⁹ o` ofij))) o` planwh)</p>	<p>Gen 3¹³ o` ofij hpathsen me)</p>
<p>13² to. qhrion))) ofmoion pardalei))) wj arkou))) wj))) leontoj)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁶ q , o) qhrion wsei. pardalij \$o) pardalin%))) 7⁵ ofmoion arkw|\$o) omiwsin e)on arkou%))) 7⁴ wsei. leaina)</p>
<p>13⁷ poihsai polemon meta. t) agiwn kai. nikhsai autouj) See above under 11⁷. Here our text agrees closely with q)</p>	<p>Dan 7²¹.</p>
<p>13⁸ (17⁸) gegraptai))) en t) bibliw| t) zwhj)</p>	<p>Dan 12¹ q) o` gegrammeno] en t) bibliw) Ps 68 (69)²⁹ ek biblou zwntwn)</p>

13¹⁰ ei; tij eiȳ aiemalwsian(// eiȳ aiemalwsian upagei\ // ei; tij en macairh| apoktanqhhai // [auton] en macairh| apoktanqhhai) Our author combines the first two clauses in the Hebrew.

Jer 15² oḡoi eiȳ qanaton(eiȳ qanaton\ kai. oḡoi eiȳ maçairan(eiȳ maçairan))) kai. oḡoi eiȳ aiemalwsian(eiȳ aiemalwsian) Cf. also 50 (43)¹¹ where the same Hebrew words are rendered for the most part by different Greek words.

14² fwnhn))) wĵ fwnhn udatwn pollwh) See on 1¹⁵ above

14⁵ kai. en tw/stomati autwh ouc eureqh yeudoj)

Zeph 3¹³ ouvlalhšousin mataia(kai. ouvmh. eureqh/ en tw/stomati autwh glwssa dolia) The Seer's words are a compression of the last four words of the Hebrew, bzk wrbry al z ~hypb acmy al w.

14⁸ epesen(epesen Babulwn)

Is 21⁹ o) peptwken(peptwken \$B% See also q ,

14⁸ Babulwn))) h|ek t) oinou &t) qumou# t) porneiaj authj pepotiken panta t) eqnh) See on 18³ below.

{ lxxiii.} 14¹⁰ piētai ek t) oinou
 tou/ qumou/ t) qeou/ t)
 kekerasmenou akraou en t)
 pothriw| t) orghj autou)

Is 51¹⁷ h` piouſa ek ceiroj
 kuriou t) pothrion t) qumou/
 autou) Ps 74 (75)⁹ pothrion en
 ceiri. kuriou(oinou
 akraou plhrej
 kerasmatoj)([18](#))

14¹⁴ epi. nefelhn kaqhmenon)

See 1^{7a} in § 5 below.

[14¹⁵ pemyon to. drepanon sou
 kai. qerison(oti hēqen h` wra
 qerisai(oti exhranqh o`
 qerismoj thj ghj)#

Joel 3 (4)¹³ exapostei,ate
 drepana oti paresthken
 trughtoj (l vb ykrycq).([19](#))

14¹⁸ pemyon sou t) drepanon
 to. oxu(kai. trughson t)
 botruaj t) ampelou t) ghj(oti
 hkmasan ai` stafulai. authj)([16](#))

Joel 3 (14)¹³. See preceding passage.

14²⁰ (19¹⁵) epathqh h` lhnoj)

Is 63³ yrbl ytkrd hrwp: o)
 plhrhj katapepathmenhj) s)
 lhnon epathsa) Lam 1¹⁵ o)
 lhnon epathsen kurioj)

15³ megalā kai. qaumasta. t)
 erga sou)

Ps 110 (111)² megalā t) erga
 kuriou) 138 (139)¹⁴ qaumasia
 t) erga sou)

15³ dikaiiai kai. a ν h η inai. ai`
odoi, sou (Cf. 16⁷ 19²).

Ps 144 (145)¹⁷ dikaiioj kurioj
en pasaij t) odoi η autou η
118 (119)¹⁵¹ pasai ai` odoi, sou
a ν h η eia)

15⁶ endedumeno η i // liqon //.(17) But
liqon = $\sqrt{\sqrt{\epsilon}}$ which should here have
been rendered bu σ sinon See vol. ii.
38.

Dan 10⁵ q) endedumenoj
baddein)

periezwsmeno η i peri. t) sth η h
zwnaj crusa η See on 1¹³ above.

15⁸ egemis η h o` naoj kapnou/))
) kai. oudeij edunato eiselqe η n
eij t) naon)

Is 6⁴ o` oikoj enep η hs η h
kapnou η) Ex 40²⁹. (35) ouk
hdunas η h Mwsh η eiselqe η n
eij t) sknhn t) marturiou
))) kai. dox η j kuriou
ep η hs η h h` sknh)

16² egeneto e η koj kakon
ponhron epi. t) anqrwpouj)

Ex 9¹⁰ egeneto e η kh))) en
t) anqrwpouj) Deut 28³⁵ e η kei
ponhrw η

{lxxiv} 16³ pasa yuch. zw η η)

Gen 1²¹ pasan yuchn zw η wn)

16⁴ execeen t) fialhn autou/
ai η t) potamouj))) kai.
egenonto aima)

Ex 7²⁰ epataxen to. u δ wr)))
kai. metebalen (but Mass. %p η η η
= egentopah to. u δ wp)))
eij aima)

<p>16⁷ αἰσθηται. και. δικαιοι αι` κρισειν σου)</p>	<p>Ps 18 (19)⁽²⁰⁾. See on 19² below.</p>
<p>16¹⁸ οιοι ουκ εγενετο αφου- ανθρωποι εγενοντο επι. τ) γη)</p>	<p>Dan 12¹ q) οια ουγεγονεν αφου η γενηται ενοη εν τη/γη/επι. τ) γη, AK).⁽²⁰⁾</p>
<p>16¹⁹ δουλοι αυτη/ τ) ποθριον τ) οινου τ) κρημου/ τ) οργη αυτου)</p>	<p>Jer 32¹ (25¹⁵) Λαοι τ) ποθριον τ) οινου τ) ακρατου) See on 14¹⁰ above.</p>
<p>16²¹ καταμεγαλη)</p>	<p>Ex 9²⁴ καταμεγαλη)</p>
<p>17¹ τησ καχμενησ επι. υδατων πολλων)</p>	<p>Jer 28 (51)¹³ κατασκηνουσαι (= ytgkX κατασκηνουσα, Q) εφ υδρασι πολλοις)</p>
<p>17² μεσησ επορνευσαν οι βασειλις τ) γη)</p>	<p>Is 23¹⁷ estai emporion (htgzw = porneusei% pasaij τ) basileiαιj))) τ) γη)</p>
<p>εμεσσησαν οι κατοικουσαι τ) γη)</p>	<p>Jer 28 (51)⁷ ποθριον))) Babulwn))) μεσσησαν pasan τ) γη)</p>
<p>17³ αφνεγεν με))) εν πνευματι) See 21¹⁰ below.</p>	

17⁴ pothrion crusouh en t)
ceiri. authj)

Jer 28 (51)⁷ pothrion crusouh
))) en ceiri. kuriou)

17⁸ gegraptai))) epi. to.
biblion thj zwhj) See 13⁸ above.

api. katabolhj kosmou) See 13⁸
above.

17¹⁶ mishsousi t) pornhn kai.
hrhnwmenhn poihsousin authn
kai. gumhn)

Ezek 23²⁹ poihsousin en soi.
en misei kai. esh|(!wbz [w)
gumh. kai. aisounousa)

18¹ h` gh/ efwtisqh ek t) doxhj
autou)

Ezek 43² h` gh/ exelampen wj
feggoj apo. t) doxhj(
wrwbkm hryahe #rah.

18² epesen epesen(ktl) See 14⁷
above.

egeneto katoikhthrion
daimoniwn)

Is 13²¹ Possibly a combination of
~yry [f))) wqkvw or based on 1
Bar 4³⁵ katoikhqhsetai upo.
daimoniwn)

18³ ek t) oinou t) porneiaj
authj pepotiken panta t)
eqnh) This is without doubt the
original reading and explains the later
corruptions. See 14⁸ 17².

Jer 28 (51)⁷ pothrion crusouh
Babulwn))) mequskon
pasan t) ghñ) apo. t) oinou
authj epiosan eqnh) 32¹ (25¹⁵)
labe t) pothrion t) oinou))
) kai. potieij panta t) eqnh)
See note on ii. 14.

18³ oi` basileij t) ghj metV
authj eporneusan) See 17²
above.

18⁴ exelqate ex authj o` laoj
mou)

Jer 51⁴⁵ Heb. ym[hkwtm wac. >
o)

18⁵ ekollhqhsan authj ai`
amartiai acri t) ouranou)

Jer 28 (51)⁹ hggiken ([gg% eij
ouranon)

18⁶ apodote authj wj kai.
auth. apedwken)

Ps 136 (137)⁸ antapodwsei soi)
)) o] antapedwkaj hñih)

en tw/ pothriw/ w/ ekerasen)

See above on 14¹⁰.

18⁷ oti en t) kardia| authj
legei oti Kaqhmai
basilissa(kai. chra ouk
eimi(kai. penqokj ouvmh. idw)

Is 47⁷⁻⁸ eipaj Eij t) aiwha
esomai arcousa))) h`
legousa en kardia| authj)))
ouvkaqiw/ chra oude.
gnwsomai orfaneian)

<p>{lxxv.} 18⁹ oi` basileiḗj t) ghḗ oi` metV authj porneusantej)</p>	<p>See 17² 18³ above.</p>
<p>18¹³ yucaj anqrwpwn)</p>	<p>Ezek 27¹³ en yucaij anqrwpwn)</p>
<p>18¹⁸ tij omia t) polei t) megaḗh)</p>	<p>Ezek 27³² q) tij wpper Turoj*</p>
<p>18¹⁹ eḅalon couh epi. t) kefalaj autwh)</p>	<p>Ezek 27³⁰ epiqhsousin epi. t) kefalhj autwh gh)</p>
<p>ekraxan)</p>	<p>Ezek 27³⁰ kekracontai)</p>
<p>18²² fwnh.))) mousikwh))) ouvmh. akousqh/))) eti)</p>	<p>Ezek 26¹³ h` fwnh. t) yal thriwn sou ouvmh. akousqh/ eti)</p>
<p>18^{23c.d} 22g.h 23a.b fwnh. numfiou kai. numfhj))) kai. fwnh. mulou))) kai. fwj lucnou)</p>	<p>Jer 25¹⁰ fwnhn numfiukai. fwnhn numfhj(// osmhn murou // kai. fwj lucnou) (Here fwnh. mulou in Apoc. is right = ~ytr l wq).</p>
<p>[18^{23e} oi` emporoi, sou hsan oi` megistahej t) ghj)]</p>	<p>Is 23⁸ oi` emporoi authj endoxoi(arcontej t) ghj)</p>

<p>19² αὐτῆς. καὶ δικαίαι αὐτῆς κρίσεως αὐτῆς) See 15³ 16⁷ above.</p>	<p>Ps 18 (19)¹⁰ τα. κρίματα κυρίου αὐτῆς (dedikaiwmena epi. to. auto, (; ἵππ. π.χ.μ. ἠ.ρ.χ.γ. ἠ.ρ.χ.γ. τ.μ.α), Ps 118 (119)⁷⁵. 137.</p>
<p>19⁴ Ἄμην (Ἀλλήλουια)</p>	<p>Ps 105 (106)⁴⁸ genoito)</p>
<p>19⁶ ὡς φωνὴ ὄρου πᾶσι /)) ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πᾶσι) See 1¹⁵ above.</p>	<p>Dan 10⁶ q) φωνὴ. ὄρου &) f) qorubou%</p>
<p>19⁶⁻⁷ ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος))) καί. ἀγαλλίωσεν)</p>	<p>Ps 96 (97)¹ ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν (ἀγαλλίωσεν ἡ γῆ (εὐφρανθήσονται)</p>
<p>19¹¹ εἶδον τὸ οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον (καὶ εἶδον)</p>	<p>Ezek 1¹ ἠνοιχθήσονται οἱ οὐρανοὶ (καὶ εἶδον)</p>
<p>ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει)</p>	<p>Is 11⁴ ἵππ. π.χ.μ. ο ,presupposes a different text -- κρίνειται ἐν κρίσει)</p>
<p>19¹² οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ) Cf. 1¹⁴ 2¹⁸ above.</p>	
<p>19¹⁵ ἐκ τῆς στομάτου αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥῆμα ἁγίον) Cf. 1¹⁶.</p>	

<p>ih̄a en auth| pataxh| ta. eqnh)</p>	<p>Is 11⁴ pataxei gh̄h t) logw| t) stomatoj autou)</p>
<p>kai. autoj poimanei/ autouj en ràbdw| sidhra)(22) Cf. 2²⁷ 12⁵. This line will be treated under § 4.</p>	<p>Ps 2⁹ poimaneij autouj en ràbdw| sidhra)</p>
<p>patei/ t) lhn̄on t) oĩnou t) qumou/))) t) qeou) See on 14²⁰ above.</p>	<p>Is 63³. For diction, cf. Lam 1¹⁵.</p>
<p>19¹⁷⁻¹⁸ legwn pāsi t) ornēoij))) t) Deute sunācqhte eīj t) deip̄non))) t) qeou)¹⁸ih̄a faghte sarkaj basilewn))) kai. sarkaj is̄curwh)</p>	<p>Ezek. 39⁴. See ii. 138.</p>
<p>19²¹ panta t) or̄nea ecortasqhsan ek t) sarkwh autwh)</p>	<p>Ezek 39⁴ ta. eqnh ta. meta. sou/ doqhsontai eīj plhqh or̄newn))) katabrwqh̄hai) 39²⁰ kai. em̄plhsqhsesqe)</p>
<p>20⁴ eidon qronouj kai. ekaqisan ep̄V autouj kai. krima edoqh autoij)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁹ q) eqew̄roun ēwj ōtou qronoi eteqhsan) 7²⁶ to. krith̄rion ekaqisen) 7²² to. krima st) krisin o % edwken s! t) o % uȳistou)</p>
<p>{lxxvi.} 20¹¹ eidon qronon))) kai. t) kaqh̄menon)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁹ q , o) ekaqhto))) o` qronoj autou/> o)</p>

20 ¹² bibliã hmoicqhsan)	Dan 7 ¹⁰ q , o) bibloi hnewcqhhsan)
20 ¹² a] lo bibliõn hmoicqh(of estin t) zwhj)	Ps 68 (69) ²⁹ biblou zwntwn)
21 ³ e` sknh. t) qeou/ meta. t) anqrwpwn kai. skhnwsei metV autwh kai. autoi. laoj autou/ esontai)	Ezek 37 ²⁷ , Lev 26 ^{11. 12} . See ii. 207.
21 ⁴ exaleiyei pah dakruon) See 7 ¹⁷ above.	
21 ⁴⁻⁵ ta. prwta aphl qan))) idou. kaina. poiw)	Is 43 ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ mh. mhmoneuete ta. prwta(kai. ta. arcaia mh. sullogizesqe(idou. egw. poiw/ kaina) See ii. 203.
21 ⁶ tw/ diywhiti))) dwsw ek))) t) u]datoj t) zwnj dwrean (22 ¹⁷).	Is 55 ¹ oi` diywhitej(poreuesqe efVu]dwr(kai. o]soi mh. ecete argurion))) agorasate)
21 ⁷ esomai autw/ qeoj kai. autoj estai moi ui]oj)	2 Sam 7 ¹⁴ egw. esomai autw/ eij patera kai. autoj estai moi eij ui]on)

21¹⁰ aphnegken me en
pneumati epi. oroj)))
u`yhlon) Cf 17³ above.

Ezek 40¹⁻² hgagen me en orasei
qeou/))) kai. eqhken me epV
oroi u`yhlon shbg rh la
ygxygyw))) ygaybg).

21¹² onomata))) t) dwdeka
fulwh uiwh Vsrahl) 21¹³ apo.
anatolhj pulwhej treij kai.
apo. borra/ pulwhej treij(
ctl)

Ezek 48³¹ ai` pulai t) polewj
epV onomasin fulwh t)
Vsrahl\ pulai treij proj
borrah) 48³²⁻³⁴ kai. ta. proj
anatolaj))) pulai treij
ctl)

21¹⁸ h` endwmhsij t) teicouj
authj iaspj)

Is 54¹² qhsw t) epalxeij sou
iaspin)

21¹⁹ o` qemelioj))) o`
deuteroj sapfeiroj)

Is 54¹¹ ta. femelia, sou
sapfeiron)

21²³ (22⁵) h` polij ouvcreian
exei t) hliou oude. t)
selhnhj iha fainwsin authj
h` gar doxa t) qeou/ efwtisen
authn)

Is 60¹⁹ ouk estai soi eti o`
hlioj eij fwj hmeraj oude.
anatolh. selhnhj fwteie/ sou
t) nukta(aVlVestai))) o`
qej doxa sou)

21²⁴ kai. peripathsousin ta.
eqnh dia. t) fwtoj authj kai.
oi` basileij t) ghj
ferousin⁽²³⁾t) doxan autwh)
))

21²⁵ kai. oi` pulwhej authj ouv
mh. kleisqwsin himeraj)))

21²⁶ kai. oisousin t) doxan))
) t) eqnwn eij authn)

Is 60³ kai. poreusontai))) tw/
fwti, sou))) eqnh) 60¹¹ ai`
pulai sou))) himeraj kai.
nuktoj ouvkleisqhsontai(
eisagagein proj se. dunamin
eqnwh kai. basileij autwh
agomenouj⁽²³⁾ 60⁵ // ploutoj)))
eqnwh kai. lawh kai. hxousin
//.⁽²⁴⁾

21²⁷ ouvmh. eiselqh|))) pan
koinon)

Is 52¹ ouketi prosteqhsetai
dielqein))) akaqartoj) See
ii. 173 sq.

eivmh. oi` gegrammenoi en t)
bibliw| t) zwhj) See 13⁸ 17⁸
above

Dan 12¹ q) o` gegrammenoj en t)
biblw|
o) eggegrammenoj en t)
bibliw)

lxxvii.} 22¹⁻² potamon uflatoj
zwhj))) ekporeuomenon ek
t) qronou t) qeou) The idea is to
be found in its developed form in 1
and 2 Enoch.

Ezek 47¹ uflwr exeporeueto)))
apo. notou epi. to.
qusiasthrion)⁽²⁷⁾ Zech 14⁸
exeleusetai uflwr zwh ex
Verousalhm)

22² εν μεσω |))) t) potamou/
enteuqen kai. ekeiqen xulon
zwhj poiouh karpouj
dwdeka(kata. mhha ekaston
apodidouh t) karpon autou/
kai. t) fulla t) xulou eij
qerapeian t) eqnwh)

Ezek 47¹² ο) epi. t) potamou/
anabhsetai epi. t) ceilouj
autou/ enqen kai. enqen)))
oude. mh. ekliph| o` karpouj
autou\ thj kainothtoj autou/
σωτηριου % prwtobolhsei(oti)
)) estai))) anabasiq autwh
σωτηριου % eij uqian) Here the
LXX has missed the sense and
misrendered several times where our
author has rightly reproduced it.⁽²⁸⁾
None of the Greek renderings is so
close to the Mass. as our author. See ii.
176-7.

22^{3a} παη kataqema ouk estai
eti)

Zech 14¹¹ αναqema σωτηριου % ouk
estai eti)

22⁴ oyontai t) proswnpon
autou)

Ps 16 (17)¹⁵ Σηnp hzxa. But ο ,has
ofqhsomai t) proswpw| sou)
Contrast Mass. and ο ,in 83 (84)⁷.

22⁵ ouk ecousin creian
fwtoj(ktl) See 21²³ above.

kurioj o` qeoj fwtisei⁽²⁵⁾ epV
autouj)

Ps 117 (118)²⁷ qeoj kurioj kai.
epfanan himih -- an abbreviated
form of the Aaronic blessing: see ii.
210-211.

22 ^{12a} idou. ercomai tacu(kai. o` misqoj mou metVemou)	Is 40 ¹⁰ Vdou. kurioj))) ercetai))) idou. o` misqoj autou/ metV autou) 62 ¹¹ .
22 ^{12b} apodouhai ekastw| wj t) ergon estin autou)(26)	Prov 24 ¹² apodidwsin ekastw| kata. t) erga autou) Cf. Ps 61 (62) ¹² apodwseij ekastw| kata. t) erga autou)
22 ¹⁷ o` diywh ercesqw))) udwr zwhj dwrean) See 21 ⁶ above.	Is 55 ¹ oi` diywh tej poreuesqe)
[22 ^{18b-19} ean tij epiqh/ epV auta(epiqhsa))) kai. ean tij afel, h(ktl)#	Deut 4 ² ouvprosqs esqe proj t) rh(ma)))) kai. ouk afeleite apV autou)

{lxxviii.} § 4. Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel) but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others possibly) by o ,

1 ⁴ apo. o` wn)	Ex 3 ¹⁴ egw, eimi o` wn)
1 ^{5a} o` martuj o` pistoj)	Ps 88 (89) ³⁸ o` martuj en ouranw/ pistoj)(31)
1 ^{5b} o` prwtotokoj t) nekrwh kai. o` arcwn t) basilewn t) ghj)	Ps 88 (89) ²⁸ kagw. prwtotokon qhsomai auton(uyhlon para. t) basileusin t) ghj)

2 ^{23a} apoktenw/ en qanaṭw)	Ezek 33 ²⁷ qanaṭw| apoktenw/ (Mass. wtwmy rbrb)
2 ^{26b} dṡsw autw| exousian epi. t) eqnwh) 2 ²⁷ kai. poimanei/ autouj en rābdw| sidhra(wj t) skeuh t) keramika. suntribetai)	Ps 2 ⁸⁻⁹ dṡsw soi eqnh t) klhronomian sou))) poimaneij autouj en rābdw| sidhra(wj skeuōj keramewj suntriyeyj autouj) See vol. i. 75-77 and Pss Sol 17 ²⁶ .
3 ⁵ ouvmh. exaleiyw t) onoma autou/ ek t) biblou(29) t) zwhj)	Ex 32 ³²⁻³³ exaleiyon me ek t) biblou sou) Ps 68 (69) ²⁹ exaleifqhtwsan ek biblou zwntwn) See i. 84.
3 ^{9c} egw. hgaphsa, se)	Is 43 ⁴ egw, se hgaphsa)
4 ² (7 ¹⁰ 19 ⁴) epi. t) qronon kaqhmenoij)	Is 61 ¹ t) kurion kaqhmenon epi. qronon) 1 Kings 22 ¹⁹ qeon))) kaqhmenon epi. qronou autou)
[5 ⁸ qumiamatwn(ai[eisin ai` proseucal)#	Ps 140 ² h` proseuch, mou wj qumiamal)
5 ⁹ (14 ³) adousin wphn kainhn)	Ps 143 (144) ⁹ wphn kainhn ašomai, soi) Is 42 ¹⁰

<p>[6⁸ apokteihai en ròmfaia| kai. en limw| kai. en qanatw| kai. upo. t) qhriwn t) ghj)#</p>	<p>Ezek 14²¹ ròmfaian kai. limon kai. qhria ponhra. kai. qanaton) srbR).</p>
<p>6¹⁰ e(wj pote))) ouvkrineij kai. ekdikeij t) aima hmw ek t) katoikountwn epi. t) ghj; cf. 19².</p>	<p>2 Kings 9⁷ ekdikhseij t) aifata t) douwn mou))) ek ceiroj Vezabel)</p>
<p>6¹⁴ o` ouranoj apewrisqh wj biblion // elissomenon //.</p>	<p>Is 34⁴ elighsetai wj biblion o` ouranoj)</p>
<p>7¹⁴ eplunan t) stolaj autwh))) en t) aifati) Cf. 22¹⁴.</p>	<p>Gen 49¹¹ plunei/ en oinw| t) stolhn autou/ kai. en aifati)</p>
<p>9² anebh kapnoj))) wj kapnoj kaminou)</p>	<p>Ex 19¹⁸ anebainen o` kapnoj wj kapnoj kaminou)</p>
<p>eskotwqh o` hlioj)</p>	<p>Joel 2¹⁰ o` hlioj kai. h` selhnh suskotasousin)</p>
<p>11⁶ pataxai t) gh en pash| plhghj</p>	<p>1 Sam 4⁸ oi` qeoi. oi` pataxantej t) Aigupton en pash| plhgh| s))) ~ykmh hkm-l kb).</p>
<p>11¹¹ pneuma zwhj ek t) qeou/ eishlqen en autoij kai. esthsan⁽³⁰⁾ epi. t) podaj autwh)</p>	<p>Ezek 37¹⁰ eishlqen eij autouj to. pneuma kai.))) esthsan epi. t) podwn autwh)</p>

<p>11^{17d-18a} ebasi,leusaj kai. t) eqnh wrgisqhsan)</p>	<p>Ps 98 (99)¹ kurioj ebasi,leusen\ orgizesqwsan laoi)</p>
<p>{lxxix.} 11^{18d-g} t) douloij sou t) profhtaj kai. t) agioij kai. t) foboumenoij t) onoma, sou t) mikrouj kai. t) megalouj)</p>	<p>Amos 3⁷ t) doulouj atou/ t) profhtaj) Ps 113²¹ (115¹³) t) foboumenouj t) kurion t) mikrouj meta. t) megalwn)</p>
<p>12^{1. 2} shmeion))) gunh.))) en gastri. epousa kai. krazei wdinoussa))) tekein(32)</p>	<p>Is 7¹⁴ shmeion\ idou. h` parqenoj en gastri. ekei saA lhmyetai(B). 26¹⁷ h` wdinoussa eggizei tekein(epi. th/ wdihi authj ekekraxen)</p>
<p>12^{5b} poimainein panta t) eqnh en rabdw| sidhra)</p>	<p>See on 2²⁷ above.</p>
<p>12¹² eufraïnesqe ouranoi)</p>	<p>Is 49¹³ eufraïnesqe ouranoi) Cf. 44²³.</p>
<p>14⁷ t) poihsanti t) ouranon kai. t) ghñ kai. qalassan) Contrast 10⁶ under § 3 above. On this phrase see Acts 4²⁴ 14¹⁵.</p>	<p>Ex 20¹¹ (quoted on 10^{6b} under § 3 above). Neh 19⁶ epoishaj t) ouranon))) t) ghñ))) t) qalassaj)</p>
<p>14¹¹ o` kapnoj))) eiĵ aiwhaj aiwnwn anabainei))) himeraj kai. nuktoj)</p>	<p>Is 34¹⁰ nuktoj kai. himeraj))) kai.))) eiĵ t) aiwha cronon kai. anabhsetai o` kapnoj authj)</p>

15 ³ adousin @) wllhn Mwusewj t) doulou t) qeou#	Ex 14 ³¹ Mwush/ t) qeraponti autou)
15 ⁴ doxasei t) onoma sou)	Ps 85 (86) ⁹ doxasousin t) onoma, sou)
15 ⁴ panta t) eqnh hxousin kai. proskunhsousin enwpion sou)	Ps 85 (86) ⁹ panta t) eqnh))) hxousin kai. proskunhsousin enwpion sou)
15 ⁶ periezwsmei noi peri. t) sthqh znaj crusaj)	See on 1 ¹³ under § 3.
16 ⁵ dikaioj ei=))) ošioj)	Ps 144 (145) ¹⁷ dikaioj kurioj))) kai. ošioj)
ai#))) peih)	Is 49 ²⁶ piontai))) to. ai# autwh)
17 ¹⁶ kai. t) sarkaj authj fagontai)	Is 49 ²⁶ fagontai))) t) sarkaj autwh)
19 ² exedikhsen t) ai# t) douwn autou/ek ceiroj authj) See on 6 ¹⁰ above.	
19 ³ o` kapnoj authj anabainei eij t) aiwhaj) See on 14 ¹¹ above.	

<p>19⁵ aineite t) qew| hìmw|h(pantej oi` dou|oi autou(oi` foboumenoi auton(oi` mikroi. kai. oi` mega|oi)</p>	<p>Ps 134 (135)¹. 20 aineite t) onoma kuriou(aineite dou|oi kurion⁽³³⁾)) oi` foboumenoi t) kurion) See on 11¹⁸ above.</p>
<p>19¹⁵ iħa en auth| patax| ta. eqnh\ kai. autoj poimanei/ autouj en ràbdw| sidhra| See 2²⁷ above.</p>	<p>Is 11⁴ kai. pataxei gh| tw| logw| tou/ stomatoj autou|)</p>
<p>20⁹ epi. t) platoj t) gh|j)</p>	<p>Hab 1⁶ epi. ta. plath sto. platoj -- A) t) gh|j)</p>
<p>katebh pur ek t) ouranou/ kai. katefagen) (This could be registered under § 3, since the Hebrew could hardly be rendered differently).</p>	<p>2 Kings 1¹⁰ o , exactly as in our text.</p>
<p>21¹ ouranon kainon kai. gh| kainh|)</p>	<p>Is 65¹⁷ e'stai gar o` ouranoj kainoj kai. h` gh/ kainh|)</p>
<p>21² (21¹⁰) t) polin t) aģian Verousalhm|)</p>	<p>Is 52¹ Verousalhm| ( polij h` aģia) Cf. Dan 9²⁴ q)</p>
<p>21¹² idou. ercomai tacu(kai. o` misqoj mou metVemou|) Already registered under § 3 above.</p>	<p>Is 40¹⁰ idou. kurioj kurioj))) ercetai))) idou. o` misqoj autou/ metV autou|)</p>

{lxxx.} § 5. Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic of Daniel), but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others probably) by a later form of o , such as is preserved in

Theodotion q)

1 ¹ a] dei/ genesqai)	Dan q) 2 ²⁸ . 29. 46 a] dei/ genesqai) ⁽³⁶⁾
1 ⁶ (5 ¹⁰ 20 ⁶) epoihsen hìmaj basileian ièreij t) qew)	Ex 19 ⁶ q) basileia ièreij, which = ~ynhk hklmm. But the Mass. has "k tkllmm, and also o , basileion ièrateuma) See vol. i. 16.
1 ^{7a} idou. ercetai meta ⁽³⁴⁾ t) nefelwh)	Dan 7 ¹³ q) idou. meta. t) nefelwh))) ercomenoi = Mass. hta ynn[~[wra. o) idou. epi. t) nefelwh))) hrceto)
1 ^{17b} (2 ⁸ 22 ¹³) VEgw, eimi o` prwtoj kai. o`escatoj)	Is 48 ¹² (cf. 44 ⁶) !wrxaxa yna @a !wvar yna. Is 48 ¹² q) VEgw. prwtok kai. egw. escatoj) o) VEgw, eimi prwtoj kai. egw, eimi eij t) aiwha)
1 ¹⁹ a] mellei genesqai meta. tauta)	Dan 2 ²⁹ q) ti, dei/ genesqai meta. tauta > o)

3⁷ o`erwn t) kleiñ)) o`
anoigwn kai. oudeij kleisei
kai. kleiwn kai. oudeij
anoigei)

Is 22²² q) dwswn t) kleida
oikou Dabid)) kai. anoixei
kai. ouk estai o`apokleiwn\
kai. kleisei kai. ouk estai o`
anoigwn) o) dwswn t) doxan o`
antilegwn(kai. kleisei kai.
ouk estai o`anoigwn)

3^{9c} h̄ousin kai.
proskunhsousin enwpion t)
podwñ sou) See on 15⁴ under § 4.

Is 60¹⁴ q) kai. poreusontai)))
paroxunantwn))) kai.
proskunhsousin epi. t) icnh
t) podwñ sou) o) om. last eight
words.

4¹ a] dei. genesqai meta. tauta)
See on 1¹⁹ above.

9³⁰ ta. daimonia kai. t)
eidwla⁽³⁵⁾t) crusa/ kai. t)
argura/ kai. t) calka/ kai. t)
liqina kai. t) xulina(a] oute
blepein dunantai oute
akouein oute peripateiñ)

Dan 5²³ q , \$> o % t) qeouj t)
crusouj kai. arguroj⁽³⁷⁾kai.
calkouj kai. sidhrouj kai.
xulinouj kai. liqinouj(oi] ouv
blepousin kai. ou] ouk
akouousin \$o , < entire passage).
Cf. Ps 113 (114)¹²⁻¹⁵t) eidwla))
) ouk oyontai))) ouk
akousontai))) ouv
peripathsousin)

10⁶ w̄hsen en t) zwhti eij t)
aiwhaj)

Dan 12⁷ q) w̄hsen en t) zwhti
t) aiwha)

<p>{lxxxi.} 12¹⁴ kairon kai. kairouj kai. h̄misu kairou)</p>	<p>Dan 12⁷ q , o) kairon kai. kairouj (AQT) kai. h̄misu kairou) Cf. 7²⁵.</p>
<p>13⁵ stoma lalouh megala)</p>	<p>Dan 7⁸ q , o) st) lal) meg)</p>
<p>13⁷ poihsai polemon meta. t) agiwn)</p>	<p>Dan 7²¹ q) epoiēi polemon meta. t) agiwn) o) polemon sunistamenon proj t) agiouj)</p>
<p>13¹⁵ ōsoi ean mh. proskunhsousin t) eikona)</p>	<p>Dan 3⁶ q , o) oj ah mh (+ peswn o % proskunhsh|st) eikoni%</p>
<p>14⁸ Babulwn h` megalh)</p>	<p>Dan 4²⁷ q , o) Bab) h` meg)</p>
<p>15³⁻⁴ o` basileuj t) eqnwh\ tij ouvmh. fobhqh*</p>	<p>Jer 10⁷ q , S> o % tij ouvmh. fobhqhsetai(basileu/t) eqnwh*</p>
<p>20¹¹ topoij oue eureqh autoij (cf. 12⁸).</p>	<p>Dan 2³⁵ q) topoij oue eureqh autoij) o) w̄ste mhden kataleifqhhai ex autwh)</p>
<p>20¹⁵ ei; tij oue eureqh en t) biblw^[38]t) zwhj gegrammenoj)</p>	<p>Dan 12¹ q) paj (+ o` eureqej AQ) o` gegrammenoj en t) biblw) o) oj ah eureqh/ eggrammenoj en t) bibliw)</p>

22¹⁰ mh. sfragishj t) logouj)) t) bibliou toutou)

Dan 12⁴ q) sfragison t) biblion) o) sfragisai t) biblion) 12⁹ q) esfragismenoi oi`logoi) o) esfragismena ta prostagmata)

§ 6. Phrases and clauses in our Author which are echoes of O.T. passages.

22 ⁰ thn gunaika Vezabel)	1 Kings 20 (21) ²⁵ Vezabel h`gunh. autou)
5 ⁵ o`lewn o`ek t) fulhj Vouda)	Gen 49 ⁹ skumoj leontoj(Vouda)
h`riza Daueid (cf. 22 ¹⁶)	Is 11 ¹ ek t) rizhj Vessai)
9 ³ exhlqon akridej eij t) gh)	Ex 10 ¹² anabhwtw akrij epi. t) gh)
9 ¹⁴ t) potanw# t) megalw| Eufrath)	Gen 15 ¹⁸ t) pot) t) meg) Euf)
9 ²¹ fonwn)) porneiaj)) klematwn)	Ex 20 ¹³ (Mass., but different order in o %)
farmakwn)) porneiaj)	2 Kings 9 ²² ai`porneiái Vezabel))) kai. t) farmaka authj)

<p>10¹¹ dei/ se paḷin profhteusai epi. laoiḷ kai. eqnesin))) kai. basileusin)</p>	<p>Jer 1¹⁰ idou. kaqestaka, se))) epi. eqnh kai. basileiaj)</p>
<p>11¹ kaḷamoj))) meḷrhson t) naon)</p>	<p>Ezek 40³ en t) ceiri. autou/ hā))) kaḷamoj meḷron) 41¹³ diemeḷrhssen katenanti t) oikou)</p>
<p>11² edoqh t) eqnesin kai. t) poḷin t) aḡian pathsousin)</p>	<p>Zech 12³ qhsomai t) Verousalhm liqon katapatoumenon) Dan 9²⁴ (q % t) poḷin t) aḡian)</p>
<p>11⁸ pneumatikwḷ Sodoma)</p>	<p>Is 1¹⁰ Israel addressed as "Sodom."</p>
<p>11¹⁰ dwra pemyousin aḷlhloij)</p>	<p>Esth 9¹⁹ apostellontej meridaḷ eḷastoj tw/ plhsion)</p>
<p>foboj))) epepesen epi)</p>	<p>Frequent in the O.T.</p>
<p>11¹² anebhsan eij t) ouranon)</p>	<p>2 Kings 2¹¹ anel hmfqh))) eij t) ouranon)</p>
<p>11¹³ edwkan doxan t) qew/ (cf. 14⁷)</p>	<p>Josh 7¹⁹, Jer 13¹⁶ etc.</p>
<p>t) qew/ t) ouranou/(cf. 16¹¹)</p>	<p>Dan q) 2¹⁸. 19. 37; q , o) 2⁴⁴.</p>

11 ¹⁵ basileusei eiĵ t) aiwhaj t) aiwnwn)	Ps 93 ⁷ (10 ¹⁶) basileusei kuĵioj eiĵ t) aiwha)
{lxxxii.} 14 ⁷ fobhqhte t) qeon)	Eccles 12 ¹³ .
14 ¹⁰ puri. kai. qeiw)	Gen 19 ²⁴ .
15 ¹ plhgaj epta)	Lev 26 ²¹ plhgaj epta)
16 ¹ ekceete t) fialaj t) qumou/t) qeou)	Jer 10 ²⁵ ekceon t) qumon sou epi. eqnh)
16 ¹⁰ egeneto h` basileia autou/ eskotwmenh)	Ex 10 ²¹ genhqhtw skotoj epi. gh Aiguptou)
16 ¹² exhranqh t) uflwr autou)	Ex 14 ²¹ epoihsen t) qalassan xhran)
18 ⁹ klausontai kai. koyontai)	2 Sam 1 ¹² ekoyanto))) kai. ekl ausan)
18 ¹⁴ sou thĵ epiqumiaj thĵ yuchĵ)	Deut 12 ¹⁵ . 20. 21, Ps 20 (21) ³ etc.
18 ²¹ Suggested by	Jer 28 (51) ^{63sq.} liqon))) riyeij kai. ereij Ouŭwj katadusetai Babul wn)

20 ⁹ t) login t) hgaphmenhn)	Ps 77(78) ⁶⁸ t) oroj t) Seiwn hgaphsen) 86 (87) ² agapa(kurioj t) pulaj Siwn)
21 ⁴ oute penqoj oute kraugh. oute ponoj ouk estai eti)	Is 35 ¹⁰ apedra odunh kai. luph kai. stenagmoj)
21 ¹⁰ t) doxan t) qeou)	Is 58 ⁸ .
21 ¹⁶ h` polij tetragwnoj keitai)	Ezek 48 ¹⁶ where the measures of the city show that it was tetragwnoj)

§ 7. Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha.

1 ¹³ ofmion uion anqrwpou) See on 14 ¹⁴ below.	
2 ⁷ dwsw autw(fagein ek t) xulou t) zwhj)	T. Lev 18 ¹¹ dwsei t) agioij fagein ek) t) xulou t) zwhj) See vol. i. 54.
2 ¹⁷ onoma kainon)	T Lev 8 ¹⁴ epiklhqhsetai autw(onoma kainon)

4¹ kai. idou. qura hnewgmenh en t) ouranw)

1 En 14¹⁵ kai. idou. a;l lhn quran anewgmenhn (i.e. in heaven): T. Lev. 5¹.

4⁶ (15²) qalassa ualinh)

2 En 3³ "They showed me a great sea" (i.e. in the first heaven). Cf. T. Lev 2⁷.

6¹¹ iha anapausontai)) e[wj plhrwqwsin)) oi` adel foi. autwh oi` mellontej apoktennesqai)

In 1 En 47 the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete exactly as in our text. 47³⁻⁴ "I saw the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory. . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because the number of the righteous had been offered."[\(39\)](#)

6¹² o` hlioj egeneto melaj)) kai. h` selhnh olh egeneto wj aima)

Ass. Mos. 10⁵ Sol non dabet lumen et in tenebras convertent se cornua lunae . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem.[\(40\)](#)

{lxxxiii.} 7¹ tessaraj aggelouj)) epi. t) tessaraj gwniaj thj ghj(kratouhtaj t) tessaraj anemouj t) ghj)

See vol. i. 204, 192 (note), where this conception is shown to be in 1 Enoch.

[8⁸ wj oroj mega puri. kaiomenon)][\(41\)](#)

1 En 18¹³ wj orh mega;a kaiomena: 21³ omioij oresin mega;loij kai. en puri. kaiomenouj)

<p>9¹ astera ek t) ouranou/ peptwkota eij t) gh(kai. edogh autw/h`kleij t) freatoj(ktl)⁽⁴²⁾</p>	<p>1 En 86¹ "Behold a star fell from heaven and it arose" etc.</p>
<p>9²⁰ iha mh. proskunhsousin t) daimonia kai. t) eidwla)⁽⁴³⁾</p>	<p>E En 99⁷ "Who worships stones . . . impure spirits and demons."</p>
<p>14¹⁰ basanisqhsetai en puri.))) enwpion t) aggelwn)</p>	<p>1 En 48⁹ "As straw in the fire, so shall they burn before the face of the holy."</p>
<p>14¹⁴ ofmion uiòn anqrwpou)⁽⁴⁴⁾</p>	<p>1 En 46¹ which first applies to <i>the Messiah</i>, this phrase which in Dan 7¹³ = "the saints." 4 Ezra 13³ where the Syriac presupposes ofmion uiw(anqrwpou) See vol. ii. 20.</p>
<p>17¹⁴ (Cf. 19¹⁶) Kurioj kuriwn estin kai. basileuj basilewn)</p>	<p>1 En 94 (G s²) Kurioj t) kuriwn kai. basileuj t) basileuontwn (E = basilewn).</p>
<p>19¹⁵ ek t) stomatoj autou/ ekporeuetai romfaia oxeia(iha en auth/ pataxh| ta. eqnh\ kai. autoj poimanei/ autouj en rãbdw| sidhra)</p>	<p>Pss. Sol 17^{26-27. 39} quoted in vol. ii. 136 where already Is 11⁴ and Ps 2⁹ are applied in the same Ps. to the Messiah.</p>
<p>20⁸ ton Gwg kai. Magwg)</p>	<p>See vol. ii. 188.</p>

20¹³ o` qanatoj kai. o` aϕhj
adwkan t) nekrouj t) en
autoij)

1 En 51¹ "Sheol also shall give back
that which it has received, and hell
shall give back that which it owes."
See vol. ii. 194 sqq.

22² t) qronou t) qeou/ kai. t)
arniou)

1 En 52^{3.5} See vol. ii. 175 sq. The
throne is the throne of God and of
the Son of Man.

§ 8. Passages in some cases directly dependent on and in others parallel with earlier books of the N.T. Our author appears to have used Matthew, Luke, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Ephesians and possibly Galatians, 1 Peter and James. The possibility of his having had one or more other books of the N.T. is not excluded.

{lxxxiv.} 1¹ dei/ genesqai)

Matt 24⁶, Luke 21⁹.

1³ makarioj))) kai. oi`
akouontej t) logouj)))
kai. throuhtej)

Luke 11²⁸ makarioi oi` akouontej t)
logon t) qeou/ kai. fulassontej)⁽⁵¹⁾

o` gar kairoj egguj)

Matt 26¹⁸ o` kairoj mou egguj estin)

1⁴ carij umiñ kai.
eirhnh)

Col 1² carij umiñ kai. eirhnh and
eight other Pauline epp. Not earlier than
N.T. apparently.

<p>1⁵ o` prwtotokoj t) nekrwh)⁽⁴⁵⁾</p>	<p>Col 1¹⁸ prwtotokoj ek t) nekrwh)</p>
<p>1⁵ tw/ agapwhi himaj)</p>	<p>Gal 2²⁰ tou/ uiðu/ t) qeou/ tou/ agaphsantoj me)</p>
<p>1⁶ basileia(ièreiĵ t) qew)</p>	<p>1 Pet 2⁹ basileion ièrateuma)</p>
<p>1⁷ idou. ercetai meta. t) nefelwh(kai. oyetai auton paj ofqalmoj(kai. oiĵinej auton exekenthsan(kai. koyontai epV auton pasai ai` fulai. t) ghĵ)⁽⁴⁶⁾</p>	<p>Matt 24³⁰ tote koyontai pasai ai` fulai. t) ghĵ kai. oyontai t) uiðon t) anqrwpou ercomenon epi. t) nefelwh t) ouranou)</p>
<p>1⁷ nai(amhn)</p>	<p>2 Cor 1²⁰ to. nai,))) to. amhn)</p>
<p>1¹⁶ h` oyij autou/ wĵ o` hĵioj fainei)</p>	<p>Matt 17² eĵ anyen to. proswpon autou/ wĵ o` hĵioj)</p>
<p>1¹⁸ nekroj kai. idou. zwh)</p>	<p>2 Cor 6⁹ apoqnhskontej kai. idou. zwĵmen)</p>
<p>2⁷ o` ecwn ouĵ akousatw)⁽⁴⁷⁾ (seven times).</p>	<p>Matt 11¹⁵ 13⁹. 43, Luke 8⁸ 14³⁵ o` ecwn wĵta akouetw: Mark 4⁹. 23 oj seĵtij% s4²³) epei wĵta akouein akouetw)</p>

<p>2⁹ oida, spi))) t) ptwceian(a\la. plousioj ei#</p>	<p>2 Cor 6¹⁰ wj ptwcoi. pollouj de. ploutizontej) Jas 2⁵ t) ptwcouj t) kosmw| plousiouj en pistei)</p>
<p>2¹⁰ t) stefanon t) zwhj)(48)</p>	<p>Jas 1¹² t) stefanon t) zwhj)</p>
<p>2²⁹ plana/ t) emouj doulouj porneusai kai. fagein eidwloguta) 2²⁴ ouvballw efVumaj a\lo baroj\ plhn o| exete krathsate)(49)</p>	<p>Acts 15²⁸ edoxen))) himin mhden pleon epitiquesqai umin baroj plhn))) apesqai eidwlogutwn))) kai. porneiaj)</p>
<p>2²⁴ t) bagea t) Satana)</p>	<p>1 Cor 2¹⁰ t) baqh t) qeou)</p>
<p>3³ ean ou# mh. grhgorhshj(hkw wj klepthj kai. ouvmh. gnwj poian w\ran hkw epi. se)</p>	<p>Matt 24⁴² grhgoreite ou#(o\to ouk oidate poia| hmera| p` kurioj umwh ercetai)</p>
<p>16¹⁵ idou. ercomai wj klepthj\ makarioj o` grhgorwh)(50)</p>	<p>24⁴³ ekei#o de. ginwskete(o\ti eiv hdei o` oikodespOTHj poia| fulakh/ o` klepthj (lxxxv.)ercetai(egrhgorhsen ah kai. ouk ah eiasen diorucqh#ai t) oikian autou) 46Makarioj o` douloj ekei#oj) 1 Thess 5² hmera kuriou wj klepthj))) ercetai)</p>

<p>3⁸ dedwka enwpion sou quran hnewgmenhn)</p>	<p>1 Cor 16⁹ qura gar moi anewgen) 2 Cor 2¹² quraj moi anewgmenhj)</p>
<p>3⁵ omologhsw t) onoma autou/enwpion t) patroj mou kai.enwpion t) aggelwn autou)</p>	<p>Matt 10³² omologhsw kagw.en autw/ emprosken t) patroj mou (contrast Luke 12⁸ emprosken t) aggelwn t) qeou)</p>
<p>3¹⁴ h` arch. t) ktisewj t) qeou)</p>	<p>Col 1¹⁸ of estin h` arch) 1¹⁵ prwtotokoj pashj ktisewj)</p>
<p>3¹⁷ plousioj eimi))) kai.ouk oidaj ofi su.ei= o`))) ptwcoj) See on 2⁹ above.</p>	<p>Contrast Col 1²⁷ t) ploutoj t) doxhj t) musthriou))) of estin C) en umih)</p>
<p>3²¹ dwsw autw/ kaqisai metVemou/en t) qronw| mou(wj))) ekaqisa meta. t) patroj mou en t) qronw| autou)</p>	<p>Col 3¹ ta. anw zhteite(ou=o` C) estin en dexia/ t) qeou/ kaqhmenoj) Eph 2⁶ sunekaqisen en t) epouraniqij en C) V)</p>
<p>5⁵ mh. klaié)</p>	<p>Luke 7¹³ (8⁵²) mh. klaié)</p>
<p>6⁴ labein t) eirhnhn ek t) ghj)</p>	<p>Matt 10³⁴ mh. nomishte ofi hqon balein eirhnhn epi. t) gh\ ouk hqon balein eirhnhn alla. macairan)</p>

6²⁻¹⁷ 7¹ Subject-matter of the Seals suggested by the Little Apocalypse.⁽⁵²⁾

Matt 24⁶⁻⁷. 9a. 29 and parallels in Luke 21^{8-12a}. 25-26. See vol. i. 158 sqq.

