## THE TEXT OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED SCHOLIA OF ORIGEN ON THE APOCALYPSE.1

## I. Scholia i-xxvii.

i ll. 7-10 ἐν γοῦν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αἷς γράφουσιν, ὡς ἄλλοι τὰ θνητῶν ἀξιώματα, προτάττουσι τοῦτο αὐτό. καὶ γοῦν ὁ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συμφώνως πράττουσι τὸ αὐτό.

Perhaps  $\pi \rho (\sigma \tau)$  άττουσι should be read a second time instead of  $\pi \rho$  άττουσι.

iii ll. 4, 5 τὸ γὰρ συνετῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ προχείρως ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ πιστῶς μακαρίζεται.

μακαρίζεται is Harnack's emendation for the MS reading μακαριουσιεί (?). Wohlenberg proposes doubtfully μακαριωσύνη: I should prefer μακαρίους (πο)ιεί.

iv ll. 1, 4 τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους περιείληφεν ὁ λόγος . . . τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ λόγου νοήσας.

This would be more intelligible to the reader if it were printed  $\delta~\Lambda \acute{o}\gamma os~\dots \tau o \hat{v}~\Lambda \acute{o}\gamma ov.$ 

V ll. 1-3 οὐ γίνεται ἀτεχνῶς εν ὡς εν οὐδε πολλὰ ὡς μέρη ὁ υἰός, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα εν εὐθεν καὶ ἄλλως πάντα εν κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς εν . . .

<sup>1</sup> [I owe to Dr Armitage Robinson's paper in the January number of the JOURNAL my first acquaintance at close quarters with the new fragments of Origen and the editio princeps of Harnack and Diobouniotis. I owe also to his private kindness the opportunity of seeing two contributions to the criticism of the fragments which appeared almost simultaneously with his own-one by Dr G. Wohlenberg in the Theologisches Literaturblatt for January 19 and February 2, the other by Dr Otto Stählin, the eminent editor of Clemens Alexandrinus, in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift for February 3-and of printing (within square brackets) some fresh suggestions of his. A complete edition of the fragments, on the model of the editions of the Greek Origen on Ephesians, I Corinthians, and Romans, may some day, I hope, appear in the Journal. Meanwhile the object of the following notes is both to put together for English readers the net result of the labours of Robinson, Wohlenberg, and Stählin, and to add some further suggestions of my own for the consideration of any scholars who may later on occupy themselves with the text. I should wish to add that, though it is inevitable to differ somewhat frequently from Harnack's readings or punctuation or exegesis of the fragments, the theological world does lie under a very deep debt of gratitude to him not only for his identification of the author of the Scholia, but also for his prompt publication of them. Scholars into whose hands an anecdoton falls are too often tempted to consult rather their own reputation than the public benefit, and to keep back their work indefinitely in the hope of continually improving it.—C.H.T.]

Harnack gives up the attempt to emend; 'locus corruptus est.' Wohlenberg rightly sees that ἄλλως πάντα ἕν suggests dittography of the preceding ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἕν, but his further suggestions are unconvincing 'ἔνθεν : ἔνθεν, oder besser ὡς πάντα ἕν ἔνθεν καὶ αὖ ὡς πάντα ἕν ἔνθεν '—which hardly sounds like Greek. Stählin points out that the whole Scholion (whether incorporated by Origen in a work of his own or no) comes really from Clement Strom. iv 156, and that the reading there is ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἕν. ἔνθεν καὶ πάντα.

v 11. 4, 5 οὖ μόνου τὸ τέλος ἀρχὴ γίνεται καὶ τελευτᾳ πάλιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἀρχὴν οὐδαμοῦ διάστασιν λαβών.

The punctuation seems perverse: omit the comma or transpose it after  $\partial \rho \chi \dot{\eta} \nu$ , and translate 'ends again at the original beginning'.

v 1. 6 διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πιστεῦσαι μοναδικόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀπερισπάστως ἐνουμένον ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀπιστῆσαι διστάσαι ἐστὶν καὶ διαστῆναι καὶ μερισθῆναι.

The meaning, I think, is that just as the Word is Himself a circle in which end and beginning are one, so our faith in Christ is a union which goes from Him to us  $(\delta i' a \dot{v} \tau o \hat{v})$  and from us to Him  $(\epsilon is a \dot{v} \tau \acute{v} v)$  without any break in the continuous process. The reference is rather to Col. i 16 than (with Harnack) to Rom. xi 36.

- vi ll. 3, 4 εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ὅπλα δικαίων καὶ βέλη ἐκλεκτὰ καὶ μάχαιρα ἐπαινετή. Wohlenberg satisfactorily explains the middle term of the three by reference to Is. xlix 2 ἔθηκέ με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτόν. Perhaps the ὅπλα δικαίων are an echo of 2 Cor. vi 7 διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης or more probably of Ps. v 13 ὅτι σὰ εὐλογήσεις δίκαιον, κύριε, ὡς ὅπλω εὐδοκίας κτλ. Το what passage exactly the 'sword that is praiseworthy' points I cannot say, unless it is Eph. vi 17. [μάχαιρα ἐπαινετή is sufficiently accounted for by the passage from Isaiah, xlix 2, since it includes the phrase καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν. And is not Rom. vi 13 in mind in