6¹⁰ e[wj po]te))) ouv)))
ekdikeij to. aima himwh)

Luke 18⁷. 8 o` de. qeoj ouvmh. poihs|
thn ekdikhsin t) eklektwn autou/
))) poihssei t) ekdikhsin autwn
en tacei)

6¹²⁻¹³ o` hlijoj egeneto
melaj wj sakkoj
tricinoj kai. h` selhnh
olh egeneto wj aima(
kai. oi` asterej t)
ouranou/epesan eij t)
ghh)⁽⁵³⁾

Matt 24²⁹ o` hlijoj skotisqhsetai(
kai. h` selhnh ouvdwsei t) feggoj
authj kai. oi` asterej pesouhtai
apo. t) ouranou) So Mark 13²⁴⁻²⁵ save
that for last four words it reads esontai
ek t) our) piptontej) Luke 21²⁵
esontai shmeia en hliw| kai.
selhnh| kai. astroij)

6¹⁵⁻¹⁶ oi` basileij t) ghj)
)) kai. paj douloj kai.
eueqeroj ekruyan
eautouj eij t) sphlaia
kai. eij t) petraj t)
orewn\ kai. legousin t)
oresin kai. t) petraij
Pesate efVhimaj kai.
kruyate himaj apo.
proswpou(ktl)⁽⁵⁴⁾

Luke 23³⁰ tote afxontai legein t)
oresin Pesate efVhimaj kai. t)
bounoij Kaluyate himaj)

6 ¹⁷ tij dunatai staqhhai)	Luke 21 ³⁶ agrupneite))) iha katicushte))) staqhhai emprosken t) uiou/ t) anqrwpou)
7 ³ acri sfragiswmen touj doulouj tou/ qeou)	Eph 4 ³⁰ esfragisqhte eij himeran apolutrwsewj)(55)
{lxxxvi.} 7 ¹⁷ to. arnion))) poimanei/ autouj)	1 Pet 2 ²⁵ poimena))) t) yucwh umwh)
9 ²⁰ oi` loipoi. twh anqrwpwn (20 ⁵).	Luke 18 ¹¹ .
11 ¹³ profhteusousin himeraj ciliaj diakosiaj exhknota) 11 ¹⁶ kleisai t) ouranon(iha mh. uetoj brech| t) himeraj t) profhteiaj autwh)	Luke 4 ²⁵ ekleisqh o` ouranoj eth tria kai. mhaj ek) Jas 5 ¹⁷ ouk ebrexen epi. t) ghj eniautouj treij kai. mhaj ek)
11 ¹⁵ h` basileia t) kosmou)	Matt 4 ⁸ t) basileiaj t) kosmou)
12 ⁹ o` Satanaj))) eblhgh eij t) gh)	Luke 10 ¹⁸ egewroun t) Satana h wj astraphn ek t) ouranou/ pesonta)
13 ⁸ t) arniou t) esfagmenou apo. katabolhj kosmou)	1 Pet 1 ¹⁹⁻²⁰ annou/))) proegnwsmenou men pro. katabolhj kosmou)

<p>13¹¹ qhriōn (i.e. o` yeudoprofhthj, 16¹³ 19²⁰))) eieen kerata duo o[m]ia arniw| kai. e[va]lei wj o[r]akwn)</p>	<p>Matt 7¹⁵ t) yeudoprofhtw[^h] oi[ti]nej ercontai proj umaj en endumasi probatwn eswqen de, eisin lukoi a[r]pagej)</p>
<p>14⁴ oi` akolouqoutej tw| arniaw| opou ah upagei)</p>	<p>Luke 9⁵⁷ akolouqhsu soi opou ah aperch) Cf. Mk 2¹⁴ 10²¹.</p>
<p>14⁷ t) poihsanti t) ouranon kai. t) gh[^h] kai. t) qalassan)(56)</p>	<p>Acts 4²⁴ 14¹⁵ o` poihsaj soj epoihsen(14¹⁵) t) ouranon kai. t) gh[^h] kai. t) qalassan)</p>
<p>14¹³ oi` en kuriaw| apoqnhskontej)</p>	<p>1 Thess 4¹⁶ oi` nekroi. en Cristw|)</p>
<p>17¹⁴ kurioj kuriwn estin kai. basileuj basilewn)(57)</p>	<p>Matt 20¹⁶ 22¹⁴ polloi, gar eisin klhthoi(o[ti]goi de. eklektoi)</p>
<p>16¹⁹ (14⁸ 17⁵ etc.) Babulwn h` megalh)</p>	<p>1 Pet 5¹³ en Babulwhi(= Rome as in Apoc.).</p>
<p>18⁴ exeqate ex authj))) i[^h]a mh. sunkoinwnhshte taij amartiaij)</p>	<p>2 Cor 6¹⁷ exelqate ek mesou autw[^h] Eph 5¹¹ mh. sunkoinwneite t) ergoij))) t) skotouj)</p>

<p>18²⁴ aima profhtwḥ kai. aḡiwn eureqh kai. pantwn t) esfagmenwn epi. t) ghj)</p>	<p>Luke 11⁵⁰ iḥa ekzhthqh(t) aima pantwn t) profhtwḥ to. ekkecumenon apo. katabolhj kosmou)</p>
<p>19⁷ cairwmen kai. agalliwmen)(58)</p>	<p>Matt 5¹² cairete kai. agalliasqe)</p>
<p>19⁹ makarioi oi` eij t) deipnon t) gamou))) keklhmenoi)</p>	<p>Luke 14¹⁶ epoiei deipnon mega))) kai. apestelen))) toij keklhmenoj)</p>
<p>21^{4d. 5b} ta. prwta aphlan idou. kaina. poiw/ panta)</p>	<p>2 Cor 5¹⁷ ta. arcaia parhlan(idou. gegonen kaina)</p>
<p>21¹⁰ afhnegken me en pneumati epi. oroj mega kai. uyhlon(kai. edeixen me)</p>	<p>Matt 4⁸ paralambanei auton))) eij oroj uyhlon lian(kai. deiknusin autw)</p>
<p>22²¹ h` carij t) kuriou Vhsou/meta. pantwn to. aḡiwn)</p>	<p>Some form of this grace is found at the close of the Pauline Epp. and Hebrews, and in them only in the N.T. Cf. Eph 6²⁴ h` carij meta. pantwn t) agapwntwn t) kurion hmwḥ V) C), Col 4¹⁸ h` carij meqV umwḥ)</p>

NOTES

1. If, however, our author used Matthew and Luke only and not the Little Apocalypse, how are we to account for his using **qanatoj** and not **loimoj**? But if he had the Aramaic document behind the triple tradition in the Synoptics this would be explicable,

since **ahwm** = "death" or "pestilence." If he had the Little Apocalypse in Aramaic, we should have the explanation of this and other difficulties.

2. It is important to recognize the results arrived at in §§ 3-6, seeing that several German scholars have definitely declared that certain classes of O.T. passages are directly from the Hebrew and others just as definitely from the LXX. The greatest offender in this respect is Von Soden (*Books of the NT*, 372 sq.), who states that "quotations from the O.T. in the Johannine portion (of Revelation, i.e. 1⁵-7) are constantly made according to the LXX, while in the Jewish portion (8-22⁵) the Hebrew text is taken into account." There is no foundation in fact for this statement.

3. This hypothesis (first suggested by Credner, *Beitrag*, ii. 261-272) was practically accepted by Salmon (*Introd.* p. 547) and by Swete (*Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 48).

Gwynn supports this hypothesis by evidence from 1 Bar 1¹⁵-2²⁰. Since the date of 1²-3⁸ is generally accepted as earlier than 80 A.D., and since numerous passages in 1¹⁵-2²⁰ are clearly based on **q**, and not **o**, of Dan 9¹⁷⁻¹⁹, Gwynn (*op. cit.* 976) rightly infers the existence of a version of Daniel differing from **o**, and of a type akin to that which **q** bears.

4. There is, of course, the possibility that our author was using a collection of *Testimonia*. But this explanation could not be used in the case of the passages wherein our author's text shows numerous and very close affinities to **q**. It is noteworthy that the author of the Fourth Gospel never agrees exclusively with **q**, (see 19³⁷ where it agrees in part), and only a few times literally with **o**, in 2¹⁷ = Ps 68 (69)¹⁰, 10³⁴ = Ps 81 (82)⁶, 12¹³ = Ps 117 (118)²⁶, 12³⁸ = Is 53¹, 19²⁴ = Ps 21 (22)¹⁹. But the author of the Fourth Gospel seldom quotes -- even indirectly -- from the O.T., whereas our author's text shows its influence directly and indirectly, wherever his subject admits it.

5. Here our author renders **𐤌𐤓𐤒𐤓** as **q**. But this proves nothing; for **ekkentein** (**apokentein** or **katakentein**) is its normal rendering in the Versions. **o**, of course, presupposes **𐤌𐤓𐤒𐤓**. Cf. John 19³⁷ **oyontai eij oh exekentsan**.

6. The words **koyontai epV auton pasai ai`fulai. t) ghj** agree exactly with Matt 2430 save that the latter omits **epV auton**. Now, since Matt 2430 combines Zech 1210 and Dan 713 just as our author does in 17, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with Matt 2430, or that our author and Matt 2430 drew here upon an independent source -- i.e. a collection of O.T. passages relating to the Messiah. I have placed 17a **idou. ercetai meta. t) nefelwn** under § 5, but possibly it ought to be under § 3, as 17b. In Zech 1210 the people mourn for him that is cut off, whereas in our text and in Matt 2430 they mourn for themselves. **koptesqai epV auton** = "to mourn in regard to him."

7. Our author here diverges greatly from **q**, and here alone approximates to **o**, against **q**,

in Dan., though not necessarily presupposing knowledge of o, Our text and o, however, really point to the same Aramaic $hqq\ r\text{w}ti\ rm[k\ h\chi ar\ r[v\text{w}$. This appears to have been the original text. "And the hair of his head was spotless as white wool."

8. Based on the Hebrew of Is 60¹⁴. The clause omitted by o, is supplied by q, but as we see in a different form. See on 15⁴ below under § 4, where a closely related text is derived from Ps 85 (86)⁹.

9. Alone in the O.T. does Jer 17¹⁰ combine the two ideas in our text. Hence correct my note in vol. i. 72. Jeremiah also uses $!tq$ in the rather unusual meaning of "to requite."

With the second line cf. also Prov 24¹² $apodidwsin\ (byvh)\ ekastw|kata.\ t)$ **erga autou/** Ps 61 (62)¹³. Moulton and Milligan, *Voc. of GT*, p. 160, try to explain this meaning of **didonai** by a quotation: $liqw|dedwken\ tw|ui\text{w}|mou\ (sc.\ pl\ hghn)$ = "he gave it him with a stick." This is not a parallel. Our text involves no ellipse. It is a Hebraism. Our author's use of **didonai** here = "to requite" is due wholly to Jer 17¹⁰; for in 22¹² he naturally uses **apodidonai** in this sense (= $byvh$ or $\sim |w|$) as in Prov 24¹², Ps 61¹³.

10. See note in vol. i. 99. 3¹⁹ might be classed under § 4.

11. On the critical importance of this rendering, $o`qeo.j\ o`pantokra\text{t}wp$, see vol. ii., English translation, footnote on 1⁸. This epithet, $o`pantokra\text{t}wp$, is not found in any version of Isaiah.

12. But Dan 5²³ was doubtless in the mind of our author: $q\)\ qeou.j\)\)\)\ oi|ouv$ **blepousin kai. oi|ouk akouousin**, seeing that the preceding words in our author, $ta.\ eidwla\ t)\ crusa/kai.\ t)\ argura(\ ktl)$ (are based on Dan 5²³.

13. Both o, and q, read $u\text{y}wsen$, but o, reads $t)\ zw\text{h}ta\ ei.j\ t)\ aiw\text{h}a\ qeou\text{w}$ instead of the last five words in q, **airein** is the usual rendering of $a\text{f}q$ in the phrase $ry\ a\text{f}q$, but Daniel has here $\sim yrh$.

14. Our author uses **ktizein** as a rendering of $hf[$, but none of the O.T. versions do so. In 14⁷ he uses **poiein** -- the usual rendering. Hence 14⁷ is given under § 4.

Observe that o, $>$ **kai. t) qal)**

15. The idea first suggested by Ezekiel is reproduced in the Pss. Solomon and the Little Apocalypse in the Synoptics. But in our text the idea is wholly transformed: see vol. i.

194 sqq. While the Pss. Solomon use **shmeion** (i.e. WT) our author uses **sfragij** (i.e. $\sim t\text{w}t$). See later (p. lxxxv) on this verse in connection with Eph 4³⁰.

16. Just as the interpolation 14¹⁵ refers only to the harvest of judgment -- an idea which is not used metaphorically by our author (see ii. 19, 20 sqq.) -- so 14¹⁸ refers only, and rightly, to the vintage of judgment.

17. This tracing of 15⁶ to Dan 10⁵ rests on the supposition that **liqon** is a corruption of **linon**. But the use of this word is questionable in itself, and our author does not use it, but **bussinoj**. See vol. ii. 38.

18. In Ps 75⁹ **oinou akraou** is a rendering of $\Gamma\mu\tau, !\gamma\gamma\epsilon$ where the Mass. punctuates differently. Cf Jer 32¹ (25¹⁵) where we find **t) oinou t) akraou**. The two terms are brought together in Pss. Sol 8¹⁵ **ekerassen))) oinou akraou**. By our author, **o**, and Pss. Sol $\Gamma\mu\tau$, is taken as = "unmixed wine," but it is pointed $\Gamma\mu\tau'$ and rendered "(which) foams" by modern scholars.

In 14¹⁰ 16¹⁹ the cup is God's cup of judgment, whereas 17⁴ 18⁶ (sources) the cup is in the hand of Babylon. The former refers to God's judgments, the latter to Babylon's corrupting of the world.

19. The Mass. $\Gamma\gamma\text{CQ} = \text{qerismoj}$, whereas **o**, presupposes $\Gamma\gamma\text{Cb}$. These words are confused in Jer 48³² where some MSS read one and some the other. Possibly $\Gamma\gamma\text{CQ}$ in Is 16⁹ is also corrupt for $\Gamma\gamma\text{Cb}$

(= **o**). This in our text 14¹⁵ follows the Mass. $\Gamma\gamma\text{CQ}$. But **l vb** is only used here in O.T. of the ripening of grain, if indeed it is so used. In Gen 40¹⁰ it is used of vines, and so possibly it should be here. Thus $\Gamma\gamma\text{CQ}$ would be corrupt for $\Gamma\gamma\text{Cb}$, and Joel 4¹³ would rightly relate only to the vintage (so R.V. in marg.), just as in 14¹⁸ of our text.

20. Our text and **q**, agree in adding the last three words **epi. t) ghj** and **en t) gh/ I** am inclined to infer the existence of **#rab** in the Hebrew text of Dan 12¹ in the first cent. A.D.

21. Cf. Heb 4¹² **o` logoj tou/ qeou/))) tomwteroj uper pasan macairan distomon)**

22. These ideas of smiting the Gentiles with the word of His mouth (Is 11⁴) and of breaking them in pieces like potter's vessels (Ps 2⁹) have already been combined in Pss. Sol 17²⁶⁻²⁷. 39.

23. In the Mass. as well as the LXX the text is clearly corrupt: i.e. "that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations and their kings led (by them)." As modern scholars recognize, $\sim\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (= "led") is corrupt for $\sim\gamma\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ = "leading." Hence instead of "and their kings led (by them)," render: "under the leadership of these kings." The kings lead and are not led by their people. Now apparently our author anticipated our modern

scholars; for he represents the kings as acting on their own initiative: "they bring the glory of the nations into it."

24. Here the LXX is quite corrupt. 21²⁶ is nearer the Mass. $\$l$ waby ~ywn l yx, "the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." Our author either read Wabij" instead of Waby", or followed the Mass. in 60¹¹.

25. In 18¹ our author renders hryah of Ezek 43² by efwtisqh, just as he renders ray", Ps 117 (118)²⁷ by fwtisei)

26. Clem. Rome *ad. Corinth.* xxxiv. 3 has a close but independent parallel to 22^{12ab}. idou. o` kurioj kai. o` misqoj autou/(cf. Is 40¹⁰) pro. proswpou autou/ (cf. Is 62¹¹), apodouhai ekastw| kata. to. ergon autou/(cf. Pr 24¹²). Here Clement is a mosaic of the o , of these three passages, but not so our author. The o , of Is 62¹¹ is epwn ton eautou/ misqon(kai. to. ergon autou/ pro. proswpou autou) The order of the words, wj t) ergon estin autou(is not our author's: see p. clvii *ad fin.* The clause = wt| [pk. wj here = "according as" -- a classical meaning not elsewhere found in our author. But in our author's mind wj is the regular rendering in our author for K. in Hebrew (see vol. i. 35-36). The Hebrew particle has this meaning. Yet we should expect kata. ta. erga autou/(cf. 22¹²).

27. The throne of God in the Apocalypse is in the heavenly temple. But since there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, only the throne of God is mentioned here.

28. R.V. of this passage shows how faulty of the LXX is here. "By the river . . . on this side and on that side shall grow every tree . . . neither shall the fruit thereof fail: it shall bring forth new fruit every month . . . and the leaf thereof for healing."

29. Here and in 20¹⁵ our author appears to use bibloj owing to o , in the first passage and q , in his second. For, when writing independently, he uses biblion, even when using the phrase to. biblion t) zwhj, 13⁸ 21²⁷ (cf. 17⁸). In all biblion occurs 23 times (3 times in an interpolation).

30. Our author uses estaghn (8³ 12¹⁸) as the aorist of isthmi. Chapter 11 is a source, and the use of esthsan in it may be due to o ,

31. The ideas in the Apoc. 15^a and Ps 88 (89)³⁸ are wholly dissimilar, but the dependence in case of the diction is clear.

32. Possibly this passage should have been given under § 3.

33. Our author rightly follows the Hebrew here, hwby yrō.[; against o)

34. Our author knows only ~ [, as does q , whereas o , presupposes | [. In 14¹⁴ epi. t)

nefelhn kaqhmenon does not presuppose $\{ \left[\right.$, for **kaqhmenon** requires **epi**. here. Thus $\sim \left[\right.$ is presupposed by **meta**, in Rev 17, Mk 14⁶² **ercomenon meta. t) nef)**: but **en** in Mk 13²⁶ **ercomenon en nef)**, Lk 21²⁷: whereas Matt 24³⁰ 26⁶⁴ **ercomenon epi. t) nef)** presuppose o , and $\left[\right.$. See vol. i. 18.

35. This combination of demons and idols is first found in 1 En 99⁷.

36. o , has this phrase also in 3^{28. 29}; but since there is no other passage in our author based on Daniel that agrees with o , against q , and many that agree with q , against o , we conclude that where they agree, as here, our author is influenced by a version of the character in q)

37. The Mass. here trs. **crusouj kai. argurouj**) But since q , and Peshitto here, as well as all the authorities for the same list of substances in 5⁴, support the order **Cr) kai. arg)**, there can be no doubt that the Mass. is wrong here and that our author and q , attest the true order in 5²³. Our author is following 5²³ here, as the concluding clauses prove.

38. See note on 35 under § 4. q , explains our author's use of **bibloj** here instead of his own word **biblion**)

39. Here the martyrs are regarded as an offering to God just as in our text 14⁴ (**aparch. t) qewj**). See vol. i. 174.

40. Ezek 327 (o) **h`selhnh ouvdwsei to. faoj authj**) and Joel 231 (34) (o) **o`hlij metastrafhsetai eij skotoj kai. h`selhnh eij aima**) are the sources of Ass. Mos 105. Hence the latter passage should be read as in my edition, (*sol*) in tenebras convertet se, et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem. The *tota* appears in this connection only in this passage and in our text. See vol. i. 180.

41. The diction is almost identical, but the ideas are quite different. In 1 En the stars are really spirits or angels undergoing punishment. In this interpolated passage 8⁷⁻¹² the "burning mountain" in 88 and "the burning star" in 8¹⁰ are purely physical things. Contrast our author's use in 9¹.

42. The parallel is good. The star in each case is an angel, and in each case falls from heaven. A parallel is found also in Is 14¹² **exepesen ek t) ouranou/ o`ewsforoj**)

43. Combined worship of demons and idols first mentioned in 1 En 99⁷.

44. The fact that the expression **o`mioj uiòn anqrwpou** occurs in 4 Ezra 133 shows that it may have been more current in certain circles than is generally believed. On the other hand, it is simply the apocalyptic form of **o` uiòj t) anqrwpou**)

45. Peculiar to Paul and our author in this sense.

46. The combination of Dan 7¹³ and Zech 12^{10. 12} is first found in the N.T. and is

peculiar to Matt. and our author. This combination is not found in the parallel passage of Mark 13²⁶, Luke 21²⁷, which omits the quotation from Zech. Further, the phrase **pašai ai`fulai. t) ghj** is peculiar to our text and Matt 24³⁰, and the meaning assigned to **koyontai** ("mourn for themselves") is peculiar to our author and Matt 24³⁰. On the other hand, our author keeps to the Hebrew in rendering **meta. t) nefelwh**(whereas Matt 24³⁰ reads **epi. t) nef**) as o) Observer that our author has **epV auton** (so Heb. and LXX), but not Matt.

47. Our author's use of this phrase clearly goes back to our Lord, and his form of it is closer to that in Matthew and Luke than to that in Mark.

48. Jas 1¹² contains the earliest instance of the phrase. Cf. T. Benj. 4¹ **stefanouj doxhj**)

49. Our author was clearly acquainted with the Apostolic edict, but that he also used Acts is doubtful.

50. The dependence of 3³ 16¹⁵ on Matt 24^{42. 43. 46} is obvious.

51. **fulassein** is a Lucan word: cf. Luke 18²¹, Acts 7⁵³ 16⁴ 27²⁴, whereas our author does not use **fulassein** at all, but uses **threin** in the same sense.

52. Our text seems to presuppose the use of Luke and Matthew in the enumeration of the seven evils following on the opening of the Seals, or else of the Little Apocalypse behind the three Gospels. See vol. i. 158-160.

53. The parallelism of 6¹²⁻¹³ with Matt 24²⁹ is very close, but now with Luke. It is not, however, dependent directly on the former.

54. There is a remote parallelism with Luke, but not with Matthew.

55. The meaning of **sfragizw**, 7³⁻⁸, may be partly due to Eph 4³⁰ 1¹³: cf. 2 Cor 1²². In fact, in Eph 4³⁰ the sealing gives the faithful assurance of their spiritual preservation to the day of redemption, and this thought is allied to **{lxxxvi.}** that of our author, according to whom the *faithful* are secured, not against physical evils, but against their spiritual enemies. These latter recognize this divine mark on the faithful and cannot injure them.

56. On the O.T. originals of this passage see 10^{6b} above under 3, and 14⁷ under 4. It will be seen that 14⁷ is closer verbally to Acts 4²⁴ than to any of the O.T. passages.

57. See list of passages influenced by Pseudepigrapha.

58. The thought in both passages is not unrelated. The words in Matt. come in at the close of the Beatitudes which promise that the righteous shall inherit the earth. 19⁷ in our author represents in vision the fulfilment of this promise.

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{lxxxvii.}

VIII. Unity of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. Unity of thought and dramatic development. -- When the interpolations of the editor are removed and the dislocations of the text set right (see p. lvii. sqq.), the unity of thought and development in the Apocalypse is immeasurably greater than in any of the great Jewish apocalypses of an earlier or contemporary date. In fact, the order of development is at once logical and chronological save where our author deliberately, as in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ and 10-11¹³ 14¹⁻¹¹. 14. 18-20, breaks with the chronological order and in 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 14¹⁻¹¹. 14. 18-20 adopts the logical, that he may show the blessed future in store for those that were faithful in the tribulations which are recounted in the text immediately preceding these sections. The dramatic movement of the book is independent of all these sections. But the superiority of the Apocalypse to other apocalypses in this respect is not merely relative but absolute, as a short study of the Plan of the Apocalypse (see p. xxiii sqq.) will abundantly prove.

Smaller unities⁽¹⁾ maintained and developed within the Apocalypse might be brought forward, such as: (a) the Seven Beatitudes, 1³ 16¹⁵ (which is to be restored after 3^{3b}) 14¹³ 19^{9a} 22¹⁴ 20⁶ 22⁷. (b) The judgment demanded by the souls under the altar is dealt with in various stages of fulfilment in 8³⁻⁴ 9¹³ 14¹⁸ 16⁷ (which with 16^{5b-6} is restored in this edition to its original context after 19⁴). (c) The promises of the re-evangelization of the heathen world in 11¹⁵ 14⁶⁻⁷ 15⁴ are fulfilled in {lxxxviii.} 21⁹⁻²²². 14-15. 17 when restores to their right context immediately after 20³.

§ 2. Unity of style and diction. -- The grammar and the style of our author are unique, as the Grammar which I give, pp. cxvii-clix, amply proves. This unity is

discoverable in every part of the Apocalypse save in the sources which our author has taken over in a Greek form (such as 111-13 12. 17. 18; see p. lxii sqq.), and even in these the hand of our author is constantly manifest, as he edits them to serve his main purpose. Moreover, in the introduction to every chapter (save in the case of the sources) its essential affinities of diction and idiom with the rest of the book are given almost in full.

This unity, therefore, does not exclude the use of visions of his own of an earlier date or of sources.

A few examples of the essential unity of diction between different parts of the Apocalypse may here be added.

(a) Chaps. 1-3 and 20⁴-22.

1 ¹ deikai toiĵ douloij autou/ a) dei/ genesqai en tacei)	22 ⁶ deikai toiĵ douloij autou/ a) dei/ genesqai en tacei)
1 ³ makarioj o` anaginwskwn kai. oi`))) touj logouj thĵ profhteiaj))) throuhtej)	22 ⁷ makarioj o` thrwĥ touj logouj thĵ profhteiaj)
1 ¹⁷ egw, eimi o` prwtoj kai. o` escatoj)	22 ¹³ egw.))) o` prwtoj kai. o` escatoj)
2 ⁷ to. pneuma legei)	22 ¹⁷ to. pneuma kai. h` numfh. legousin)
2 ²⁸ ton asterā ton prwihon)	21 ⁸ o` qanatoj o` deuteroj (cf. 20 ⁶).
3 ¹¹ ercomaitacu)	22 ¹² idou. ercomai tacu)
3 ¹² thĵ kainhĵ Verousalhm(h` katabainousa ek tou/ ouranou/ apo. tou/ qeou/ mou)	21 ² Verousalhm kainhn))) katabainousan ek tou/ ouranou/ apo. tou/ qeou)

(b) Chaps 1-3 and 4-20³.

1 ¹ deixai))) a] dei/ genesqai)	4 ¹ deixw soi a] genesqai)
1 ⁶ epoihsan himaj basileian(iereij tw/ qew)	5 ¹⁰ epoihsaj autouj tw/ qew/ himwh basileian kai. iereij)
1 ¹⁰ egenomhn en pneumatii)	4 ² egenomhn en pneumatii)
1 ¹³ omion uion anqrwpou)	14 ¹⁴ omion uion anqrwpou)
1 ¹³ periezwsmonon proj toij mastoij zwñhn crusan)	15 ⁶ periezwsmenoi peri. ta. sthqh znaj crusaj)
1 ¹⁴ oi` ofqalmoi. autou/ wj flox puroj)	19 ¹² oi` de. ofqalmoi. autou/ wj flox puroj)
2 ⁷ to. pneuma legei)	14 ¹³ legei to. pneuma)
2 ¹⁶ polemhsaw metV autwh)	13 ⁴ polemhsai metV autou/ cf. 17 ¹⁴ .
2 ²¹ metanohsai ek)	9 ^{20. 21} 16 ¹¹ .
2 ²³ en qanaw (= "by pestilence").	6 ⁸ o` qanatoj)
2 ²⁷ poimanei/(= "shall break").	19 ¹⁵ (12 ⁵).
3 ⁷ o` agioj o` aqhinoj(where aqhinoj (= "faithful").	6 ¹⁰ .

3 ⁹ ἡξουσιν και. proskunhsousin enwpion twh podwh sou)	15 ⁴ ἡξουσιν και. proskunhsousin enwpion sou)
3 ¹⁰ thj oikoumenhj olhj)	12 ⁹ 16 ¹⁴ .
3 ¹⁰ touj katoikountaj epi. thj ghj (in a technical sense).	6 ¹⁰ 8 ¹³ 13 ⁸ .

{lxxxix.} The above examples could be increased indefinitely. But there is still weightier evidence. The recurrence of idioms -- in many cases idioms *unique and peculiar* to our author's style -- throughout the Apocalypse, from the earliest chapters to the last, presents still stronger proofs of the unity of authorship. Since these are recorded in the introduction to each chapter and summarized in the Grammar, I shall not dwell further on them here.

§ 3. But this unity in the dramatic movement of the Apocalypse does not necessitate the assumption that all and every part of the Apocalypse is our author's own creation. As a matter of fact this is not the case. Our author has, as we have seen elsewhere, used sources. -- These sources, together with earlier visions of his own, he has re-edited and brought in the main into harmony with their new contexts. But the work of editing has not been thorough. Certain incongruities survive in the incorporated sections, which our author would no doubt have removed if he lived to revise his work. Traces of an earlier date and often expectations of an earlier generation still survive. Thus in vol. i. 43-47 I have shown that our author wrote the Seven Epistles under Vespasian, when the Church had no apprehension of a universal martyrdom of the faithful, but expected to survive till the Second Advent of Christ. By various additions and changes this expectation is changed for the expectation that pervades the rest of the book, and the letters to the Seven Churches are transformed into letters to entire Christendom.⁽²⁾ But traces of {xc.} earlier date survive. As I have elsewhere shown, these letters came from our author and from none other.

Again in 4¹⁻⁸ our author re-edits a vision of his own, 4^{2b-3}, 5-8^{acde}. See vol. i. 104-106 and the commentary *in loc*. In the course of incorporation certain infelicities have been incurred. It is said of the Seer in 4^{2a} **egenomhn en pneumati** -- a phrase which denotes the state of trance as in 1¹⁰. But according to 4¹ he was already in this state, as

the words **meta. tauta eidon** show. See vol. i. 109-111, 106-107. Again 4⁴ is a later addition from our author's hand; but the grammar is wrong, and the subject-matter does not harmonize well with the context. The Apocalypse is clearly a first sketch and needed revision: see vol. i. 115-116.

In 7¹⁻⁸ our author makes use of traditional material, but the language is his own. See vol. i. 191-199. The four angels and the four winds, which are here introduced and introduced in terms that lead us to expect their subsequent appearance in the way of judgment (7³**mh. adikhshte thn))) acrisfragiswmen(ktl)**), are not directly referred to again.

In 11¹⁻¹³ our author has made use of two sources (11¹⁻² 11³⁻¹³), both written before 70 A.D., in which, if the text is taken literally, the historic Jerusalem is supposed to be standing (11^{2. 8}), and the Temple to be inviolable (11¹). These references have been taken literally by many scholars as determining the date of the whole Apocalypse, especially by those who accept its *absolute* unity and its composition by one author. But to construe such statements literally implies a complete misconception of our author's attitude to the earthly Jerusalem. Our author could not possibly have regarded the earthly Jerusalem as **thn polin thn agian** (11²). Such a definition he reserves for the New Jerusalem, the eternal abode of the saints (21²), and the Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the seat of the Messianic kingdom for 1000 years (21¹⁰). This latter he calls also **thn polin thn hgaphmenhn** (20⁹). But for him the actual city is that **htij kaleitai pneumatikwj Sodoma kai. Aiguptoj opou kai. o` kurioj autwh estaurwqh** (11⁸). But our author has re-edited this section by the addition of 11⁴ (?). 8^{bc}. 9^a and the recasting of 11⁷, according to his own thought and in his own diction, and thus the inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by our author as meaning *the spiritual security of the Christian community despite the attacks of Satan and the Antichrist*. But such spiritual security does not exclude martyrdom, as 11³⁻¹³ makes clear. See {xci.} vol. i. 269-270. 11¹⁻¹³ has so far as possible to be reinterpreted from the later standpoint of the Apocalypse as a whole. But in some cases this is hardly possible.

12 is a source, or rather a combination of two sources, which our author has borrowed in its Greek form and re-edited. Thus we find in 12¹ **epi. thj kefalhj** where our author would have used **epi. t) kefalaj**: in 12³ **epta. diadhmata** instead of **diadhmata epta**; in 12⁷ **tou**/before the infinitive -- not elsewhere in J^{ap}: in 12¹² **ouranoi**, instead of **iyrane**; in 12¹⁴ **apo. proswpou** = "because of." Contrast 6¹⁶ 20¹¹. Hence I here withdraw the thesis maintained in vol. i. 300 sqq. § 3, that our author translated this source himself. See also p. clviii. n.

12¹³⁻¹⁵, though full of significance in their original context and at their original date, do not admit of interpretation from the standpoint and date of our author's work (see vol. i. 330).

In 17-18 our author has edited two sources already existing in a Greek form (see p. lxxiii sq., vol. ii. 56-58, 88 sqq.) But traces of the original date of their composition survive in 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ and 18⁴. See vol. ii. 59 sq., 93. Another trace of 18 being a source survives in 18², where it is stated that Rome has become **katoikhth̄rion daimoniwn kai. fulakh.))) pantoj orneou akaqartou**, whereas our author himself in 19³ represents the smoke of her burning as ascending age after age to the end of the world.

Such incongruities as the above do not affect the main movement of thought and development in the book. Without the sources, in which these incongruities occur, the book would suffer irreparably. These sources, with the exception of 10-11¹³ which is a proleptic digression, form organic members of the whole. The survival, therefore, of such incongruities requires the hypothesis that our author not only used sources but also did not live to revise his work.

NOTES

1. In respect to the angels sent to instruct the Seer with the revelation of God, there is no unity observed in the Apocalypse. Our author apparently set out with the intention of committing this revelation to one angel. To this intention he holds fast (as I now see) in 11. 10-11 4¹ 10⁴. 8. In 10¹¹ it is possible that **legousin** is an oversight for **legei**, which 025 Tyc Pr gig vg^{dfv} s arm bo eth attest. But the adoption of sources (11¹⁻¹³ 12-13. 17-18), where this angelic guide is not mentioned, interfered with his original purpose, and hence there is no reference to him till 19^{9a} 22⁹. But even in 1-10 various other heavenly beings instruct the Seer -- one of the Elders in 5⁵ 7¹³⁻¹⁷, the Cherubim in 6¹. 3. 5. 7. This fact prepares us for the intervention of one of the Seven Angels of the Bowls in 17¹ 21⁹. 10 22¹. But there is a special fitness in this intervention. These angels have to execute judgment on the world now subject to the Antichrist, and so it is one and the same angel that shows the Seer the destruction of Rome (17¹⁻¹⁰), the capital of the Antichrist on earth, and that shows the city that is to replace it -- the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down to be the capital of Christ's kingdom on earth for 1000 years (21⁹⁻²²². 14-15. 17 20⁴⁻⁶).

But the above phenomena are not inconsistent with unity of authorship, though on revision the author would, no doubt, have removed some of the incongruities. In other apocalypses there are several angelic guides. Thus in Dan 10^{10sqq.} one of the holy watchers, 8^{16sqq.} Gabriel, and possibly in 10^{1sqq.}. Many angels act in this capacity in 1 Enoch 21-36: two angels in 2 Enoch.

2. Their inclusion in this work has given them this new meaning. The fact that there are

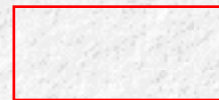
seven letters and only seven, suggests that the Seer is now addressing himself -- not merely to Seven Churches out of the many others to which he could have written with authority, nor yet to all the Churches of the province of Asia, but -- through these Seven Churches to all the Churches of Christendom. The approaching struggle, as the entire Apocalypse presupposes, is not between the Christian Churches of a single province and the Empire, but between Christendom and the Antichrist impersonated in the Empire and its head, though the storm is threatening to break first on the Churches of Asia.

This suggestion gains support from the following considerations. Seven is a sacred number with out author and is capable of symbolic meaning. That the Seven Churches embrace all the Churches, appears to follow from 1¹². 1¹³ combined with 1¹⁶. 2⁰. In 1¹² seven candlesticks and only seven are visible, and in 1¹⁶ seven stars and only seven stars. Now, since from 1²⁰ we learn that the seven candlesticks are the Seven Churches - - i.e. the Churches in their actual condition -- and that the stars are the angels of the Seven Churches -- i.e. the Churches as they should be ideally, and since in 1¹³ the Son of Man stands in the midst of these Churches, and holds in His hands the seven stars or the ideals they have to achieve, the natural conclusion is that it is all the Churches of Christendom in the midst of which Christ stands, and not an insignificant group, and that the stars which He holds in His right hand are the ideals which they are summoned through his help to realize. As all Christians, according to the rest of the Apocalypse, are to share in the {xc.} coming tribulation, they are all here addressed in these letters. After the first chapter the numeral is dropped and our author speaks only in his later additions to the letters (2⁷. 1¹. 1⁷. 2⁹ 3⁶. 1³. 2² (see vol. i. p. 45)) of **ekklhsiai**. The larger thought of all the Churches seems to be here before him

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IX. Date of the Apocalypse

The date of J^{ap} can be established by external and internal evidence.

§ 1. External evidence. -- This evidence almost unanimously assigns J^{ap} to the last years of Domitian. But some ancient, but not the earliest, authorities assign it to the reigns of Claudius, Nero, or Trajan. This may be in part due to the survival in the sources used by our author of statements and situations presupposing an earlier date than that of Domitian. That these survivals explain the great divergence of scholars of the past fifty {xcii.} years on the dating of the Apocalypse, we shall see when we turn to the internal evidence.

The Trajan date. -- To return, however, to the three days just mentioned, i.e., the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan, we shall treat first of the last. This dating is found only in very late authorities. Theophylact on Matt. 20²²: **Ἐwannhn de Traianoj katedikase marturounta tw/ logw/ thj aqhgeiaj) Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum** (attributed to Dorotheus): **ὑπο. de Traianou/ basilewj exwrisqh en th/ nhsu/ Patmw/)) meta. de thn teleuthn Traianou/ epaneisin apo. thj nhsou)) eisi. de oi/ legousin mh. epi. Traianou/ auton exorisqhhai en Patmw/ ayla. epi. Dometianou)**⁽¹⁾

These statements appear, as Swete suggests (Introd. p. c), to have arisen mainly from a misunderstanding of such words as those in Irenaeus, ii. 22. 5, **paremeine gar autoij sovwannhj% mecri. twh Traianou/ cronwn**, or those cited below from Origen on Matt. tom. xvi. 6.

The Claudius and Neronic dates. -- 11¹⁻² and 6⁹ of the Apocalypse, if taken literally, refer to Jerusalem and the Temple as still standing, and the martyrdoms of Nero (64-68 A.D.). Other sources, though less clearly, postulate a Neronic date. Hence it is not difficult to understand the assignment of the banishment of John to the reign of Nero in the title prefixed to both the Syriac versions of the Apocalypse and by Theophylact (*Praef. in Ioann.*). I do not see, however, how we are to explain the Claudian date (41-54 A.D.), which is maintained by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 12, **meta. thn autou/ apo. thj Patmou epanodon(thh epi. Klaudiou genomenhn kaisaroj: li. 33, autou/ de. profhteusantoj en cronoij Klaudiou kaisaroj anwtatw(ote eij thn Patmon nhson uphrxen)**

The Domitianic date. -- The earliest authorities are practically unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the last years of Domitian. Melito of Sardis (160-190 *floruit*) may possibly be cited as upholding the Domitianic date, as he wrote a commentary on J^{ap} and addressed a protest to Marcus Aurelius declaring that Nero and Domitian had at the instigation of certain malicious persons slanderously assaulted the Church (Eus. iv. 26. 9: cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persecutorum*, 3)

Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 180-190). In his account of the persecution of Christians by Domitian, Eusebius (iii. 18. 3) quotes the following words from Irenaeus: **eivde. edei anafandon en tw/ nuh kairw/ khruptesqai tounoma autou(diV ekeinou an erregh tou/ kai. thn apokaluyin ewrakotoj) oude. gar pro. pollou/ cronou ewraqh(avla. scedon epi. thj meteraj geneaj(proj tw/ telei thj Domitianou archj)** This passage is found in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* v. 30. 3, almost exactly as quoted in Eusebius.

{xciii.} Clement of Alexandria. In his *Quis Dives*, 42, we find: **tou/ turannou teleuthsantoj apo. thj Patmou thj nhsou methl qen epi. thn {Efeson}**

Origen (185-253). *In Mt.* xvi. 6 (Lommatzsch, iv. p. 18), **o` de. Rwmaiwn basileuj(wj h` paradosij didaskei(katedikase ton Vwannahn marturouhta dia. ton thj avhqeiaj logon eij Patmon thn nhson)** Neither in Clement nor Origen is Domitian's name given, but it may be presumed that it was in the mind of these writers. Victorinus (*circ.* 270), Eusebius, and Jerome are quite explicit. Victorinus in his *In Apoc.* 10¹¹ writes: "Hoc dicit propterea quod quando haec Ioannes vidit, erat in insula Patmos, in metallum damnatus a Domitiano Caesare. Ibi

ergo vidit Apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano, omnia iudicio ejus soluta sunt. Et Ioannes, de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam accepereat a Deo Apocalypsin." Also on 17¹⁰ "Unus exstat sub quo scripta est Apocalypsin, Domitianus scilicet." Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 18. 1: **Ἐν τούτῳ|κατέχει λογὸς τὸν ἀποστόλον ἄμα και. εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τῷ|βίῳ|ἐνδιatribόντα(τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐπέκεν μάρτυριαι(Πατμόν οἰκειῖν katadikasqhhai thn nhson) iii. 20. 9: Τότε δὲ οὐκ και. τὸν ἀποστόλον Ἰωάννην ἀπο. τῆς κατα. τὴν νῆσον φύγη τὴν ἐπὶ. Ἐφεσὸν diatribὴν ἀπελθῆναι ὁ τῶν παρ'ἡμῶν ἀρχαίων παραδίῳσι λογῶν) iii. 23. 1: Ἀποστόλοι οἰμοῦ/ και. εὐαγγελιστῆς Ἰωάννης ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαίτησιν ἐκκλησιαῖς(ἀπο. τῆς κατα. τὴν νῆσον μετὰ. τὴν νῆσον μετὰ. τὴν Δομιτιανῶν/ τελευτῆς ἐπέπεσον φύγη) Jerome (*De viris illustr.* 9): "Quarto decimo anno post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsum . . . interfecto autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis sub Nerva principe redit Ephesum."**

§ 2. Internal evidence. -- To the cursory reader the internal evidence as to the date is hopelessly confusing. But this evidence is confusing not only to the cursory reader, but also to the earnest student, as the history of the interpretation of J^{ap} clearly shows. The students of J^{ap} fall into three groups on this question. (1) Those who assign it to the reign of Nero after the Neronian persecution, 64-68 A.D., such as Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Westcott, Selwyn, B. W. Henderson. (2) Those who place it under Vespasian, as B. Weiss, Dusterdieck, Bartlett, Anderson Scott. (3) Those who maintain the Domitianic date.

For these three dating internal evidence is undoubtedly forthcoming. Our author has used sources, and several of these were written under Nero, or at all events before the fall of Jerusalem, as the reader will see under the section *Greek and Hebrew Sources and their Dates*, p. lxii sqq. But such a date cannot be maintained in the face of 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ (see vol. ii. 59-60, {xciv.} 69-70) and 18⁴, both of which postulate a Vespasianic date. Hence such statements as clearly presuppose a Neronian date (i.e., in 11¹⁻¹³ 12 (?). 13¹⁻⁷. 10) are simply survivals in the sources used by our author.

Hence it appears that the Apocalypse was written either under Vespasian or under Domitian. The external evidence is, as we have already seen, unanimous in favour of the latter as against the former. We have now to discuss the bearing of the internal evidence on this question. This evidence, which is clearly in favour of the Domitianic date, is as follows.

(a) *The use of earlier N. T. Books.* -- See pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi. There it is shown that our author most probably used Matthew and Luke. If this is so, it makes the Vespasianic date impossible, unless these Gospels were written before 70 or 75 A.D.

(b) *The present form of the Seven Letters, although in their original form of Vespasianic date, point to a Domitianic.* -- The Church of Smyrna did not exist in 60-64 A.D. -- at a time when St. Paul was boasting of the Phillipians in all the Churches. Cf. Polycarp (*Ad Phil.* xi. "Beatus Paulus . . . gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae solae tunc Dominum cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus"). But though Polycarp's letter tells us that the Church of Smyrna was not founded in 60-64 A.D., he gives no hint as to when it was founded. Hence several years may have elapsed after that date before it was founded. When, however, we turn to Rev 2⁸⁻¹¹ we find that our text presupposes a Church poor in wealth but rich in good works, with a development of apparently many years to its credit. This letter, then, may have been written in the closing years of Vespasian (75-79) but hardly earlier. But if the present writer's hypothesis (see vol. i. 43-46) is correct, then the Seven Letters, all of which probably belong to the same period, were re-edited; for whereas they speak generally of local persecutions, there is not a hint, save in 3¹⁰, of the universal martyrdom that is taught or implied in the rest of the book. Nor again is there a single clear reference to the imperial cult of the Caesars, unless possibly in 3¹⁰. (See vol. i. 43-46). The Letters, therefore, in their original form, acquaint us with the experiences and apprehensions of the Churches in Vespasian's reign. But what worlds divide their original outlook from that of the Book in which they are incorporated! The natural conclusion, therefore, is that though our author wrote the Letters in the reign of Vespasian, he re-edited them in the closing years of Domitian for incorporation in his Book.

(c) *The imperial cult as it appears in J^{ap} was not enforced until the reign of Domitian.* -- There is no evidence of any kind to prove that the conflict between Christianity and the imperial cult had {xcv.} reached the pitch of antagonism that is presupposed in the Jap before the closing years of Domitian's reign. In the reign of Vespasian the Christians, as Moffatt (*Introd.* 504) writes, "seem to have enjoyed a comparative immunity . . . and our available knowledge of the period renders it unlikely (cf. Linsenmayer's *Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat*, 1905, 66 f.) that anything occurred either under him or Titus to call forth language so intense as that of the Apocalypse." Moreover, Vespasian did not take his claims to divinity seriously. But Domitian insisted on the public recognition of these claims, and in the last year of his reign he began to persecute the Church in the capital of the Empire. Thus in Rome he had his own cousin Flavius Clemens executed, and his niece Flavia Domitilla and others banished for their faith to the island of Pontia, Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 18. 4) stats that there were many others. (2) Now, if Christians of the highest rank were exposed to martyrdom in Rome, what would be expected in Asia Minor, where the cult of the Emperor had been received with acclamation as early as the reign of Augustus,

and had by the time of Domitian become the one religion of universal obligation in Asia, whereas the worship of the old Greek divinities only took the form of local cults? Compliance with the claims of the imperial cult was made the test of loyalty to the Empire. In the earlier days, Christians had been persecuted for specific crimes, such as anarchy, atheism, immorality, etc. But in the latter days of Domitian the confession of the name of Christ (cf. Jap 2³. 13 3⁸ 12¹¹ 20⁴) was tantamount to a refusal to accede to the Emperor's claims to divinity, and thereby entailed the penalty of death (13¹⁵). Now, with the insight of a true prophet John recognized the absolute incompatibility of the worship of Christ and the worship of Emperor, even if this worship were conceived merely as a test loyalty to the Empire. Therein he penetrated to the eternal issues underlying the conflict of his day, and set forth for all time the truth that it is not Caesar but Christ, not the State but the Church that should claim the absolute allegiance of the individual. Nay more: the prophet maintains that the conflict between the claims of Christianity and the absolutism of the State can never be relinquished till the State itself, no less than the individual, tenders its submission and becomes an organ of the will of the Lord and of His Christ (11¹⁵).

(d) *The Nero-redivivus myth appears implicitly and explicitly in several forms in our text, the latest of which cannot be earlier than the age of Domitian.*

The Jewish source lying behind 17¹²⁻¹⁷ was probably written {xcvi.} in the reign of Titus. It embodies the expectation that the living Nero will return from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts -- an expectation to be found in the Sibylline Oracles of this period (See vol. ii. 81). Another phase of this myth which appears in our text (in 11⁷), but with which we are not here concerned, is dealt with in vol. ii. 83. But the last phase of this expectation attested in our text is given in 13 and 17. At this stage there is a fusion of the Nero myth with those of the Antichrist and Beliar. The expectation of a living Nero returning from the East has been abandoned. Nero is now a demon from the abyss, combining in his own person the characteristics of Beliar and the Antichrist. This phase of the myth belongs to the last decade of the 1st century. For this form of the myth, see vol. ii. 84-87.⁽³⁾ I do not see how it is possible to assign 13 and 17 *in their present form* to the reign of Vespasian, though the sources behind both these chapters were mainly of a Vespasianic date, and in part of that of Titus.

Before we leave this section it will be well to touch again on the interpretation of 17¹⁰⁻¹¹. Bousset (p. 416) has rightly protested against the identification of Domitian with the eighth head. This is done by some commentators, but can only be done by misinterpreting the nature of Christian apocalyptic. Some, who accept the Vespasianic date, are guilty of the first offence; others, who accept the Domitianic date, are guilty of both.

Let us consider the latter offence first -- that which consists in misunderstanding

Christian apocalyptic. If we accept the Domitianic date and assume absolute unity of authorship, we must conclude that the writer "transfers himself in thought to the time of Vespasian, interpreting past events under the form of a prophecy, after the manner of apocalyptic writers" (Swete). Such a procedure belongs to Jewish apocalyptic *but not to Christian*, till we advance well into the 2nd century. Those who urge the Vespasianic date are not guilty of the misconception, but the Apocalypse does not admit of the Vespasianic date. Hence, if we accept the Domitianic date, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ must be regarded as a survival from sources belonging to the time of Vespasian and Titus. In its present context, therefore, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ does not admit of precise interpretation. For Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. This brings us to the first offence.

Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. Not a single phrase descriptive of the latter can be rightly applied to Domitian, if we accept the Domitianic date as the evidence requires. Nero redivivus is described in 17⁸ as **to. qhrion))) {xcvii.}h̄a kai. ouk estin kai. mellei anabainein ek th̄j abussou(kai. eīj apw̄leian upagei(and again **ōti h̄a kai. ouk estin kai. parestai**) So again in 17¹¹, where it is further added that he **ek tw̄h ēpta. estin**) See also 11⁷. Another description is given in 13³ **kai. mian ek tw̄h kefalw̄h autou/ w̄j esfagmenhn eīj qanaton(kai. h̄ plhgh. tou/ qanaton autou/ eqerapeugh)** Cf. 13¹⁴. Now I have shown in vol. ii. 71: (a) Domitian cannot be described as **ouk estin**, seeing that **estin** must be affirmed of him. (b) Pre-existence cannot be ascribed to him, as the clause **ō h̄a** would require. (g) It cannot be said of him that he is **ek tw̄h ēpta)** (d) It is impossible to connect **mian ek tw̄h kefalw̄h w̄j esfagmenhn** (13³) with Domitian. (e) It cannot be maintained of Domitian, who is already seated on the throne of the Beast, that **mellei anabainein ek th̄j abussou)** (z) There is no ground for making Domitian the leader of the Parthian hosts against Rome, as Nero redivivus is represented in 17¹²⁻¹³. 17. 16, and fighting against the Lamb, 17¹⁴. (h) Nor can we conceive Domitian in 19¹¹⁻¹⁹ as mustering the nations to battle against the Word of God in the Messianic war that prepares the way for the Messianic kingdom.⁽⁴⁾**

It is not an actual Roman emperor, but a supernatural monster from the abyss that is to play the part of the Nero redivivus, and that in the immediate future.

NOTES

1. The above two quotations are drawn from Swete, *Introd.* p. c.
2. On the persecution under Domitian, see Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* I. i. 104-115.
3. A critical study of all the forms assumed by the Antichrist myth is given in vol. ii. 76-87.

4. If it were possible to ascribe the Apocalypse to the reign of Vespasian the objections given in b(g(d above would be fatal to the identification of Domitian with Nero redivivus. z and h would also stand in the way.

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{xcvii.}

X. Circulation and Reception

§ 1. There are most probable but not absolutely certain traces of Jap in the Apostolic Fathers. -- In the Shepherd of Hermas *Vis.* ii. 2. 7, there is a very probable connection with our author.⁽¹⁾ Thus *uimeij ošoi upomenete thn qliy in thn ercomenhn thn megalhn*: iv. 2. 5, *qliyewj thj melloushj thj megalhj*, and in iv. 3. 6, *thj qliyewj thj ercomenhj megalhj*, all but certainly recall Rev 7¹⁴ *thj qliyewj thj megalhj* (and 3¹⁰ *thj wraj*)) *thj mellou*, {xcviii.} *shj ercesqai* (i. 1. 3, *pneuma*)) *aphnegken me dia anodij* (is reminiscent of 17³ *aphnegken me eij erhmon en pneumatī*) Barn. xxi. 3, *egguj o` kurioj kai. o` misqoj autou* (seems to suggest some dependence on Rev 22^{10. 12} *o` kairoj gar egguj estin*)) *idou. ercomai tacu. kai. o` misqoj mou metVemou* (See, however, Is 40¹⁰.) Barn. vii. 9, *epeidh. oyontai auton tote th/ hmera| ton podhrh econta*)) *kai. erousin Ouc outoj estin oñ pote himeij estaurwsamen* (has affinities with Rev 17. 13 *oyetai auton paj ofqalmoj kai. oiñnej auton exekenthsan*)) *endedumenon podhrh*) (See, however, *N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers*, p. 16) But as for the passages in Ignatius, *Ad Phil.* vi. 1 (see vol. i. 92) has nothing to do with Rev 3¹², nor *Ad Eph.* xv. 3, *iha wmen autou/ naoi(kai. autoj hfen hmiñ qeoj* (with Rev 21³: nor does Barn. vi. 13, *legei de. Kurioj Vdou. poiw/ ta. escata wj ta. prwta* (reflect Rev 21⁵ *Vdou. kaina. poiw/*

panta (see vol. ii. 203): for the sense is absolutely different. Nor should we connect Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* xxxiv. 3 (see p. lxxvii, footnote) with Rev. 22¹².

§ 2. In the 2nd cent. J^{ap} was all but universally accepted in Asia Minor, Western Syria, Africa, Rome, South Gaul.

In Asia Minor. -- Papias was the first, according to Andreas in the prologue to his Commentary on J^{ap}, to attest, not its apostolic authorship, but its credibility. (Peri. mentoi tou/ qeopneustou thj biblou peritton mhkunein ton logon hgoumeqa(twh makariwn Grhgoriou)) kai. Kuri llou(prose ti de. kai. twh arcaioterwn Papiou(Eirhnaiou(Meqodiou kai. -Ippoloutou prosmarturountwn to. axiopiston)) Eusebius, however, never definitely says that J^{ap} was known to Papias (*H.E.* iii. 39). The statement, however, in iii. 39. 12 which he attributes to Papias, seems to be an echo of J^{ap} (ciliada tina, fhsin etwh esesai meta. thn ek nekrwh anastasin(swmatikwj thj Cristou/ Basileiaj epi. tauthsi. thj ghj uposthsomenhj). But Eusebius proceeds to say that this statement of Papias was due to his misunderstanding of certain apostolic statements (apostolikaj)) dihgseij), which he took literally instead of figuratively.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (160-190 A.D.), wrote a commentary (Ta. peri. tou/ diabolou kai. thj apokaluyewj Vwannou), Eus. iv. 26. 2: Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 9, understands this title to refer to two distinct books. This work of Melito is noteworthy, since Sardis was one of the Seven Churches. Justin, who lived at Ephesus (*circ.* 135) before he went to Rome, is the first to declare that J^{ap} was written by John, one of the apostles of Christ: *Dial.* lxxxii. 15, parV himh anhr tij(w onoma Vwannhj(eij twh apostolwn tou/ Cristou(en apokaluyei genomenh| autw/ cilia eth| poihsin en -Ierusalhm touj tw/ hmeterw/ Cristw/ pisteusantaj proefhteuse : cf. also *Apol.* i. 28 (which refers to Apoc. 12⁹); Eus. iv. 18. 8. Irenaeus maintained the apostolic authorship of all the Johannine {xcix.} writings in the N.T., but the evidence for his views has to be drawn from the great work which he wrote as bishop of Lyons: see below. Apollonius, a writer against the Montanists in Phrygia (*circ.* 210 A.D.), used J^{ap} of John as an authority in his controversy (Eus. v. 18. 14).

In Western Syria. -- Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the latter half of the 2nd century, cites J^{ap} in a treatise against Hermogenes (Eus. iv. 24), en w ek thj

apokaluyewj Wwannou kecrhtai marturiaj)

In South Gaul. -- Irenaeus, who defended the apostolic authorship of all the N.T. Johannine writings, carried with him to Gaul the views that prevailed in Asia Minor ; and there, as Bishop of Lyons (177-202 A.D.), he wrote his great work, *Against all Heresies*. In this work he uses such expressions as *Ioannes in Apocalypsi*, iv. 14. 2, 17. 6, 18. 6, 21. 3, v. 28. 2, 34. 2. *Ioannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi*, iv. 20 11, v. 26. 1; in *Apocalypsi videt Ioannes*, v. 35. 2; *per Ioannis Apocalypsin*, i. 26. 3. See Zahn, *Gesch. N.T. Kanons*, i. 202, note 2. At a slightly earlier date, 177, the Churches of Vienne and Lyons addressed an epistle to the Churches in Asia and Phrygia (*Eus.* v. 1. 10, 45 (where **th/ parqenw/ mhtri**,= the Christian Church), 55, 58) in which reference is made to Apoc. 14⁴ 12¹ 19⁹ 22¹¹, the last being introduced by the N.T. formula of Canonical Scripture -- **ih̄a h` grafh. pl hrwqh̄**)

In Alexandria. -- Clement follows the general tradition of the Church, and cites J^{ap} as scripture, *Paed.* ii. 119 (**to. sunbolikon twh grafwh**), and the work of John the apostle, *Quis dives*, 42, *Strom.* vi. 106-107 (see Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. Kanons*, i. 205). Origen accepts John the Apostle as the author of the J^{ap}, the Gospel, and the first Epistle (*In Ioann.* tom. v. 3; Lommatzsch, i. 165; *Eus.* vi. 25. 9). The upholders of Millenarianism in Egypt, against whom Dionysius wrote, appealed to the Apocalypse (*Eus.* vii. 24).

In Rome. -- On the very probable use of our author by Hermas we have adverted above. Of this work the Muratorian Canon writes: "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit." But whether Hermas used our author or not, this Canon implies that J^{ap} was universally recognized at Rome: "Iohannes enim in apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit," while a few lines later, according to the most natural restoration of the text, he states that the Apocalypse of Peter had not such recognition. Hippolytus (190-235 fl.), in his *Peri. tou Vanticristou* (ed. Achelis, 1897), constantly quotes the Apocalypse. He speaks of it as **h` grafh**, (chap. 5) and its author **apostoloi kai. maqthj tou Kuriou** (36). See Zahn, i. 203 (note).

{c.} In Carthage. -- In this Church, which was the daughter of the Roman Church, J^{ap} enjoyed an unquestioned authority at the close of the 2nd century. Tertullian cites quotations from eighteen out of its twenty-two chapters. He knows of only one John, the Apostle, and he is unacquainted with any doubts of its canonicity save on the part of Marcion. He names it the instrumentum Joannis (*De Resurrectione*, 38) and the instrumentum apostolicum (*Pud.* 12). See Zahn, i. 111, 203 sq. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas show many traces of dependence on our author, as § 4, "circumstantes

candidatos milia multa": § 12, "introeuntes vestierunt stolas candidas . . . et audivimus vocem unitam dicentium Agios agios agios sine cessatione . . . et vidimus in medio loco sendentem quasi hominem canum . . . et in dextra et in sinistra seniores viginti quattuor." See Zahn, i. 203 sq.

Thus throughout the Christian Church during the 2nd cent. there is hardly any other book of the N.T. so well attested and received as J^{ap}.

§ 3. There were, however, two distinct protests against its Johannine authorship and validity in the 2nd century. -- (a) The

first of these came from Marcion. He rejected it on the ground of its strongly Jewish character (*Tert. Adv. Marc.* iv. 5), and he refused to recognize John as a canonical writer (iii. 14, "Quodsi Ioannem agnitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum").

(b) The more important attack came from the Alogi -- the name given to them by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 3).⁽²⁾ This sect attributed them to Cerinthus. They objected to the sensuous symbolism of the book, and urged that it contained errors in matters of fact, seeing that there was no Church at Thyatira. Since Epiphanius draws most probably upon Hippolytus (190-235) for his information, we have in Epiphanius a nearly contemporaneous account of these opponents of J^{ap}.

With these Alogi, as Zahn urges (i. 223-227, 237-262, ii. 967-973), the sect mentioned by Irenaeus (iii. 2. 9) is to be identified. This sect was anti-Montanist. It rejected the Johannine books because of the support they gave -- the Gospel through the doctrine of the Spirit and the Apocalypse through its prophetic character -- to this Montanist party. Caius, a Roman Churchman, though not one of the Alogi, also rejected J^{ap} in a manifesto (*circ.* 210 A.D.) against Proclus the Montanist on the ground of its marvels and its sensuous doctrine of the Millennium, and ascribed it to Cerinthus (*Eus. H.E.* iii. 28. 1-2). There is no conclusive evidence that Caius and his school rejected the Gospel.

{ci.} The writing of Caius was answered by Hippolytus⁽³⁾ (215 A.D.) in a work entitled *Kefalaia kata Gaiou kai apologia uper t) apokaluyewj Vwanou*, fragments of which have been preserved in a Commentary of Bar-Salibi (Gwynn, *Hermathena*, vi. 397-418, vii. 137-150). From this date forward no Western Churchman seriously doubted J^{ap}. In Africa, Cyprian repeatedly makes use of it.

§ 4. The question of the authenticity of J^{ap} reopened by Dionysius of Alexandria, bishop of Alexandria, 247-265 A.D. --

Fragments of this scholarly and temperate criticism of the Apocalypse (*Peri.*

Ἐπαγγελίῳ) are preserved in Eusebius (vii. 24-25). This book was written as a refutation of a work by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, entitled : **Ἐλεγχοί**

Ἐπιλογιστῶν (which sought to prove that the promises made to the saints in the Scriptures were to be taken literally in a Jewish sense and particularly with regard to the Millennium (Eus. vii. 24). In his refutation of this book Dionysius advances many grounds to prove that **J^{ap}** was not written by the author of the Gospel and 1 John. He admits its claims to have been written by a John, but not by the Apostle. Some of the arguments we have given elsewhere (see p. xl).

If modern scholars had followed the lines of criticism laid down by Dionysius their labours would have been immeasurably more fruitful.

§ 5. **J^{ap} rejected for some time by the Syro-Palestinian Church and by the Churches of Asia Minor.** --

The criticism of Dionysius in discrediting the apostolic authorship of **J^{ap}** discredited also its canonicity. Eusebius (260-340 A.D.) evidently agreed with the conclusions of Dionysius. Seeking to carry further the conclusions of that scholar, he suggests that **J^{ap}** was written by John the Elder of whom Papias wrote (Eus. iii. 39. 6). He is doubtful (iii. 24. 18, 25. 4) whether to reckon it among the accepted (**ὁμολογούμενα**) or the rejected (**ἄρῳα**). Some years later Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) not only excluded it from the list of canonical books, but also forbade its use in public and private. After enumerating the books of the N.T. in which the Apocalypse is not mentioned, he proceeds to say (*Catech.* iv. 36, **τα δε. Ἰοῦανῆς πᾶντα ἐξ δευτέρῳ**) **καὶ οὐσα μὲν ἐκκλησιαίῳ μὴ ἀναγινώσκονται (ταῦτα μὲν κατα. σαυτὸν ἀναγινώσκουσι).**

The influence of Dionysius' criticism spread also to Asia Minor. Thus **J^{ap}** does not appear in Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (*circ.* 360), nor in Canon 85 of the *Apost. Constitutions* **{cii.}** (Zahn, ii. 177, sqq., 197 sqq.), nor in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (*ob.* 389). Amphilochius of Iconium (*ob.* 394) states that **J^{ap}** is rejected by most authorities (**οἱ πλείοις δε, γε // ἄρῳον λέγουσιν**).

The school of Antioch did not look with favour on **J^{ap}**. Chrysostom (*ob.* 407) represented this school in Constantinople. Theodore (350-428) carried with him the views of this school to Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and Theodoret (386-457) to the east to Cyrrhus. None of the three appears to have mentioned it.

Other lists from which it is excluded are the so-called Synopsis of Chrysostom, the List of 60 Books, and the Chronography of Nicephorus.

§ 6. Quite independently of the criticism of Alexandria, J^{ap} was either ignored or unknown in the Eastern-Syrian and Armenian Churches for some centuries.

-- The Apocalypse formed no part of the Peshitto Version of the N.T. which was made by Rabula of Edessa, 411 (Burkitt, *St. Ephraem's Quotations*, p. 57). The gap was afterwards supplied by a translation in 508 by Polycarpus for Philoxenus of Mabug, and by that of Thomas of Harkel, 616. On these the reader should consult Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of John in Syria*, pp. xc-cv, and Bousset's *Offenbarung*, 26-28. But it took centuries for J^{ap} to establish itself in the Syrian Churches. Junilius (*De partibus divinae legis*, i. 4), who reproduces the lectures of Paul of Nisibis, writes (551 A.D.), "De Ioannis apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur." Jacob of Edessa (*ob.* 708) cites it as Scripture, and yet Bar Hebraeus (*ob.* 1208) regards it as the work of Cerinthus or the other John. In the Armenian Church it first appears as a canonical book in the 12 century (Conybeare, *Armenian Version of Revelation*, p. 64).

§ 7. J^{ap} was always accepted as canonical in the West, and this same attitude towards it was gradually adopted by the Eastern Churches.

-- In the Church of the West, notwithstanding the attacks of Gaius and the rejection of its apostolic authorship by Dionysius, writers were unanimous after the elaborate defence by Hippolytus of the canonicity of J^{ap}. Only Jerome takes up a doubtful attitude towards it; for, while in *Ep. ad Dardanum*, 129, he appears inclined to accept it, elsewhere (*In Ps.* 149) he ranks it in a class midway between canonical and apocryphal. J^{ap} found a succession of expounders in Victorinus of Pettau (*ob.* 303), Tyconius, Primasius, and is duly recorded in all the Western lists of the canonical books.

In Alexandria, Athanasius (293-373) recognized its Johannine authorship and canonicity, and in due course the Greek commentaries of Oecumenius, Andreas, and Arethas.

Thus throughout the world the full canonicity of the Apocalypse was accepted in the 13th century save in the {ciii.} Nestorian Church. With the views of later times the present work is not here concerned. For these, readers may consult Bousset, *Offenbarung*, 19-34; or the present writer's *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1-78.

NOTES

1. The fact that Hermas used the same imagery as Jap may be rightly used as evidence that he knew it. Thus the Church, *Vis.* ii. 4, is represented by a woman (cf. J^{ap} 12^{1sqq.}); the enemy of the Church by a beast (**qhrion**), *Vis.* iv. 6-10, J^{ap} 13: out of the mouth of the beasts proceed fiery locusts, *Vis.* iv. 1, 6, J^{ap} 9³: whereas the foundation stones of

the Heavenly Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve Apostles, Jap 21¹⁴, and those who overcome are made pillars in the spiritual temple, Jap 3¹², in Hermas the apostles and other teachers of the Church form the stones of the heavenly tower erected by the archangels, Vis. iii. 5. 1. The faithful in both are clothed in white and are given crowns to wear, Jap 6¹¹ etc., 2¹⁰ 3¹¹; Hermas, *Sim.* viii. 2. 1, 3.

2. **Ti, faskousi toinun oi` :Alogoi: tauthn gar autoij tiqhmi thn epwnumian)**

3. Another work of Hippolytus in defence of the Johannine writings may be inferred from the list of works engraven on the back of the chair on which the statue of the bishop was seated: **u`per tou/kata. Vwannah euaggeliou kai.**

apokaluyewj. See Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, 1. ii. 420.

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XI.

Object of the Seer and His Methods -- Vision and Reflection.

§ 1. The object of the Seer is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the whole universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic. While the Seven Churches represent entire Christendom, Rome represents the power of this world. With its claims to absolute obedience, Rome stands in complete antagonism to Christ. Between these two powers there can be no truce or compromise. The strife between them must go on inexorably without let or hindrance, till the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. This triumph is to be realized on earth. There is to be no legislation, no government, no statecraft which is not finally to be brought into subjection to the will of Christ. It is thus the Divine Statute Book of International Law, as well as a manual for the guidance of the individual Christian. In this spirit of splendid optimism the Seer confronts the world-wide power of Rome with its blasphemous claims to supremacy over the spirit of man. He is as ready as the most thoroughgoing pessimist to recognize the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy, but he does not, like the pessimist, fold his hands in helpless apathy, or weaken the courage of his brethren by idle jeremiads and tears. Gifted with an insight that the pessimist wholly lacks, we can recognize the full horror of the evils that are threatening to engulf the world, and yet he never yields to one despairing thought of the ultimate victory of God's cause on earth. He greets each fresh conquest achieved by triumphant wrong, with a fresh trumpet call to greater faithfulness, even when that faithfulness is called to make the supreme self-

sacrifice. The faithful are to follow withersoever the Lamb that was slain leads, and for such, whether they live or die, there can be no defeat, and so with song and thanksgiving he marks each stage of the world strife which is carried on ceaselessly and inexorably till, as in {cv.} 1 Cor 15²⁴⁻²⁷, every evil power in heaven, or earth, or under the earth is overthrown and destroyed for ever.

§ 2. Methods of the Seers generally -- psychological experiences and reflection or reason. -- Prophecy and apocalyptic for the most part use the same methods for learning and teaching the will of God. The knowledge of the prophets as of the Seer came through dreams, visions, trances, and through spiritual, and yet not unconscious, communion with God -- wherein every natural faculty of man was quickened to its highest power. When we wish to distinguish the prophet and the seer, we say that the prophet *hears* and announces the word of God, whereas the seer *sees* and recounts his vision. But this definition only carries us but a little way, for these phenomena are common to both. Hence we must proceed further, and deal with the means which the seer uses in order to set forth his message. These are *psychical experiences, and reflection or rather reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.*

Physical experiences. -- These consist of (a) dreams; (b) dreams combined with translation of the spirit; and (c) visions.

(a) Dreams. -- Dreams conveying a revelation. -- Dreams play a great role in Jewish apocalypses. They are found in Dan 2¹ 4⁵ 7¹; in 1 Enoch 83-90, 2 Enoch 1² etc.; Test. Naph. 5¹ 6¹ 7¹; 4 Ezra 11¹ 12³ 13¹.¹³. Such dreams are assigned to a divine source and are regarded as conveying revelations of God. Now such dreams are in many of these passages called visions: cf. Dan 4⁵ 7¹ 8^{1sqq.}; 1 Enoch 83-90, where the two dreams 85¹ are called two visions in 83²; Test. Levi, where the vision of 8¹ is called a dream in 8¹⁸; Test. Naph., where what is called dreams in 7¹ is called visions in 5¹; 4 Ezra, where what is called dreams in 111 131 is called visions in 12¹⁰ 13²¹.²⁵ 14¹⁷. In 2 Bar. the Seer seems to have waking visions, except in 36¹ 53¹.

Now in these apocalypses dreams and visions are equally authoritative sources of divine knowledge as well as in the O.T. Cf. 1 Sam 28⁶.¹⁵, Deut 13¹⁻³, Jer 23²⁵⁻³² 27⁹ 29⁸, Joel 2²⁸. But it is remarkable that dreams fall into the background in the 1st cent. A.D. in Christian literature.⁽¹⁾ Thus the Hebrew Test. Naph. (date uncertain) 2¹ 4¹ 7¹.⁵ speaks only of visions, and in 3¹³ treats a dream as no true source of divine knowledge. See my edition of the *Test. XII Patriarchs*, pp. 221-223. In the N.T. dreams are not divine means of revelation unless in Matt. 12⁰ 2¹²⁻¹³.¹⁹ 22 27¹⁹. Hence it is only visions that are recounted {cv.} in the Apocalypse. It is not even said that the Seer fell asleep and saw a vision. It is simply said, "I saw." In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, sleep precedes

the visions of 11¹ 13¹ and 2 Bar 36¹ 53¹, though in other sections this element of the dream is wholly wanting.

(b) Dreams combined with a translation of the spirit of the Seer. -- Test. Levi 2⁵⁻⁹ 51.
7. This combination reappears in Hermas, *Vis.* i. 1. 3, **afupnwsa kai. pneuma me e λ aben kai. a ϕ negken me diVanodiaj tinoj**)

(c) Visions. -- In these the ordinary consciousness seems to be suspended, and sensible symbols appear to be literally seen with another faculty. These visions fall into three classes.

(a) Visions in sleep. -- All the dreams mentioned in i. (a) above while are called
visions by the writers could be brought under this head. Cf. Tes. Lev 8¹. 18.

(b) Visions in a trance. -- Cf. Ezek 1¹, Test. Jos 19¹, 2 Bar 22¹ 55¹⁻³ 76¹, Acts
10¹⁰, Apoc 1^{10sqq.} (**egenomhn en pneumati**) and *passim*
where **kai. e δ on**
is used. Yet the latter may be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

(g) Visions in which the spirit is translated. -- Ezek 3¹². 14 8³, Dan 8¹⁻², 1 Enoch
7¹¹. 5, 2 Enoch 3¹, 2 Bar 6³ sqq., Asc. Is 6-11, Apoc. 4¹ 17³ 21¹⁰. St. Paul
(2 Cor 12³) does not know whether in his vision he has experienced an actual
translation of the spirit or not.⁽²⁾

(d) Waking visions. -- Daniel seems to experience a trance when awake in 10⁵,
Stephen in Acts 7⁵⁵, Zacharias in Luke 1¹¹⁻²⁰. The
fundamental ideas
underlying some of the shorter or even of the more elaborate visions in our
author may belong to this category, such as 1¹⁰⁻²⁰ 4¹⁻⁸ 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 8³⁻⁵ 14¹⁴. 18-20
15²⁻⁴ 20¹¹⁻¹⁵ 21^{5a}. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc 22³⁻⁵.

§ 3. Value of such psychical experiences depends not on their being actual experiences, but on their source, their moral environment, and their influence on character.⁽³⁾ --

Of the reality of such psychical experiences no modern psychologist entertains a doubt. The value, however, of such experiences is not determined by their reality, but by facts of a wholly different nature. Real psychical experiences were not confined to Israel. They were familiar at the oracular shrines of the ethnic religions. The most {cvi.} celebrated of these was the ancient world Oracle of Delphi. This ORacle exerted generally a good influence on Hellenic life. But the hope of continuous progress of such agencies among the Greeks was foredoomed from the outset owing to two causes -- the first being their association with polytheism and other corrupt forms of religion, and the second being the failure of Hellas to respond to the moral claims as it had done to those of the intellect. But it was otherwise in Israel, where seers such as Samuel prepared the way for the prophet, and moral and religious claims received a progressive and ever deepening response. Now prophet and seer alike had dreams, visions, and trances, and these psychical experiences in Israel were distinguished from those of the heathen seers not only by their greater reality, for they were in the main equally *real* in both cases, but by quite a different standard, i.e. *by the source from which they sprang, the environment in which they were produced, and the influence they exercised on the will and character.* In all these respects prophecy and apocalyptic were duly authenticated in the O.T. as they are in the N.T.

§ 4. Literal descriptions of such experiences hardly ever possible. The language of the seer is symbolic. --

In regard, therefore, to the visions recounted by our author and other O.T. and N.T. visionaries, the main question is the character of the religious faith they express and the religious and moral duties they enforce. Whether they are literal descriptions of actual experiences is a wholly secondary question. A literal description would only be possible in the case of the simplest visions, in which the things seen were already more or less within the range of actual human experience, as, for instance, in Amos 8¹⁻² "Thus the Lord God showed me: and behold a basket of summer fruit. And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit." Cf. Jer 1¹¹ sq. 13 sqq. But in our author the visions are of an elaborate and complicated nature, and the more exalted and intense the experience, the more incapable it becomes of literal description. Moreover, if we believe, as the present writer does, that behind these visions there is an actual substratum of reality belonging to the higher spiritual world, then the seer could grasp the things seen and heard in such visions, only in so far as he was equipped for the task by his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him. In other words, he could at the best only partially apprehend the significance of the heavenly vision vouchsafed him. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own

waking experience or the tradition of the past; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed {cvii.} themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored. Thus *the seer laboured under a twofold disability. His psychical powers were enerally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and his powers of expression were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.*

In the attempt to describe to his readers what was wholly beyond the range of their knowledge and experience, the seer had thus constant recourse to the use of symbols. Hence in his literary presentment of what he has seen and heard in the moments of transcendent rapture, the images he uses are symbolic and not literal or pictorial. In fact, symbolism in regard to such subects is the only language that seer and layman alike can employ. The appeal of such symbolism is made to the religious imagination. In this way it best discloses the permanent truth of which it is the vehicle and vesture.

§ 5. Highest forms of spiritual experience. -- There is a higher form of spiritual experience than either that of the prophetic audition or the prophetic vision. In this higher experience the divine insight is won in a state of intense spiritual exaltation, in which the self loses immediate self-consciousness without becoming unconscious, and the best faculties of the mind are quickened to their highest power. Therein the soul comes into direct touch with truth or God Himself. The light, that in such high experience visits the wrestling spirit, comes as a grace, an insight into reality, which the soul could never have achieved by its own unaided powers, and yet can come only to the soul that has fitted itself for its reception. In such experience the eye of the seer may see no vision, the ear of the seer hear no voice, and yet therein is spiritual experience at its highest. Such experiences must ever be beyond the range of literal description. They can only be suggested by symbols. They cannot be adequately expressed by any human combination of words or sounds or colours. At the same time such spiritual experiences of the seer have their analogies in those of the musician, poet, painter, and scholar.

§ 6. Reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment. -- In the manifold experiences enumerated in § 2, 4-5, the use of the reason is always presupposed, but as the secondary and not the primary agent in action, save perhaps in § 5. Under this heading, however, we deal rather with the normal use of the reason, while the seer makes (a) an arrangement of the materials so as to construct a divine *theodicee* or philosophy of religion; (b) in his creation of allegories; (c) in the adaptation of traditional materials to his own purpose and their reinterpretation; (d) in the conventional use of the phrase "I saw."

(a) Arrangement of materials. -- Now, whereas the collected {cviii.} works of a prophet do not necessarily and in point of fact never show strict structural unity and steady development of thought, it is otherwise with the seer, and above all other seers with the work of our author, which exhibits these characteristics in an unparalleled

degree. The reader has only to consult the Plan of the Book (pp. xxiii-xxviii) to be assured of this fact. The work of the artist and thinker is seen not only in the perfectness of the form in which many of the visions are recorded, but also in the skill with which the individual visions are woven together in order to represent the orderly and inevitable character of the divine drama. For not a single vision, save the three that are proleptic, can be removed from the text without inflicting irreparable damage on the whole work. This philosophical and dramatic character of J^{ap} is due to the Seer as a religious thinker. On the other hand, the individual visions, where these are not freely constructed or borrowed from sources, are due to his visionary experiences. Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity.

(b) *Allegories freely constructed.* -- The seers make use not infrequently of allegory. Allegories are generally freely constructed and figurative descriptions of real events and persons. With this form of literature we might compare Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Their object is to lay bare the eternal issues that are at stake in the actual conflicts of the day. Dan 11, 1 Enoch 85-90, 2 Bar liii-lxxiv, 4 Ezra 11-12, are undoubtedly freely invented allegories.

The work of the seer is not affected injuriously by his adoption of this literary form in order to publish his message to the world. The question of importance is *not the form in which it is conveyed, but the nature of the religious conviction which has therein found expression*. The Seven Seals and the Seven Bowls may in part be ranked under this division and in part under the next.

(c) *Adaptation of traditional material.* -- Our Seer had many sources at his disposal, and he has freely laid them under contribution, re-editing and adapting them to their new contexts. If we admit his right to construct allegories freely to convey his message to the Church, he had the same right to use traditional material for the same purpose. In fact, all the Jewish writers of apocalypses did so. The sealing of the 144,000, 7⁴⁻⁸, and of the Heavenly Jerusalem, 21⁹⁻²². 14-15. 17, are constructed and rewritten largely out of pre-existing material, but their meaning is in the main transformed. In not a few cases the sources have not been wholly adapted to the contexts into which they have been introduced by the Seer. See p. lxii sqq.

{cix.}(d) *Conventional use of the phrase "I saw."* -- Just as the prophet came to use the words "thus saith the Lord," even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, so he came to use the words "I saw" when there was no actual vision. The same conventional use of both these phrases belongs to apocalyptic as well as to prophecy. They serve simply to express the divine message with which the prophet or the seer is entrusted. How far this use prevails in J^{ap} would be difficult to determine. We might, however, place The Letters to the Seven Churches under this

category. These letters, if the present writer's hypothesis is correct, were written by our author during the reign of Vespasian. They are assigned to Christ in our text in the words **to. pneuma legei** (27. 11. 17 etc.). This is quite in keeping with the usage of the N.T. For the words of the prophets practically claim a divine authority. Cf. Acts 5¹ sqq., 1 Cor 5^{4. 5}, 1 Tim 1²⁰. Such words are not merely men's words; cf. **tade legei to. pneuma**, Acts 21¹¹, as Agabus declares, also 7⁵⁶. In 1 Tim 4¹ the words **to. pneuma rhtwǵ legei** are equivalent to "a certain prophet has said." In these expressions the person of the prophet is ignored. Now our author claims to belong to the fellowship of the prophets, and he can rightly use the phrase **to. pneuma legei** to express his convictions as a prophet.

NOTES

1. This is not the case in the Talmud. Belief in dreams was the rule, and disbelief the exception. Cf. Berakhoth 55-58, Sanh. 30^a, Ber 28^a, Hor 13^b. Sirach, on the other hand, declares that dreams are vanity, 31 (34)¹⁻⁸. See *Jewish Encyc.* iv. 654 sqq.
2. For similar psychical experiences in heathenism, cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 5, 9 sq. etc.; Dieterich, *Eine Mithras-Liturgie*.
3. See on the whole question of this chapter, Joyce, *The Inspiration of Prophecy*, 1910; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 1899; Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

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{cix.}

XII

Some Doctrines of our Author.

The chief theme of the Apocalypse is not what God in Christ has done for the world, but what He will yet do, and what the assured consummation will be. It is therefore the Gospel of faith and hope, and seeks to inspire the Churches anew in these respects; for that the end is nigh. As it sets forth its theme, it instructs, though incidentally, and its teaching is always fresh and in some respects unique.

§ 1. The doctrine of God. -- If the doctrine of God were drawn only from the direct statements which the Apocalypse makes on this subject, though in some respects it would transcend the level reached in the O.T. (as in its teaching on God's fatherhood, etc.), in many others (such as His infinite mercy and forgiveness) it would fall far short of it. Many scholars have emphasized this peculiarity of the Apocalypse, and insisted accordingly on the Jewish character of its doctrine of God. But to draw such a conclusion betrays a total misapprehension of the question at issue. The Christian elements are not dwelt upon because they can all be inferred from what the Book teaches regarding the {cx.} Son; for all that the Son has and is is derived from the Father. Hence the conception of the Father under this heading must be completed from that of the Son in the next. The conception is on the whole severely monotheistic.

(a) First as regards the ethical side, God is holy, righteous, and true. He alone is alone (**monoj ošioj**, 15⁴ 16⁵: cf. 4⁸ 6¹⁰); He is the True One, 6¹⁰ (**avhqinoj** = **avhqhj** in our author), who keepeth covenant; with this truthfulness is associated His righteousness in judgment, 15³ 16⁷ 19^{1. 2}. He is the Judge of the dead, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵.

(b) The gracious attributes of God are not brought forward, but are rather to be inferred from the fact that He is called the Father of Jesus Christ, 1⁶ 2²⁷ 3⁵. 2¹ 14¹, and the Father also of all such as conquer, 21⁷, and will dwell with them and be their God for ever, 21³. Herein is the consummation of all the world's travail. The divine world is to come into the world of history and realize itself there, seeing that all things come

from God and end in God. But this idea belongs in part to (c).

(c) God is everlasting and omnipotent. First, as everlasting, He is designated as **o` hñ kai. o` wñ kai. o` ercomenoi**, 14⁴⁸; **o` wñ kai. o` hñ**, 11¹⁷ 16⁵ (see vol. i. 10 sq.); **o` zwh eiĵ t) aiwhaj t) aiwnwn**, 4⁹ 10⁶ 15⁷. Next, He is omnipotent. Our author's favourite expression for this idea is **kurioj (> 16¹⁴ 19¹⁵) o` qeoj o` pantokratwr**, 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷. 14, 19⁶. 15 21²²; He is also designated **o` despothj**, 6¹⁰; **o` kurioj (+ hñwh, 11¹⁵)**, 11¹⁵ 14¹ 31⁵⁴; **kurioj o` qeoj**, 22⁵; **o` kurioj kai. o` qeoj hñwh**, 4¹¹. But though omnipotent, His omnipotence is ethically and not metaphysically conceived. It is not unconditioned force. That He possesses such absolute power is an axiom of the Christian faith, but He will not use it, since such use of it would compel the recognition of His sovereignty, not win it, would enslave men, not make him free. Hence the recognition of this sovereignty advances *pari passu* with the advance of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and each fresh advance is followed by thanksgiving in heaven; for the perfect realization of God's Kingdom in the world is the one divine event to which the whole creation moves, 4¹¹ 5¹³ 7¹² 11¹⁵.

(d) He is the Creator, 4¹¹ 14⁷. Yet see § 2 (c) on the creative activity of Christ.

(e) He is the Judge of all the dead, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵.

§ 2. Jesus Christ. -- The teaching of our author on this subject is very comprehensive. Only the main points of it can be dealt with under the following heads, which are not always logically distinct. (a) The Historical Jesus. (b) The Exalted Christ. (c) The Unique Son of God. (d) The Great High Priest. (e) The Pre-existent Christ. (f) The Divine Christ.

{exi}(a) *The Historical Jesus* -- He is most frequently designated by His personal name "Jesus," 1⁹ 12¹⁷ 14¹² etc., occasionally by the originally official name "Christ," 11¹⁵ 12¹⁰ 20^{4,6}, and by the combination of the two, 1^{1.2.5} 22²¹. He is of Israelitish birth, being the Root of David, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, 5⁸, and born in the midst of the Jewish theocracy, 12^{1-3.5}, i.e. the **gunh. peribebhmenh ton hlion**. That there is no reference here to the Virgin Birth is clear from the fact that our author is here using a Jewish source, which naturally represented the Messiah as one born naturally in the midst of the community. Besides, "the woman" has other children (12¹⁷ **twh loipwh tou/spermatoj authj**). Thus the faithful are sons of this woman as Jesus is. On the other hand, they *become* sons of God, 21⁷, which Jesus *is* originally and uniquely (1⁶ 22⁷ 35²¹ 14¹). He has twelve apostles, 21¹⁴; His crucifixion in Jerusalem is referred to,

11⁸; His resurrection, 1^{5.18}, and ascension, 3²¹ 12⁵.

(b) *The Exalted Christ* -- Nowhere in the N.T. is the glory of the exalted Christ so emphasized. He is said to be "Like a Son of Man," 1¹³ 14¹⁴ -- an apocalyptic expression first applied to the Messiah in 1 Enoch 46¹, denoting a supernatural Being in dignity above the angels. He is described as the Faithful Witness, the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living, 1⁵; as the resurrection and the life, and so the exclusive Mediator of salvation (ερω ταυ κλειυ του qanaτου kai. του αβου(1¹⁸). He is the Supreme Head of the Church, the Centre of all its life (εν μεσω| των lucniωn, 1¹³ 2¹) and the Master of its destinies (ερωn εν τη| dexoa| ceiri. αυτου/ asteraj eota, 1¹⁶), chastening its individual members and judging them from love and in love, 3¹⁹; promising them that conquer in the coming tribulation every blessing of the Kingdom of God, 2^{7.11.17.26-28} 3^{5.12.21}; embracing them in perfect fellowship, 3²⁰, and glorifying all who depart in this fellowship with the beatitude pronounced by God Himself, 14¹³. And even over those who are without the borders of the Church, He exercises a silent yet real sway, which more and more will come into manifestation and break in pieces the hostile peoples, 2²⁷ 12⁵ 19¹⁵; for He is "King of kings and Lord of lords," 17¹⁴ 19¹⁶. And to Him is committed the Messianic judgment, 1⁷ 14^{14.18-20} 19¹¹⁻²¹ 20⁷⁻¹⁰ 22¹².

(c) *As Unique Son of God, Pre-existent and Divine* -- Whereas the faithful *become* sons of God, 2¹⁷, He *is* Son of God, essentially, 1⁶ 2^{18.27} 3^{5.21} 14¹. He is "the Word of God," 19¹³, "the Holy the True," 3⁷, even as God is, 6¹⁰; "the First and the Last," 1¹⁷ 2⁸ 22^{13b}; "the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End," 22¹³ -- titles that are used by God of Himself in 2¹⁶ as denoting the source and goal of all things. In the light of these words we can rightly interpret, 3¹⁴ h` arch. τηυ ktisewj tou/ qeou/ This does {exii} not mean the first ktisij of God (as in Prov 8²²), but the active principle in creation -- the **aitia** or cause. The words, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore," 1¹⁷⁻¹⁸, recall to some extent the divine name "which is, and which was, and which is to come," 1⁴ 4⁸. He sits with God on His throne, 3²¹ 7¹⁷ 12⁵, "the throne of God and the Lamb," 22^{1.3}. The divine worship offered to Christ in 5¹² is described in the same terms as that offered to God in 4¹⁰, and the same hymn of praise is sung in honour of both Christ, 5¹³, and God, 7¹⁰, (1) and during the Millennial reign the saints minister to Him as to God, 20⁶. Many designations which belong alone to God in the O.T. are freely used of Christ. He is described in 1^{14.15} in terms used of the Ancient of Days in Dan 7⁹. He searcheth the heart and the reins, 2²³, as God in Jer 17¹⁰, Ps 7¹⁰. His are the seven eyes that are sent out into all the earth, 5⁶, as are those of Yahweh, Zech 4¹⁰: as Yahweh's garments in Is 63^{1.2}, His are sprinkled with blood, 19¹³; and as Yahweh in Deut 10¹⁷, He also is Lord of lords, 17¹⁴. Our

author thus appears to coordinate God and Christ. Yet the relation is one of subordination than of equality. He never goes so far as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He does not state that God and Christ are one, nor does he ever call Him God. And yet He is to all intents and purposes God -- the eternal Son of God, and the impression conveyed is that in all that He is, and in all that He does, He is one with the Father, and is a true revelation of God in the sphere of human history. Only in three definite respects is He represented as second to the Father. First, absolute existence is not attributed to Him as to the Father -- the idea conveyed by the words, **o` wn kai. o` hn kai. o` ercomenoi**, 1⁴ 4⁸ (11¹⁷ 16⁵). Yet see 1¹⁷ 2⁸ 22¹³ above. Next, the final Judgment belongs to the Father alone, 20¹¹⁻¹⁵. Thirdly, though He is the active principle in creation, 3¹⁴, it is the Father who is the Creator, 4¹¹ 14⁷.⁽²⁾

(d) *As Great High Priest: Lamb of God.* -- It is probable that Christ is represented as a priest in 1¹³ where He is "clothed with a garment down to the foot." But this idea is wholly overshadowed by another, expressed by the designation "the Lamb," where Christ is not the Priest but the Lamb slain. This designation occurs twenty-eight times in our author in reference to Christ. But in this phrase two ideas quite distinct are combined,⁽³⁾ the most prominent one -- a Christian development -- is that of the Lamb as a victim -- **arnion**))) **wj esfagmenon**, 5^{6.12} 12¹¹ 13⁸ and elsewhere. The second idea -- derived from 1 Enoch and Test. XII Patr. -- is that of a lamb who is a leader -- either a spiritual leader, as in 7¹⁷ 14^{1.4}, cf. 1 Enoch 89⁴⁵ where Samuel is symbolized, or a military leader, 5⁶, i.e., a lamb "with seven horns and seven eyes," that is, a Being of transcendent power and knowledge: the Messiah is so symbolized in 1 Enoch 90³⁸, Test. Jos 19⁸.⁽⁴⁾ This conception, which is borrowed in the main from Jewish Apocalyptic, comes to the front in 17¹⁴, where it is foretold that the ten Parthian kings will war with the Lamb and the Lamb will overcome them -- **to. arnion nikhsei autouj** (cf. Test. Jos 19⁸, in footnote 4 below, for the same words applied to the Jewish Messiah).

But these two ideas are merged together by our author, as we see in 5⁶. The Lamb is at once the triumphant Messiah, leading His people to victory, and the suffering Messiah who lays down His life for His people. This latter conception is non-Jewish.⁽⁵⁾ But after the death of Christ this fact was soon {cxiv} explained, as already foretold under the influence of such a passage as Is 53⁷ "As the lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, yeah, he openeth not his mouth." In Acts 8³²⁻³³ this passage is interpreted of Christ.

Under the designation "the Lamb," therefore, there lies the ideas of sacrifice and triumphant might. Out of love to man and with a view to redeem him, Jesus sacrifices Himself (1⁵ **tw/ agapwhti hmaj kai. lusanti hmaj ek twh amartiwh**

h̄mw̄h kai. epoihsen h̄maj basileian(īereiĵ tw/qew/ 5⁹esfaghj kai. hgorasaj tw/qew/en tw/aiĥati, sou ek pashj fulhĵ)) kai. epoihsaj autouj tw/qew/h̄mw̄h basileian kai. īereiĵ). The conquest of sin is only to be achieved through self-sacrifice. Nothing but the self-sacrifice of holy love can overcome the principle of selfishness and sin that dominates the world. The Lamb who conquers is the Lamb who has given Himself up as a willing sacrifice. But the principle of love going forth in sacrifice is older than the world, 13⁸ -- the Lamb was slain from its foundation. And he who would follow Christ must conquer in like fashion (3²¹ o`nikw̄h dišw autw/kaqisai metVemou/en tw/qronw/mou(wĵ kagw.enikhsa kai.ekaqisa meta.tou/patroj mou en tw/qronw/autou). The aim of Christ's work is not the cancelling of guilt, but the destruction of sin in the sinner, his spiritual deliverance and redemption. Only by His life and death can He win man from sin: this is the cost incurred. Hence the figure of purchase is used 5⁹ 14³, but there is no suggestion of a ransom paid to God or a lower being.

Hence, since the Lamb as the Redeemer stands in the midst of the throne of God, 5⁶ 7¹⁷, and the throne of God is His throne, 22¹⁻³, everything that is affirmed of the Son is to be affirmed of the Father. The Son is a revelation of the Father on the stage of the world's history. Hence, as the Father is supreme in power, He is supreme in love going forth in sacrifice. Thus the principle of self-sacrificing love belongs to the essence of the Godhead. God's almightiness is not only a moral force, as we have already seen (see § 1 (c) *ad fin.*), but a redemptive one, which can only realize itself in moral and spiritual victory. Thus divine omnipotence and divine love and self-sacrifice are indissolubly linked together for the world's redemption -- from eternity and for evermore.

§ 3. The Spirit. -- There is no definitely conceived doctrine of the Spirit in our author. In 1⁴ the editor sought to introduce the doctrine of the Trinity by inserting **kai. apo. tw̄h epta. pneumatwn tw̄h enw̄pion tou/qronou autou/** see vol. i. 11-13. But such a grotesque conception has no place in our author. In the words **to. pneuma legei** the Spirit of Christ is meant in 27.11.17.29 36.13.22; for in all the seven Epistles the Speaker is Christ. {cxv} The same is true in 14¹³ 22¹⁷. See vol. ii. 179; see vol. i. Introduction xi. § 6 (d).

§ 4. Doctrine of Works. -- The necessity of works is strongly enforced in our author, since men's works follow with them, and men are judged according to their works, 20¹² 22¹², which are recorded in the books, 20¹².(5) These doctrines imply man's free will and self-determination. On the other hand, the term "books of life," 13⁸ 17⁸,

seems to express divine predestination. But this is not necessarily so. It need express nothing more than God's omniscience from the beginning of the world. The words **klh̄toi(eklketoi. kai. pistoi(** 17¹⁴, set forth God's share and man's share in man's salvation: the call (**klh̄sij**) remains ineffective without faith (**pistij**) -- a word which in our author means faithfulness or fidelity in 2¹⁹ 13¹⁰, and can also be so in 2¹³ 14¹².

But what does our author mean by "works"? These are not observances of the Mosaic Law, since our author never mentions it and nowhere admits of any obligation arising from it. Nor does it mean isolated fulfilments even of the commandments of God or of Christ. They stand for the moral character as a whole, and are not in their essence outward at all though they lead of necessity to outward acts. But, so far as they issue in outward acts, they are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character. That this is our author's teaching will be seen from the two following passages. In 2² the "works" of the Church of Ephesus are defined as consisting in "labour and endurance." The first of these is certainly manifest. In 2¹⁹ we have a very instructive definition, **oīda, sou ta. erga kai. thn agaphn kai. thn pistin kai. thn diakonian kai. thn upomonhn**. The first **kai**, is used, of course, epexegetically. "Love, faith, service, and endurance" define the **erga**. See vol. i. 371 sqq. In 3² watchfulness is enjoined, and 2¹⁰ faithfulness unto death. The "works of Jesus," 2²⁶, are those which originate in faithfulness to Jesus.

The righteous acts of the martyrs not to be identified with their white garments. -- The righteous acts of the saints are thus, according to our author, the manifestation of the inner life and character -- the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. From this it follows that the clause **to. gar bussinon ta. dikaiwmata twh agiwn estin**, in 19⁸, misrepresents the teaching of our author and is an intrusion. For neither the righteous acts nor the character of the martyrs form the garment of their souls, seeing that the souls of the martyrs in heaven, 6¹¹, are described as lacking such garments for a time, though they {**cxvi**} possess righteous acts and righteous character in a supereminent degree: see Introd. vol. i. 184-188. Hence the garments cannot be identified *with the righteousness which they take with them*, 14¹³, *but with the spiritual bodies which are assigned by God to them*, which in 6¹¹ (note) and 3⁵ (note) are described as white garments. Faith has an heroic quality in our author. It leads to endurance, 2¹⁹, to faithfulness in persecution, 2¹³ 13¹⁰, even when this ends in death, 2¹⁰ 14¹³. In 2¹³ 14¹² **pistij** is followed by an objective genitive, in 2¹⁹ 13¹⁰ by a subjective. In the latter case it means "fidelity" or "faithfulness." In fact it could be so rendered in all four passages.

§ 5. The first Resurrection, the Millennium, and the second

Resurrection. -- Since these subjects are so fully dealt with in the Commentary, I shall content myself with summarizing the results arrived at there.

The First Resurrection. -- Only the martyrs share in the first resurrection, 20⁴⁻⁶. These reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Jerusalem that, coming down from heaven, 21⁹⁻²².14-15.17, forms the seat of the Millennial Kingdom (see vol. ii. 184). To them is committed the re-evangelization of the world, 21²⁴ 22^{14.17}, which is promised in 11¹⁵ 14⁶⁻⁷ 15⁴. Into the Holy City pour the nations of the earth, and are healed of their spiritual diseases, 21²⁴⁻²⁷. Without this city are sorcerors and fornicators and murderers, 22¹⁵. At the close of this kingdom the unrepentant nations rebel afresh and are destroyed, and thereon follows the final judgment. See vol. ii. 182 sqq.

The Second Resurrection. -- The former heaven and earth vanish before the final judgment. Only the dead arise for judgment by God. These are the righteous who had not suffered martyrdom, and the wicked. The former come forth from the "treasuries" or "chambers," 20^{13a}, the latter from Hades. From our author's teaching elsewhere we are to infer that the righteous are clothed in spiritual bodies but that the wicked are disembodied, vol. i. 98. Since this body appears to be the main organ by which the soul expresses itself or receives impressions in the world of thought and righteousness, the wicked have thus involuntarily but inevitably ostracized themselves from this world. Selfishness and sin have brought about their natural penalty, the isolation of ever sinner, and finally his destruction in the lake of fire. See vol. i. 184-188, ii. 193-198.

Judgment. -- The judgment of all the living on the earth is committed to Christ, from the Seven Seals onward to the destruction of Gog and Magog. The Messianic judgment deals with the living: God's judgment with all the dead, save the martyrs, having attained to the first resurrection, are not subject to the second death, 20⁶, and such others as during the {cxvii} Millennial Reign enter the city and eat of the tree of life, 22¹⁴. All the remaining righteous coming forth from the "treasuries"⁽⁶⁾ and the wicked from Hades⁽⁷⁾ receive their final award.

NOTES

1. Our author is deeply conscious of the impassable gulf that separates the creature and the Creator, and the mediating angel sternly refuses such worship on the ground that it is due to God alone, 22⁹.
2. It must not be overlooked that Christ's fitness to undertake the shaping of the world's destinies is attributed to His faithfulness unto death. He had earned it by His self-sacrifice:

"Worthy art thou to take the book

And to open the seals thereof;
 For thou wast slain,
 And hast redeemed unto God with thy blood
 Men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
 And hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests,
 And they shall reign upon the earth," 59-10.

Again in 2²⁶⁻²⁸ Christ promises to make those that conquer rulers over the heathen -- even as He too had received this power from His Father, and in 3²¹ to make them share in His throne even as His Father had made Him to share in His throne because of His having proved a conqueror.

3. See *Expositor*, 1910, vol. x. 173-187, 266-281. Spitta, *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu: Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, 1910. I have strengthened the evidence adduced by Spitta by further facts from 1 Enoch and the Testaments in the next note.

4. This usage is well attested in 1 Enoch, where, 89⁴⁵ (161 B.C.), Samuel as a leader is called a lamb, and likewise David and Solomon, 89^{45.48}, before they were anointed kings. All the faithful in the early Maccabean period are also called lambs, 90^{6.8}, but all these are without horns. In 90^{9.12}, however, there arise "horned lambs," and Judas Maccabaeus is such a lamb "with a great horn." Thus "the horned lamb" is a symbol for the leader of the Jewish Theocracy. But it is also used of the Messiah in 1 Enoch 90³⁸ and in the Test. Joseph 19⁸ (109-107 B.C.), where the words, **proh/qen amoj(kai.))) panta ta qhria ofmw/n kat autou/ kai. enikh/en auta. o` amoj**, refer to one of the Maccabees, most probably to John Hyrcanus. Now, since the author of the Testaments *regarded John Hyrcanus as the Messiah* (see my edition of *Test. XII Patr.* pp xcvi-viii, Reub 6⁷⁻¹², Levi 8¹⁴ 18, Jud 24¹⁻³, Jos 19⁵⁻⁹), it follows that the term "lamb," or more particularly "horned lamb," was in apocalyptic writings a symbol for the Messiah. In our author the former appears in 17¹⁴, the latter in 5⁶. In 13¹¹ the second Beast assimilates itself to the horned lamb, i.e., to the Messiah: see vol. i. 358.

5. In 2²⁸ the judgment is not eschatological, but that which takes place in this world.

6. See the necessary emendation of the text, vol. i. 194-198.

7. Hades means only the abode of unrighteous souls in our author: see vol. i. 32, vol. ii. 197 *ad fin.* On the "Abyss" see vol. i. 239-242.

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

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{cxviii} § 1. *Noun, Adjective, and Verb forms.*

(i.) *Nouns*. -- Words ending in **-ra** form their gen. and dat. in **-rhj** (**rh**) as **macairhj**, 13¹⁴. (1) **macairh** | 13^{10(bis)}. On the various theories as to the origin of this late change, see Thackeray, *Gr.* 141, where also he states that in the LXX out of 79 examples of **macaira** in the gen. and dat. the **h** forms are certainly original in only 2. **-rhj** forms become practically universal under the Early Roman Empire.

(ii.) *Adjectives*. -- **crusah**, AaC (for **crushh**), 1¹³, is formed on the analogy of **argurah**. The contracted form **crusouj** occurs always (15 times) in our author, elsewhere in the N.T. 3 times. The best uncials are only at variance in 2¹. On the other hand, **baqea** (**baqh**, a 025), 2²⁴, is original.

(iii.) *Verbs* -- (a) *Irregular or unusual forms*. -- Present. **dunh**, 2² (only once so in LXX) for **dunasai**, presupposes **dunomai** (see Thackeray, *Gr.* 218). It is found in the poets and in prose writers from Polybius onward. **afeij**, 2²⁰, and **afiousin**, 11⁹, presuppose **afiw** (which is found in Eccles. 2¹⁸) and not **afihmi**. Schmiedel suggests a present **afew** (Thackeray, 251). **didw/**, 3⁹, and **apodidouh**, 22², presuppose **didow**, but **didoasin**, 17¹³, **didwmi**. In like manner **apodidouh**, 9¹¹ (so also Jer. 23¹ BA, Sir 20²²), presupposes **apol luyw** as **deiknuontoj** does **deiknuw** (cf. Ex. 25⁸; Thackeray, 245). All these instances but the first show the transition from forms in **-mi** to **-W** forms.

(b) *Imperfect and Aorists with a instead of e forms, or ending in -a or -an*. -- **eiean**, 9^{8.9} (aA). **aphl qa**, (2) 10⁹ (A: **-qon**, aC 025. 046). **aphl qan**, 21¹ (Aa: **-qon**, 046. **-qen**, 025): **aphl qan**, 21⁴ (A: **-qen**, a 046). **afhkaj**, 2⁴ (Aa^{c.c.} 025. 046: **-kej**, a*C). **eida**, 17⁶ (Aa (**ida**): **eidon**, 025): (e)**ida**, 17³ (A: **eidon**, a 025). **pesate**, 6¹⁶ (A 205):

exelqate, 18⁴ (Aa). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211-212.

(c) *Perfects with termination -ej* (2nd sing.) for **-aj**, **kekopiakej**) -- (a) 2⁸ (AC); **peptwkej**, 2⁵ (a. **-kaj**, AC 046). It is rare in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 215) and in the papyri. See Robertson, *Gr.* 337. I have generally with A adopted the **-aj** form. (b) *Perfects ending in -an* // **peptwkan** // 18³ (AC. **peptwkasin**, a 046: **pepwkan** 025: **pepwkasin** 110, 175^{al.} Rd. **pepotiken**): **eirhkan**, 19³ (Aa 025): [**gegonan** 21⁶ Aa^c: **gegona**, a 025. 046]. This termination is found in Asia Minor as early as 246 B.C. and in Egypt in 162 B.C. It is found in Cretan inscriptions, and Robertson traces its origin to Crete (*Gr.* 336).

In 8² we have **esthkasin**) But it occurs in an interpolation.

{**cxix**} Hence our author did not apparently use the perfect ending in **-asi**)

(d) *Various Aorist forms.* -- **anaba**, 4¹, **anabate**, 11¹²: **erregh**, 6¹¹ 9⁴: **sthrison**, 3² (AC 025): **peih**, 16⁶. According to Thackeray (*Gr.* 64), **peih** (or **pih**) occurs 21 times, while **pieih** occurs 97 times in the LXX (aAB).

(e) *Pluperfect form.* -- 7¹¹ **isthkeisan** instead of **eisthkesan**. This **eisan** is found regularly in the LXX (Thackeray, *Gr.* 216). As regards the beginning of the word, its usual form in the LXX is **isthkein** (Thackeray, *Gr.* 201).

(f) *Augment.* -- 3² **emellon** (AaC 025): 10⁴ **hmellon** (AC 046). Our author uses **edunato**, 7⁹ (AaC 046), 14³ (AaC), 15⁸ (AC: **hdun**) a 025. 046). Hence it should be read in 5³ with a against A 025. 046. In **anoignumi** our author augments the preposition in **hnoixen**, 6³, **hnoigh**, 11¹⁹ 15⁵, **hnoicqhsan**, 20^{12(bis)}, and trebly augments the participle in **hnewgmenoj**, which should perhaps be read in 3⁸ with a 025 against **anewgmenoj** (AC 046), seeing that only 046 supports **anewgmenoj** in 4¹ 10^{2.8} 19¹¹ against the other chief uncials.

§ 2. The Article.

(i.) The article introduces conceptions assumed to be familiar in apocalyptic though mentioned in the text for the first time: 10¹ h` iʒij, 10³ ai` epta. brontai; cf. also 11³ 12¹⁴ 16¹². With great aptness the art. is used in **ton polemon**, 16¹⁴, **eiʒ ton polemon**, 19¹⁹, because the war here is the great Messianic war at the world's close. On the other hand, compare the phrase **eiʒ polemon**, 97.⁹.

(ii.) The generic art. (Blass, *Gr.* 147) is regularly found with **h|ioj** (except in 7² 16¹² 22⁵), **gh(qalassa(ouranoj)**

(iii.) In the case of ordinal numbers, when the ordinal precedes the noun it is preceded by the art.: when the ordinal follows the noun, the art. is repeated: cf. 4⁷ 6³ 13¹² 20⁶ 21⁸.

(iv.) The art. can appear with the predicate when the subject and predicate are convertible or identical. ⁽³⁾ Cf. 1^{17.20} 2²³ 3¹⁷ 17¹⁸ 18²³ [19⁸] 21^{6.8} 22^{13.16}. After **outoj** the pred. has the art. on this principle; cf. 7¹⁴ 11^{4.10} 14⁴ 19⁹ 20⁵.^[14].

(v.) (a) When an adjective or participle follows its noun, the art. is repeated if the noun has the art. When the adjective stands between the art. and the noun, the emphasis lies on the adjective; when it follows with the repeated art., both noun and adjective are emphasized, 20⁹ **thn polin thn hgaphmenhn**, 21^{2.10} **thn polin thn agian** - the City *par excellence* and the Holy City in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem spiritually called Sodom and {cxx} Egypt, 11⁸: cf. 8⁶ oi`))) **aggeloi oi` exontej**, 17¹⁸ h` polij h` megalh.

(b) The same rule holds good in the case of prepositional phrases coming after an articular noun:⁽⁴⁾ 1⁴ **taij epta. ekkhsiaij taij en th| Asia**: 2²⁴: 5⁵ o` lewn o` ek t) fulhj: 11¹⁶ 11¹⁹ 14¹⁷ 16^{3.12} 19^{14.21} 20^{8.13}. Hence in the titles of the Letters to the Churches we should always read **tw| aggelw| thj en))) ekkhsiaij**. A is right here three times and C once. See also *Order of Words*, p. clvi sq.

Again in 155 the text o` naoj t) sknhj t) marturiou **en tw| ouranw|** which is impossible in other respects, wrongly omits the art. before **en tw| ouranw|**. In our author *prepositional phrases and genitives never intervene between the art. and its noun, but follow the noun, the former always preceded by the repeated art.*⁽⁴⁾

(vi.) Phrases which occur for the first time without the art. have the art. prefixed on

their recurrence. 4⁶⁻⁸ tessera zwā))) ta. tessera zwā: 5⁶⁻⁸ arniōn)))
 tou/ arniou: 13^{16.17} caragma))) to. caragma: 15^{2ab} qal assan uàlinhn
)))t) qal) t) uàl) etc.

(a) Hence in 11¹⁶ the art. must with ἀ^c 025. 046 (against ἀ*Α which om.) be read before **eikosi tessarej**. Hence, further, it follows that 22¹⁷ **uḏwr zwhj dwrean** must be transposed before 21⁶ **tou/ uḏatoj thj zwhj dwrean**. The need for the rearrangement of 20⁴⁻²² has been shown at length in vol. ii. 144-154.

(b) In 17³, however, we find **gunaika kaqhmejn epi. qhrion** although the **qhrion** has been frequently mentioned previously. Similarly in 14¹ the art. is omitted before **ekaton tesserakonta tessarej ciliadej** although they have already been described in 7⁴⁻⁸. This omission is due in the former case to our author's use of a source, and in the latter to his incorporation of an independent vision of his own. If he had had an opportunity of revision, we must assume from his careful use of the art. elsewhere that he would have inserted the art. in both cases.

(vii.) *Omission of Article.* -- (a) The art. is omitted possible owing to Semitic influences in 1²⁰ **aggeloi t) e) ekkhsiwh**, 2⁹ **sunagwgh. t) Satana/** 6⁷, 6¹⁶ **apo. proswpou t) kaqhmenou,** 7^{2.4} 15² {**cxxi**} **kiqaraj tou/ qeou,** 21¹² **uiwh Vsrahl**, 21¹⁴ **dwdeka onomata t) apostolwn,** 22² **eij qerapeian t) eqnwh.**

(b) The art. is frequently omitted in prepositional phrases. **acri qanaou,** 2¹⁰ 12¹¹ 13³: **en qanaou,** 2²³: **en puri. kai. qeiw|** 14¹⁰: **eij fulakhn,** 2¹⁰: cf. also 2²² 13¹⁰.

(c) The art. is omitted before proper names. **Vhsouj** and **Vwannhj** are always anarthrous. We have **o` Cristoj** when used alone, 11¹⁵ 12¹⁰ 20^{4.6}, but anarthrous in **Vhsouj C)**(1^{1.2.5}. In **tw| Balak,** 2¹⁴, the art. is inserted because the name is indeclinable. In 16¹² the art. before **Eufrahn** may point to the earlier mention of this river in 9¹⁴. The text in 2^{6.15} presents a difficulty. **Nikolaitwn** is first with the art. and then

without it. The noun in 2⁶ may be treated as a description of a certain class, and then treated as a proper name in 2¹⁵. In the predicate the art. is found before proper names: cf. 6⁸ [8¹¹] 12⁹ 19¹³ 20². **qeoj** always has the art. except in 7² and in 21⁷ where it is in the pred. **Kurioj**, when alone, has the art., cf. 11^{4.8.15}, but we find **en kuriw|** 14¹³, and **kurioj kuriwn**, 17¹⁴ 19¹⁶. When combined with other names, **o` kurioj o` qeoj**, 21²² 22⁶, **o` kurioj Vhsouj**, 22²¹, but also **kurioj o` qeoj** [18] 4⁸ 19⁶ 22⁵. In the vocative we find **kurie**, 15⁴, **kurie o` qeoj**, 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷, or the Semit. voc. **o` kurioj o` qeoj**, 4¹¹.

(viii.) The art. with the infinitive occurs only in 12⁷ (**tou/ polemhsai**), where, however, the construction is a pure Hebraism and is equivalent to a finite verb in Greek. See vol. i. 322. In J, on the other hand, we have the ordinary Greek construction of **pro. tou**/before the infinitive in 1⁴⁸ 13¹⁹ 17⁵, and of **dia. to**, before it in 2²⁴.

(ix.) When a noun or participle preceded by the article follows a noun (in the gen. dat. or acc.), and should therefore be in the gen. dat. or acc., it may in our author, according to Hebrew usage, stand in the nom.: cf. 1⁵ **apo. Vhsou/ Cristou(o` martuj o` pistoj**, 2²⁰ **thn gunaika Vezabel(h` legousa**. On this Hebraism see below, p. cxlix sq.

§ 3. Pronouns

(i.) *Possessive*. -- On vernacular and ordinary possessives see notes on 2^{2.19} and footnote in vol. ii. 208, where it is shown that though **sou** may precede or follow its noun, the genitives of **autoj** can only follow. The genitive is found before its noun in the best authorities (A vg s^{1.2}), in 21³ **autwn qeoj**; but the text is manifestly corrupt, and the wrong order may be due to the editor of 20⁴⁻²². It is also found in 18⁵, but this is a source. See Abbott, *Gr.* 414 sqq., 601 sqq. **emj** only once in 2²⁰.⁽⁶⁾

{cxxii} (ii.) *Personal*. -- (a) **autoj** is used as an emphatic personal pronoun,⁽⁷⁾ cf. 3²⁰ 14¹⁰ 19^{15(bis)} 21⁷. It is used intensively (= "self") in [14¹⁷] 17¹¹ (source) 19¹². The phrase **kai. autoj**, "he also," "himself also" (in J 7¹⁰), seems not to belong to our author except in the phrase **wj kai. auth**, 18⁶ (a source): cf. **wj kagw**, 2²⁷ 3²¹. It occurs, however, in a Greek source, 17¹¹, and in an interpolation, 14¹⁷. In 14¹⁰ the **kai**, before **autoj** is a Hebraism and not to be translated. **kai. autoj** in 3²⁰ 19^{15(bis)} 21⁷ =

"and he." **autoj** has lost this meaning in modern Greek and becomes a demonstrative.

(b) **eautou**/is found twice between the art. and its noun in 10^{3.7}. Here the intervening **eautou**/is very emphatic. See Abbott, *Gr.* 415.

(iii.) *Demonstrative.* -- (a) **ode** occurs seven times and refers to what follows, but not once in J. (b) **outoj** refers to what precedes, 7¹⁴ 11^{4.6} [14⁴] etc. But not always in J, 1 J. Cf. J 6²⁹ 15¹²: 1 J 1⁵ 5¹⁴ where it refers to an explanatory clause introduced by **ihā(ean(** or **ofī**. (c) **ekeinoj** is used only as an adjectival pronoun in our author in temporal phrases, 9⁶ 11¹³, but in J constantly as a substantival pronoun. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq.

(iv.) *Indefinite.* -- **eij** = "a": cf. 8¹³ **enoj aetou**, 9¹³ **fwnhn mian**, 19¹⁷ **eħa aggelon**. Not in J. Both authors, however, use **eij ek**; while J uses **eij tij ek**, 11⁴⁹, once in this sense, or simply **tij** with a noun, 4⁴⁶ 5⁵, or with a proper name, 11¹ 12²⁰. **tij** is found only in **ei; tij(ean tij** in our author, save in 7¹ (?).

(v.) *Relative.* -- (a) **ostij** is mostly used of a class of persons or things, 1⁷ 2²⁴ 9⁴ etc.; but it is also used of an individual, 11⁸ 12¹³ 19²: cf. 1¹². Similarly in J. I have followed the advice given in Abbott's *Gr.* (218, footnote) and rendered **ostij** generally by "that," which "introduces a statement essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and **oj** by "who" or "which" -- words which carry no such meaning.

(b) This relative is never attracted to the case of its antecedent⁽⁸⁾ in our author, though this attraction is frequent in J and in 1 J 3²⁴.

NOTES

1. It is noteworthy that in 13¹⁰ a 025. 046 twice change **macairh|** into **macaira|** against AC, and that 025. 046 makes a corresponding change in 13¹⁴, against ∂ AC.
2. Cf. **katefuna**, Ps. 142⁹ (RT^{a.c.a}). See Thackeray, *Gr.* 211.
3. In 1²⁰ the second **epta**, is an interpolation and the **ai`epta**, belongs to the predicate. See vol. ii. 389, footnote.
4. **thn blasfhmian ek twh legontwn** in 2⁹ is difficult. ∂ s^{1.2} read **thn ek**, while 025 and several cursives om. **ek**. Either of these readings removes the difficulty. But **ek t) legontwn** is here to be taken partitively. Hence: "the blasphemy of certain

of those who say," etc. Thus the art. could not be repeated before **ek twh legontwn**. This is better than the explanation given in my notes in vol. i. 56. See, however, under § 5. vi. (a) on **ek**.

5. In 20¹¹ **ou- apo. tou/ proswpou** should, according to our author's usage, be **ou- apo. proswpou autou**/or **ou- apo. proswpou**. This anomaly seems due, like others in 20⁴-22, to the disciple of the Seer who edited these chapters after the Seer's death.

6. J has it 39 times. In J we find also (~~hmeteroj~~ only in 1 J 1³ 2²) **soj**, ~~umeteroj~~ (**idioj** (15 times), not one of which occurs in our author. Seeing that **emoj** and kindred possessive adjectives had all but ousted **mo** in Asia Minor, Moulton (*Gr.* 40 sq.) infers that our author must have been a recent immigrant there. If this is right, J must have been settled there for some time. The possessive **emoj** and **soj** are disappearing in the papyri, and in modern Greek no possessive adjective exists. See Robertson, *Gr.* 684.

7. J also uses **autoj** in this sense, but it is unemphatic. When he wishes to express emphasis he frequently uses **ekeihoj**, which our author does not use in this sense. He only uses it twice as a demonstrative in two phrases expressing time. See Abbott, *Gr.* 283 sqq. J uses **autoj** together with the personal pronoun or proper name, 2²⁴ 3²⁸ 4^{2.44}, but not so our author.

8. It is once found in a source, i.e. 18⁶.

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 4. *The Verb.*

(i.) *Present and future tenses.* -- The text wavers frequently between the present and the future. But these changes are not arbitrary.⁽¹⁾ The context must be carefully studied in each case. Thus in certain contexts the future is rightly used, since the context is obviously prophetic: cf. 7^{16sqq.} **ouvteinasousin eti oude. diyhsousin eti(ktl)** These words occur at the close of a vision where all the verbs dealing with the actual vision are rightly given in the present or past. Similarly in 14¹⁰ 17^{14sq.} we have pure prophecies. In other cases where we have the pres. instead of the future or the past, this may be due to a Hebraism; for the Hebrew imperfect may, according to the context, be rendered either as a past, present, or future: cf. 9^{8sqq.} 17-20 13^{11sqq.} The translator is often at fault in the LXX, and a writer whose thoughts naturally shaped themselves in Hebrew could hardly escape rendering the Hebrew imperf. in his thoughts by a Greek present: cf. 5¹⁰ **basileuousin.** At times, however, when the present takes the place of the past, the change may have been made deliberately with a view to dramatic vividness.

(b) **ercomai** does not come under these considerations. The Seer uses the pres. of this verb as a pres. or a future. In fact he never uses the future except in compounds, i.e., 3²⁰ **eisel eusomai**, 20⁸ **exel eusetai.** He is, therefore, perfectly acquainted with the form of the future of the simple verb, but he avoids it. J uses it once, 14²³, and both the above-

mentioned compounds in 10⁹. In 14³ he connects it with a future **paḷ in ercomai kai. taral hmyomai.**

(c) Again the future is used alike in dependent and independent **{cxxiv}** clauses where it has a frequentative sense, and is in such case best rendered, as in 49-10 **oḷan dwsousin))) doḡan))) pesouhtai.** But in this passage the futures on the basis of Hebraic idiom could be rendered by a past, and thus the text would state what the Seer actually saw in this vision and not recount a general practice.

(ii.) *Imperfect (Past).* -- (a) The past imperf. is found only in the case of nine verbs: **akolouqeih** (2 times), **didaskein** (1), **dunasqai** (4 -- never in aor.), **einaï** (17), **ecein** (5 -- **eiean**, 9^{8.9}), **klaiein** (1), **laleih** (2), **legein** (1), **sthkein** (1 in a source, i.e. 12⁴). It is therefore of infrequent occurrence. But it is used with special force in relative clauses, 1¹² 2¹⁴ 6⁹: also in descriptive sentences, 5⁴ **kai. eklaion**, 5¹⁴ [6⁸] 19¹⁴ 21¹⁵. In 7¹¹ **isthkeisan** (pluperf.) is used as a past imperf. = "were standing."

(b) But the place of the past imperf. (or historic present) is frequently taken by the (imperfect or perfect) participle: **ecwn** (for **eieen**, or possibly in one or more cases for **ecei**), 1¹⁶ 4^{7.8} 6^{2.5} 10² 12² 21^{12.14}: **ekporeuomenh**, 1¹⁶: **kaqhmenoj**, 4²: **kaiomenai**, 4⁵: **peribebhmenoj**, 19¹³. This use of the participle for a finite verb is frequent in late Hebrew (very frequent in Aramaic, customary in Syriac), and its displacement of the past imperf. in our author is no doubt due largely to Hebraic influences.

(iii.) *Past Aorist and Present Perfect.* -- These at first sight seem to be used in certain instances interchangeably: cf. 5⁷ 7¹⁴ 8⁵ 19³ etc. But the following study of these Greek tenses and their English equivalents shows that this is not so.

(iv.) *Greek Aorist and its rendering into English.* -- Since the Greek and English aorists do not altogether correspond, it is of great importance to determine the points wherein they differ. Weymouth (*On the Rendering of the Greek aorist and perfect into English*, 1890) has gone elaborately into the subject. See also Moulton, *Gr.* 135 sqq., whose conclusions I have for the most part accepted. On the use of the aor. as a perfect in J, see Abbott, *Gr.* 323 sqq.

The past aorist⁽²⁾ in English does not always correspond to the Greek aorist. The Greek aorist has three uses. (a) When this aorist is used as the historical tense in *pure narrative*, the English past aor. is the right rendering. (b) The *Greek aor.* **{cxxv}** can be

timeless or refer to an indefinite time: cf. 2⁴ **afhkaj**, J 15⁶ **ehl hqh**. Here the Greek must be rendered by the pres. perf. in English; for this perfect, besides connoting the continuance of a completed action -- its usual meaning, can refer *outside the pure narrative*, to an indefinite past, and be practically timeless. (c) The Greek aor. *can refer to an event that has just happened*, and must also in this sense be rendered by the English pres. perfect, 1¹⁹ **a] eidej** -- "what thou hast seen."

I will here append a list of the passages where the aor. should be rendered by the English pres. perfect.⁽³⁾ Opinions will, of course, differ as to whether certain aorists come under (b) or (c). The following passages fall naturally under (b), where the aor. is practically timeless. 1⁶ **kai. epoihsen**, "and hath made us": 2⁴: 2²⁴ **egnwsan** = "have recognized" = "know": 3⁴ **ouk emolunan**, "have not defiled": 3⁸ **ethrhshaj**)) **kai. ouk hrnhsw**, "hast kept . . . and hast not denied": 3¹⁰ **ethrhshaj**: 5^{9.10} **hgorasaj**))) **epoihsaj**: 7¹⁴ **eplunan**))) **euekanan**: 11¹⁸ **wrgisqhsan**: 14⁴ **hgorasqhsan**: 14⁸ 18² **epesen epesen**))) **egeneto**, "has fallen, has fallen . . . has become." But these last three words could be explained under (c), though the fact that Rome has become the abode of unclean birds shows that the burning of it is far back in the past. Similarly 17² **eporneusan**))) **emequshsan**, 17¹² **oupw el abon**, 17¹⁷ **edwken: ekoll hqhsan** and **emhmonouse** in 18⁵, 18⁶ **apedwken**))) **ekerasen**(18⁷ **edoxasen**))) **estrhniasen**, 18¹⁴ **aphl qen**))) **apwleto**. Under (c) when the aor. refers *to events that have just happened* and must be rendered by the English pres. perf., come the following passages: 1¹⁹ **a] eidesj**, "which thou hast (just) seen": 2²¹ **edwka**))) **kai. ouk hqelhsen**⁽⁴⁾ = "I have given . . . but she has refused": 11² **edoqh**: 11^{15.17} **egeneto**))) **ebasil eusaj**: 11¹⁸ **hsh qen**, which recurs in the same sense in 14^{7.15} 18¹⁰ 19⁷: 12¹⁰ **egeneto**))) **ehl hqh**: 12¹² **katebh**: [14¹⁵ **exhranqh**]: 14¹⁸ **hkmasan**: 16⁵ **ekrinaj**: 18^{16.19} **mial wra] hrhmwqh**: 18²⁰ **ekrinen**: 19² **ekrinen**))) **exedikhsen**: 19^{7.8} **htoimasen**))) **edoqh**: 22¹⁶ **epemya**.

(v.) *Greek Perfects and their rendering into English*. -- Blass (*Gr.* 200) and Moulton (*Gr.* 143, 145) admit the occurrence of pres. perfects as aorists in our author. There are only two verbs, **eihfa** and **eirhka**, which are so used. The former appears to be so used in 5⁷ 8⁵, though the R.V. takes it as = a present, and Robertson (*Gr.* 899) defends it in both cases as a "dramatic colloquial historical perfect." But the context is certainly in **{cxxvi}** favour of the aorist sense,⁽⁵⁾ and the same perfect (Thackeray, *Gr.* 24) occurs in this sense in Dan lxx. 4^{30b}. As regards **eirhka** in 7¹⁴ 19³, no doubt as to the aoristic sense can be entertained.

(vi.) *Aorists used by our author and his sources.* (a) Of **iſthmi**⁽⁶⁾ our author uses **estaghñ**, 8³ 12¹⁸, whereas **esthn** is used in his sources, 11¹¹ 18¹⁷. (b) Again our author uses **eqaumaſqhñ**, 13³ = "I wondered" (as a middle: always passive in **o** , except in one doubtful instance -- Thackeray, *Gr.* 240 n.), whereas **eqaumasa** is used with the same meaning in source 17^{6.7} as in J and generally in Greek. (c) Our author uses **hnoighñ** in connection with the temple, 11¹⁹ 15⁵, and **hnoiçqhñ** in connection with the books, 20¹² (*bis*) (as in Dan 7^{10o} , q). Since Matthew and Luke in Acts use both forms in connection with the same subjects, no safe inference is possible here.

(vii.) *Imperative.* -- The aor. imper. occurs about 40 times in our author: the present 20 times, nine of these in chaps. 1-3. The aor. imper. is sharper and more urgent than the present, and while the latter "is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action," the former is used "in injunctions about action in individual cases" (Blass, *Gr.* 194). Hence we may distinguish 3¹¹**kratei o] eceij** and 2^{25o}**] ecete krathsate** in connection with their contexts.

With negatives, **mh**, with the pres. forbids an action already begun: 1¹⁷ 2¹⁰**mh. fobou**, 5⁵**mh. klaiè**, while **mh**, with the aor. subj. or imper. forbids an action not yet begun: 7⁶ **ton oiñon mh. adikshj**, 7³ **mh. adikshste thñ ghñ**, 10⁴ **sfragison))) kai. mh. auta. grayhj**, 11² 22¹⁰. Thus our author's usage agrees at once with the classical and later usage (cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 124 sqq.: W. Headlam, *Class. Review*, xvii. 295). But in J this usage is not observed. Thus in 3⁷ we find **mh. qaumashj** occurs when we should expect **mh. qaumaze**, as is clear from 3⁴, and in 10³⁷ he uses **mh. pisteuete** where the context would lead us to expect **mh. pisteushte**. In all other cases **mh**, with the imper. is rightly used in J. See Moulton, *Gr.* 125 sq.

(viii.) *Infinitives.* -- (a) Our author generally uses the aor. inf. save in the case of certain verbs. Thus **blepein** is never found {**cxxvii**} in the aor., even in the indicative. In 22⁸ we should read **eblepon** with A. In the rest of the N.T. it occurs once in the aor. imper., Acts 3⁴. **streifein** occurs in 11⁶ (source). **katabainein**, 13¹³. After **mellein** the pres. follows inf. regularly (10 times) except in 3^{2.16} 12⁴. In J the pres. inf. follows without exception. The usual construction in classical Greek is **mellein** with the fut. inf.

(b) On the infinitive = a finite verb in a conditional clause and also in the principal sentence, see 13¹⁰ n., and below, p. cxlvi.

(c) On the infin. with the art. = a finite verb, see 12⁷ n. and also below, p. cxlvi. These three cases are pure Hebraisms.

(d) The infinitive follows **axioj**, 5^{2.4.9.12}, where J 1²⁷ puts **iħa** cum. subj.

(ix.) *Participle*. -- To the use of the participle for a finite verb attention has already been drawn: see above, § 4, ii (b). Present and perfect participles occur frequently, but never the future part. The last is found once in J 6⁶⁴. **o`ercomenoj** is, however, practically a future participle. It is remarkable that the genitive absolute is wholly absent from our tet, though it is of frequent occurrence in J.

The indeclinable use of **legwn** or **legontej** = **ΓΜΘΙ** as in 4¹ 5¹¹⁻¹² 11^{1.15} 14⁶ comes properly under the head of Hebraisms.

(x.) *The omission of the copula* in principal or relative sentences does not call for consideration here, as it is of constant occurrence throughout the N.T. The omission of the copula after **idou**, (= **ἦν**) is encouraged through Hebrew precedent. Cf. Blass, *Gr.* 74; Robertson, 395 sq.

NOTES

1. Chap. 11 seems to be very confused. In the introduction to that chapter (vol. i. 269-273) we have seen that it is a source used by our author for a special purpose. No unity of time appears to be observed in it. The role of the prophet is sometimes uppermost, sometimes that of the seer. This disorder, which is most probably due to the fact that our author is using traditional materials, will be obvious from the following resume. In the vision of Jerusalem and the Temple the seer receives a prophecy, 11¹⁻³, that Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot (**pathsousin**) for 3^{1/2} years, and that the two witnesses shall prophesy during this period. The scene then shifts apparently to the actual period of the witnesses, 11⁴⁻⁶; but the present **ekporeuetai** (**katesqiei**, etc., can be taken as futures. In 11⁷⁻⁸ the text uses future verbs and foretells the death of the witnesses. In 11⁹⁻¹⁰ it reverts again to the present, describing the events that follow on their death save in **pemyousin**, 11¹⁰ (but the presents here also are practically future). Finally, in 11¹¹⁻¹³ the text changes into the past, and represents the reception of the witnesses into heaven as a past event. But herein the pasts can represent vividly the prophetic future. [See Driver, *Tenses*, § 14 (g), 81; Is 9¹⁻⁵.] Hence 11³⁻¹³ is a prophecy rather than a vision. The past verbs in 20^{9-10a} are to be similarly explained. Futures occur before and after them. But in 20⁹⁻¹⁰ it is only the author's familiarity with Hebraic usage that leads to this usage of the perfect, whereas 11¹⁻¹³ is translated from a source.

2. The ordinary nomenclature of English tenses is very misleading. Perfect and imperfect relate to a state of action and not to time at all: similarly also does aorist. Hence we can have a present aorist. "I smite," the pres. imperfect "I am smiting," the pres. perf. "I have smitten." Similarly we have past aorists -- "I smote," past imperf. "I was smiting," past perf. (= pluperf.) "I had smitten." The Greek has corresponding tenses for the most part. Pres. aor. **luw** (cf. **paragel lw**, Acts 16¹⁸: **afionen**, Luke 11⁴), pres. impf. **luw**, pres. perf. **le l uka**: past aor. **e l usa**, past impf. **e l uon**, past perf. **evelukein**.
3. The R.V. has freely acknowledged this meaning of the aor. in the N.T. (in Matthew 65 times), but not so frequently in our author as it should be. Nor is it always clear on what principle the Revisers recognize, or refuse to recognize, this use.
4. The failure to recognize this use of the aorist here led to the change of **hqel hsen** into **qe lei**.
5. The use of **e i l hfa** as an aorist is certainly strange, seeing that our author uses **e l abon** in 5⁸ 10¹⁰ 17¹² (source) 20⁴; aor. subj. 3¹¹ 18⁴ (source); aor. imper. 10^{8.9} 22¹⁷; aor. inf. 4¹¹ 5^{9.12} 6⁴.
6. The pres. perf. of this verb, **esthka** ("I have taken my stand"), is used as a pres. imperf. (hence = "I am standing") in 3²⁰, and in like manner the past perf. **eisthkein** is used by our author as a past imperf. in 7¹¹; but in 12⁴ (a source) we find **esthken** from **sthkw** in the same sense. Some editors, however, read **e sthke** here (cf. **surei** in the preceding clause).
7. This is the general rule; but it needs qualification: cf. Moulton, 125. Some scholars maintain that the above distinction is a growth, which "beginning in classical times was nearly crystallized in N.T. Greek." Cf. Moulton, 247.

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 5. Prepositions

Moulton (*Gr.* 98) gives the statistics for the relative frequency of prepositions in the N.T. For every 100 times that **en** occurs he finds the relative frequency of the prepositions with which we are here concerned as follows: **eiȳ**(64; **ek**(34; **epi**(32; **proj**(25; **dia**(24; **apo**(24; **kata**(17; **meta**(17; **upo**(8) Calculating J in the same way (though the numbers are to be taken as only approximately correct): **en**(100; **eiȳ**(83; **ek**(73; **proj**(45; **dia**(26; **meta**(25; **apo**(18; **epi**(16; **kata**(4) Here we observe that **ek** is nearly as frequent as **eiȳ**, that **epi**, is half as frequent as it is normally throughout the N.T. In fact the numbers vary in every case. A comparison of the numbers (which are only approximately trustworthy) in our author is instructive: **en**(100; **epi**(89; **ek**(87; **eiȳ**(49; **meta**(33; **apo**(23; **dia**(11; **kata**(5; **proj**(5. [Ⓛ](#)) Here the most notable differences are in the case of **epi**, (*Jap* 89 - J 16), **dia**{cxxxviii} (*Jap* 11 - J 26), **proj** (*Jap* 5 - J 45). Also the order of priority in frequency is very different. In the three classical historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon), according to Helbing (quoted by Moulton, 62 n) **eiȳ** slightly exceeds **en** in frequency, whereas in twelve writers of literary **koinh**, it occurs nearly twice as often as **eiȳ**, while the **koinh**, uses **eiȳ** nearly twice as often as **koinh**) On the other hand, our author approximates closely to the **koinh**, in his frequent use of **epi**, and therein diverges strongly from the rest of the N.T. See also Robertson, *Gr.* 556 sq. But these differences

between J^{ap} and J are not half so striking as those that emerge in the individual treatment of the prepositions.

(i.) **ana**, = "apiece," in 4⁸ **ana. pterugaj ek** Cf. J 2⁶. Found also in Matthew and Luke. The phrase **ana. eij ekastoj** in 21²¹. These latter uses not in J.

(ii.) **apo**, 36 times. (a) with **makrogen**, 18^{10.15.17} (source). Not in J.

(b) = "at a distance from," 14²⁰ **apo. stadiwn**, cf. J 11¹⁸ 21⁸. Not elsewhere in the N.T. It is not necessary to explain it as a Latinism; cf. Moulton, *Gr.* 101 sq.; Robertson, *Gr.* 575; Abbott, *Gr.* 227. It is found in Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch. For an analogous construction with **meta**, cf. Test. Reub. 1² **meta. eth dup thj teleuthj**: T. Zeb. 1¹ **meta. oua dup eth tou/qanaou** -- a construction also found in Plutarch. And with **pro**, cf. J 12¹, Amos (o) 1¹ 4⁷.

(c) **apo. proswpou** This phrase occurs three times, 6¹⁶ 12¹⁴ 20¹¹. In the last instance, however, it has a strange form, **apo. tou/proswpou**, to which we shall return presently. In all three cases the phrase is the equivalent of **ὑπὸ**. In 6¹⁶ 20¹¹ it = "from the presence of." It could be taken in this sense also in 12¹⁴ if it is connected with **pethtai**, but the fact that sixteen words intervene is against this explanation in our author. Hence the phrase, owing to the Hebrew it presupposes = "because of." The woman's stay of three and a half years in the wilderness is "owing to" or "because of the serpent." This is an ordinary meaning of **ὑπὸ** in Hebrew. **apo**, alone is used in this sense in Matt 18⁷. In 20¹¹ the art. in **apo. tou/proswpou** is quite exceptional. It appears only a few (three or more) times in the o, so far as I am aware, and in two of these some MSS omit it. In our text also 046 and many cursives omit. But since A² 025. 2040 attest it, it goes back to the archetype as edited by the Seer's disciple. For two other departures from the Seer's usage in 20⁴⁻¹¹, see vol. ii. 182. This phrase is absent from J.

{cxxxix} (d) Abnormal use of **apo**, before **o`wn**. This is deliberate on our author's part.

(e) After passive verbs: **apektanqhsan**, 9¹⁸; **htoimasmenon**, 12⁶.

This came to be the rule in later writers.

(f) After **apercesqai** and **apol lunai**, 18¹⁴: **afaireih**, 22¹⁹: **kruptein**, 6¹⁶ (**apo. proswpou**, where J 12³⁶ has simply **apo**): **feugein**, 9⁶ 20¹¹ (J 10⁵).

None of the above usages appear in J save (b) and one instance of (f).

(iii.) **acri**. 2^{10.26} 12¹¹ 14²⁹ 18⁵ (source).

(iv.) **dia**, (a) with gen. 1¹ 21²⁴. In J 15 times. (b) With acc. 16 times and 45 in J.

(v.) **eiĵ. eiĵ** follows **balllein** when the noun after **eiĵ** is not a person, cf. 2^{10.22} 8⁵[7.8] 12^{4.9.13} 14¹⁹ (*bis*) 18²¹ 20^{3.10.14.15}, save in 14¹⁶ (interpolated) where we have **balllein**))) **epi. t) ghĥ**) Contrast 14¹⁹. But **epi**, when the noun is a person, cf. 2²⁴ **ballw efVumaj** (cf. 1¹⁷). Similarly after **katabainein** we have **eiĵ thn ghĥ**, 13¹³, but **epi. touj anqrwpouj**, 16²¹. Our author uses either **eiĵ thn ghĥ**, 5⁶ 6¹³ 8⁷ 9^{1.3} 12^{4.9.13} 14¹⁹ 16^{1.2} etc., even after **piptein**, 6¹³ 9¹, though this verb in other phrases is followed by **epi**, 6¹⁶ 7¹¹ [8¹⁰] 11¹⁶, or **epi. thĵ ghĵ** (see on **epi**, below). **eiĵ** occurs about 78 times.

(vi.) **ek**) This preposition is of very frequent occurrence -- about 135 times.

(a) Partitive Genitive. As subject, 1⁹**blepousin ek twĥ lawĥ**: cf. J 7⁴⁰ 16¹⁷. As object, 2¹⁰ **ex uimwh**(3⁹ 5⁹ (in 2¹⁷ we have genitive alone -- **tou/ manna**: cf. 2 J⁴**ek twĥ tekwn**). **ek** occurs often after **eiĵ** in a partitive sense: cf. 5⁵ 6¹ 7¹³ etc., but in 17¹¹ (source) **ek twĥ epta**, = "one of the seven." For **eiĵ ek**, cf. J 14¹ 6^{8.70.71} 7⁵⁰ etc. This appears to be the best explanation of 2⁹ **thn blasfhmian ek twĥ legontwn**,⁽²⁾ "the blasphemy of certain people who say"; or the **ek** may be simply a sign of the genitive. Hence "the blasphemy of," etc.: cf J 3¹ **anqrwpoj ek t) Farisaiwn**: or better, Aesch. *Eum.* 344, **uhnoj ex Verinuwn**, "hymn of the Erinyes"; Soph. *Ant.* 95, **h` ex emou/ dusboulia**.

(b) **ek**))) **apo**, 3¹² 21^{2.10}, where the prepositions may signify respectively heavenly origin and divine mission. But in J 1⁴⁴ 7^{41.42} 11¹ (Abbott, *Gr.* 227 sqq.) these mean respectively "native of" and "resident in."

(c) **ek** follows a variety of verbs, **gemizein**(**ekporeuesqai**(**ekdikein** (involving a Hebraism), **exaleifein**(**exercesqai**(**ercesqai**(**krinein** (18²⁰ (a source) involving a Hebraism), **lambanein**(**luein**(**metanoein**,^③{**cxxx**}**pinein**(**potizein**(**fagein**(**cortazesqai**) It follows **agorazein**(5⁹; but this verb is followed by **para**, 3¹⁸, and **apo**, 14^{3.4}. In 18^{3.19} **ploutein** is followed by **ek** and in 18¹⁵ by **apo**,

(d) **ek** is used after a passive: cf. 13¹⁸ **pepurwmenon ek puroj**, 18¹ **efwtisqh ek t) doxhj autou**

(e) **ek** = "by reason of," 8¹³ **ek t) fwnwh**, 16¹¹ **eblasfhmsan))) ek t) ponwn autwh**

(f) **ek** is used with the material of which anything is formed: cf. 18¹² **pan skeubj ek xulou**. This usage is common to Greek and Hebrew: cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8, **strateuma ex erastwh**: Aesch. *Suppl.* 9⁵³, **ek kriqwh mequ**) See (a) above *ad fin.*

(vii.) **emprosqen**. This twice occurs in a local sense in the phrase **emprosqen twh podwh**, 19¹⁰ 22⁸, the first of which is an intrusion: also as an adverb in 4⁶. In J its meaning are various: it denotes superiority in 1^{15.30}, priority in 3²⁸, and has a local sense in 10⁴ 12³⁷.

(viii.) **en**. This preposition occurs nearly 157 times. (a) The most noteworthy use of **en** in our author is its instrumental use. Thus it occurs 33 times, whereas it does not occur at all in J (save in a quasi-instrumental sense in the phrase **en toutw**| see Abbott, *Gr.* 256), nor yet in the Pauline or Catholic Epp. save once in 2 Pet. It is found 34 times in Acts, and 3 in Hebrews. Moulton (*Gr.*, pp. 12, 61, 104) thinks that the publication of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) has "rescued the instrumental **en** from the class of Hebraisms" in the case of **en macairh**| Lk 22⁴⁹, and **en rabdw**| 1 Cor. 4²¹. To this claim Abbott

(*Gr.* 256 n.) rejoins effectively. But even though the instrumental **en** does occur in the papyri sporadically (where the influence of Jewish traders may have been at work), this fact cannot account in any case for the preponderating use of **en** in our author. No adequate explanation can be found save in its origination in a mind steeped in Semitic. Even Moulton (p. 61 n.) concedes that this **en** "came to be used rather excessively . . . by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic." But this concession in the case of our author is quite inadequate. **en** is used instrumentally after **agorazein** (5⁹: **adikeih**(9¹⁹: **apokteinein**(2²³ 6⁸ 9²⁰ 13¹⁰ (*bis*) 19²¹: **basanizein**(14¹⁰: **kaiein**(19²⁰; but without **en**, [8⁸] 21⁸ (due to editor?): **katakaiiein**(17¹⁶ 18⁸: **kaumatizein**, 16⁸: **khrussein**(5²: **kiqarizein**(14²: **leukainein**, 7¹⁴: **luiein**(1⁵: **mignunai**(8⁷: **patassein**(11⁶ 19¹⁵: **planah**, 19²⁰ 18²³: **periballesqai**(3⁵ 4⁴ (> **en**, A): **poimainein**, 2²⁷ 12⁵ 19¹⁵: **polemeih**(2¹⁶ (19¹¹): **crusouh**, 18¹⁶. **en** is used locally after **kaqizein** in 3²¹ (*bis*) (but **epi**, c. acc. 20⁴): **{cxxxi}** after **katoikeih**, 13¹² (but this is not our author's use. He uses **epi**, c. gen.).

(b) **en** is used temporarily in 1¹⁰ 2¹³ 9⁶ 10⁷ 11¹³ etc.: see temporal phrases without **en** in 18^{10.16.19} **mia| wra|**(source).

(c) **en** is used generally after **grafein**, 1³ 13⁸ 20^{12.15} 21²⁷ 22^{18.19} (but **eiγ** is found in 1¹¹, and **epi**, 17⁸: see under **epi**).

(d) **en** is found in the phrases **en th| dexia| ceiri|** 1¹⁶: **en th| dexia|** 2¹: **en t) ceiri|** 6⁵ 7⁹ 10² etc.; but **epi. thn dexian**, 5¹. Also in **en fwnh| megalh|** after **legein**, 14^{7.9} (but without **en** in 512 813). **en** is never used in this phrase after **krazein**, 6¹⁰ 7² 10³ (see vol. i. 260 *ad fin.*, ii. 22 *ad init.*) except in passages from another hand or source, 14¹⁵ 18². It is also omitted in this phrase after **fwneih**, 14¹⁸. **en mesw|** is always followed by gen. 1¹³ 2¹ 4⁶ etc.; hence 2⁷ **en mesw| tw| paradeisw|** in \mathfrak{D}^{cc} 025 is either a conflation of two texts or a correction of the later.

(ix.) **enwpion**) Very frequent: 34 times, but only once in J, i.e. 20³⁰, and twice in 1. 3 J.

The frequent occurrence of this word, which, it is true, is found sporadically in the **koinh**, (see Moulton, *Gr.*, pp. 99, 246), is best explained as due to Semitic influence.

(x.) **exwqen**, 14²⁰.

(xi.) **epanw**) Only twice. Really an adverb but used as a preposition, 6⁸ 20³.

(xii.) **epi**, About 143 times⁽⁴⁾ in all (74 with acc., 13 with dat., 56 with gen.). This preposition is used very idiomatically by our author, and several of the uses are of his own devising. It is therefore of primary importance to be acquainted with these.

(a) **epi**, in various phrases:

(a) **epi. thj ghj**, 5^{3.10.13} 7¹ 10^{2.5.8} etc. -- never **epi. thn ghñ** (for 14¹⁶ is an interpolation). If our author wishes to use **ghñ** he writes **ejj thn ghñ**, 5⁶ 6¹³ 8⁵ 9¹ etc. See vol. i. 191.

(b) **epi. thj qalasshj** -- so always. 5^{13(*)} 7¹ 10^{2.5.8} except in 15², where the **epi. thn qalassan** seems due to its being preceded by **istanai**, which always in the case of other nouns is followed by **epi**, with the acc. See vol. i. 262 *ad med.*, ii. 34 *ad init.* Our author's use comes out forcibly in 7¹ **iha mh. pneh| anemoj epi. thj ghj mhte epi. thj qalasshj mhte epi. pah** (a 025: cf. 7¹⁶ *oude. mh.*))) **pah kauha**: 9⁴ 21²⁷) **dendron**)

Observe the **epi**, with the acc. at the close.

(g) **epi. thn stj%kefalhn \$aj**). Only in 12¹ do we find **epi. thj kefalhj**. See vol. i. 300 sq., 303.

(d% **epi. to. metwpon**, or {**cxxxii**} if he uses the pl. **epi. twñ metwpwn**. See vol. i. 206 *ad med.* In 14⁹ we find // **epi. tou/ metwpou///**; but this verse is corrupt. See vol. ii. 15 *ad fin.*

(e) The above forms are rigid. But in phrases composed of **epi**, or **h` dexia** our author uses the gen. or acc.: cf. **epi. thj ceiroj autwñ thj dexiaj** 13¹⁶, **epi. thj dexiaj** 1²⁰, and **epi. thn ceira**, 14⁹ 20^{1.4}: **epi. thn dexian**, 5¹. See vol. i. 335 *ad med.*

(b) **epi**, with some case of **qronoj** (or **nefelh**) determined by the case of the preceding participle **kaqhmenoj**. This is one of the most remarkable idiosyncrasies of our author. When the part. is in the nom. or acc. it is followed by **epi. ton qronou**: when in the dat. by **epi. tw/qronw**⁽⁵⁾

§a% o` kaqhmenoj ton kaqhmenon	epi. ton qronon (or epi. thn nefelh) (or epi. ton ippon).
--	--

So in 4^{2.4} 6^{2.5} 11¹⁶ 14¹⁴ 19¹¹. This usage of our author is generally not observed in the interpolations or edited portions. Thus 9¹⁷ t) **kaqhmenouj epV// autwh //** seems due to a reviser of the preceding words: 14¹⁶ o` **kaqhmenoj epi. t) nefelhj (Aa: t) nefelhn, C** 025) occurs in the interpolation 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷: 20¹¹ **ton kaqhmenon epV autou/(A: epanw autou, a)**, and 7¹⁵ o` **kaqhmenoj epi. // t) qronou // (Aa: tw/qronw** | 025. 046), are due to the editor of 20⁴⁻²². 215 o` **kaqhmenoj epi. t) qronw** | is a primitive corruption. On 14⁹ see vol. ii. 12.

(b) **tw/qaqhmenw| epi. tw/qronw|** So 4⁹ 5¹³ 7¹⁰ 19⁴. In 6⁴ **tw/qaq) epV// auton //** is a primitive corruption, while **tw/qaq) epi. t) nefelhj** occurs in the interpolation, 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

(g% tou/kaqhmenou epi. tou/qronou. So 4¹⁰ 5^{1.7} 6¹⁶: cf. 17¹ (thj kaqhmenhj epi. udatwn) 19^{19.21}

(**tau/kaqhmenou epi. tou/ippou** both times). Hence 19¹⁸**twñ kaqhmenwn epV// autoij** // (A: **autouja**) seems to be a primitive corruption. 025. 046 and cursives read rightly **epV autwñ**) These MSS may have preserved the original reading here, and A may be corrupt.

(c) **epi**, is used after certain verbs.

(a% **ballein epi**, with acc. 2²⁴ 18¹⁹ (source)

(b% **grafein epi**, with acc. 2¹⁷ 3¹² 17^{5.8} (source) 19¹⁶. In 14¹ the gen. **epi. twñ metwpwn** after **grafein** is due to our author's predilection for the gen. pl. in this phrase: see under (a) above.

sg% **ekceein epi**, with acc. 16^{8.10.12.17}.

{**cxixiii**}sd% **iñtanai epi**, with acc. 3²⁰ **eñthka epi. thn quran** (contrast J 18¹⁶ **eñthkei proj th/ qura**), 7¹ 8³ 11¹¹ 12¹⁸ 14¹ 15².

(e% **kaqizein epi**, with acc. 20⁴.

(z% **katoikein epi**, with gen. See vol. i. 289, 336, ii. 12 *ad fin*. This construction is characteristic alike as to meaning and form. Two other constructions are found in 13¹² 17² where they appear due to sources.

(h) **koptesqai epi**, with acc. 1⁷ = "to wail because of" (but in Zech. 12¹⁰ (o), 2 Sam. 11²⁶ (A) "to wail for"). So far as I am aware this usage is not Greek. wyl [dps could be rendered "wail over him," as in Zech. 12¹⁰, or "wail because of him," as the text requires here. Has our author assigned to **epi**, a meaning that belongs only to
| [? We could also render the Greek "to wail in regard to

him." In 18⁹ this phrase = "to wail over."

(q% **piptein epi**, with acc. 6¹⁶ 7^{11.16} 8¹⁰ 11^{11.16}, but with **eiȳ thn gh̄h**, 6¹³ 9¹, since our author does not say **epi. thn gh̄h** (see (a) above).

(i% **skhnouh epi**, with acc. 7¹⁵.

(k% **tiquenai epi**, with acc. 1¹⁷, but in 10² with **epi. thȳ qal asshj** in conformity with his usage (see (a) above).

(l) **martureih** and **profhteuein** are followed by **epi**, (= "concerning") with dat. in 22¹⁶ (a 046) 10¹¹. **epi**, has this meaning in J 12¹⁶ **epV autw| gegrammena**. But in 22¹⁶ A vg bo read **en**. See **epi**, with dat. after **dedesqai**, 9¹⁴; **orgizesqai**, 12¹⁷; **eufrainesqai**, 18²⁰.

(d) After **exousiaepi**, there follows sometimes the gen. 2²⁶ 11^{6b} (source) 14¹⁸ 20⁶: sometimes the acc. 6⁸ 13⁷ 16⁹ 22¹⁴. J has neither of these constructions, but the gen. without **epi**, 17², or the inf. 1¹² 5²⁷ 10¹⁸ (*bis*) etc. A similar usage occurs in 17¹⁸ **basileian epi**. (= "over") **tw̄h basilewn**: cf. Rom 9⁵.

(xiii.) **kata**, (a) with gen. 24.14.20 **kata. sou|** "against thee." Once in J 19¹¹ in the same sense. (b) With acc. (a) = "according to," 2²⁸ 18⁶ (source) 20^{12.13}. (b) Temporally in 22² **kata. mh̄a**. (g) Distributively in 4^{8eh} **kaqV eh**: cf. J [8⁹ 21²⁵].

(xiv.) **kukl oqen** as a prep. in 4^{3.4}: as an adv. in 4⁸.

(xv.) **kukl w|** as a prep. 4⁶ 5¹¹ 7¹¹.

(xvi.) **meta**, 52 times (41 with gen. and 11 with acc.). (a) **meta**, with gen. after **akolouqeih** [6⁸] 14¹³ (= "to accompany"): **deipneih**, 3²⁰: **ercesqai smeta. tw̄h nefel wh**), 17: **kaqizein**, 3²¹ (*bis*): **laleih**, 1¹² 10⁸ 17¹ 21^{9.15}: **moiceuein**, 2²²: [**molunesqai**, 14⁴]: **poihsai polemon**, 11⁷ 12¹⁷ 13⁷ 19¹⁹: **polemeih**, 2¹⁶ 12⁷ 13⁴

17¹⁴ -- a decided Hebraism, only in our author in the N.T. An occasional instance of it has been found in the papyri: **porneuein**, 17² 18^{3.9} (source). This construction is not classical Greek, which requires the acc. So also **moiceuein**.⁽⁶⁾

(b) **meta**, with acc. is only found in the phrase **meta. tauta**, except in 11¹¹ **meta. taj treij {cxxxiv} himeraj. meta. tauta** has two meanings in our author -- its ordinary one, "after these things," 1¹⁹ 4² 9¹² 20³, and a technical one, which, when combined with **eidon**, *always introduces a new and important vision*, 4¹ 7^{1.9} 15⁵ 18¹ 19¹. On the value of this phrase as a canon of criticism, see vol. i. 106, footnote. This usage is found in J: (cf. 2¹² 3²² 4⁴³ 5¹ 6¹ 7¹ 19³⁸) as introducing a new section.

(xvii.) **para**, 3 times (2 with gen. and 1 with dat.). In J 35 times (26 with gen. and 9 with dat.).

(xviii.) **proj**. 8 times (1 with dat. and 7 with acc.). In J, on the other hand, **proj** with acc. occurs about 100 times, and with the dat. 4. **proj** c. dat. is found in our author only once, 1¹³; elsewhere in N.T., Mark 5¹¹, J 18¹⁶ 20^{11.12} (*bis*). He uses **proj** with acc. after verbs of motion, 3²⁰ 10⁹ etc. (6 times). **proj** = "against," in 13⁶ **hnoixen to. stoma autou/eij blasfhmiaj proj t) qeon**. Here **eij** would be more natural: cf. Mark 3²⁹, Luke 12¹⁰, Acts 6¹¹. This preposition is much more varied in meaning in J.

(xix.) **upo**, Only twice, and one of these in an interpolation, 6⁸.

(xx.) **upokatw**) 4 times. Really an adverb but used as a preposition.

NOTES

1. These numbers refer to the entire text, including sources and interpolations.
2. This phrase is explained also as "blasphemy arising from" (cf. J 3²⁵); but in our author we should expect in this case **blasfhmian thn ek**) In 6⁴ the **ek** is rightly omitted by A after **thn eirhnhn [ek] thj ghj**) If the **ek** is retained it is to be taken with **labeiñ**, as in 5⁷ 10¹⁰ 18⁴ (source).
3. Cf, 2²¹.^[22] 9^{20.21} 16¹¹. **metanoiein apo**, is found in Acts 8²² and Jer 8⁶ (LXX). But **menanoiein ek** does not occur in the LXX. It probably represents !~ bWV in our author's

mind.

4. These numbers are only approximately true. Different texts yield different results.

*. The context would suggest here the rendering "in the sea." Such was the view of many of the ancients. Thus ἀ reads **en th/ qalassh**, and is supported by Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm bo eth.

5. It is noteworthy that this participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by **epi**, with the acc. in five passages of the six where it occurs in the rest of the N.T., Matt 9⁹, Mark 2¹⁴, Luke 5²⁷ 21³⁵, J 12¹⁵: exceptions, Acts 8; and that when it is in the gen. it is followed by **epi**, with the gen. in Matt 24³ 27¹⁹: exception, Mark 13³. But whereas these may be coincidences, in our author the use is a law. In Mark 13³ we have **kaqhmenou** followed by **eiγ**, whereas Matt 24³ has **epi. t) orouj t) ełaiwh**.

6. Perhaps we might trace it to such an expression as that in Is. 23¹ #rah twklmm lk ta htnz. **porneuein meta**, is found in Ezek. 16³⁴, but the Hebrew does not explain the **meta**, Similarly @all (= **moiceuein**) is followed by **ta** (= **meta**) in Jer. 29²³: but not o , which gives **emwicwhto taj gunaikaj**)

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 6. Conjunctions and other Particles

(i.) **avla**, 13 times, but over 100 times in J and 20 times in 1. 2. 3 J.

(ii.) **an**. (a) As a particle in a relative clause **an** occurs only twice, in 2²⁵ **acri ou-hkw**, and in 144 **opou an upagei** (A: -ha 025. 046). J, on the other hand, uses **an** 5 times in the sense of "if" (alone in the N.T.), and 22 times as a mere particle in relative or conditional sentences.

(b) But our author uses **ean** also as a mere particle after **ofoi**, 3¹⁹ 13¹⁵ (source). With the same meaning it recurs in 11⁶ **osakij ean** (source), but as a conjunction followed by a subjunctive in 3²⁰ [22^{18.19}]. **ean mh**, is followed by the subj. 2⁵ 3³, but in 2^{22c} (an interpolation) by the indicative.⁽¹⁾ In J **ean** is once used as {cxxxv} mere particle in 15⁷. Otherwise frequently as a conjunction followed by the subjunctive. J uses **an** 14 times in the apodosis of an impossible supposition, but our author does not use this construction.

(iii.) **arti**, 12¹⁰, and **apvarti**, 14¹³. IT is hard to decide whether **arti** = "at this moment," as occasionally in J (see Abbott, *Gr.* 25 sq., 199), or "at this present time," as contrasted with past or future time -- a later meaning belonging more properly to **nuh**,

which J uses very frequently but not our author.

(iv.) **acri**) Always followed by subjunctive in our author: 2²⁵ (**acri ou**) 7³ 15⁸ 20^{3.5}. In 17¹⁷ we find **acri telesqhsontai**) But this is a source.

(v.) **gar**) *circ.* 17 times. In J nearly 70.

(vi.) **de**, 6 times. Very frequent in J and with different shades of meaning: see Abbott, *Gr.* in loc.

(vii.) **ei eivs** found only in combination (a) with **tij**:⁽²⁾ 11^{5a} [11^{5b}] 13^{9.10} (*bis*) 14^{9.11} 20¹⁵ (**ei; tij ouc**) -- a very common combination not once in J: (b) with **mh**(= "except"), 2¹⁷ 9⁴ 13¹⁷ 14³ 19¹² 21²⁷. This use is found in J 3¹³ 6²² etc.: or with **de. mh**, (= "otherwise"), 2^{5.16}: also in J 14^{2.11}. But J uses the former combination in other idioms.

(viii.) **exwqen** (as adverb = **exw**) 1¹² 5¹ (some MSS).

(ix.) **eti**. 18 times, including a restoration of **eti** for **epi**, in 7¹⁶. 22¹¹ is an itnerpolation.

(x.) **ewj**. With subjunctive (= "till"), 6¹¹. In J with ind. 9¹⁸ 21^{22.23}. In various combinations in J.

(xi.) **idou**, 26 times. In J 4. J uses **ide** (15), but our author does not.

(xii.) **iha**. Final clauses introduced by **iha**⁽³⁾ followed by the subj. 33 times, and by the ind. 13. (The latter is unclassical: Attic uses **opwj** with ind.) In J **iha** is followed by the subj. save thrice out of nearly 140 times. **iha mh**, is followed by the subj. 9 times and by the ind. 2: in J only by the subj. As our author never uses the past subjunctive (or optative) it is interesting {**cxxxvi**} to observe the sequence of tenses adopted by him after **iha** or **iha mh**,

Pres. ind. followed by	pres. ind.	1
"	pres. subj.	5

"	aor. subj.	7
Past. ind.	pres. subj.	4
"	aor. subj.	5
"	fut. ind.	13
Fut. ind.	fut. ind.	7
Imperative (pres. or aor.)	pres. subj.	1
"	aor. subj.	2

(xiii.) **mh**, Never with the participle in our author, but 10 times in J and 11 times in 1. 2. 3 J. **mh**, with pres. imperative, 1¹⁷ 2¹⁰ etc.; with aor. aubj. 6⁶ 7³ 10⁴, the use of these two tenses being carefully distinguished; see above, p. cxxvi. **mh**,))) **mh̄te**))) **mh̄te**, 7^{1.3}: also **mh**,))) **oude**.))) **oude**, in 9⁴, but never **mh**.))) **mhde**, as in J (*bis*) who never uses **mh̄te**; not **mhde**.))) **mhde** **oude**. **mh**.))) **oude**, 7¹⁶.

(xiv.) **opisqen** as prep. 1¹⁰ 4⁶, as adv. 5¹.

(xv.) **opisw** as prep. 12¹⁵ 13³, and also in 1¹⁰ (aC) 10¹⁰ in aC 025.

(xvi.) **opou**, 2¹³ (*bis*) 11⁸ 20¹⁰. In the latter two passages there is the combination **opou kai** In sources used by our author there is a Hebraism in connection with this word: **opou**))) **ekei**, 12^{6.14}: **opou**))) **ep̄v autw̄n**, 17⁹; but this Hebraism never appears to come from his own hand. In 14⁴ we have **opou an up̄agei** (AC: corrected into **up̄agh** in a 025. 046). This use of **an** here is to be rejected, according to Blass, *Gr.* 207, 217; Robertson, *Gr.* 969. See, however, under **otan**: also *Vocabulary of G.T.* (Moulton and Milligan) under **an**.

(xvii.) **osakij**. 11⁶ (source).

(xviii.) **otan**. This particle takes the aor. subj. 9⁵ 11⁷ 12⁴ 17¹⁰ 20⁷, or the pres. subj. 10⁷ 18⁹,⁽⁴⁾ or the fut. ind. 4⁹, or evne the aor. ind. 8¹. In the last passage the use of **otan** in **otan hnoixen** (corrected into **ote** in a 025) is quite incorrect according to Blass (*Gr.* 218). Yet it is found in the **koinh**; cf. Mark 11¹⁹ **otan oye egeneto exeporeuteo exw t) polewj**: Ex 16³: cf. **wj an** in Gen (Tischendorf's ed.) 27³⁰ **wj an exhlqen Vakwb**, of a single definite action in the past. **otan**, however, with

the indic. generally denotes indefinite frequency (an unclassical usage): cf. Mark 3¹¹ {cxxxvii} 11²⁵: similarly **οπου αν**, Mark 6⁵⁶. On **οταν** with fut. ind. see Robertson, *Gr.* 972.

(xix.) **οτε** occurs 13 times and always with the aor. ind. In J 21 times (4 with fut. ind.).

(xx.) **οτι** 63 times. (a) Abbott, *Gr.* 154 sq., points out that the suspensive use of **οτι** "is almost confined to the Johannine writings and the Apocalypse." Here **οτι** = "because," and he cites as examples outside these writings Gal 4⁶, 1 Cor 12^{15.16}, Rom 9⁷. In J 1⁵⁰ (**οτι ειπον σοι**))) **πιστευειj**) 14¹⁹ 15¹⁹ 16⁶ 20²⁹. In like manner in our author we must render 3¹⁰ "Because (**οτι**) thou hast kept the word of my endurance I also will keep thee," 3^{16.17} 18⁷.[\(4\)](#)

(b) Besides the suspensive use of **οτι**, where the **οτι** clause precedes, the word most frequently introduces a subsequent clause giving a ground or reason, and so it is to be rendered "because" or "for." Cf. 3⁴ 4¹¹ 5^{4.9} 6¹⁷ etc. etc.

(c) Next it means "that" after **ειδον**(**οιδα**(**γινωσκω**(**ερω κατα**, **τιnoj** or **ομμυμι**, 2^{2.4.20.23} 3^{1.8.9.15} 10⁶ etc.

(d) Finally, it is used before direct discourse (i.e. **οτι** "recitative"), 3¹⁷ 18¹⁷.

(xxi.) **ου**= "where" [17¹⁵]. Our author as also J uses **οπου** and not **ου**

(xxii.) **ου**) We find **ουv**))) **ουδε**, 7¹⁶ 9²⁰ 12⁸ 20⁴ 21²³: **ουv**))) **ουτε**, 9²¹: **ουδειj**))) **ουδε. ουδε.**))) **ουτε**, 5³: **ουδειj**))) **ουτε**, 5⁴.

(xxiii.) **ουvη**) 15 times. Always followed by subj. in our author except in 18¹⁴ (source), which may be an interpolation in this source, seeing that elsewhere in this source it is followed by the subj. See vol. i. 59 *ad med.* In J 3 times with ind. out of 17.

(xxiv.) **ουαι**) This interjection is followed by the dat. in our author in 8¹³. In 12¹² (a source) by the acc. In 18^{10.16.19} (a source) by the nom. It is a noun in 9¹² (*bis*) 11¹⁴ (*bis*).

(xxv.) **ουκετι**) 10⁶: in 18^{11.14} with neg. (source). 12 times in J.

(xxvi.) **ouñ**) (a) Used of logical appeal 6 times, 1¹⁹ 2^{5.16} etc.

(b) Narrative or continuative **ouñ** does not occur once, and only a few times in the Synoptic Gospels. In J **ouñ** occurs nearly 200 times, and the majority of these apparently in a non-illative or purely continuative or narrative sense. Only 8 times does it occur in the words of Jesus: all the rest in the narrative portions. But Abbott (*Gr.* 470 sqq.) finds difficulties in many of the Johannine uses of **ouñ**. He pertinently remarks (p. 479 footnote): "the {**cxviii**} absence of narrative **ouñ** in Revelation is important because . . . it is largely made up of narrative, so that we might have expected narrative **ouñ** in abundance if it had been written by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel." The word occurs only once in 1. 2. 3 J.

(xxvii.) **oupw**) 17^{10.12} (source). 13 times in J, 1 J once.

(xxviii.) **oute**) We find **oute**))) **oute**, 3^{15.16} 9²⁰ 21⁴: **oudej**))) **oute**, 5⁴.

(xxix.) **pl hn** = "only," 2²⁵: cf. Phil. 3¹⁶ for this meaning. Blass (*Gr.* 268) would assign this meaning to **pl hn** also in 1 Cor. 11¹¹, Eph 5³³, Phil 4¹⁴.

(xxx.) **wde** = (a) "hither," 4¹ 11¹²; (b) metaphorically (= "here is need for"), 13^{10.18} 14¹² 17⁹.

(xxxi.) **wj**) (a) On this important particle, see vol. i. 35 sq., where it is shown that it has in our author several uses unknown elsewhere in the N.T. but found in the LXX. One use is there omitted.

(b) In a comparison the same case follows **wj** as that which precedes it. This, of course, is the usual construction. Cf. 2¹⁸ t) **ofqal mouj autou/wj floga puroj**, 9^{8.9} 12¹⁵ 13³ 18²¹ 21² 22¹. Hence 16¹³ **eidon**))) **pneumata tria**))) **wj // baṭracoi** // is either a slip or due to an interpolator. It is due to the latter, as we see on other grounds.

(c) Observe that our author never uses **kaqwj** though it occurs nearly

180 times in the N.T. In J it occurs 31 times and 13 in 1. 2. 3 J. J uses **Wj** in a temporal sense (= "when") about 20 times, but J^{ap}, 1. 2. 3 J never. Our author uses **Wj** as a word of comparison about 73 times (only once with a numeral), J 13 times (8 times with a numeral).

(d) In 22¹² **wj** = "according as," followed by substantive verb -- a usage not found elsewhere in the Johannine writings.

(xxxii.) **wšper**) 10³.

NOTES

1. Thus **ean** substituted for **an** 3 times (3¹⁹ and 11⁶ 13¹⁵ sources) out of 4. Moulton (*Gr.* 43) states that in pre-Christian papyri the proportion of **ean** to **an** was 13 to 29, but in the 1st cent. A.D. this proportion was 25 to 7, in 2nd A.D. 76 to 9, in 3rd A.D. 9 to 3, in 4th A.D. 4 to 8. **ean** occurs last for **an** in a 6th cent. papyrus. It will be seen, therefore, that the proportion in our author, 3 to 1, agrees nearly with that in the papyri of the 1st cent. A.D., 25 to 7.

It is significant of the character of α that it, changes **ean** into **an** in 3¹⁹ 13¹⁵ and thus represents our author as using **ean** only 1 out of 4 times. C changes it in 11⁶. Notwithstanding the untrustworthy character of 025. 046, they are here more trustworthy than α in this respect.

But Thackeray (*Gr.* 67), with a large body of papyri at his disposal, gives the statistics as follows. In pre-Christian papyri **oj ean**, 16, **oj an**, 78: in i/A.D. 39 and 5 respectively; in ii/A.D. 79 and 13; in iii/A.D. 13 and 5; in iv/A.D. 12 and 7. These amended numbers show more clearly how the scribe of α introduced later forms into his text.

2. **ei; tij** is only found once in the Johannine writings outside the Apocalypse -- 2 J¹⁰ **ei; tij ercetai**. Here the case is put as an actual occurrence, and the coming as a real event. Hence this form does not militate against Johannine authorship.

3. In commentary I have followed Blass in taking **iħa** in 14¹³ as almost equal to **oḥi** "in that." But here also it may express purpose. Thus **makar̄ioi oi` nekroi. oi` en Kuriw| apoqñhskontej))) iħa anapahsontai** = "Blessed are the dead that

die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, in order to rest," etc. Cf. 22¹⁴ and J 8⁵⁶ 9²tij
 h̄arten))) iħa tufloj gennhgh/ 11¹⁵, and see Abbott, *Gr.* 114-128, who
 insists that iħa expresses purpose in J.

4. On the ground of this and a few other similarities of style Abbott (*Gr.* 155) suggests
 that "the author of the Gospel may have been a disciple or younger coadjutor of the
 author of the Apocalypse."

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 7. Case

(i.) (a) The nominative stands in the case of a proper noun without regard to the construction in place of the case normally required. ⁹¹¹ **ονομα ερει Βαπολλυων**) This is good Greek (cf. Xenoph. *Oecon.* vi. 14, **τουj ερονταj το. σεμον ονομα τουτο το. καλοj τε καγαγοj**), but it comes from the hand of the editor and not from the author, whose construction will be found in 6⁸.

(b) *Nominativus pendens*. Since in our author this usage is a Hebraism, it is dealt with under that heading.

(ii.) (a) Genitive absolute. This construction does not exist in our author, though it is employed often in J and with more elasticity of meaning than is found in the Synoptics: see {cxxxix} Abbott, *Gr.* 83 sq. In the Apoc. 17⁸ **qaumasqhsontai oi` katoikouhtej))) wn))) blepontwn** is not a gen. abs. But for this intervening **wn** the tet would have read **blepontej** or **ofan blepwsin**)

(b) Temporal genitive. This genitive denotes the whole period of time during which something happened: ⁴⁸ ⁷¹⁵ **himeraj kai. nuktoj** -- a phrase that should be restored in 8¹² 21²⁵.

(iii.) Dative. (a) Instrumental dative. This dative is of infrequent occurrence. It is found in 4⁴ **peribēlhmenouj imatiōij**, 19¹³ **bebammenon aiḡmati**, 18²¹ **ōrmḡmati blhḡsetai** (source), 22¹⁴ **toij pulwsin eise|qwsin**, 2¹⁸ [8⁸] **kaiomenh|puri**, 15² **memegmenhn puri**, 5¹ **katesfragismenon sfragisin**, 17⁴ 18¹⁶ **kecruswmenh crusi,w) fwnh| megal h|** is found after **legein**, 5¹² (6¹) 8¹³ (yet with **en**, 14^{7.9}): after **krazein**, 6¹⁰ 7² 10³ 19¹⁷ (but with **en** in passages from another hand, 14¹⁵ 18²): after **fwneih**, 14¹⁸. This instrumental dat. is mostly replaced in our author by **en** (see above p. cxxx, under **en**), or occasionally after passive verbs by **en** or **apo**,

(b) Dative of time, **mia| wḡra|** in 18^{10.16.19} (source) is difficult. It seems to mean "in the course of an hour." Hence we should expect **en mia| wḡra|** just as in 18⁸ we have **en mia| himeraj** or else **miaj himeraj**, "in the course of one day." Yet see Blass, *Gr.* 120.

(c) Hebraic dative. 21⁸ **toij de. deiloij))) to. meroj autwh.**
See below, p. cxlviii (h) (q).

(iv.) Accusative of point of time. 3³ **poian wḡran**. Cf. J 4⁵² **wḡran ebdomhn**. See Abbott, *Gr.* 75; Acts 20¹⁶ **thn himeran thj penthkosthj**) This usage (Blass, *Gr.* 94) occurs in connection with **wḡra** in Attic Greek and in the papyri. Moulton, *Gr.* 63.

(v.) Vocative. There are nearly 60 examples of the nominative with the article used as a vocative in the N.T. It has a double origin; for it was well established both in Greek and in Hebrew. In Greek⁽¹⁾ it carried with it a rough peremptory note, and in the N.T. this note still survives: cf. Mark 9²⁵ **to. a|alon kai. kwfon pneuma**: J 19³ **caire o` basileuj t) Voudaiwn**) In the latter passage there is a note of derision: **basileu/ t) Voudaiwn**⁽²⁾ would have conceded the justice of Christ's claims. In the tender **h` paij egeire**, Luke 8⁵⁴, Moulton (*Gr.* 70) finds "a survival of the decisiveness of the older use."

But the Hebrew vocative with the art carries with it a different and often a more dignified note. It can be used in the most respectful form of address to kings, or in a minatory sense {cxl} to inferiors: cf. Is 42¹⁸, Joel 1^{2.13}. But it is never used in addressing God in the O.T. (except possibly in Neh 1⁵, Dan 9⁴).⁽³⁾ Yet since the LXX generally renders | a and ~yh| a in the vocative by o` qeoj, the solemn use of this

vocative appears to have originated with the LXX, being a higher development of the usage already found in Hebrew. Our author appears therefore to have been influenced in this direction by the LXX: cf. 4¹¹ ο̃ kurioj kai. ο̃ qeoj h̃mw̃h,⁽⁴⁾ 6¹⁰ ο̃ despothj ο̃ agioj, 12¹² 15³ 16⁵ 18^{4.20} 19⁵. In contrast with this prevailing usage, we find, however, kurie ο̃ qeoj, 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷: kurie, Vhsou/ 22²⁰.

(vi.) Verbs with different cases or constructions.

(a) **akouein**) Our author uses this verb with gen. of person, 6^{1.3.5} 8¹³ 16^{5.7}, and acc. of thing, 1³ 7³ 9¹⁶ 22⁸.⁽⁵⁾ But **akouein** takes both the gen. and acc. of the thing, as, for instance, with **fwnh**) Now in J **ak) fwnhj**⁽⁶⁾ = to hear so as to obey: cf. 5^{25.28} 10^{3.16}, while **ak) fwnhn** = to hear without further result: cf. 3⁸ 5³⁷, similarly **akouein logon** and **logwn**) See Abbott, *Gr.* 435 sqq., *Johannine Voc.* 116 (footnotes). This distinction does not exist in our author, save apparently accidentally. Thus in 3²⁰ 11¹² (aC 025 but not A 046) **ak) fwnhj** = "to obey." In 9¹³ 10^{4.8} 11¹² 12¹⁰ 14² (*bis*) 18⁴ 19^{1.6} the phrase **ak) fwnhn** does not express obedience to, or regard of, the voice, as in J it would connote. Here the phrase means "to hear intelligently," "to understand." But **ak) fwnhj** has exactly the same force in 14¹³ 16¹ 21³. Hence our author does not observe either the usage of J nor the well-known one of Acts 9⁷ where **ak) fwnhj** = "to hear a sound" (without understanding its meaning), and in 9⁴ 26¹⁴ **ak) fwnhn** = "to hear intelligently."⁽⁷⁾

(b) **grafesqai**) Always **grafesqai en tw/bibliw**|in our author: cf (1³) 20¹² 21²⁷ and especially 13⁸; but in source, **graf) epi. to. biblion**, 17⁸. This latter construction is found in quite other phrases: 2¹⁷ **epi. t) yhf on))) gegrammenon**, 3¹² 19¹⁶.

(c) **didonai**) This verb is followed by the partitive gen. (**tou/ manna/**) in 2¹⁷; not so elsewhere in N.T.

(d) **euaggelizein**) In 10⁷ c. acc of person, and in 14⁶ with **epi**,c. acc. The rest of the N.T. uses the middle of this verb and frequently c. acc. of person. It does not occur in J in any {**cxli**} form. In Attic this verb takes acc. of thing and dat. of person.

(e) **proskuneih**) The cases with this verb are dealt with in vol. i. 211 sq. our author clearly uses **proskuneih** with dat. only of the worship of God. When the verb takes the acc. it is homage or inferior worship that is designed. Abbott (*Voc.* 137) shows that "the Synoptists reserve the acc. for the worship due to God or God's Son," in contrast with the use in the LXX or that of our author. Next (138 sqq.) he discovers in the Samaritan Dialogue in J 4 and in the Temptation narratives in the Synoptics "a deliberate differentiation of the two Greek constructions" [**proskuneih** c. dat. occurs in J 4^{21.23a} 9³⁸, it has not the full meaning of worship which is implied in 4^{23b.24}. Hence our author and J again differ here.

(f) **periba]lesqai** 11 times c. acc.; once c. **en**)

(g) **fwtizein**) In 21²³ c. acc.: in 22⁵ f) **epV autouj**. Here there appears to be a Hebraism: see p. cslviii (h) (i).

§ 8. Number

(i.) When several subjects follow a verb and the first is in the sing., the verb is in the sing.: cf. 8⁷ 9^{2.17} 11¹⁸ 12¹⁰ 18²⁰ 19²⁰ 20¹¹; but if they precede, the verb stands in the pl.: cf. 6¹⁴ 18¹⁷ 20¹³ sq. So also in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 307.

(ii.) (a) The neuter plural is generally followed by the pl. verb: cf. 1¹⁹ (**a]eisin**), 3^{2.4} (**a]ouk emolunan**), [4⁵] 5¹⁴ (**ta. tessera zwā e]legon**), 9²⁰ (**a])) dunantai**), 11¹⁸ 15⁴ 16²⁰ (**orh))) eureqhsan**), 20¹² 21⁴. The pl. verb may precede the neuter pl.: cf. 4⁹ (**dwsousin ta. zwā**), 11¹³ (**apektanqhsan))) onomata**) [16¹⁴ (**eisin gar pneumata**)], 18²³ (**eplanhqhsan panta ta. eqnh**), 21²⁴. This construction can generally be explained **kata. sunesin**, the neuter nouns being conceived of as masculine or feminine.

(b) But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neut. pl.: cf. 11⁹ (**a] mellei**), 22⁷ [(**eqnh%**))) **suntribetai?**], 48 (**ta. tessera zwā))) ecwn**(8)), 13¹⁴ (**a] edoqh**), 14¹³ (**ta. gar erga))) akolougei**), 18¹⁴ (**ta. lipara.))) apw]eto**), 19¹⁴ (**ta. strateumata))) hkolougei**); less often the sing. verb precedes:

cf. 8³ (edoqh))) qumiamata), 20^{3.5.7}.

(iii.) The plural verb follows certain collective nouns in the sing.: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\sigma}\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\upsilon\iota$, 79: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ 19^{1.6}, but generally in J this noun has the sing. verb except in {exlii} 6²⁴ 7⁴⁹ 12¹². In J 7⁴⁹ 12¹² $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$ is accompanied by a participle in the sing. (in its collective character) and by the verb in the pl. (as conveying the idea of separate individual action). See Abbott, *Gr.* 307. $\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$ has the pl. verb in 18¹⁴ and $\eta\ \iota\ \iota\ \iota$ 13^{3.4}.

§ 9. Gender

(i.) As a rule the concord of gender is observed, but there are many exceptions. The greater number of these can be explained as constructions *kata. sunesin*) Thus 4⁷ $\zeta\omega\beta\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ (4⁸ *ta. tessera zwa))) legontej*, 13¹⁴ $\tau\omega\ \rho\eta\iota\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$, 17¹¹ $\rho\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$)) *autoj ogdooj estin*, 17¹⁶ *ta. deka kerata))) kai. to. qhrion(outoi)* In 15¹² $\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron. \alpha\rho\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ is to be similarly explained, though in 5⁶ 14¹ $\alpha\rho\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon$ has the part. in the neuter. Similarly 7⁴ $\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\ \phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ (cf. also 14³), 19¹⁴ *ta. strateumata endedumenoj* (5⁶ $\rho\eta\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota$ (5¹³ $\rho\alpha\eta\ \kappa\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha))) legontaj (\delta)$, 9⁵ $\epsilon\delta\omicron\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$ (i.e., *akridej*). With $\ \phi\omega\upsilon\eta$, there are several such wrong concords: 4¹ $\ \phi\omega\upsilon\eta.))) legwn$: cf. also 5^{11.12} 9^{13.14} 11¹⁵. In 12⁵ $\ \upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (*arsen* is peculiar.

(ii.) The gender of $\ \upsilon\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$, 21¹⁸ is nearly always fem., but our author in making it masc. has the sanction of Theophrastus.

NOTES

1. Blass (*Gr.* 69) quotes Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 5²¹, $\ \omicron\ \rho\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\ \alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ (= "you there, the lad I mean, follow").
2. Moulton (*Gr.* 71) observes that Mark's use of this phrase in 15¹⁸ "is merely a note of his imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom."
3. This usage, however, was well established in Aramaic, which had three different ways of making the noun definite when it was to stand in the vocative. See Kautzsch, *Gr. des Biblisch. Aramaischen*, p. 148 sq.
4. $\ \omicron\ \kappa\upsilon\ \rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \upsilon\ \upsilon$ as a vocative is not found except in this passage (Abbott).

5. In 5¹³ we have **παῖς κτίσμα**)) **ἡκούσα λεγontaj** (al. **legonta**), the idea of the thing prevails and not that of the person; hence. the acc.
6. In classical Greek "to hear a sound."
7. In 1. 2. 3. **J akouein** takes a gen. of the person and an acc. of the thing except in 3 J⁴ where it is followed by an acc. of the person.
8. But it is better to take **εἰσῆλθον** here as influenced by the **εἰς κατὰ εἰς** preceding it.

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{cxlii}

XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 10. The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse

The Hebraic style of the Apocalypse has been acknowledged in a general sense till the present generation, but scholars have hitherto done little to establish the fact by actual and detailed evidence. Now, owing on the one hand to this fact that the Hebraic character of the Apocalypse had not been established by actual proofs, and on the other to the vast mass of fresh knowledge of vernacular Greek brought to light by the researches of Grenfell, Hunt, Thumb, Moulton, Milligan, and others, a new attitude has recently been adopted by certain scholars on this question, and some have gone to the extreme length of denying altogether the presence of Hebraisms in the Apocalypse except in sections that are translated from the Semitic. Thus professor Moulton (*Gr.* 8-9) affirms that "even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any of its blunders to 'Hebraisms.'" The author's uncertain use of cases is obvious to the most casual reader. . . . We find him perpetually indifferent to concord. But the less educated papyri give us plentiful parallels from a field where Semitism cannot be suspected. . . . Apart from places where he may be definitely translating a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe his grammar would have been materially different had he been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education to be the same."

{cxliii} This is not only an extravagant, but, as we shall presently discover, a wrong statement of the case, and called forth a rejoinder from Professor Swete (*Apoc.*² p. cxxiv, note), who wrote: "It is precarious to compare a literary document with a collection of personal and business letters, accounts, and other ephemeral writings; slips in word-formation or in syntax, which are to be expected in the latter, are phenomenal

in the former, and if they find a place there, can only be attributed to lifelong habits of thought. Moreover, it remains to be considered how far the quais-Semitic colloquialisms of the papyri are themselves due to the influence of the large Greek-speaking Jewish population of the Delta." My own studies, which have extended from the time of Homer down to the Middle Ages, and have concerned themselves specially with Hellenistic Greek, so far as this Greek was a vehicle of Hebrew thought, have led me to a very different conclusion on this question, and this is, that *the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely unique.*⁽¹⁾

Its language differs from that of the LXX and other versions of the O.T., from the Greek of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and from that of the papyri. Of course it has points in common with all these phases of later Greek, but nevertheless it possesses a very distinct character of its own. No *literary* document of the Greek world exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms. It would almost seem that the author of the Apocalypse deliberately set at defiance the grammarian and the ordinary rules of syntax. But such a description would do him the grossest injustice. He had no such intention. He is full of his subject, and like the great Hebrew prophets of old is a true artist. His object is to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in many of the sublimest passages in all literature. Naturally with such an object in view he has no thought of consistently breaking any rule of syntax. How then are we to explain the unbridled license of his Greek construction? The reason clearly is that, *while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew*, and the thought has naturally affected the vehicle of expression. Moreover, he has taken over some Greek sources already translated from the Hebrew and has himself translated and adapted certain Hebrew sources. Besides he has rendered many Hebrew expressions literally and not idiomatically -- constantly in his own original work and occasionally in his translations. His translations {cxliv} in a few cases presuppose corruptions in the Hebrew sources. But this is not all. He never mastered Greek idiomatically -- even the Greek of his own period. To him very many of its particles were apparently unknown, and the multitudinous shades of meaning which they expressed in the various combinations into which they entered were never grasped at all, or only in a very inadequate degree. On the other hand, he is more accurate in the use of certain Greek idioms than the Fourth Evangelist. Notwithstanding its many unusual and unheard expressions, the Book stands in its own literature without a rival, while in the literature of all time it has won for itself a place in the van.

I will not give a list of the chief Hebraisms in the Apocalypse which are sufficient to prove that it is more Hebraic than the LXX itself.

(i.) *The Greek text needs at times to be translated into Hebrew in order to discover its meaning and render it correctly in English.*

(a) The resolution of the participle in one of the oblique cases (gen. dat.

or acc.), or of an infinitive, into a finite verb in the following clause, which finite verb should have been rendered idiomatically in Greek by a participle or by an infinitive respectively. We have here a frequent Hebrew idiom which cannot be explained from vernacular Greek and which, not having been recognized, has led to mistranslations of the text in every version of the Apocalypse down to the present day.⁽²⁾

"It is," writes Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, 163), "a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, *to change the construction*, and if they wish to subjoin other verbs, which logically should be in the participle or infinitive as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb." Here we have the explanation of a dozen of passages in our author, which have been generally mistranslated in all the versions. In a few cases they are rightly translated, and then only through deliberate emendation of the text.⁽³⁾

The idiom of a participle continued by a finite verb is rendered literally into Greek in the LXX in Gen 27³³, Is 14¹⁷, and idiomatically in Is 58.²³, Ezek 22³. But it is rendered literally comparatively seldom in the LXX, whereas our text it occurs ten times and most probably eleven originally, as we shall see presently. In a few cases the Syriac, Latin, Bohairic, and A.V. are right, but probably unconsciously. This idiom emerges in the first chapter in 5-6 and recurs in 18 22.9.20.23 39 714 142-3 15³.

(a) In 1⁵⁻⁶ we have **tw/agapwhi himaj kai. lusanti himaj))) kai. epoihsen himaj basileian**, which should therefore be rendered, "Unto Him that loveth us . . . and He made us."

(b) The failure to recognize this idiom in 1¹⁸ has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise **o`zwh**. The translation of **o`zwh kai. egenomhn nekroj** should be 1^{17c} "Fear not: I am the first and the last, 1¹⁸ And He that liveth and was dead." Thus we recover the right sense.

(g) Again we have in 2²³ **egw, eimi o`eraunwh))) kai. dws** another example of this idiom = "I am He that trieth . . . and giveth." Here the Hebrew in our author's mind would be **yttnw !TBh**; or even **!Taw**>cf. Dan

12¹², and see vol. ii. 392 n. For a further treatment of this idiom the reader can consult the note in vol. i. 14 sq.

(d) Next, attention should be drawn in 20⁴, where originally I feel assured there was another instance of this idiom; for the **oiḡinej** in **twḡ pepelékismenwn))) kai. oiḡinej ouvprosekunhsan** is obviously an insertion made by John's literary executor, who edited 20⁴-22 after John's death. {cxlvi} See vol. ii. 182, 183. The insertion of **oiḡinej** is against our author's usage. In practically every instance the failure to recognize this idiom has led both to a mistranslation of the text and a misrepresentation of the meaning. Since the various instances of this idiom are dealt with as they arise, alike in the Commentary and Translation, I will bring forward only two more here to show how important it is that it should be accurately rendered.

(e) In 14^{2.3} **h` fwnh. h| hkousa wj kiarwḡdwḡ kiarizontwn en taij kiaraij autwn(4)kai. adousin wj wḡhn kainhn** = "The voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers, harping with their harps and singing as it were a new song":

(z) 2²⁰ **h` legousa eauthn profhtin kai. didaskei** = "who calleth herself a prophetess and teacheth" (not "and she teacheth," R.V.).

(b) In 13¹⁵ we have a resolution of the infinitive into a finite verb in the following clause as in Hebrew (see quotation above from Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*). Thus **kai. edogh // auth// douhai))) kai. poihsḡ= tt| h| !tnyḡ** = "And it was given unto him to give . . . and to cause." See vol. ii. 420, footnote.

(c) Just as in (a,b), the constructions under this head are quite impossible and unintelligible as Greek, but are full of meaning as literal reproductions of a Hebrew idiom.

(a) The first is 12⁷⁰ **Μιχαηλ και οι αγγελοι αυτου/ του** (> א 046) **πολεμησαι**. We have here a classical Hebrew idiom: see vol. i. p. 322. The words rightly understood are most vivid: "Michael and his angels had to fight with the dragon." It is remarkable that the MSS allowed this astonishing Greek to survive in any form.

(b) The same idiom recurs in 1310 where only A has preserved it in a slightly corrupt form: **ει; τι;)))** **αποκτανθηαι** (// **αυτον // εν μακαιρη**) **αποκτανθηαι** (= **grē'l e aw h)))** **grē'l e rva**) = "if any man is to be slain with the sword, with the sword must he be slain." In vol. i. 356, I have shown that the Greek translators found great difficulty in rendering this idiom, and resorted to at least half a dozen different ways. The same idiom is to be found in Ethiopic. In **kaṣwn eṣtai** (Luke 12⁵⁴) the **eṣtai** is rendered by the Eth. lamedh before the infinitive. Thus our author introduces a new use of the inf. into Greek which none of the grammarians has recognized.

(d) Again an expression may be possible in Greek as regards form but wrong in regard to sense. Thus in 2²² **βαλλω εις κληνην** as a piece of Greek is meaningless in its context but full of significance if retranslated into Hebrew. See vol. i. 71.

{**cxlvii**} (e) The finite verb in Hebrew is translated literally, when idiomatically it should be rendered by a participle. Cf. 1¹⁶ **h`oyij autou/wj o` hlioj fainei** (= **ryay wmwk**) = "his face was as the sun shining" (not "shineth"). See vol. i. 31.

(f) The Greek phrase **kurioj o` qeoj o` pantokrator** requires to be retranslated in order to punctuate and translate it rightly. It should not be punctuated as in WH with a comma after **kurioj** and another after **qeoj**) In fact no commas should intervene at all. The entire phrase is found in 2 Sam 5¹⁰, 1 Kings 19^{10,14}, Hos 12⁵⁽⁶⁾, Amos 3¹³ 4¹³ 5¹⁴ etc. (= **twabch yhl a hwhy**), and often **kurioj pantokrator**, Hab

2¹³, Hag 1^{2.5}, Zech 1³. Next it is to be observed that ο̄ pantokrator in all three cases is a rendering of τωabc (with or without the art.) following the construct case. Hence ο̄ pantokrator is the equivalent of a gen. in Greek dependent on the noun that precedes it. Thus nothing -- not even a comma (as in WH) should intervene between ο̄ qeoj and ο̄ pantokrator: cf 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16^{7.14} 19^{6.15} 21²².⁽⁶⁾ Thus we see that on textual grounds 1⁸ (kurioj ο̄ qeoj(ο̄ ωη kai. ο̄ ηα kai. ο̄ ercomenoi(ο̄ pantokrator) is the interpolation of an ignorant scribe, who was unacquainted with the origin of this divine title. The context also is against it. See vol. ii. 38, n. 4. Furthermore, it follows that it is not to be rendered "the Lord God, the Almighty," as in R.V., but as "the Lord God Almighty."

(g) When Hebrew and Greek words agree as to their primary meanings, the secondary meanings of the Hebrew words are in a few cases assigned to the Greek. Here retranslation is necessary.

(a) In 10¹ we have the extraordinary phrase οἱ ποδες αυτου/ωἱ στυλοι πυροι) Here, as I have shown in vol. i. 259 sq., ποδες is to be rendered as "legs."

(b) Again πομαινειν is to be rendered as "to break" in 2²⁷ 12⁵ 19¹⁵ for the same reason: see vol. i. 75 sq.

(g) Again in 1⁵ the primary sense of πρωτοτοκοι("firstborn," is eclipsed by the secondary denoting "chief" or "sovereign" -- which secondary sense it derives originally from {cxlviii} the Hebrew רכב. Cf. Job 18¹³ where τωμ רכב = "the most deadly disease," and Is 14³⁰ ~yl d yrwb = "the poorest." See note on 1⁵ in the Commentary.

(d) Possibly in 1⁷koptesqai epi, we have an instance in which a secondary meaning of [] is assigned by our author to epi)

(h) Other Hebrew idioms literally reproduced in the Greek need to be retranslated in order to appreciate their exact meaning.

(a) 2²³ **dwšw** = "to requite," as **!tn** in Jer 17¹⁰ on which 2²³ is based.

(b) 3⁸ **dedwka enwpion sou quran** = "I have set," etc. See vol. i. 41.

(g) 3⁹ **idou. didw/**= "behold I will make": vol. i. 41.

(d) 5⁶ **en mešw|)) en mešw|**= "between . . . and": see vol. i. 140.

(e) 6¹ **legontoj wj fwnh,**(AC 046 and most curss.) **bronthj.** Here **wj fwnh,**= **|wqk,** which our author may have in his mind, and which = **wj fwnh,** or **wj fwnh|** By a slip our author wrote the former. The same misreading is found in Is 5¹⁷ etc.: see vol. i. 161.

(z) 12¹¹ **enikhsan dia. to. aimā tou/arniou)) kai. ouk hgaphsan(ktl)** where the **kai,** is to be rendered by "seeing," as **vav** in Hebrew. The **kai,**(= **vav**) introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by **enikhsan** took place. See footnote 7, vol. ii. 417. The same Hebraism recurs in 18³ 19³.

(h) 12¹⁴ **api. proswpuou tou/ofewj = Xxnh ynpm**
-- "because of the serpent": see vol. i. 330.

(q) 21⁸ **toij de. deiloij)) to. meroj autwh = ~qlh)) bl ykrl.** The dative is to be explained as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom where **|** introduces a new subject: see vol. ii. 216, footnote.

(i) 22⁵ ο` qeoj fw̄tisei ep̄V autouj) Our author uses **fw̄tizein** as a transitive verb in 18¹ 21²³, and naturally we expect it to be used as such here. Moreover, the context itself is against using it here intransitively; for "God will shine upon them" is not a likely expression. If, however, we understand "His face" as in the Hebrew, Ps 118²⁷, we can render **fw̄tizein** transitively as in 18¹ 21²³ and give a most excellent meaning to the passage: "we will cause his face to shine upon them": see vol. ii. 210 sq.

(ii.) Other Hebraisms. -- (a) 3²⁰ **kai**, introducing the apodosis (cf. 10⁷ 14¹⁰). (b) 5⁷ (cf. 8³ 17¹ 21⁹) **h̄qen kai. ei] hfen**) (c) 6⁸ ο` kaqh̄menoj ep̄anw autou/ onoma autw/ ο` qanatoj = רבד װמװ װי [בִּכְרֵה. Here observe the non-Greek sense assigned to **qanatoj**: cf. 2²³ 18⁸. (d) 6¹ **mian ek** = "the first of." (e) 8³ **iħa dw̄sei** (i.e. **qumiamata**) **taij proseucaij** = "to offer it upon" = ἤτετι. τῶν πτ | [: cf. Num 19¹⁷ or 18¹². (f) 10⁸ **upage labe**) (g) 12⁵ **uion arsen** = רִכְז !k. (h) 13⁸ **onoma** = **onomata** (cf. 17⁸).

(i) The *future* is to be rendered by the *pres.* in 4⁹⁻¹⁰; for here the future represents the Hebrew imperfect in a frequentative sense. Thus **oħan dw̄sousin))) doħan))) pesouħtai**, "where they give . . . glory . . . they fall down." This mistranslation {**cxlix**} of the Hebrew imperf. is often met with in Greek translations. Its occurrence in our author, who thinks in Hebrew, is therefore very natural. See vol. ii. 399, footnote. The future in 13⁸ **proskunħsousin** should be rendered as **prosekunoun** (= Hebrew imperf.).

(j) The *present* in 9⁶ is to be rendered as a *future*, where **feugei** represents the Hebrew imperf. in our author's mind: as a *past imperf.* in 7¹⁰ **krazousin**, 12⁴ **surei**, 16²¹ **katafeugei**.

(iii.) Hebrew constructions are reproduced, parallels to which are found occasionally in vernacular Greek.

(a) *Nominativus pendens*. -- This construction is found in 2²⁶ 3^{12.21} ο` **nikwh dw̄sw autw/ 6⁸ ο` kaqh̄menoj ep̄anw autou/ onoma**

autw/⁽⁷⁾ In other passages, however, our author has assimilated the construction more to the Greek construction by changing the nom. into the dat., 27.17 (21⁶) **tw/ nikwhti dwsw autw/** 6⁴ **tw/ kaqhmenw/ epV// auton // edogh autw/** cf. Matt 5⁴⁰. This construction is very frequent in the LXX owing to its frequency in the Hebrew.

(b) The oblique forms of the personal pronoun are added to relatives. 3⁸ **hh oudeij dunatai kleisai authn**, 7² **oij edogh autoij**, 7⁹ **oh))) auton**, 13^{8.12}: cf. also 12^{6.14} (**opou))) ekei/** 17⁹ (**opou))) epV autwh**). The pronoun is, of course, pleonastic in the Greek but not in the Hebrew, where, since the relative is uninflected, it supplies the inflection needed. This pleonastic use of the pronoun is found also in Mark 1⁷ (= Luke 3¹⁶), 7²⁵ 9³ (**oia))) outwj**), 13⁹, J 1²⁷, Acts 15¹⁷. Examples of this idiom occur exceptionally in the **koinh**. It is found also in Early English. But in our text its frequency is due to Semitic influences.

(c) (a) A noun or participial phrase, which is dependent on or in apposition to a preceding gen. dat. or acc., may stand in the nom., if it is preceded by the art., though Greek syntax would require it to agree with the oblique case that goes before it. This peculiar idiom is derived from the Hebrew, according to which the noun or phrase which stands in apposition to a noun in an oblique case remains unchanged. Instances of this usage occur in the LXX; but what is a rare phenomenon in the Greek version of the O.T. (cf. Ezek 23^{7.12})⁽⁸⁾ is a well-established idiom in the Greek text of the Apocalypse.⁽⁹⁾ Our **{cl}** author has, in fact, adopted a Hebraism into his Greek, and naturalized it there. Thus it has become a marked characteristic of his style: cf. 1⁵ 2^{13.20} 3¹² [8⁹] 9¹⁴ 14¹² 20². In these passages observe that the noun is always preceded by the art. 1⁵ **apo. Vhsou/ Cristou/ o` martuj o` pistoj**(2²⁰ **thn gunaika Vezabel**(h` legousa eauthn profhtin(3¹² **thj kainhj Verousalhm**(h` katabainousa, [8⁹**twh ktismatwn))) ta. exonta yucaj**]. How readily a Jew could adopt or fall into such a solecism when using an inflected language, is illustrated by Nestle (*Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament*, p. 330), who notes the following gem from Salomon Bar in his translation of the Massoretic note at the end of the Books of Samuel (Leipzig, 1892, p. 158, "ad mortem Davidis rex Israelis."

(b) If the art. is omitted, then the word or phrase is put in the same case as the noun that precedes it. Contrast 9¹⁴ **tw/aggelw(o` ecwn t) salpigga**(and 7² 9¹⁷ 13¹ 14⁶ 15² 18¹ 20¹ **aggelon))) econta thn klein**)

(g) But this rule does not apply to **legwn**. Thus in 14⁶ we have **eidon allon(aggelon petomenon))) econta euaggelion))) legwn**. But **legwn** (or **legontej**) stands by itself: it appears most indeclinable.

This may be due to the fact that it may reproduce **rmale** in our author's mind. Cf. 4¹ **h` fwnh.))) legwn**: 5¹¹ **o` ariqmoj autwh))) legontej**, 11¹ **edoqh moi kalamoj))) legwn(11¹⁵ fwnai.))) legontej**
This solecism is, of course, found in the LXX: cf. Gen 15¹ 22²⁰ 38¹³ 45¹⁶ 48²⁰ etc.

(d) **ecwn** follows an acc. when not preceded by the art. in 5⁶ **arnion esthkoj))) ecwn(14¹⁴ ofion uion anqrwpon(ecwn(17³ qhriou))) ecwn**. But in 5⁶ 17³ it seems corrupt for **econ**. In 14¹⁴ **ecwn** is right and **kaqhmenon ofion**, which precedes, is a slip for nom.

(iv.) (a.) There are passages which need to be retranslated in order *to discover the corruption or mistranslation in the Hebrew sources* used by our author.

We have already seen (see p. lxii sqq.) that our author made us of sources of which were Greek, though originally written in Hebrew; others which he found in Hebrew and rendered into Greek. As it chanced, we are only concerned under the present heading with the Hebrew sources which our author himself translated; for the passages which presuppose mistranslation or a corrupt Hebrew original are 13^{3.11} and 15^{5.6}. (a) As regards 13³ I have shown in vol. i. 337 that **eqaumasqh))) opisw tou/qhriou** is corrupt, and that the corruption did not originate in the Greek but in the Hebrew; for since 13^{3c.8} and 17⁸ are doublets (the latter being an independing rendering of a purer form of the **{cli}** Hebrew original), we are enabled to discover the origin of the corruption. Thus the clause in 13^{3c} = **hyxh yrxam))) hmttw(** (where the **yrxam** is corrupt for **twarm**, or rather **twarb = blepousa**) Thus we have: "the whole earth wondered when it saw the beast," which brings it into line with 17⁸ "they

that dwell on the earth shall wonder . . . when they see the beast." But the evidence for this restoration cannot be appreciated, unless the readers turns to p. 337 of this vol., where the two passages are placed side by side.

(b) In 13¹¹ we have the extraordinary statement that the second Beast had two horns like a lamb and spake like a dragon! The first idea may be suggested by Matt 7¹⁵ "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves." See, however, vol. ii. 451 sq. But what is the explanation of the second idea -- "he spake like a dragon"? A dragon does not speak. If the text had read "like the dragon," it might have recalled the temptation of Eve in Eden. But the lack of the article can be explained by the translator's reading !yntk as !yNTK, instead of !yNTK; and, since kai. e ν alei = rbdtw, the latter is most probably corrupt for dbatw, as in 2 Chron 22¹⁰ (cf. 2 Kings 11¹). Thus 13^{11c} should be read: "but he was a destroyer like the dragon." Thus brings our text into line with Matt 7¹⁵ (quoted above) and prepares us for the statement in 13¹⁵ that this second Beast put all to death that did not worship the first Beast.

(g) Again in 15^{5.6} there are two expressions, hnoigh // o` naoj thj sknhj tou/marturiou // en tw/ ouranw/ and endedumanoi // liqon // kaqaron lampron, which are clearly corrupt. Inferior MSS (025. 046) have corrected the second into liqon) A new vision begins with these verses. It is clear that no Jew writing originally in Greek could have used either of the obelized phrases. But, as I have shown in vol. ii. 37 sq., what is most probably the true text can be discovered by retranslation into Hebrew. In the first passage, 15⁵ o` naoj thj sknhj tou/marturiou en tw/ouranw/= ~ymXb d[wm lha lkyh, which was corrupt for ~ymXbX ~yhl a lkyh = o` naoj tou/qeou/ o` en tw/ouranw/ a phrase which we find exactly in 11¹⁹

accompanied by the same verb **hnoigh** and the repeated article. In 15⁶ // **liqon** // is to be explained by a mistranslation of $\sqrt{V\theta}$ which can be rendered either by **liqoj(marmaroj(** or by **bussinoj**. Here the latter, of course, is the right rendering.

(b) These two passages naturally lead to the inquiry: Did John translate the Hebrew source himself, or did he adopt an independent Greek version of it? The fact that every phrase and construction in 15⁵⁻⁸ are distinctly our author's, furnishes such strong evidence for the former hypothesis that it seems necessary to accept it. If this is right, then we must conclude **{clii}** that our author inserted here a translation which, while reproducing exactly the corrupt Hebrew before him in 15⁵ and a wrong rendering of a Hebrew word in 15⁶, would have been corrected later, if he had had the opportunity of revision. Repeatedly we find traces of unfinished work in our author, which a revision would have removed. Thus 12¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 18⁴ (see vol. i. 330-332, ii. 96 *ad fin.*) are meaningless survivals of earlier expectations. Unhappily the work was revised by one of his disciples who was quite unequal to the task, and to whom we owe some of the worst confusions in the Book. See, however, p. lxiv *ad fin.*

(c) For other passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover their meaning, see 18²² (**mousikwh**), 18¹⁹ **ek thj timiothtoj authj))) hrhmwqh**)

ENDNOTES

1. In the next edition of Moulton's *Prolegomena*, the Hebraic style of the Apocalypse is accepted, as its editor, Mr. Howard, has informed me. Dr. Moulton changed his mind owing to the evidence I gave on this subject in my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79-102.

2. This idiom is attested in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse in 2 John² **dia. thn aqhgeian thn menousan en himiñ kai. meqV uimwh estai** = "for the truth's sake which abideth in us and shall be with us." So rightly the A.V., but wrongly in the R.V. Col 1²⁶ **to. musthrion to. apokekrummenon apo. twñ aiwnwn))) nuh de. efanerwqh**, is another example.

Long after I had discovered these Hebraisms and recognized the necessity of translating them idiomatically as such, I found that several of the versions had recovered the right rendering purely from the consciousness of the translators that the

Greek text could not be taken literally as it stood.

Two of the Greek uncials, in fact, and very many of the cursives, have actually altered the Greek so that it represents idiomatically the Hebrew idiom. Thus $\bar{\alpha}$ reads, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\tau\alpha\iota$))) $\epsilon\chi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ t) $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon/kai.$ $\alpha\delta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$, in 15²⁻³, and 046 and many cursives read **kai. poihsanti** in 1⁵ instead of **kai. epoihsen** and $h\lambda$ $l\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$))) **kai. didaskei** for t) $l\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$))) **kai. didaskei** in 2²⁰. These are simply emendations, and they are emendations which represent idiomatically John's thought in Greek, but do not represent what he wrote. The translators of the versions restored the true sense in several passages by conjecture from a study of their contexts. Thus in 1⁵ Pr fl gig vg (arm?) s² eth render "qui dilexit et fecit" ($\tau\omega$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\eta\tau\iota$))) **kai. epoihsen**): in 2² and 2⁹ Pr gig vg s² eth render "qui se dicunt . . . et non sunt" (t) $l\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$))) **kai. ouk eisin**): in 2²⁰ gig s^{1.2} arm eth = qui dicit . . . et docet (h) $l\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$))) **kai. didaskei**), 2²³ arm^{1.2.3a} = ego sum qui scruto . . . et do ($egw,$ $eimi$ $o`eraunwh$))) **kai. dwsu**): in 7¹⁴ Pr gig vg s¹ arm eth = qui venerunt (or veniunt) . . . et laverunt ($oi`ercomenoi$))) **kai. eplunan**): in 14²⁻³ 743. 1075 s² arm bo eth = citharizantes et cantantes ($\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\tau\omega\iota$))) **kai. adousin**): in 15²⁻³ $\bar{\alpha}$ Pr fl vg s¹ arm eth = stantes . . . habentes . . . et cantantes ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\tau\alpha\iota$))) $\epsilon\chi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$))) **kai. adousin**).

Thus we discover the strange fact that in the above passages many of the ancient versions represent idiomatically and accurately the thought of John, where all but universally the modern versions do neither. The modern editions of these versions frequently punctuate wrongly the above passages, and consequently mislead the student.

3. These passages are treated by modern editors as *anacoloutha*. They are, however, nothing of the kind: they are normal constructions in the grammar of the Apocalypse. Sometimes editors have sought to get over difficulties they fail to understand by mispunctuating the text.

4. Here all modern editors insert a full stop before **kai. adousin**) Both the Syriac versions could be rendered **kai. adontwn**) The Bohairic requires this rendering here. It is true that s¹ has an internal corruption = $\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\omega\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\tau\alpha$ en $taij$ $kaqaraij$ $autou$ ³ **kai. adontaj**.

5. Cf. Ezek 26¹⁵ for this form of the Niphal infinitive.

6. Hence is clear that $\bar{\alpha}$ 025. 046 Pr gig vg s² wrongly inserts $h\eta\mu\omega$ between $o`qeo$ j and $o`pantokra\tau\omega\rho$ in 19⁶. A s¹ bo arm eth Cyp rightly omit. It is noteworthy that in 4⁸ the scribes of some eight cursives and arm¹ substituted **sabawq** for $o`qeo$ j under the influence of the LXX of Is 6³, and thus arrived at the impossible text

sabawq o` pantokraṭwr) Clearly they did not know that **o` pantokraṭwr** was a rendering of **sabawq**) Possibly this latter word was originally a marginal gloss explaining the origin of **o` pantokraṭwr**) It is significant of the independence with which our author deals with O.T. phrases that he changes **twabc hwby (= kurioj sabawq, LXX)** in Is 6³, on which his text is based, into **kurioj o` qeoj o` pantokraṭwr** in 4⁸ 11¹⁷ 15³ 16⁷ 19⁶ 21²², or into **o` qeoj o` pantok**) in 16¹⁴ 19¹⁵.

7. This occurs also elsewhere in the N.T., Matt. 4¹⁶ 12³⁶, Luke 12¹⁰, Acts 7⁴⁰.

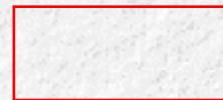
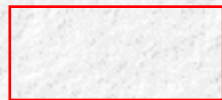
8. This anomalous construction is concealed by the wrong punctuation in Swete's edition in both passages, and in one of them in Tischendorf's. But the art. does not occur in the Greek, as it was not in the Hebrew.

9. This idiom occurs exceptionally in the **koinh**, and as a blunder in other languages. But it is not a blunder in our author. Moulton's attempts to explain away this Hebrew idiom are just as idle as his attempt to explain **tou/ polemhsai** in 12⁷. Nearly every one of his references to the Apocalypse needs to be corrected. Robertson (*Gr.* 414 sq.) is too much influenced by Moulton, and like all other grammarians fails to recognize this Hebraism and most others in the Apocalypse.

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 11. Unique Expressions in our Author

(i.) 1⁴ **apo. o`wn**. Our author knows perfectly the case that should follow **apo**, but he refuses to inflect the divine name. See vol. i. 10.

(ii.) 1⁴ **o`wh kai. o`ha kai. o`ercomenoi**: cf. 11¹⁷ 16⁵; see vol. i. 10.

(iii.) 1¹³ 14¹⁴ **o`mion uion anqrwpou**: see vol. i. 27.

§ 12. Solecisms due to slips on the part of our Author

We have now dealt with our author's grammar, first in so far as it is normal or abnormal from the standpoint of the Greek of his own age, and next in so far as its abnormalities are due to Hebraisms.

We have found that these abnormalities are not instances of mere license nor yet mere blunders, as they have been most wrongly described, but are constructions deliberately chosen by our author. Some of these belong to the vernacular of his own time, some of them do not. Many are obviously to be explained as *literal* reproductions in Greek of

Hebrew idioms, and some as misrenderings of Hebrew words or phrases in the mind of the author or in his Hebrew source, and some half dozen as due to corruptions in the Hebrew documents laid under construction by our author either directly or through the medium of Greek translation.s

Thus from a minute study of the text from this standpoint of grammar I have found it possible to explain -- that is, to bring within the province of the normal and intelligible -- all but about a score of passages. By our comprehensive study of our author's grammar we are the better equipped for recognizing the character of the remaining solecisms that cannot be explained from his own usages or vernacular Greek or the influences of a Semitic background. {cliii} The bulk of these solecisms, though not at all, are simply slips of our author which a subsequent revision would have removed, if the opportunity for such a revision had offered itself. These are:

(i.) 1¹⁰ **hkousa fwnhn))) wj sał piggoj // legoushj //** (for **legousan**):
cf. 6⁶ 14³ 16¹ where the construction is normal.

(ii.) 1¹⁵ **oi` podej autou/ oħioi calkolibanw| wj en kaminw| //**
pepurwmenj // (for **pepurwmenw|** a correction rightly introduced in \mathfrak{A} , some cursives, s^{1.2} etc.).

(iii.) 1²⁰ **to. musthrion twħ epta. asterwn))) kai. // taj epta. lucniaj //**
// (for **twħ e) lucniwħ**).

(iv.) 2²⁷ **suntribetai** for **suntribhsontai** or **suntriyei** (?).

(v.) 4⁴ **kai. kuklogen tou/ qronou // qronouj))) tessaraj))) presbuterouj kaqhmenouj peribebhmenouj))) stefanouj crusouj //**
//. In place of the accusatives, nominatives should be read. I have shown (vol. i. 115) that 4⁴ was introduced subsequently by our author to prepare the way for 4⁹⁻¹¹. He seemingly inserted it as the object of **eidon**. It is obviously a slip.

(vi.) 6¹ **legontoj wj // fwnh, //**, where we should have **qwnh|** see § 10. i. (h). (e) above, and vol. i. 161.

(vii.) 6¹⁴ **wj biblion // elissomenon //**. This is rightly corrected in \mathfrak{A} and some cursives into **elissomenoj**.

(viii.) 7⁹ // **peribēl hmenouj // stolaj leukaj**) This is obviously a slip for the nom. In this sentence A Pr vg omitted **kai. idou**, and changed, with the exception of **eštwtēj**, the following nominatives into accusatives.

(ix.) 10⁸ **h` fwnh. h̄h h̄kousa))) // laloušan))) kai. legousan // (for lalouša))) kai. legousa: see vol. i. 267).**

(x.) 11¹ **edogh moi kalamoj))) legwn** (source). This may be only an abnormal construction to which partial parallels are found in the LXX: see vol. i. 274.

(xi.) 11³ **profhteusousin))) // peribēl hmenouj //.**

(xii.) 11⁴ **ai` enwpion tou/kuriou))) // eštwtēj //.** Since our author's sense and usage here require the **ai` eštwsai**, the participle in the masc. and without the art. is a slip, exactly like that in 4⁴ above. It is an addition of our author, and was added seemingly as the object of **eidon** in 13¹.

(xiv.) 14^{6.7} **eidon allon aggelon petomenon))) eronta))) // legwn //.** But it is perhaps best to take **legwn** as a Hebraism = **רמאל** cf. 4¹. For analogous cases see p. cl *ad med.*

(xv.) 14¹⁴ **eidon kai. idou. nefel̄h leukh(kai. epi. thn nefel̄hn // kaqhmenon of̄moion // uiōn anqrwpou(ecwn) Cf. 4² eidon kai. idou. qronoj))) kai. epi. t) qronon kaqhmenoj(19¹¹ eidon))) kai. idou. ippoj leukoj(kai. o` kaqhmenoj ep̄v̄ autou(** where we have the normal construction.

{cliv} (xvi.) 14¹⁹ **thn lhnon))) // ton megan //.**

(xvii.) 19²⁰ **thn limhn tou/puroj // thj kaiomenhj //.** The fact that the Hebrew and Aramaic words for "fire" (i.e. **Ṿaḥ** and **ḏṾa**) are feminine, may have led to our author's forgetting himself for the moment and writing **thj kaiomenhj**. In Rom 11⁴ we have **th/ baal** instead of **tw/ baal**) This is frequently found in the LXX of the prophetic books and occasionally of the historical, because it goes back in the

mind of the translator to $\tau\nu\beta$, which mentally he substituted for β [b]. The influence of the Hebrew is to be traced in Mark 12¹¹ (= Matt 21⁴²), where in the quotation from the LXX (Ps 118²³) the $\alpha\upsilon\theta\eta$ = $\tau\alpha\theta$, though we should expect $\tau\alpha\theta\omicron$) Cf. Gen 35^{19.27} 36¹, Ps 102¹⁹ 119^{50.56} etc. Possibly in 13¹⁵ of our text the fem. $\alpha\upsilon\theta\eta$ /in $\epsilon\delta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\alpha\upsilon\theta\eta$ /may be due to $\eta\gamma\chi$; and the fem. art. in $\eta\text{'}\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$, (19¹² 11¹⁴) may be explained by the gender of $\eta\omega\theta$.

(xviii.) 21⁹ $\tau\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\eta$ $\tau\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. $\phi\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ // $\tau\omega\eta$ $\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\omega\eta$ // $\tau\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. $\rho\lambda\eta\gamma\omega\eta$) It is hard to explain how such a slip as $\tau\omega\eta$ $\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\omega\eta$ (A α 025) could have arisen, but if one investigates one's own slips, it is often impossible to account for them. Our author would no doubt have corrected this phrase into $\tau\alpha\gamma$ $\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\gamma$ as certain cursives have done, rather than into $\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\gamma$ as 046 and many cursives. For the participle is used attributively, following $\tau\alpha\gamma$))) $\phi\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$) Contrast 15⁷.

(xix.) 21¹⁴ $\tau\omicron$. $\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma$ $\theta\eta\gamma$ $\rho\omicron\lambda\epsilon\omega\gamma$ // $\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta$ //.

(xx.) 22² $\chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\eta$ $\omega\eta\gamma$ // $\rho\omicron\iota\omega\eta$ //))) $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\eta$) Here our author would no doubt have corrected $\rho\omicron\iota\omega\eta$ into $\rho\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta$, as is done in α 046 and most cursives; for he knows the gender of $\chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\eta$: cf. 22¹⁴ 18¹² (*bis*). If the gender of $\#$ [led to his writing $\rho\omicron\iota\omega\eta$ (he would on revision either have corrected or written $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ so as to bring it into line with the former participle.

§ 13. Primitive Corruptions -- due either to (a) accidental or (b) deliberate changes.

These are due to an early scribe, or in some cases (7¹⁵ 20^{4.11.13} 21²⁵ 22¹²) to the editor.

(i.) (a) 1²⁰ $\alpha\iota$ ` $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\iota$ ` $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. [$\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$] $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\eta$) This order of the numerals (see below, § 15, iv., and vol. i. 224, footnote, vol. ii. 389, footnote) is in some respects normal in our author; but as WH observe, "it is morally impossible that $\tau\omega\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\omega\eta$ should be followed by $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota$ without the

article" . . . "the second **ε̇pta**, . . . must be an erroneous repetition of the first, due to the feeling that the number of the lamps was likely to be specified as well as of the stars." Besides, we should expect **{clx}** the art. before the second **ε̇pta**, since the predicate is coextensive with the subject. (See chap. xiii. § 2. iv.)

(ii.) (a) 6⁴ **tw| kaqhmenw epV// auton //**

(iii.) (b) 7¹⁵ **o` kaqhmenoj epi. // tou/ qronou //**

(iv.) (a) 8¹² // **h` h̄mera kai. h` nux ōm̄īwj // for h̄meraj kai. ōm̄īwj nuktoj** (as in Bohairic).

(v.) (b) 9¹⁷ **touj kaqhmenouj epV// autwh //** Contrast 19^{19.21}.

(vi.) (a) 14⁹ **epi. // tou/ metwpou //**

(vii.) (a) 19¹⁸ **twh kaqhmenwn epV// autouj // (A).**

(viii.) (b) 20⁴ **twh pepelekismenwn))) kai{oīt̄inej} ouvprosekunhsan A** correction by the editor of John's Greek.

(ix.) (b) 20¹¹ **ton kaqhmenon epV// autou//**. Editor's correction of John's Greek as in 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷.

(x.) (b) 20¹³ **edwken // h` qalassa // t) nekrouj touj en // auth//**. This was a deliberate change on dogmatic grounds. See note *in loc*.

(xi.) (a) 21⁵ **o` kaqhmenoj epi. // tw| qronw|//**

(xii.) (a) 21⁹ // **twh gemontwn // Ađ 025 for taj gemousaj.**

(xiii.) (b) 21²⁵ **oi` pulwhej authj ouvmh. kleisqwsin h̄meraj // nux gar ouk estai ekei//**. This change was probably due to the editor. It originated in a misunderstanding of the text. In place of the last five words we should restore **kai. nuktoj**. See note *in loc*.

(xiv.) 21²⁷ // **παῖν κοῖνον** //. Read **paí koinoj**.

(xv.) (b) 22¹² **ὡς τοῦ ἐργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ**) This order, which is contrary to our author's own usage, is, like other departures from our author's usage in 20⁴-22, to be traced to the editor. See below, § 15, ii. (b).

§ 14. Constructions in the interpolations conflicting with our author's use.

1⁸ **ὁ θεός (ὁ ὡς)) ὁ παντοκράτωρ**) See above, § 10. i. (f).

2²² **εἰς μὲν μετὰ τὸν ἵνα**) Our author does not use the indicative after **εἰς μὲν**)

8¹¹ **καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀστέροισι λεγεται ὁ ἄγιος**) Our author does not use **λεγειν** but **καλεῖσθαι** in this sense: cf. 1⁹ 11⁸ 12⁹ 16¹⁶. This addition is made in an interpolated section; whether before or after it was interpolated cannot be determined.

9¹⁷ **τὸ καὶ ἐπιπροσέτι** (-- the construction John's editor prefers, being better Greek: cf. 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷ 20¹¹ in § 13 above, and 14^{15.16} in this section).

14¹⁵ **τὸ καὶ ἐπιπροσέτι τῆς νεφέλης**.

14¹⁶ **ὁ καὶ ἐπιπροσέτι τῆς νεφέλης**.

15¹ is an interpolation, since independently of other grounds it misuses **καὶ εἶδον** to introduce the Seven Bowls, where we {clvi} should expect **μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον**) Since the latter phrase, which is used to introduce new paragraphs or sections, is found in 15⁵, we see that the subject of the Bowls is there mentioned for the first time.

16^{2c} **τοῦ προσκυνουῦντος τῆς εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ**) Our author would use the acc. here: only the dat. in reference to God.

16¹³ **εἶδον)) πνεύματα τρία)) ὡς βάρκοι**) (A^{2c} 046 min^p) Here

our author would have written **batraçouj** (so corrected text in \mathfrak{a}^* min^P). See on **wj**, p. cxxxviii.

16¹⁹ **eiȳ tria merh**) Wrong order. Our author would say **merh tria**.

17⁹ **opou h`gunh. kaçhtai epV autwh**) Our author does not use this construction, but **opou** alone: cf. 2¹³ (*bis*) 11⁸ 20¹⁰.

17¹⁵ **ou- h`pornh kaçhtai**) Our author uses **opou**, not **ou-**:

18¹³ **kai. ippwn))) kai. swmaçwn**) An addition conflicting alike with the syntax and the sense of the context.

19¹⁰ **proskunhsai autw!** (i.e. an angel). See note on 16^{2c} above.

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XIII

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

(continued)

§ 15. Order of the Words

The Apocalypse is notable for the clearness, simplicity, and uniformity of its phrasing. When once our author has adopted a certain combination of words he holds fast to it as a general rule. This is an essential characteristic of his style. There is rarely any variation in the words or in their arrangement. How profoundly J differs from our author in this respect the reader will see by consulting Abbott's *Gr.* 401-436, where it is proved by hundreds of examples that J shows a subtle discrimination in availing himself of the manifold variations of order which are possible in Greek expressing various subtle shades of meaning. So far as the outward form goes our author's style is essentially monotonous when compared with that of J. And yet notwithstanding this absolute simplicity and apparent monotony, there is no sublimer work in the whole Bible. J works like a miniature painter, but our author like an impressionist on an heroic scale.

(i.) *The Article.* -- (a) A noun in the genitive never stands between the article and its noun, but always follows it. This rule is without exception. In J, on the other hand, we find 18¹⁰ **ton tou/ arcierewj doulon**. If, however, the article is omitted in the case of both nouns, then the noun in the genitive case can precede the noun that governs it: cf. 7¹⁷ **zwhj phgaj udatwn**.

(b) Nor can participial or prepositional phrases stand between the art. and

its noun.⁽¹⁾ If these stand in an attributive relation, {clvii} they must follow the noun with the art. repeated: cf. 11¹⁹ ο` naoj tou/ qeou/ ο` en tw/ ouranw) But when the noun is anarthrous, such a prepositional phrase can precede the noun, just as an anarthrous noun can precede the noun that governs it, as in 7¹⁷. This occurs only in the titles of the letters to the Churches. Thus in 21 we must read with AC Pr tw/ aggelw| tw/ en Vefesw| ekklhsiaj(and similarly throughout the seven letters, although in the case of three all the MSS have been corrected and normalized. Lachmann and WH recognized that this alone was what our author wrote, though neither they nor later editors were aware of the rule universally observed by him throughout J^{ap}, that a prepositional phrase is never inserted between the article and its noun. Hence the reading adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, Weiss, Von Soden, etc., thj en Vefesw| ekkl)(is without justification. Our author could not write so. Besides, since it is his rule to repeat the art. before a prepositional phrase following an articular noun in an attributive relation, it follows that we should read tw/ aggelw| tw) From the combination of these two usages emerges the strange piece of Greek, yet one that is essentially our author's -- tw/ en Vefesw| ekklhsiaj)⁽²⁾

(c) But though a participial or prepositional phrase may not intervene between the art. and its *noun*, it is inserted many times between the art. and the *participle* dependent upon it: 11¹⁶ oi`)) presbuteroi oi` enwpion tou/ qeou/ kaqhmenoi, 14¹³ 17¹⁴ 19⁹; also 11⁴ 12¹² 13^{6.12} 18^{9.17} etc.

(ii.) **The Pronoun.** -- (a) The genitive of the possessive noun does not precede its noun, unless when it is used unemphatically (i.e. vernacularly): see notes in vol. i. 49, 68 sq.; Abbott, *Gr.* 414-422, 601-607. But in our author autou(authj(autwh(are never found in this unemphatic position except in 18 (source), though very frequently in J and a few times in 1. 3 J.

(b) Again the genitive of the possessive pronouns (mou(himwh(sou(uimwh(autou(autwh) is never separated from its noun.⁽³⁾ It occurs roughly over 300 times or more. Hence 12⁸ oude. topoj {clviii} eureqh autwh eti is against our author's style,⁽⁴⁾ also 18¹⁴ sou thj epiqumiaj thj yuchj (on other grounds we have found that 18 is a

source): and also 22¹² **wj to. ergon estin autou/** where the wrong order is probably due to the editor.

This is all the more remarkable seeing that in J the genitive both of the noun and of the possessive pronouns is very frequently separated from the noun that governs it: cf. 1⁴⁹ **basileuj ei=tou/ Vsrahl** (2¹⁵ 3¹⁹ 9^{5.6.28} (bis) 12^{2.47} 13^{6.14} 18¹⁷ 19³⁵ 20²³). See vol. i. 304, footnote.

(c) **outoj** always follows its noun. Not so in J, where it both precedes and follows its noun. The latter is the emphatic position in J: see Abbott, *Gr.* 409. Often in J the point of a passage depends on **outoj** being pre- or post-positive.

The oblique cases of **outoj** never appear in the position of an attribute any more than the possessive pronouns.⁽⁵⁾ Hence even in 18¹⁵ (source) we have **oi` emporoi toutwn**, though the attributive position would be the more regular: see Blass, *Gram.* 169. Contrast J 5⁴⁷ **toij ekeinou grammasin** (classical as regards **ekeinou** and its position).

(d) **alloy** is always pre-positive, though generally post-positive in the LXX as in Hebrew.

(iii.) *The Adjective.* -- The adjective as a rule follows after the noun it depends on. But there are certain exceptions. In 1¹⁰ we have **en th/ kuriakh/ hmera/ 3⁸ mikran dunamin**(2⁰³ **mikron cronon** (yet **cronon mikron** in 6¹¹), 13³ (source) **ol h h` gh/**(elsewhere always post-positive -- 3¹⁰ 6¹² 16¹⁴). **megaj** is always post-positive except in 16¹ **mega/hj fwnehj** (always elsewhere in our author the adj. is post-positive in this phrase -- i.e. 18 times). 18²¹ (source) **h` mega/h polij. iscuroj** is once pre-positive in 18² (source) **en iscura/ fwnehj** Elsewhere post-positive (5 times, including 18¹⁰).

Thus, save in four passages of our author (1¹⁰ 3⁸ 16¹ 20³), the adjective always follows the noun. The other instances (13³ 18^{2.21}) are in sources.

(iv.) *The Numerals.* -- The usage of our author in regard to {clix} the order of the numerals and the words they depend on, which is on the whole definite and peculiar to himself, is given in vol. i. 224, and especially in the footnote. In the footnote in 1. 15 *ab imo*, for "exception, xvi. 1⁹," read "the clause **kai. egeneto))) eij tria merh** is an interpolation": and for the last five lines read: "In the case of **epta**, 17⁹ (in 1²⁰ the second **epta**, is an interpolation; 8^{2b} is recast and in part interpolated, and 13^{3b} belongs

to a source), **deka**(17¹² (in 13¹ **kai. epi. t) keratwn autou/deka diadhmata** is interpolated), **dwdeka**, 21²¹, when the subject contains any of these numerals preceded by the article and is followed by a noun and the same numeral in the predicate, the latter numeral without the article precedes the noun, unless the subject and predicate are coextensive."

To the above one point needs to be added. When a numeral is connected with **ciliadej** it always precedes it. Cf. **dwdeka** in 7⁴⁻⁸ 21¹⁶ and the compound numbers in 14^{1.3}. Hence 11¹³ **ciliadej epta**,(source) is against our author's order. The numerals are never separated from the nouns they qualify: hence 17¹³ **mian ecousin gnwmhn** (046 min^m) is a late change.

(v.) *The Verb*. -- (a) The verb generally precedes its subject and almost always its object except in sources such as 11¹⁻³ (see vol. i. 272 sq.) and 18. In other sources -- translations from Hebrew such as 12. 17 -- the order is Semitic.

(b) Again the verb and its object are rarely separated by prepositional or other phrases. This holds absolutely in the case of **akouein fwnhn sfwnhj**% Hence A, **hkousa fwnhn megalhn opisqen mou**, is right in 1¹⁰, and not **ac 025, hk) opisw mou f) m)**

(c) The insertion of a relative or conditional clause between a conjunction and the verb it introduces is only found in the sources used by our author, 12⁴ **iha otan tekhl to teknon authj katafagh(13¹⁵iha opsoi))) proskunhsusin))) apoktanqwsin.**

§ 16. Combinations of Words

Our author always writes **astrapai. kai. fwnai. kai. brontai)** Cf. 4⁵ 11¹⁹ 16¹⁸. He observed that the **astrapai**, precede the **brontai**, and wrote accordingly. But the editor who interpolated 8⁷⁻¹² and made many changes in the adjoining context to adapt it to his interpolation, was apparently unaware of the order of these natural phenomena or the usage of his author: see 8⁵ **brontai. kai. fwnai. kai. astrapai)**(6)

NOTES

1. It is quite otherwise in J 8¹⁸ (and 12⁴⁹) **o` penyaj me pathr)** Contrast 163 **ton**

pemyanta, me, 831 touj pepisteukotaj autw/ Voudaiouj.

2. WH (*N.T. in Greek*, ii. "Notes on select Readings," p. 137) point out that inscriptions in Asia Minor connected with temples dedicated to the Emperor always omit the art. before **naou/** as in **arciereuj thj VAsiaj naou/ tou/ en Vefesw/ Kuzikw/ Pergamw/** etc., just as **thj** is omitted before **ekklhsiaj** in our text. But independently of this our author's usage requires the reading which even A has only preserved three times.

In the case of all the seven titles this construction has the support once of a cursive and always of one or more versions. See crit. note on 2¹ of the Greek text in vol. ii. 244.

3. When a noun is followed by an attributive adjective, the pronominal genitive is generally inserted between them: cf. 2⁴**thn agaphn sou thn prwthn**(2¹⁹ 3¹² 10^{2.5} 13¹⁶ 14¹⁹). The genitive of the noun can be separated by an attributive adjective from the noun it depends on: cf. 19¹⁷ **to. deipnon to. mega tou/ qeou/** also 6¹⁷ 16¹⁴. Here the emphasis is laid on the gen.

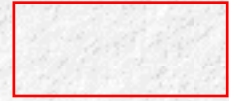
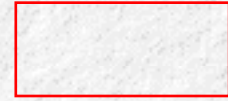
4. When this fact is taken into account together with the five other uses that equally conflict with his style (i.e. 12¹**epi. thj kefalhj** instead of **epi. t) kefalhn**), 12^{6.14} **opou))) ekei/**(instead of **opou** alone), 12⁷ **tou/** before the inf. (whereas inf. is used in the same sense twice without **tou/** in 13¹⁰), 12¹² **oi` ouranoi,**(instead of **ourane**), **ouai. thn gh`** (instead of **ouai. th/ gh/** cf. 8¹³), the statement in vol. i. 300 sqq. must be withdrawn. Our author therefore did not translate 12 himself, but found it already translated into Greek, and then edited it to suit his main purpose: from his hand come **oj mellei poimainein))) sidhra/** in 12⁵: 12⁶ (modelled in 12¹⁴): **o` ofij o` arcaioj o` kaloumenoj))) eblhgh,** 12⁹: **tw` adelfw` hmw`** in 12¹⁰ 12¹¹: **oti eiden** and **oti))) eij thn gh`** in 12¹³ 12¹⁷⁻¹⁸. See *Commentary in loc.*

5. This does not hold of **e`autou)** In 10^{3.7} this possessive occurs in the attributive position, which is its normal one. See Blass, *Gram.* 168 sq.

6. This non-Johannine order is not mentioned in the list of grounds for rejecting 8⁷⁻¹² in vol. i. 218-222.

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XIV.

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT - - GREEK MSS AND VERSIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THEIR RELATIVE VALUES

A complete study of the critical problems of the text is quite impossible in the space at our disposal. It is possible, however, to arrive at trustworthy results regarding the relative values of the uncial and some of the chief cursive MSS. The question of the versions is a much more difficult one; but even in respect to these, conclusions approximately true can be arrived at.

§ 1. The relative values of A²C 025. 046. 051 according to their respective attestation of certain Greek and Hebraistic constructions in our author, which are in some cases unique in Greek literature and in others rare or comparatively rare save in our author. --

(a) The most notable of these constructions which is practically unique is one which occurs seven times, once in the title of each letter to the Seven Churches. Thus in 2¹ John unquestionably wrote **tw| aggel,w| tw| en Vefesw ekkhhsiaj** and not **t) agg) thj en VE) ekkhhsiaj**, as we find in most texts of J^{ap}. Lachmann in Germany recognized this as the original text, and Hort (and to a minor degree Souter) in England. These scholars were influenced purely by the weighty testimony of A in three of the seven passages, and C in one. In addition to this evidence, Hort

invoked that of Primasius (in all seven passages),⁽¹⁾ and the Vulgate (in one passage). To these I am able to add the support of two cursives, 2019. 2050, and of four versions, i.e. arm for all seven passages, s¹ for four, s² for two, and gig (2¹) sa {clxi} each for one. The evidence is given in a collected form in vol. ii. p. 244, save that Pr should perhaps be added, as Hort urges, to the evidence given under 2^{8.12} 3¹⁴ and vg under 3¹. I have already remarked that Lachmann on the basis of AC, and Hort on the basis of these reinforced by Pr vg, accepted the above readings on purely documentary authority. This authority, when further reinforced as it is in my *Appar. Crit.*, is quite sufficient to establish the form **tw| aggelw| tw| en))) ekklhsiaj** as original in all seven passages.⁽²⁾ But my study of grammar of J^{ap} has thrown further light on the subject, and made it clear that John could not, consistently with his usage throughout the rest of J^{ap}, have written otherwise. The grounds for this statement are given in my *Gramm.* § 15. (i.) (b), vol. i. *Introd.* p. clvi sq.

In this extraordinary piece of Greek we have a first class means of distinguishing between the trustworthiness of our various authorities.

When we apply this test, the result is very significant. Of the uncials, \aleph 025. 046. 051 have corrected **tw| aggelw| tw|** in every passage into the normal construction **tw| aggelw| thj**) On the other hand, A has retained the original construction in 2^{1.8.18} and C in 2¹ (preserving a hint of it also in 2¹⁸). Of the 2²³ cursives, 2050 directly supports it in 2¹², 2019 indirectly in 2¹, and 2040 indirectly in 2⁸.

When we apply this test to the versions, Pr (though in some respects of very mixed value) comes to the front in four passages and arm in all seven: s¹ in 2^{1.12.18} 3¹: s² in 2¹⁸ 3¹: sa in 2¹²: like arm, if Hort's contention is right (see note, p. clx), Pr in the remaining three passages, fl in 2¹, and vg in 3¹. But Tyc gig \aleph 025. 046 and the cursives (with three exceptions) show no knowledge of the original text. eth would represent either order in the same way.

(b) The next construction which is of a unique character in J^{ap} is that which follows, **o`ston% kaqhmenoj \$-on% epi. ton qronon(tou/ kaqhmenou epi. tou/ qronou(tw| kaqhmenw| epi. tw| qronw)** For these constructions see vol. i. p. cxxxii. These constructions occur 28 times. Two of these are found in a wrong form in the interpolation 14¹⁵⁻¹⁷, and two in 20¹¹ 21⁵ where the wrong construction save in 21⁵ is to be traced to the editor.

In the remaining 24 cases A is right in 20 and wrong in 4 {clxii} (i.e.

6⁴ 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷ 19¹⁸): C (defective) is right in 9 and wrong in 2 (6⁴ 9¹⁷): Δ is right in 17 and wrong in 7 (i.e. 5¹³ 6^{4.16} 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷ 14⁶ 19¹⁸): 025 right in 16 and wrong in 8 (i.e. 4^{2.9} 5¹³ 6⁴ 7¹⁵ 9¹⁷ 14⁶ 19⁴): 046 right in 17 and wrong in 7 (4⁹ 6^{4.16} 7^{10.15} 9¹⁷ 14⁶). C 025 correct the text rightly in 14¹⁶ and 025. 046 in 20¹¹. From the above statistics we conclude that Δ 025. 046 are practically of equal value. A stands much above them.

(c) In the case of certain Hebraisms we find Δ 025. 046 correcting the text, but not AC. There is a Hebrew construction in which the participle is resolved into a finite verb in the succeeding clause, which our author has used at times. See vol. i. 14 sq. In 1⁵⁻⁶ our author wrote **tw/ agapwhti))) kai. epoihsen**) Here the finite verb must be translated as if it were **poihsanti**) 046 minp have actually so corrected the text. Again, 15²⁻³ Δ minp correct the Hebraism **exontaj))) ³ kai. adousin** into **exontaj))) ³ kai. adontaj**) Another Hebraism, i.e. in 2²⁰, **thn gunaika))) h`legousa))) kai. didaskei**(is corrected by Δ^c 025 minp into **thn k) Ver) thj katabainoushj**(and by 046 into **hj katabainei**) Again in 12⁷ o` Micahl kai. oi`aggeloi autou/ tou/ polemsai(Δ 046 minm omit the **tou**) In 13¹⁰, where the same Hebraism occurs twice, even uncial save A and all cursives remove the Hebraism by drastic corrections. In 19⁶Δ 025. 046 min^{pl} Tyc Pr gig vf s² arm^{3a} insert **hnmwh** between **o` qeoj** and **o` pantokraʔwr**(against A min³ Cyp s¹ arm^{2.4} bo sa eth. This insertion is not only against our author's usage, but also against the regular translation of the divine name. See Gram. § 10. (i.) (f), p. cxlvii. Such examples show the vast superiority of A (C) to Δ 025. 046 as witnesses to the primitive type of text.

§ 2. The absence of conflate readings from A (C) and their (rare) occurrence in

Δ025. 046 support the distinction already established between these MSS. -- In 17⁴ Δ (s²) reads **authj kai. thj ghj**(where **authj** is the reading of A al^m Tyc vg s¹ arm² eth, and **thj ghj** that of 046 al^{pm} gig arm³. Cyp Pr read **thj ghj olhj**(and bo (=

authj meta. thj ghj) conflates this reading with that of A.

In 4⁷ \mathfrak{A} alone reads **wj o[mion anqrwpw)** This may be a conflation of **wj anqrwpou** (A, etc.), and **o[mion** only preserved in 2018.

In 6^{1.5.7} \mathfrak{A} 046 min^m read **ercou kai. ide**(and in 6³ \mathfrak{A} min¹² alone attest this reading. But since the phrase **kai. ide** is not used by our author, but **kai. idou**, this phrase is clearly an early intrusion. But 046 minm Pr gig vg^{f.g}, which insert **kai. ide** (or **kai. idou**(Pr gig vg^{f.g}), omit **kai. eidon** in the words that follow. Since this form of the text is as old as the 4th century, the text of \mathfrak{A} is probably conflate.

In 2¹⁵ 025 minp read **o[moiwj o] misw/--** a conflation -- though **o] misw/{clxiii}** is found as yet only in a few cursives and arma. Again in 2⁷, where A \mathfrak{A} C 046 have **en t) paradeisw**(and 1. 35^m **en mesw| tou/ paradeisou**(025 reads **en mesw| tw| paradeisw**(which may be either a conflation of the above two or else a correction of the latter.

In 046 19¹² we have the conflate reading **onomata gegrammena kai. onoma gegrammenon)**

§ 3. The readings⁽³⁾ of the uncials taken singly and also in groups of two. The evidence of this section confirms the provisional values assigned to these MSS in §§ 1-2.

Even a cursory study of the statistics on p. clxiv is illuminating. It shows that A stands almost alone in the first class, though in some respects C belongs to this class. But it is better to put C in the second class by itself, seeing that it is so weak when it stands alone. But in combination with A it is different.

In comparing C and the combinations into which it enters with other MSS, we have to bear in mind that more than a third of it is missing. Hence, we read in Table I that AC are right in combination 36 times, we have to raise this number to 54 (or less). Thus AC in combination are nearly twice as often right as A \mathfrak{A} or A 025, and more than twice as many as A 046. The combinations of C and \mathfrak{A} with either 025 or 046 are very weak. Another point to be borne in mind is that 025 is also defective. Another one-fourteenth

of it is missing. Hence, whereas A 025 are right 36 times in combination (reckoning columns one and two together), in Table I we should raise this number to 38 (more or less). Thus it follows that 025 is, when standing alone, right oftener than C, \mathfrak{a} , or 046, and when combined with A it is right oftener than $A\mathfrak{a}$ or A 046 in combination. In the third class, therefore, to which we must relegate \mathfrak{a} 025 and 046, 025 stands first according to this reckoning. As regards \mathfrak{a} and 046, the former takes precedence of the latter, and is in certain respects much superior to it.

{clxiv} **TABLE I.**

	Right readings	Probably right -- adopted in text w/ alternatives in margin	Possibly wrong -- placed in margin	Wrong	Peculiar to the MS or pair of MSS named among the uncials. Orthographic variants in brackets.
A ⁽⁴⁾	55 (+ // 1 //)	7	12	154	229 (+27)
C	1	...	1	67	69 (+10)
\mathfrak{a}	4 (2 ^{18.24} 18 ¹² 22 ¹¹)	2 (12 ² 19 ²⁰)	...	414	425 (+47)
\mathfrak{a}^c	...	...	...	12	12 (+1)
\mathfrak{a}^{cc}	...	...	...	7	7
025	4 (5 ³ 14 ¹³ 18 ¹¹ 19 ¹⁴)	2 (4 ⁴ 5 ¹³)	5	103	114 (+21)
046	3	...	...	...	350?
AC	36	...	...	2	38 (+13)
$A\mathfrak{a}$	30 (// 1 //)	2	1	3	37 (+16)
A 025	30	6	3 (+1)	2	43 (+4)

A 046	24	7	...	2	33 (+21)
C 025	2	...	...	12	14
C 046	1 (?)	...	...	6	7
cā	2	...	...	12	16
a 025	2	...	5	21	28 (+12)
a ^c 025	...	...	1	4	6
ā 046	7	2	5	44	59 (+5)
025. 046	4 (4 ⁴ 6 ⁸ 19 ¹⁸ 21 ¹²)	2	1	28	49

The classification of the uncials from the above data is thus:

TABLE II.

Class i. A

Class ii. C

Class iii. 025 ā 046

If, further, to the number of times in which each MS stands alone in preserving the original text we add the number of times in which each of the five MSS, AC 025 ā 046, enters respectively into combination with one or other of the remaining four (in such groups as AC, A 025, Aā, A 046, C 025, etc., i.e. groups of two), we arrive at the following results, allowance having been made for the lost sections of C and 025.

{clxv} TABLE III.

	A	C	025	ā	046
Standing alone	62	1	6	6	3
In combination	155	59	49	46	47
	217	60	55	52	50

This table confirms the results of Table II save that ā is nearer to 046. If we combine the results of these two tables, 025 still shows itself to be a better MS than ā¹

§ 4. *The Uncials in groups of three or more and their evidence.* -- Hitherto we have given the evidence of the uncials individually or in groups of two. We shall now study them in groups of three or four, where they attest the original text. I have only space to apply this test in chaps. 1-4. Divergences in orthography are not reckoned as variants..

TABLE IV.

AāC ⁽⁶⁾	14.5.6 2 ²⁷ = 4
AāC 025	14.9.12.16.18 22.5.7.10.13.14 (bis).24 3 ² (bis).3.7.9.12 = 19
AāC 046	1 ⁵ 2 ^{3.7.15} 3 ⁷ = 5
Aā 025	3 ⁷ 4 ^{5.8.11} = 4
Aā 046	4 ^{2.3.11} = 3
AC 025	1 ¹³ 2 ^{2.9.24} 3 ^{2.7} = 6
AC 046	2 ^{10.16.17} = 3
AC 025. 046	1 ^{7.16.20} 2 ^{7.18.19.20} 3 ^{3.9.14} = 10
AC 046	2 ^{10.17} = 2
A 025. 046	1 ^{8.13} 3 ¹⁴ 4 ^{1.4.9.10} = 7
āC 025	1 ⁹ 2 ²⁰ = 2
āC 025. 046	1 ^{5.7.20} 2 ^{2.18.22} = 6

α C 046	$1^{12} 2^{16.17} = 3$
C 025. 046	$3^7 = 1$

{clxvi} If we study this table we find that the several MSS enter into the above combinations as follows:--

A	63 times
C	61 times
025	55 times
α	46 times
046	40 times

There are two points that call for explanation here. (a) First the numbers of C 025 α 046 seem unduly large as compared with those of A, seeing that A belongs to the first class, C to the second, and 025 α 046 to the third, according to our classifications at the close of § 3. But there is really no difficulty here. If C 025 α 046 are to be right at all, they can only be right as members of groups of MSS, seeing that they are hardly ever right when they stand alone. C and in a less degree 025 represent a good secondary uncial text, while α 046 uphold this text in a considerably weakened form, α replacing it to a considerable extent by readings often of an early date, and 046 by readings of a later growth.

(b) Since only 1-3¹⁹ of C is preserved in the four chapters we are considering, it follows that the number 61 of C must be raised proportionately, say to 70, or thereabouts (for the variants in chap. 4 are fewer than in 1-3), so that it would stand above A. This appears to conflict absolutely with the classification arrived at in § 3, *ad fin.* But in (a) this difficulty is in the main surmounted, and when to the explanation there offered, we add the fact that C is comparatively free from the obvious slips of the scribe of A,⁽⁷⁾ it is surmounted wholly. As critics have generally recognized, the scribe of C (or of the MS on which C is based) either found a more accurately written text than that of A, or else he eliminated most such slips, and with them many of the original readings which have survived A. C is far freer from obvious slips and

obvious corruptions than A.

Thus this fourth table in the main confirms the first. AC stand apart, and but for its almost absolute lack of correct singular readings C might be put side by side with A.

The results arrived at in regard to 025 α 046 agree exactly with those of Table II.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the absolute preeminence of A is confirmed by the study of the papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse: see vol. ii. 447-451.

NOTES

1. When I combined the evidence of the MSS and versions for the seven passages in vol. ii. p. 244 (*Appar. Crit.*), I had either not seen or had forgotten Hort's note on this question in his Commentary (p. 38 sqq.), where he claims that Primasius supported the true text in all seven passages. In my table I only claim Primasius as attesting the true text in four, where his evidence is incontrovertible. The ground on which Hort claims the support of Pr in 2^{8.12} 3¹⁴ is the fact that ecclesiae precedes the name of the Church in the cases of Smyrna, Pergamum, and Laodicea. This order is also found in vg for Sardis (3¹). Now Hort argues that this "transposition . . . is interpretative of $\tau\omega\iota$ " (as in Epiph. 455 B, $\tau\omega\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ $\tau\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omega\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omega\iota$). Thus, according to Hort, ecclesiae Pergami (Pr) supports the original text, whereas Pergami ecclesiae (vg s² bo) supports the later corrected text. If this argument is right the evidence for the original text is considerably greater than might otherwise be supposed. s¹ support it in 2^{8.7} 3^{7.14}; arm^a in 2¹² 3¹⁴, arm^bg in 2¹⁸, arm¹ in 2⁸, fl in 2¹. In the readings of s² I have followed Gwynn; for my three texts of s² have been normalized and agree in giving the late reading in all seven passages.
2. Weiss (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 64 sq. note) has wholly failed to recognize the next text here. Similarly Bousset and nearly every editor save Lachmann, Hort, and Souter.
3. I am beholden to Mr. Marsh for the materials on which Tables I.-III are based. They are to be regarded as approximately, not literally, exact. I have not taken account of 051 since I possess no complete collation of it, and it is very late. It is defective, eleven chapters being missing. Its value is not as great as one of the best cursives, as its readings in chaps. 12.16 will show. In chap. 12 it agrees with cursives against all the other uncials in reading $\tau\iota\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\iota$ (12⁴, $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ ², 12⁶, in omitting $\mu\epsilon\tau\upsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$) (12⁹. In 12⁵ it omits $\epsilon\kappa$ (a mere correction) with 025 and cursives, and in 12⁶ it omits $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ ¹ with C and cursives. In 12³ it is right with A 025 ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota$ $\rho\upsilon\tau\tau\omega\iota$), and in 12¹² with A and cursives in reading $\omega\iota$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\omega\iota$) In 16^{4.10.12} (+ $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$) it agrees with cursives against uncials, also in 16¹⁴ ($\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\iota\omega\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota\gamma$ $\rho\omega\iota\epsilon\mu\omega\iota$) 16¹⁵ ($\beta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\iota$). In 16^{8.10.14} it agrees with α and cursives against all other uncials: in 16³ ($\zeta\omega\sigma\alpha$) with α

025. 046 and cursives against A, in 16¹⁸ (oi` anqrwpoi) with $\bar{\alpha}$ 046 and cursives, in 16¹² (anato \bar{l} wh) with A. The readings of 051 given in this edition are derived from Swete's Commentary.

4. Weiss (*Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 147) is of opinion that A preserves wholly unsupported upwards of 60 right readings, C 4 and $\bar{\alpha}$ 8. Though I have followed quite different lines of investigation, my results do not differ much. They are slightly more in favour of A as against $\bar{\alpha}$. Gwynn's estimate of the readings peculiar to each MS differs alike from those given above and by Weiss. See *Apoc. in Syriac*, p. xliii sq.

5. The inferior character of the text of $\bar{\alpha}$ for J^{ap} has been amply proved both by Weiss and Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac*, p. xl sqq.

6. According to Weiss (*op. cit.*), A $\bar{\alpha}$ C have preserved the original text only 20 times over against 025 and 046. This would in all probability nearly agree with the results above arrived at. For since this combination is right only 4 times according to the above table, the number of times it is right for the entire book would apparently lie in the neighborhood of 20, as Weiss states. It is therefore a wrong basis on which Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xlvi) proceeds when he assumes that "the consent of $\bar{\alpha}$ AC represents the

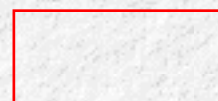
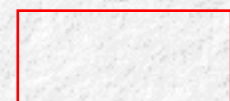
consent of the uncials" and uses it as a "standard by which to compare P and Q." A $\bar{\alpha}$ C 025 represents "the consent of the uncials."

7. Compare 1¹ tou/ dou \bar{l} ou (A) for tw \bar{l} dou \bar{l} w \bar{l} in 1⁵ A > h \bar{i} mwh: in 1⁹ en Cristw \bar{l} (A) for en Vhsou/ in 1¹² l a lei/for e \bar{v} a lei: in 1¹⁶ > e \bar{c} w \bar{n} : 1²⁰ en t) dexia \bar{l} (for epi. th \bar{j} dexia \bar{j}) On the other hand, A "alone is characterized by singular readings which are to be accepted, not as divergences from a standard text, but as survivals of the primitive and authentic text" (Gwynn, p. liv.)

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XIV. ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT - - GREEK MSS AND VERSIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THEIR RELATIVE VALUES

(continued)

§ 5. *The character of the Versions.* -- The versions differ {clxvii} greatly from the Greek MSS in regard to the character of their testimony. Each Greek MSS of J^{ap} possesses a certain character of trustworthiness, and this character it maintains on the whole throughout. But this is not so in the case of most of the versions. In the chief Latin versions we find side by side the best and worst readings. The following examples drawn from what survives of fl⁽¹⁾ and the parallel sections in the other versions and Greek MSS will suffice to prove this. Thus in 1⁴ **apo. o` wn** (A[∂]C 025) is supported by fl gig vg (s^{1.2}) arm bo eth, while Pr supports 046 **apo. qeou/ o` wn** (and Tyc a further development of this reading). In 1⁵ **lusanti** (A[∂]C) is supported by Pr gig vg (s^{1.2}) arm, while Tyc vg bo eth support 025. 046 **lousanti**) In 1⁶ **basileian ièreij** A[∂]*C 046 is supported by Tyc (fl) vg^d, but the corrected text **∂^cbasileian kai. ièreij** by Pr gig vg^d arm^{1.3.4}: 025 arm^{2.3.a} read **basileij kai. ièreij**: 046 **basileion ièreij**, while s^{1.2} bo = **basileian ièratikhñ**, and eth = **basil agnian**) In 1⁸ the addition **h` arch. kai. sto% teloj∂*** is supported by Tyc gig vg bo against A[∂]*C 025. 046 Pr fl (s^{1.2}) arm eth. In 1⁹ **Vhsou/ Cristou/∂cc** 046 is

supported by Tyc Pr vg^a s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.a} against **Vhsou/AΔ***C 025 fl gig vg^{-d} arm⁴ bo eth. In 1¹³ **tw̄h lucniw̄h** AC 025 is supported by Tyc Cyp Pr fl s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.4.a} bo eth against **tw̄h epta. lucniw̄h Δ** 046 gig vg arm³. In 1¹⁶ **w̄j o`h̄l̄ioj fainei** AC 025. 046 Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.a} eth against **fainei w̄j o`h̄l̄ioj Δ** Pr Cyr fl arm⁴ (?) bo. In 2¹ **tw̄/aḡgelw̄|tw̄/AC** Pr [in Comm.] (fl?) s¹ arm⁴ against **tw̄/aḡg)** **th̄jΔ** 025. 046 Tyc gig vg arm^{1.2.3.a} bo eth. In 8⁷ **o`prw̄to**, AΔ 025. 046 s^{1.2} arm⁴ against **o`prw̄toj aḡgeloj** 2020 al Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3.a} bo eth. In 8⁹ **to. triton** A 025. 046 s^{1.2} against **t) triton meroj Δ** Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm bo sa eth. In 8¹² all the uncials and cursives are wrong. The true sense is either preserved or recovered in bo eth and partially in Pr fl. In 9² **kaminou megalhj** AΔ 025 Tyc Pr fl vg arm^{1.2.a} bo eth against **kam) kaiomenhj** 046 s² and **kam) meg) kaiomenhj** 2020 gig s¹ arm⁴ (?). In 9⁴ **epi. tw̄h metwpwn** AΔ 025 gig vg^{a.c.d} against **epi. t) metwpwn autw̄h** 046 Tyc Pr fl vg^{f.g.v} s^{1.2} arm (bo) eth. In 9⁶ **feugei A(Δ)** 025 against **feuxetai** 046 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm bo eth. In 11¹⁶ **tou/qeou/ AΔC** 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.4.a} bo eth against **t) qronou t) qeou/**046 s² arm³. In 11¹⁹ **o`en t) ouranw̄/AC** gig fl arm bo eth against **en t) our) Δ** 025. 046 Tyc Pr vg s^{1.2} and **th̄j diaqhkhj autou/(> Tyc bo)** AC 025 Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.4} bo against **t) diaqhkhj tou/qeou/Δ** fl eth: **t) diaqhkhj kuriou** 046. In 12³ **megaj purroj** A 025 Tyc vg s¹ sa eth against **purroj megaj ΔC** 046 Pr fl gig s² arm bo. In 12⁶ **ekei/clxviii}** AΔ 025. 046 s¹ arm^{3.4}: > C Tyc Pr fl vg s² arm^{1.2.a} (bo?) eth. In 14¹⁶ **equerisqh h`gh/all** Greek MSS and Versions (-- vg^{f.v} fl arm^{1.2.3.a}) against **equerisen t) gh̄h** vg^{f.v} fl arm^{1.2.3.a}: > bo. In 14¹⁸ **o`ecwn** AC Tyc gig vg s^{1.2} arm eth against **ecwnΔ** 025. 046 Pr fl bo: **fw̄nh/AΔ** 046 Tyc fl gig vg s¹ arm^{1.2.3.a} eth against **kraugh/C** 025 s² bo: **hkmasan ai`stafulai,A(Δ)** 025 fl gig vg s^{1.2} against **hkmasen h`stafulh,**046 arm eth: > bo. In 15² **ek t) qhr) kai. ek t) eikonoj autou/AC** 025 s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.a} against **Δ** Pr fl, which > **ek**². Tyc gig vg bo eth give a different construction. In 15³ **adousin** AC 025. 046 against **adontajΔ** Tyc Pr fl vg bo eth: **tw̄h eqnwh** AΔc 025. 046 (Pr) fl gig bo eth against

twñ aiwnwnð*C Tyc vg s^{1.2}. Here arm 2.3.4.a is conflate. In 15⁴ **fobhqh/AC** 025. 046 Pr fl gig arm bo against **fob)** se ð 051 Tyc vg s^{1.2} eth. In 15⁶ **oi`exontej** AC s^{1.2} arm bo eth against **exontej** ð 025. 046 (Tyc Pr fl gig vg): **ek tou/naou/AðC** 025 Tyc fl gig vg s^{(1.)2} arm⁴ bo eth against 046 Pr arm^{1.2} which omit: // **ligon** // AC vg^{-d} against **linon \$ouh** 025. 046 Tyc (Pr) gig vg^d and **linouj** ð fl bo: > eth. In 16¹ **megalhj fwnhj** AC 046 (arm⁴) bo sa against **fwnhj meg)** ð 025 Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.a}: **fwnhj** eth. **ek tou/naou/AðC** 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s^{1.2} arm^a against 046 arm³ which omit: while arm⁴ bo sa eth = **ek tou/ouranou/**and arm^{1.2.4} = **en t) naw/èpta**² AðC 046 Tyc Pr gig vg s^{1.2} arm against 025 fl bo eth which omit. In 16³ **deuteroj Að^c** 025. Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm⁴ eth against **deut) aggeloj** 046 s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.3.a} bo. In 16⁴ **taj phgaj** AðC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig arm bo against **eij t) phgaj** 046 s^{1.2} eth.

Now, taking the Latin and Syriac versions in the above thirty-three passages (8¹² 14¹⁶ 15^{3a} not being included) we arrive at the following results:

	Tyc.	Pr.	fl.	gig.	vg.	s¹	s²
Right	17	14	18	21	14 (16)	21	16
Wrong	14	16	15	10	13 (12)	9	14

We are not to conclude that these numbers indicate the proportion of right to wrong readings throughout J^{ap}, though they may be in some cases approximately true. They establish the fact, however, that the Latin versions contain an astonishing mixture of good and bad readings. Thus in these sections gig is the best of the Latin, being right twice as often as it is wrong: next come fl Tyc vg, which are oftener wrong than right, though, as we have already seen, it preserves more original reading in chaps. 2-3 **{clxix}** than all the other Latin versions together. s^{1.2} compare favourably with the Latin, s¹ being right more than twice as many times as it is wrong, and s² being oftener right than wrong. Unfortunately there is no critical edition of s².

A further and very important fact emerges from this study of the Latin versions, and

this is that a *text akin to 046 and its allies (often A and less often 025) was well established between 200 and 350 A.D. and possibly earlier.*

Let us now compare the above results regarding the versions and the readings in AĀC 025. 046 for the same sections. We find

	A.	ā	āc.	C. ⁽²⁾	025.	046.
Right	33	15	3	23	23	14
Wrong	0	14	...	5	9	19

These results confirm on the whole the conclusions reached at the close of § 3. A stands by itself; next comes C as a good second; then 025; and closing the list at a long interval ā and 046.

From the above study, therefore, we conclude that *all* the versions may in a given case support a reading that is wholly wrong.

In the order of general trustworthiness they stand as follows: s¹ gig s² Tyc fl vg Pr. But in the case of certain peculiarly difficult readings (§ 1 (a) *ad fin.* above) the version that is here last, i.e. Pr, is equal to the first, s² comes next, fl and vg in third place, and gig Tyc⁽³⁾ last.

We have not as yet taken account of the respective values of arm bo sa eth.

§ 6. The Armenian, Bohairic, and Ethiopic Versions. -- The Armenian version is difficult to compare with the other versions. In Mr. Conybeare's edition five texts are distinguished, arm^{1.2.3.4} and arm^a. The last is a recension of the 12th century. The four first represent various forms of the Old Armenian. Of these arm⁴ stands apart from arm^{1.2.3}. Conybeare describes arm⁴ as a recension of the 8th century, and arm^{1.2.3.a} in supporting the true text. In the sections which we have used for purposes of comparison, i.e. the sixty-one verses which alone survive of fl, there are two conflate {clxx} readings in arm. Thus arm⁴ (together with 2020 gig s¹) reads **kaminou megalhj kaiomenhj** in 9², and arm^{2.3.a} read **twḥ aiwnwn kai. basileuj pantwn twḥ eqnwh** in 15³.

In the next place, an adequate comparison of the Bohairic and Ethiopic is difficult. In

Horner's edition of the former the translation of only one MS is given. The readings of the other MSS are given in the *Appar. Criticus*, but not translated. Mr. Horner has, however, translated the variants for me and I append the results below. The Ethiopic versions which I have used is that of Platt. It is wholly uncritical. Hence the results given here are to be regarded as only approximately right. Despite such disadvantages, bo and eth show clearly that they have a character of their own.

	arm ^{1.2.3.4.a} .	arm ⁴ alone against one, two, or more members of arm ^{1.2.3.a}).	bo.	eth.
Right	20	8	14	17
Wrong	13	2	15	13

Where arm⁴ and one or more of arm^{1.2.3.a} agree, their evidence is recorded in the first column. Where arm⁴ is right over against arm^{1.2.3.a} it stands in the second column. arm⁴ is only twice wrong against the combinations of arm^{1.2.3.a}.

It is now possible to arrange the versions in the order of their merit in the sections preserved in fl, i.e. 1¹-2¹, 8⁷-9¹², 11¹⁶-12¹⁴, 14¹⁵-16⁵.

In this arrangement, according to the number of the right readings which they attest, it must be borne in mind that s² eth and Tyc are wholly uncritical texts. They may be better or worse than they appear here. Furthermore, while it is true that s¹ arm are foremost *both in regard to the quality and the number of their right readings*, Pr, which has the fewest right readings, has preserved most important readings lost in nearly every other Latin authority, and also in bo eth. This holds true of bo in 8¹², which in this passage has alone preserved the original or else restored it.

Versions of order -- S¹ arm gig s² eth Tyc fl vg bo Pr.

If we arrange these versions in classes in relation to each other and not to the Greek MSS, we should arrive at the following result:

Class i. arm⁴ s¹ gig arm^{1.2.3.a}.

Class ii. eth s² Tyc vg.

Class iii. bo Pr.

{clxxi} I have not taken account of sa in the above classification, as I do not possess a continuous collation of its text. For some hundreds of its readings I am indebted to Rev. George Horner. Judging from these, I should be inclined to place it in the second class.

The reader will observe that in 2¹² it enjoys the honour of attesting the original text together with 2050 s¹ arm^{4.a} against all the uncials and all the remaining versions.

§ 7. Relations of bo sa eth to each other. -- These versions form one group over against the rest. (a) bo eth *continually* support each other throughout J^{ap} generally in agreement with some other authorities, but at times they stand alone. As an instance of the former, cf. 19¹⁰ where with Pr they add **oḗi** before **sundoul oj**: of the latter, 18¹ **ek + tou/ proswpou autou/ kai**; 21^{4d} + **kai**. §> bo) **idou. panta poiqhhsontai sepoihsan, eth) kaina**; 21¹⁸ (crit. note *ad fin.*): 22³ (crit. note *ad fin.*).

(b) bo sa agree against eth and all else in 20¹¹ **megan qronon** (rest): in 22¹⁸ + **oḗi** before **ean tij** bo sa agree with certain authorities against eth and others: 19⁹ **kai. legei moi²** with Aḗ etc.: > ḗ etc.: 20¹¹ **h` gh/ kai. o` ouranoj** with Aḗ etc. (instead of **o` our) k) h` gh/** with 35. 432 Pr eth).

(c) bo sa eth stand alone in 18² **hvmegal h + h` pol ij**: 20¹ in transposing order of **al usin megal hn**: 21^{5b} **poihsu panta kaina**) bo sa eth agree with some other authorities in 16¹ **tou/ ouranou/42. 367 arm** (for **tou/ naou/**): 16⁶: 19⁶: 21³ **ouranou 025. 046 etc.** (for **qronou**)

(d) sa eth agree with certain authorities against bo: 18¹⁹ **ouai²** with AC etc.: > bo with ḗ etc. 19⁹ **tou/ gamou** with Aḗ^c etc.: > bo with ḗ* etc. 22¹⁴ **plunontej t) stolaj autwn** with Aḗ etc. against **poiouhtej t) entolaj autou/**bo with gig 046 Cyp etc.

(e) bo eth agree against sa: 19¹⁹ **autwn** bo eth ḗ etc. against **autou/sa** A etc.

(f) bo stands against eth: 18⁶ **pothriw|**eth AC etc. against **pot) authj** bo ḗ etc. 18¹² **xu|ou** bo ḗC etc. against **liqou** eth A etc.

The above are a few examples from chaps. 16-22.

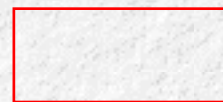
NOTES

1. There are only 61 verses in fl (Codex Floriacensis), i.e. 1¹-2¹, 8⁷-9¹², 11¹⁶-12¹⁴, 14¹⁵-16⁵. fl does not show such remarkable faithfulness to the primitive text in the later sections as in 1¹-2¹.
2. C is defective in some of these sections.
3. It must be borne in mind that there is no critical text of Tyc. Tyc may appear in better company when this is published.

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XIV. ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT - - GREEK MSS AND VERSIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THEIR RELATIVE VALUES

(continued)

§ 8. *Character of the uncials as regards their textual value.*

A.C. These two MSS present the normal uncial text just as 046 and *in some degree* 025 present the normal cursive text. But whereas C is most carefully written, this is not true of A, which is seriously affected by copyists' blunders. C exhibits fewer singular readings than any other uncial (about 67), and these singular readings, moreover, with a single exception, possess no special interest. Here it is that it differs *in kind* from A and calls for different classification. A contains over 150 singular readings, and of these 56 (if not 63) preserve the original. Thus {clxxii} whereas C's singular readings take no particular direction, A's are pre-eminent as being certainly right in over 60 passages.

α. This MS "is of all the five MSS far the least worthy of regard as representing a defensible form of the text; it is aberrant rather than divergent from the rest, to the point of eccentricity." So Gwynn (*op. cit.* p. xliv) rightly judges. When it stands alone, it is only right in four passages. The bulk of its variants are, unquestionably scribal blunders and corruptions of an early date, and call for no further consideration. A considerable part of the remainder represents an *ancient* element foreign to the normal uncial text and finds large support in the versions and to a less extent in certain cursives. Other

variants connect $\bar{\alpha}$ with the normal cursive form of text, but these are not numerous.

025. 046. These MSS are so widely sundered that they differ from each other in kind. While 025 represents on the whole the uncial type of text, 046 represents the cursive type. While slightly over half the variants of 025 from the other uncials find support among the cursives, more than four-fifths of the variants of 046 find such support.

But though 046 is largely cursive in character, its record compares favourably with $\bar{\alpha}$, considering its late date. We have already seen (see Table I. p. clxiv) that whereas $\bar{\alpha}$ alone preserves 6 right readings (reckoning together columns one and two) against the rest of the uncials, 046 preserves 3. Again $A\bar{\alpha}$ in combination are right 33 times, A 046 are right 31 times. Once more, from the results arrived at in § 4 we learn that, whereas $\bar{\alpha}$ enters into groups of three or more MSS attesting the right text 45 times, 045 does so 40.

025 nad 046 are to be further distinguished from each other in this respect, that whereas 046 represents the close amongst the uncials of a long process of correction which began in the 2nd century, 025 represents to a considerable extent a deliberate recension of the texts of the 8th cent. or earlier. That 025 is the result of a deliberate recension is easy to prove. Nearly forty times it differs from the other uncials in correcting or improving the Greek text from the standpoint of Greek syntax. Thus in 1⁴ we have α [+ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\nu\omega\pi\iota\omicron\nu$) 1⁵ $\tau\omega$ / $\alpha\gamma\alpha\phi\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\iota$) 1⁶ $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$. $\iota\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\iota\upsilon$) 1⁹ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\omicron\jmath$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\eta$ / $\kappa\lambda\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$. \S + $\epsilon\nu$ $\theta\eta$ / $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$) 2⁹ $\theta\eta$ $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\iota\alpha\nu$ $\tau\omega\eta$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu$) 2¹³ $\epsilon\nu$ τ) $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\upsilon$ + $\epsilon\nu$ $\alpha\iota\upsilon$) 2¹⁷ $\delta\omega\varsigma\omega$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ /+ $\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta$) 2²⁰ $\theta\eta$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha$))) $\theta\eta$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$) 4¹ η $\phi\omega\nu\eta$.))) $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$) 5² $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ / $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$) 5⁶ $\alpha\rho\nu\iota\omicron\nu$))) $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$) 7⁹ $\omicron\rho\lambda\omicron\jmath$))) $\epsilon\acute{\sigma}\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\jmath$ ())) $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$) 8¹³ $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon$) This change is due to the scribe's idea of syntax, but of the sense of the passage. 9¹⁴ $\phi\omega\nu\eta\eta$))) $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$) 10¹ $\kappa\alpha\iota$. $\iota\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\upsilon$, corrected {clxxiii} according to sense of context. The scribe knew no better. 11⁴ $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$ -- $\epsilon\acute{\sigma}\tau\omega\varsigma\alpha\iota$) The above examples are sufficient to prove the fact of a deliberate recension. On the influence of this recension on 35. 205 and other cursives, see under 35. 205, p. clxxv sq.

The following cursives -- the list is provisional -- agree with 046 in giving the latest form of text:

	149	175	325	337. 632*. 919. 920.
18. 35**	201	617	456	1849. 2004. 2040 (1-
	386	1934	468*	11 ⁷).

046 contains many readings of so late a date that they are not supported by any version. These are of the inferior cursive type. A few examples will suffice. Thus in 112 046 with cursives reads **kai.+ ekei/** 1¹⁶**ceiri. autou/ th/ dexia/** 2²⁵ **anoi χ w** (for **ah h χ w**): 3²**apobal lein** for **apoqanein**: 3⁴**oviga eceij onomata** (order): 3⁷ **eiv mh. o` anoigwn**)

§ 9. *Cursives collated for this edition.* -- The list of the 22 cursives collated for this edition is given in vol. ii. p. 234, where attention is drawn to such as defective. Of these the most interesting and valuable are 2020. 2040. 2050.

2020 is a good cursive and would stand close to 025 \mathfrak{a} in the third class. It agrees with A 2019 in 2¹⁸ and 1¹⁰ save that for **opisqen** it reads **opisw**, and with A and certain cursives in 1⁶. Over against seven agreements with A, it supports \mathfrak{a} in 18 passages and 025 in 13.

920. 2040 2040 (xi-xii cent.) 920 (x cent.). Though 2040 is written by the same hand throughout, it exhibits two distinct types of text. From 1-11⁷ it is of the late cursive type and seems to have been copied from 920 (x cent.). These two MSS contain unique readings in the following passages: 3⁵ **tw η zwntwn**: 3⁸ **ta. erga** (for **ton logon**) 3¹² **tw/ onomati** (for **tw/ naw/**): 4⁹ + **kai. proskunhswsin** (-sousin, 920) **tw/ zwhti** and another addition in 8². In 4¹⁰ they omit **enwpion t) qronou** and have other omissions in 4⁴ 5¹² 7⁴ 9⁹. They invert the order in 3⁸ and attest the same impossible readings in 5¹ 6¹⁴ 7¹ 9⁵.

From 11⁹ to 20¹¹ where it ends, the text is largely free from corruptions of the later cursives. It often supports A against most other authorities (cf. 11¹¹ **eishlqen en autoij**, 12¹² **oi` ouranoi**) and \mathfrak{a} and less often 025. But its excellence is still more clearly shown by the fact that in 11⁹-20¹¹ it agrees with the majority of uncials against the majority of cursives. The latter half, therefore, of 2040 is of so high a character as to entitle it to be ranked with 046, and after \mathfrak{a} .

2050. This MS, which consists only of 1-5, 20-22, and was clearly copied from a defective MS, stands in point of excellence alongside the uncials. In about 80 passages it agrees with the {clxxiv} majority of the uncials against the majority of the cursives.

Thus in 1⁴ it reads **apo. o`wn** with A $\bar{\alpha}$ C 025 al²⁰ fl gig vg s^{1.2} bo against 040 and most cursives. In 1⁹en **Vhsou**/with $\bar{\alpha}$ C 025. 2020 gig vg s¹ bo against the rest;

Vhsou/(without **Cristou**) with A $\bar{\alpha}$ * 025 al⁵ fl gig vg^{-d} arm^a against the rest. In 1¹² **kai.**(without **ekei**/A $\bar{\alpha}$ 025. 045 al Tyc Pr fl vg s^{1.2} bo against the rest. In

1¹³**lucniwh** (without preceding **epta**) ACP al¹⁰ Tyc Pr fl s^{1.2} arm^{1.2.4.a} bo against the rest. In 2¹³ > **ta. erga sou kai**,(added by 046 al^{pl} s² arm^{3.a}) with A $\bar{\alpha}$ C 025.

2020 and versions (-- s² arm^{3.a}): **o`pistoij mou** AC 61. 69 Or^s s² against rest. These suffice to show the character of this cursive. This cursive shows some slight affinities with A, as in 1¹³ 4⁴ 5⁴ 22¹¹ etc., and still more with $\bar{\alpha}$. Thus with the latter it agrees in 1⁸ (+ **h` arch. ktl**), 1¹⁵ **pepurwmenw**|(a correction), 1¹⁷ **epeqhken**(2²⁰ 4²⁰ etc. It agrees with 025 in 1¹⁵**cal kw| libanw**|(al⁶: 2²⁰ **thn legousan** (also $\bar{\alpha}$ ^c al⁵), etc.

This cursive has a conflate reading in 2²⁷**kai. suntriyei autouj wj ta. skeuh ta. keramika. suntribetai**) Such a conflation is not found in any other MS or in any version. But gig arm⁴ bo eth read **suntriyei autouj**) Is 2050 influenced by gig or some ancestor of these versions? In 1¹⁶ 2050 with 920. 2040 Tyc fl gig vg read **dexia| autou**/against all other Greek authorities. Is there a trace of Latin influence here?

149. 386. 201. Of these 201 was not collated for this edition. The first of these cursives, 149 (xv cent.), is a slavish copy of 386 (xiv cent.). It reproduces it where it is absolutely wrong: cf. 2¹⁴ **edidasken t) Balaam**(3¹⁴ **h` arch. thj pistewj**(14¹⁹ 18⁴ **laqhte**) In 13⁶ it reads **katoikountaj** with 201 against 386. 2019 **oikountaj**) Where 386 is quoted in the *Appar. Crit.* it carries 149 with it, unless 149 is quoted to the contrary. 201 (xiii cent.) is a member of this group. It agrees with 149. 386 in unique (or almost unique) readings in 3² (> **pepl hrwmēna**): 3¹⁴ **h` arch. thj pistewj**: 10² **epi. thn ghē** (also 1): 11⁴ **oi` enwpion**: 14¹⁸ **botanaj**: 15⁶ **oi` epta. agg) ek tou/naou/oi` exontej t) epta. plhgaj** (also s¹ bo): 1617 **tou/ qronou + tou/ qeou**) This is a conflation of **tou/ qronou**, A 046 al^{pl}, all versions (-- gig) and **atou/ qeou**(18⁷**eimi. kaqwj**(20⁴**edoqh krima**(and others. This group

gives a late cursive text.

175. 617. 1934. These cursives form a group, but one much less closely connected than the one immediately preceding. In 2¹⁹ they stand alone in reading **ceirona twh prwtwn**(and in 17¹⁵ **a] eidej + kai. h` gunh**; with 141. 242 in 6¹⁷ in reading **swqhhai**) In the following passages these cursives attest the same text in conjunction now with one set of authorities now with another -- not consistently with any -- 10⁸ 17³ 18^{8.22} 19^{7.11.13} 20¹² 21^{6.27} 22^{8.12.13.16.20.21}. 175 and 617 several times agree where 1934 diverges: 18¹⁶ 19²⁰ 20⁵ 21³ 22⁵ etc. and generally in conjunction {clxxv} with 025 text. This group gives a very late form of the cursive text, except in chapters 16-22 where they agree generally with 35. 205.

325. 456. 468. The first two members of this group are closely connected. They stand alone in adding in **kata, sou** in 2⁵ and the marginal note **en a]lw|B** in 14²⁰, in omitting **kai. enwpion**))) **autou**/in 3⁵ and **exwn**))) **tetarton zwbn** in 4⁷, and reading (325**) **dw**/in 4⁹ and **croxon** for **eti cr**) **mikron** in 6¹¹, in omitting **gemousaj** in 15⁷. In very many passages these two cursives attest the same text in conjunction with a variety of others: cf. 6¹⁷ 7⁵ 8² 9^{2.9} 14⁸ etc. 468 agrees frequently (but apparently always in conjunction with others except in 15⁶oi` agg) oi` epta) with 325. 456. See 1⁶**kai. poihsanti hnh basileion ierateuma** and > **eij t) aiwhaj**(2²² **balw**(3²**thrhson**(7²**tou/ qeou/ zwhtoj**) See also 9^{6.11} 14¹⁴.

35. 205. 205 may be directly derived from 35, though other links may have come between. They stand alone in 3² **kuriou tou/ qeou**(9¹⁸ **twh triwh toutwn pl hgwh**) In conjunction with a variety of uncials, these two cursives agree in over 110 passages. This number would be still greater but that 18¹⁴-20⁹ (= one page of 205) was not photographed through an error of the photographer. Hence for the number 110 we should read 120 or thereabouts. But dealing with the passages actually given in the *Appar. Crit.* 35. 205 agree 20 times with each of A $\bar{\alpha}$ 025 and A $\bar{\alpha}$ C 025; 3 times with each of A $\bar{\alpha}$ and A $\bar{\alpha}$ C; 2 times with AC 025; 5 with A; 1 with A 046. All these are first class groups, and nearly all the readings so attested are right. *Thus so far 35. 205 exhibit a good uncial type of text.* But 35. 205 show affinities with another type of readings, a considerable number of which have originated with the recension of 025, which they have followed 28 times, and almost always wrongly.

The influence of this recension of 025⁽¹⁾ is seen clearly in 1. 35. 67^{mg(?)}. 104(?). 205.

468**. 620(?). 632**. 1957. 2015. 2019(?). 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067, etc. I add here three examples of the influences of 025 on later MSS. 2⁵**ekpeptwkaj** (instead of **peptwkaj**) 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 2¹⁷ + **apo**, before **tou/ manna** 025 (where the slip **xu| ou** in 025 is rightly corrected in later MSS). 1. 35. 61^{mg}. 104. 205. 468**. 620. 632. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067. 2⁹**blasfhmian ek (> 025) twh legontwn)** Here this obvious correction is followed by 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 Or^s.

Of groups of the second or third class 35. 205 follow **αC {clxxvi}** 025, **α** 025. 046, **α** 046 once each: **α** (or **α^c**) C 025 3 times: **α** 025. 11: **α** 6.

205 presents two conflate readings in 13¹⁴ 14⁶.

Thus group (35. 205) has quite the value of an uncial -- superior in the main to 046, but falling short of 025.

§ 10. Origen's so-called text -- in this edition Or^s. -- Whether the text which accompanies undoubted scholia of Origen is really the text of Origen, Harnack in his edition (*Der Scholienkommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, 1911), p. 81, leaves undecided. He claims that it is a text of the highest character of the 10th century, which "though it may not prove to be even a rival of C, perhaps even not of A, is at all events on an equality with **α** and 025, while it is certainly superior to the text of 046 and Andreas."

But this text is not deserving of such praise. (a) It has nothing to do with the text that Origen used. I will compare the texts in a few passages. In 37 Or^s reads: **tade legei o`aggeloj avhqinoj))) o`anoigwn kai. oudeij kleisei authn kai. kleiwn kai. oudeij anoigei(eivmh. o`anoigwn kai. oudeij anoixei)** Here, as the *Appar. Crit. in loc.* shows, the text which Origen used differed in two respects (see heavy type) in this verse, and agreed in these with the text of this edition. Or^s alone is conflate. It combines **kai. kleiwn))) anoigei**(the text of A 025) and **eivmh. o`anoigwn))) anoixei** (the text of 046 and most cursives). Again Origen > **akoush| t) fwnhj mou kai**, always when quoting 3²⁰, but not so Or^s. This may be an accident. In 5¹ Origen reads **eswqen k) opisqen** and also **emposqen k) opisqen**, but Ors **eswqen k) exwqen)** In 5⁵ Origen rightly reads

anoixai(but Or^s **o`anoigwn** with 046 and cursives. In 7³ Origen reads **mhte t)**
qalassan(but Ors **kai. t)** **qalassan**(and **acri** against Ors **acrij ou**) In 1⁶
 Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 5) has **basileian** where Or^s gives merely a cursive reading.
 A multitude of such divergenes will be found in Harnack's work (p. 76 sqq.). In the face
 of such divergences it is impossible to identify Or^s with the text of Origen.⁽²⁾

But a more important task awaits us. We have to define the relations of Or^s and
 determine its position with reference to the main texts of J^{ap}. We shall find that *this
 position is not high amongst the uncials*, as Harnack would have it, *but low amongst the
 cursives*. It will not be necessary to bring forward the entire evidence, but the following
 will suffice.

(a) *Or^s is full of corrections like 046, or rather in dependence on it.* -- In
 1²⁰ it reads **asterwn wn** with 046. But our author never uses the
 attracted relative. After 046 it corrects 2²⁰ **thn{clxxvii}gunaika)))**
h`legousa into **thn gun)))) h|legei**(and 3¹² **thj kainhj**
Ver) h`katabainousa into **t) kainhj Ver) h|katabainei**
 With cursives only it corrects 10⁸ **lalousan))) legousan** into
lalousa))) legousa) Now this last correction is most probably
 the correction of an original slip of the author, but the other two
 constructions are Hebraisms in the text and should not have been altered.
 5¹⁰ **basileian kai. iereij** into **basileij k) iereij)**

(b) *It makes additions to the text with 046:* 2¹³ + **ta. erga sou kai;**
 and with $\bar{\alpha}$ 046: 2⁹ + **ta. erga kai)**

(c) In 8¹² we have a conflation of A and 046: **kai. to. tri-ton authj**
mh. fanh| hmera kai. h` hmera mh. fanh| to. tri-ton authj)
 where 046 comes first and A second. Another conflation appears in 4⁸
 (see (g) below).

(d) *A few of the passages where it follows 046 and some cursives.* -- 1¹⁰
fwnhn opisw mou megalhn: 1¹² **kai.+ ekei/** 2¹⁰**pageih: idou.+**
dh) dh, does not belong to our author's vocabulary. 2¹⁴ + **kai,** before
fageih: 4⁴**touj qronouj + touj:** 4⁷ > **wj** before **anqrwpou:**
 4¹¹**himwh + o` agioj:** 5⁵**p`anoigwn** (where the text is **anoixai**):

9²kaminou kaiomenhj)

(e) *Directly or indirectly it follows 025 in the following corrections: -- 2⁹ thn blasfhmian twh legontwn: 2¹⁷ dwsw autw|+ fageih: 7⁹ ocloj))) peribebhmenoi)*

(f) *Or^s is not unfrequently without any support but that of cursives. -- 1¹⁶ dexia| autou/ ceiri; 2¹⁴ oj edidaxen ton bal): 3⁷ tou/before Daueid: 3¹⁸iha egcrish| 5¹³oša estin: 6⁹esfragismenwn (for esfragmenwn!): 10⁴graphhj with only 205: 11⁷ > kai. oțan teleswsin with 617. 920. 2040 arm^{2.3}: 13⁷polemon poihsai.*

(g) Thus every step we have taken proves in an increasing degree the secondary, eclectic and cursive character of the text. It now remains to define *the group of cursives with which it is most intimately connected. These are 61 (xvi cent.) and 69 (xv. cent.).* With these cursives it agrees against all other authorities in the following: 4⁵ kai.(for a|estin% 4⁸kuklogen eswqen kai. exwqen(where 61. 69 have kukl) exwqen k) eswqen -- conflations of kukl) k) eswqen Ađ etc., and kukl) k) exwqen 1957. 2050: 11⁵ ekporeusetai: 13⁵ polemhšai (instead of poihsai): 13¹⁵ apoktanqhhai (instead of iha))) apoktanqwsin). In 3¹⁸ with 69 alone Or^s reads fanh|for fanerwqh|

Again with 61. 69 al⁸ Or^s agrees against all authorities in 1⁶ basileion ierateuma: with 046 in 12¹⁶ enebalen (where 61. 69, however, have anelaben): in 3⁹ gnwsei with đ 69 gnwsh|

From (g) it follows that Or^s belongs to a very small and late group. So far as is known as yet, Or^s 61. 69 are the only members of this group. It could not well have originated earlier than the 9th or 10th century. Hence it should be numbered as cursive 2293.

{clxxviii}§ 11. Some account of the Versions.

(i.) Latin Versions: (a) Tyconius; (b) Primasius; (c) Codex Floriacensis (= fl); (d) Codex Gigas (= gig); (e) Vulgate.

(a) **Tyconius**. -- There is no critical edition of this text. Dr. Prinz has such a text in preparation. The readings in the *Appar. Crit.* of the present work are taken from Professor Souter's "Tyconius' Text of the Apocalypse, a partial restoration," *J.T.S.*, April 1913.

(b) **Primasius** (= Pr). -- Haussleiter has published a critical edition of Primasius' text in his work, *Die lateinische Apocalypse*, 1891, pp. 80-175.

(c) **Codex Floriacensis** (= fl). -- Only fragments of this Latin version made in Africa survive. These amount to 61 verses: 1-2¹, 8⁷-9¹², 11¹⁶-14¹⁴, 14¹⁵-16⁵. They are preserved in a palimpsest in the National Library of Paris -- No. 6400 G (formerly in the library of Fleury). This palimpsest has been deciphered and published by Vansittart, *Journal of Philology*, vi. (1872) pp. 219-222; Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, xliv. (1883) pp. 445-451, Belsheim in 1887; Berger, *Le palimpseste du Fleury*, 1889; Haussleiter in his edition of Primasius, 1891, and a recent collation in 1906, *J.T.S.* p. 96 sqq.

Pr and fl render mutual service to each other. They make the detection of intrusions of vg in one or other of these two versions an easy task. The canon of criticism here is that where Pr and fl differ, such variants as agree with vg are to be rejected and the remainder to be retained as the older text.

(d) **Codex gigas** (= gig). -- This codex of the xiii cent., formerly in Prague, is now in Stockholm. It contains the whole Bible, but only Acts and the Apocalypse are Old Latin. This codex was edited by Belsheim in 1879, but inaccurately. For the collation used in the present work I am indebted to Professor White, who has put at my service the fresh collation made by Dr. Karlsson in 1891 for John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury. It appears to have an Italian character (Gregory).

(e) **Vulgate** (= vg). -- I have used Professor White's *Editio Minor* of the Vulgate -- *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Clarendon Press, 1911. In this edition the following seven

MSS (vg.a.c.d.f.g.h.v) are used:

a -- Amiatinus (vii-viii) cent.	g -- Sangermanensis (ix).
c -- Cavensis (ix).	h -- Hubertianus (ix- x).
d -- Armachanus (812 A.D.).	v -- Vallicellanus (ix).
f -- Fuldensis (vi).	

ii. Syriac Versions: (a) Philoxenian, (b) Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.

{clxxix} (a) *Philoxenian* (= s¹). This version was discovered and edited by Professor Gwynn in 1897. He ascribes it on good grounds to the 6th century. It is perhaps the most valuable of all the versions, its only rival being arm⁴ (see p. clxvi sqq.). It is remarkable that with the Armenian versions it has many readings in common with the Latin versions (see Gwynn, p. cxliii), where these differ from all Greek MSS (though the list is not quite correct). Thus in 5⁴ s¹ arm¹ Pr read **lušai taj sfragidaj autou**/for **blepein auto**; in 13¹⁰ s¹ gig sa eth read **en macaira| apoktanqhsetai**; in 9¹⁷ s¹ Tyc Pr gig vg arm^{1.2.3.a} read **tou/ stomatoj**; but this is found in one Greek cursive -- 35. The presence of a common Latin (?) element in s¹ arm sa eth calls for investigation. Most of this element, no doubt, goes back to lost Greek MSS, but there appears to be a residuum of Latin readings which made their way into s¹ arm and other versions.

s¹ exhibits conflations in 5¹⁰ 6² 11¹¹ 18¹⁷ **o` epi. twh ploiw̄n epi. topon plewn)**

Gwynn puts forward two hypotheses to account for the form of the text of s^1 . The translator formed the text for himself, taking as basis our main exemplar, but modifying it to the extent of about one-third by the introduction of readings from a secondary subsidiary exemplar. Otherwise he followed a single exemplar in which the primary and secondary factors stood to each other in the ratio of two to one.

(b) *The Harkleian* (= s^2). -- This version was made about 616. As yet no critical edition of the text has appeared. It preserves very ancient readings lost in most of the Latin versions, but it is decidedly inferior to s^1 . See above, p. clxviii, and Gwynn (*op. cit.*), pp. lxxi-lxxv, lxxxii-lxxxiv.

iii. Armenian Versions. -- The Armenian version was admitted into the Armenian canon in the 12th century through the agency of Nerses. But the Armenian version was known in the earliest years of the 5th century. There are in reality two distinct Armenian versions. The first is exhibited in arm^1 , arm^2 , arm^3 , arm^a , which on the whole form, notwithstanding many differences, a homogeneous whole over against arm^4 . $Arm^{1.2.3}$ represent the sources of the older and unrevised text, and arm^a the Nersesian 12th century recension, which was based on $arm^{1.2.3}$ etc. Arm^4 and $arm^{1.2.3}$ represent, according to Conybeare, "two independent renderings of a common Greek text." But this statement needs drastic revision. The Greek source of arm^4 differed very much from that of $arm^{1.2.3}$. Conybeare ascribes $arm^{1.2.3}$ to a 5th century text and arm^4 to a redaction of the early 8th.

As in the case of s^1 , so here the Latin element is evident. In 19¹ arm^2 this influence is undeniable. Thus, where the {clxxx} Greek has $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ($vg^{a.c.v}$ have *tubarum multarum*, and so arm^2 . This corruption could only have arisen in Latin, i.e. *tubarum* corrupt for *turbarum*. The same corruption reappears in 19⁶, where $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ is rendered by Pr $vg^{a.c.d.f.v}$ by *tubarum* (-ae, -vg) *magnarum* (-nae vg).

Conybeare thinks that the early Armenian version "was made from an old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual Greco-Latin codex." The latter appears the more probable, but the question requires thorough investigation, not only in regard to arm , but also in regard to s^1 *bo sa* and *eth*.

It is much to be regretted that Conybeare did not print in its entirety arm⁴ alongside arm^{1.2.3.a}, seeing that it represents a more ancient type of Greek text than arm^{1.2.3.a}. Arm⁴ is alone complete, and yet neither is its text nor even a single variant from it given in Armenian. Only English renderings of the variants and of 16¹⁷-19¹⁸ are supplied. It is rather strange for a scholar, who is editing both a text and a translation, to translate two chapters (16¹⁷-19¹⁸) from a text which he does not give, and print a text (arm²) of these chapters, which he does not translate save in the case of its variants. For the text of arm⁴ he refers his readers to Dr. F. Murat's edition of it "in the great university libraries of our country," or "to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem."

Students of the J^{ap} cannot be other than most grateful to Dr. Conybeare for his edition of the Armenian version, but it does not bear the character of a final one.

(d) **Bohairic Version** (= bo). -- The Bohairic (or Memphitic) version has been edited with great care by the Rev. G. Horner. This editor prints J^{ap} from the Curzon MS 128 with variants from other MSS. He has provided an English version of this MS, but unfortunately the variants are not translated. The result is that the reader who does not know Bohairic cannot get to know anything beyond MS Curzon 128.

(e) **Sahidic Version** (= sa). -- The same scholar is engaged on an edition of the Sahidic. He has most generously supplied the present editor with some hundreds of readings from this fragmentary version. This version appears to agree more with A and its allies than do bo eth.

(f) **Ethiopian Version** (= eth). -- Only two uncritical editions of this version exist -- that of Platt and that contained in Walton's Polyglott. I have used the edition of Platt published in 1899, and only consulted the other version that is printed in Walton's Polyglott.

Bo sa and eth form one group as we have already seen, but their exact relations cannot be determined till critical editions of the three are accessible, and a scholar who has a mastery of the three languages takes the task in hand.

{clxxxi} PICTURE

{clxxxii} For the meaning of the above symbols and abbreviations of MSS and versions, see vol. ii. pp. 227 sqq., 234 sqq. For F^{1.2.3.4} (i.e. Papyri Fragments), see vol. ii. pp. 447-451.

Though the above table must in many of its features be regarded as purely hypothetical, the editor is convinced of its general accuracy down to A $\bar{\alpha}$ F^{1.2.3.4}; also that, though C belongs to the family of A, it has been influenced by that of $\bar{\alpha}$, besides showing signs of frequent correction.

So far the evidence is on the whole clear. Henceforth the relations of the MSS and versions can only be partially and, until several important questions are investigated, provisionally represented. 025 and 046 are certainly descendants of A and $\bar{\alpha}$, or of the families of which these are representatives; for 025. 046 preserve primitive readings lost in A $\bar{\alpha}$. Thus in 4⁴ **epi. t) qronouj (+ touj 046) eikosi tessaraj presbuterouj** is undoubtedly right where A $\bar{\alpha}$ are wrong and C is defective; for s^{1.2} arm^{2.3.4.a} Pr gig vg bo eth here support 025. 046. In 6⁸ **o` qanatoj** of 025. 046 is right, where A is corrupt and C $\bar{\alpha}$ wrong. In 9¹⁰ **ouraj omioaj skorpioij** of 025. 046 is again right against the greater uncials, and also in 19¹⁸ **tw \bar{h} kaqhmenwn ep \bar{V} autw \bar{h})** This fact cannot be represented in the above table.

Further, a study of 025. 046 shows that these two MSS are connected; for they have 36 (more or less) readings in common against A $\bar{\alpha}$ C. This connection is accordingly represented in the above table. But 025 and 046 are related differently to A and $\bar{\alpha}$. Moreover, 025 shows signs of a deliberate recension, whereas 046 exhibits rather signs of a progressive correction. But these MSS have other connections. Thus in 14¹⁸ 025 unites with C in reading **kraugh/**(a wrong reading) against **fwnh/**of A $\bar{\alpha}$ 046: in 14¹³ in reading **en kuriw/**of all other MSS. This connection is represented in the above table.

Certain cursives, i.e. 35. 205. 2040 (11⁸-20¹¹ only). 2050 preserve some original

readings lost wholly in \mathfrak{A} 025. 046 (see clxxiii sqq.). These cursives are in many respects as valuable as the later uncials, while in a few they are superior.

Of the remaining cursives a considerable number follow for the most part 025, while the main body appears to follow 046. But the exact differentiation of these cursives has not yet been investigated.

Turning from the Greek MSS to the versions, we enter on a more difficult task. Of the versions, Tyc sa eth and s² have not yet been critically edited. All the materials for such a critical edition of bo are given in Horner's edition of the Bohairic N.T., but they are accessible only to Coptic scholars. The internal relations of the Latin versions Tyc Pr fl gig which are still undetermined, {clxxxiii} and likewise the influence of the Latin versions (or of the Greek MSS from which a large part of this peculiar (?) Latin element may be derived) on arm s¹ bo eth from attractive problems for future researchers.

Since we know that the Latin versions (or their Greek progenitors) exercised some influence on arm and s¹, I have placed these versions in close connection on the above table. But the Latin influence on bo eth is not represented, nor is s² even mentioned.

NOTES

1. 35, but not 205, adopts the correction of 046 in 3¹², i.e. **h] katabaiēni**) Some 20 other cursives do likewise.
2. Naturally some points of agreement are found. Cf. the addition with \mathfrak{A} alp in 1⁸ **arch. kai. te]oj** and others, for any MS of J^{ap} has of necessity many points of contact with every other.

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XV.

THE METHODS OF INTERPETATION ADOPTED IN THIS COMMENTARY

In my *Studies in the Apocalypse* I have given a short history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, dealing with each method as it arose, its contribution to the elucidation of our author, its development, or, it may be, its final condemnation and rejection at the bar of criticism. Here there is no historical treatment of the subject, but merely an enumeration of the methods, which have stood the test of experience and been found necessary for the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. *The Contemporary-Historical Methods.* -- This method rightly presupposes that the visions of our author relate to contemporary events and to future events so far as they arise out of them. The real historical horizons of the book were early lost. Yet, even so, traces of the Contemporary-Historical Method still persist in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Victorinus of Pettau. But with the rise of the Spiritualizing Method in Alexandria this true method was driven from the field and lost to use till it was revived by the Roman and non-Roman Christian scholars of the 17th century. These scholars established as an assured result that the Apocalypse was originally directed against Rome. The Apocalypse is not to be treated as an allegory, but to be interpreted in reference to definite concrete kingdoms, powers, events, and expectations. But, though the visions of our author related to contemporary events, they are not limited to these. For, as I have said in vol. ii. 86, "no great prophecy receives its full and final fulfilment in any single event or series of events. *In fact, it may not be fulfilled at all in regard to the object against which it was primarily delivered by the prophet or seer.* But if it is the expression of a great moral and spiritual truth, it will of a surety be fulfilled at sundry times and in divers manners and in varying degrees of completeness" in the history of the world.

§ 2. *The Eschatological Method.* -- But the Apocalypse deals {clxxxiv} not only with contemporary events but also with future events. So far as these future events arise naturally out of contemporary events their elucidation can to a certain extent be brought under § 1. But the last things depicted by our author contain a prophetic element. These in a certain sense arise out of the past and yet are inexplicable from it. The future events depicted in the Apocalypse are not to be treated symbolically or allegorically (save in exceptional cases), but as definite concrete events.

§ 3. *The Chiliastic Interpretation.* -- Strictly speaking, Chiliasm forms a subdivision of Eschatology. But in point of fact these are interpreters who, while applying the Eschatological Method rightly on the whole, treat everything relating to Chiliasm in our author purely symbolically. But the prophecy of the Millennium in chap. xx. must be taken literally, as it was by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Victorinus of Pettau. These writers were acquainted with the original interpretation of this chapter. But this interpretation was soon displaced by the spiritualizing methods of Alexandria. Tyconius, adopting these methods, rejected the literal interpretation of chap. xx., treated the Millennium as the period between the first and second advents of Christ. Jerome and Augustine followed in the footsteps of Tyconius, and a realistic eschatology was crushed out of existence in the Church for full 800 years. The Eschatological Method, including Chiliasm, was revived by Joachim of Floris (*circ.* 1200 A.D.), but the latter element was again abandoned for some centuries and declared heretical by the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. In England, where these Confessions were without authority, Chiliasm was revived by Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Whiston.

§ 4^a. *The Philological Method in its earlier form.* -- This method was resorted to in the 16th cen. as a counsel of despair. The Church and World-Historical Methods which originated in the 14th cent. as well as the Recapitulation Method of Victorinus had, combined with other more reasonable methods, been applied to the Apocalypse by numberless scholars, with the result that the best interpreters of the 16th cent. confessed that the Apocalypse remained more than ever the Seven-sealed Book.

But the value of the Philological Method was only in part recognized. The chief philological problems were either not recognized at all or only in part, and so this method failed to make the indispensable contribution that could be made by it and by it alone, and that could put an end to the wild vagaries of the Literary Critical School which had its founders in Grotius. To this method I will return after § 9 under the heading § 4^b.

§ 5. *The Literary-Critical Method.* -- If the methods just {clxxxv} mentioned were the only valid methods, as if at the same time the absolute unity of the Apocalypse were assumed as given or proved, then large sections of it would have to be surrendered as unsolved and unsolvable. But there is no such *mpasse*. In the Apocalypse there is no

such rigid unity of authorship and consistency of detail as has been constantly assumed. A new method of interpretation was initiated by Grotius -- the Literary-Critical. Grotius, observing that there was conflicting elements alike in tradition and within the text itself, conjectured that the Apocalypse was composed of several visions written down at different times and in different places, some before and some after the destruction of Jerusalem. This method finally gave birth to three different hypotheses, each of th the three possessing some element of truth, but especially the third. These hypotheses were:

- (a) The Redactional-Hypothesis
- (b) The Sources-Hypothesis
- (c) The Fragmentary-Hypothesis

(a) *The Redactional-Hypothesis.* -- Many interpreters have availed themselves of this hypothesis, but a thorough study of John's style and diction makes it impossible to recognize the Apocalypse as the result of the work of a series of successive editors, such as we recognize in the Ascension of Isaiah. That the Apocalypse suffered one such redaction appears to the present writer to be a hypothesis necessarily postulated by the facts; see vol. i. pp. l-lv, vol. ii. pp. 144-154.

(b) *The Sources-Hypothesis.* -- This theory assumes a series of independent sources connected more or less loosely together as 1 Enoch. That this theory can be established to a limited extent, I have sought to show in 7¹⁻³ 7⁴⁻⁸ 11¹⁻¹³ 12. 13. 17. 18 (see pp. lxii-lxv). Some of these sources are purely Jewish, or Jewish-Christian in origin, and one at least of them -- i.e. chap. 12 -- is derived ultimately from a heathen expectation of a World Redeemer (see vol. i. 310-314). But this theory, which breaks up the entire book into various sources, cannot explain the relative unity of the work as a whole -- nay more, a unity which might be described as absolute in respect to its purpose steadily maintained from the beginning to the close, its growing thought and dramatic development, its progressive crises, and its diction and style, which are unique in all Greek literature.

(c) *The Fragmentary-Hypothesis.* -- From the above two forms of the Literary-Critical Method we turn to its third and most satisfactory form -- the Fragmentary-Hypothesis -- a most unhappy designation. This hypothesis presupposes an undoubted unity of authorship, though the author has from time to time drawn {clxxxvi} on foreign sources (as we have pointed out in the preceding section), and has not always assimilated these fragmentary elements in all their details to their new contexts.

§ 6. *Traditional-Historical Method.* -- This method was applied first by Gunkel to the Apocalypse, and subsequently by many other scholars in an extravagant degree. Each new apocalypse is to some extent a reproduction and reinterpretation of traditional material -- whether in the form of figures, symbols, or doctrines. Hence it is necessary to distinguish between the original meaning of a borrowed symbol or doctrine and the new turn given to it by our author. This is done in the introduction to each chapter in this Commentary. In nearly every case our author has transformed or glorified the borrowed material. Thus the sealing in 7¹⁻⁸, which in its Jewish source carried with it the thought of security from *physical* evil, is a pledge of God's protection from *spiritual* evil. The doctrine of the Antichrist as it appears in our author is unique: see vol. ii. 76-87, where the various stages of the development of this idea are given. Occasionally details in the borrowed material are inapplicable to our author's purpose (see notes on 12¹³⁻¹⁶ 18⁴), or possibly unintelligible to him. In these cases he omits all reference to such details in his interpretation of the sources of which he has availed himself. But it is probable that these defects and inconsistencies would have been removed by our author if he had had the opportunity of revising his book.

§ 7. *Religious-Historical Method.* -- There are certain statements and doctrines in the Apocalypse which could not have been written first hand by a Christian. These are in some cases of Jewish origin, or Greek sources; see vol. i. 121-123 on the Cherubim, vol. i. 310-314 on the doctrine of a World-Redeemer. The order of the twelve precious stones, see vol. ii. 165-169, points to our author's knowledge of the heathen conception of the City of the Gods and of contemporary astronomy, and his deliberate deviation from them.

§ 8. *Philosophical Method.* -- Apocalyptic is a philosophy of history and religion. The Seer seeks to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance. Hence apocalyptic takes within its purview not only the present and the last things, but all things past, present, and to come. Apocalyptic and not Greek philosophy was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity -- a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God. And yet serious N.T. scholars of the present day have stated that apocalyptic has only to deal with the last things!

{clxxxvii} § 9. *Psychological Method.* -- Are the visions in the Apocalypse the genuine results of spiritual experience? That our author speaks from actual spiritual experience no serious student of today has any doubt. The only question that calls for solution is the extent to which such experience underlies the visions of the Apocalypse. On p. cii-cix the present writer has made an attempt to discuss this question.

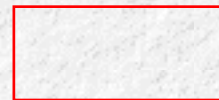
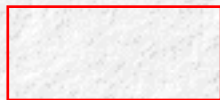
§ 4^b. *The Philological Method in its later form.* -- This method has already been dealt

with in the order of its historical appearance under § 4^a above. But its value in determining some of the chief questions of the Apocalypse has never yet been appreciated. It has therefore been all but wholly neglected, and no writer has made a really serious study of the style and diction of our author save Bousset, and that only in a minor degree. Hence on every hand individual verses and combinations of verses have been unjustifiably rejected as non-Johannine, and others just as unjustifiably received as Johannine. After working for years on the Apocalypse under the guidance of all the above methods, I came at last to recognize that no certain conclusion could be reached on many of the vexed problems of the book till I had made a thorough study of John's grammar. On pp. cxvii-clix I have given the results of a study extending over many years. In not a few respects it is revolutionary. To give a few examples. As regards John's Greek it shows that constructions (such as **tw| aggelw| tw| en Wefesw|** and so in the other six passages), which every modern German scholar has rejected, were exactly the constructions which a complete study of John's grammar *required*. Next, this study revolutionizes the translation of the Apocalypse. Frequently it is not the Greek but the Hebrew in the mind of the writer that has to be translated. Thirdly, as regards large sections which have been rejected by most modern scholars as non-Johannine, this grammar shows that such sections are essentially Johannine -- and *vice versa*.

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XVI. BIBLIOGRAPHY.⁽¹⁾

Editions. -- *Greek Commentaries*. -- The Apocalypse does not owe much to Greek expositors. The earliest were probably the best. Fragmentary expositions are preserved in Justin and Irenaeus {clxxxviii} which are referred to by Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* ii. 9. The two earliest complete Commentaries by Melito (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iv. 26. 2) and Hippolytus (Jerome, *op. cit.* 61) are lost. Clement of Alexandria (Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14. 1) commented on the Apocalypse, and Origen recorded his intention of so doing, *In Matt.* 49 (Lommatzsch, iv. 307). That his Scholia on the Apoc. have been preserved is highly probably: see p. clxxvi. Commentary by Oecumenius (discovered by Diekamp; see *Sitzungsberichte der Kon. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1901, 1046 sqq.) The Commentary ascribed by Cramer (*Catena*, vii. p. vi, 497-582) to Oecumenius is, according to Diekamp, a compendium of Andreas (ed. Sylburg, 1596; Migne, *P.G.* cvi) and Arethas (Cramer's *Catena*, viii. 171-496; Migne, *P.G.* cvi).

Latin Commentaries. -- Victorinus (iii cent.). This Commentary appears in a shorter and in a longer form. For the latter see Migne, *P.L.* v. Haussleiter is engaged on a critical edition. Tyconius (iv-v cent. See Souter in *J.T.S.* xiv. 338 sqq. A critical edition is promised by Haussleiter); Primasius (vi cent., ed. by Haussleiter, *Die Lateinische Apocalypse*, 1891); Apringius (vi cent. ed by Ferotin, Paris, 1900). Bede, Ansbertus, Beatus, Haymo, and other carried on the tradition of the Church in the West.

There were some Syriac Commentaries, the most important of which is that of Barsalibi (see Gwynn in *Hermathena*, vi-vii).

In the mediaeval period the most important commentator was Joachim, abbot of Floris, 1195 (ed. Venice, 1519, 1527)

Commentaries since the Reformation. -- Since the Reformation the number of writers on the Apocalypse is almost beyond count. Only a few of the chief names can be given. Erasmus, *Annotationes in N.T.*, 1516; Bibliander, *Comment. in Apoc.*, 1549; Bullinger, *In Apoc. Conciones*, 1557; Ribeira, *In sacram b. Ioannis . . . Apoc. Commentarius*, Lyons, 1593; Pereyra, *Disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis*, Venice, 1607; Salmeron, *In Johannis Apoc. Praeludia*, 1614; Alcasar, *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apoc.*, Lyons, 1618; Juan Mariana, *Scholia in . . . N.T.*, 1619; Brightman, *Revelation of St. John*, 1616; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comm. in Apoc.*, 1627; Mede, *Clavis Apocalypseos*, Cambridge, 1627; Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1644; Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the N.T.*, 1653; Coccejus, *Cogitationes in Apoc.*, 1673; Marckius, *In Apoc. . . . Commentarius*, Amsterdam, 1689; Vitringa, **Vanakrisij** *Apocalypsios*², 1719; I. Newton, {clxxxix} *Observations upon . . . the Apoc.*, 1732; Bengel, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1740; Wetstein, *N.T. Graecum*, 2 vols., 1751-52, Amsterdam; Eichhorn, *Commentarius in Apoc.*, Gottingen, 1791. Amongst the Commentaries of the nineteenth century should be mentioned: Vogel, *Commentationes vii. de Apocalypsi*, Erlangen, 1811-16; H. Ewald, *Comm. in Apoc. Joannis*, 1828, *die Johanneischen Schriften*, Gottingen, 1862; Lucke, see *Studies*, below; Zullig, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Stuttgart, 1834-40; M. Stuart, *Comm. on the Apoc.*², 1845; De Wette, *Erklärung der Offenbarung*, 1848; Hengstenberg, *Die Offenbarung . . . erlautert*, Berlin, 1849-51; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticæ*², 4 vols, 1851; Ebrard, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1853; G. Volkmar, *Commentar zur Offenbarung*, Zurich, 1862; C. Wordsworth, *New Testament*, vol. ii., London, 1864; Kliefoth, *Offenbarung des Johannis*, Leipzig, 1874; C. J. Vaughan, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1870; J. C. A. Hofmann, *Offenb. Johannis*, 1874; A. Bisping, *Erklärung der Apoc.*, Munster, 1876; C. H. A. Burger, *Offenb. Johannis*, 1877; J. P. Lange, *Bibelwerk*², 1878; E. Reuss, *L'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1878; W. Lee, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1881; Dusterdieck, *Offenb. Johannis*⁴, Gottingen, 1887; W. Milligan, *Book of Revelation*, London, 1889; Simcox, *Revelation of St. John*, Cambridge, 1893; Kubel, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Munich, 1893; Trench, *Comm. on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*⁷, 1897; Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Gottingen, 1896; new ed. 1906; Benson, *The Apocalypse*, London, 1900; C. A. Scott, *Revelation (Century Bible)*, Edinburgh, 1902; Crampon, *L'Apocalypse de S. Jean*, Tournai, 1904; Th. Calmes, Paris, 1905; H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*², London, 1907; H. P. Forbes, New York, 1907; Hort, *Apoc. of St. John*, i.-iii., London, 1908; Holtzmann-Bauer, *Offenbarung des Johannis*³ (*Hand-Comm.*), Tübingen, 1908; J. M. S. Baljon, *Openbaring van Johannes*, Utrecht, 1908; Moffatt, *Revelation of St. John (Expositor's Gk. Test.)*, London, 1910; E. C. S. Gibson, *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1910; A. Ramsay (*Westminster N.T.*), 1910; Diobouniotis und Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, Leipzig, 1911; J. T. Dean, Edinburgh, 1915.

Studies, Exegetical and Critical. -- Lucke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*², Bonn, 1852; F. Bleek, *Vorlesungen über d. Apocalypse*,

Berlin, 1859; F. D. Maurice, *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, Cambridge, 1861; Milligan, *Discussions on the Apocalypse*, London, 1893; Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse*, London, 1900; F. C. Porter (Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 239-266), 1902; *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers* (pp. 169-294), London, 1905; W. R. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, London, 1904; E. A. Abbott, *Notes on N.T. Criticism*, 1907, pp. 75-114, *Johannine Grammar* {cxc} 1906 -- valuable also for the student of the Apocalypse; Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*², 1915.

Studies mainly Critical. -- These are frequently quoted in my Commentary simply under the author's name with page. Volter, *Entstehung der Apokalypse* (designated as Volter i." in my Commentary), Freiburg, 1885; *Offenbarung Johannis* (as "Volter ii." in my Commentary), Tübingen, 1886; *Das Problem der Apokalypse* (as "Volter iii."), Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893; *Offenbarung Johannis* (as "Volter iv."), Strassburg, 1904; Vischer, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Leipzig, 1886; Weyland, *De Apokalypse van Johannes*, Groningen, 1888; Schoen, *L'Origine de l'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1887; Spitta, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, Halle, 1889; Erbes, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Gotha, 1891; Schmidt, *Die Komposition der Offenbarung Johannis*, Freiburg, 1891; Bousset, *Zur Textkritik der Apokalypse*, (*Textkritische Studien zum N.T.*), Leipzig, 1894; Rauch, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, Haarlem, 1894; Hirscht, *Die Apokalypse und ihre neueste Kritik*, Leipzig, 1895; J. Weiss, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, Göttingen, 1904; Wellhausen, *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis*, Berlin, 1907

Texts. -- B. Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse (Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung)*, Leipzig, 1891, 2nd ed. 1902; Souter, *N.T. Graec*, 1910; Moffatt (*Expositor's Greek Testament*), 1910; Von Soden, 1914. Von Soden's is the least satisfactory of modern texts so far as the Apocalypse is concerned. Notwithstanding all the work done in recent years on the text of the Apocalypse, that of Westcott and Hort remains the best, though the text presupposed by Bousset is in some of its details superior. Of these scholars, Westcott and Hort alone have recognized that the right text in 2^{1.8.18} 3^{1.7.14} is **tw| aggelw| tw|** though among the uncials A has preserved it only in three passages and C in one. Souter follows A in 2^{1.8} but not in 2¹⁸. Von Soden has rejected the right reading in the seven passages, and branded it (p. 2070) as a "Willkürlichkeit" on the part of the scribe of A. A knowledge of John's grammar would have made the adoption of **tw| aggelw| thj en)) ekkhhsiaj** impossible on the part of any editor.

Variants. -- See vol. i. pp. clxvi-clxxi, vol. ii. 234 sq.

Some Of the Abbreviations Used In This Work

Versions.⁽²⁾

Aq. or a,	Version of Aquila or a
A.V.	Authorized Version
LXX or o,	Septuagint
{exci} R. V.	Revised Version
Symm. or s,	Symmachus
Theod. or q ,	Theodotion
Abbott, <i>Gram.</i> " <i>Voc.</i>	Abbott, <i>Johannine Grammar</i> , 1906 " <i>Johannine Vocabular</i> , 1905
Blass, <i>Gram.</i>	Blass, <i>Grammar of N.T. Greek</i> (transl. by Thackeray), 1898
D.A.C.	Hastings, <i>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church</i>
D.B.	Hastings, <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i>
J	The Fourth Gospel
1. 2. 3 J	Johannine Epistles
Jap	The Apocalypse
K.A.T. ³	Schrader's <i>Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament</i> , edited and rewritten by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 1903
M. W.'s <i>Gram.</i>	Moulton's edition of Winer, 1882
Moulton, <i>Gram.</i>	Moulton's <i>Grammar of N.T. Greek</i> ² , vol. i., 1906
MT	Massoretic Text
N.T.	New Testament
O.T.	Old Testament
Robertson, <i>Gram.</i>	Robertson, <i>Grammar of the Greek of the N.T.</i> , 1914
S.B.E.	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i> (edited by Max Muller), Oxford
Thackeray, <i>Gram.</i>	Thackeray, <i>Grammar of the O.T. in Greek</i> , vol. i., 1909.
T.L.Z.	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
Weber ²	Weber's <i>Judische Theologie</i> , 1897
WH	Westcott and Hort, <i>The N.T. in Greek</i>

Volter i. " ii. " iii " iv	See above under the Section "Studies mainly Critical." " " "
Z.A.T.W.	<i>Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
Z.f.N.T.W.	Preuschen's <i>Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
Z.K.W. or Z.K.W.L.	<i>Zeitschrift fur Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben</i>
Z.W.T.	<i>Zeitschrift fur Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

NOTES

1. This bibliography is abbreviated as much as possible. For fuller bibliographies in various directions the reader should consult Lucke, *Einl in d. Offenbarung*², 518 sqq., 952 sqq.; Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1906, pp. 48-118; Holtzmann-Bauer's *Hand-Commentar*, iv. 380-390; Walch, *Bibl. Theol. selecta*, iv. 760 sqq.; Stosch, *Catalogus rariorum in Apoc. Joannis Commentariorum*; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae*, iv. 275-528. In my *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, pp. 1-78, I have combined a bibliography and a history of the intepretation of the Apocalypse, as Bousset and Holtzmann-Bauer have done, though on a smaller scale than Bousset.
2. For those used in the Greek text see vol. ii. 227-235.

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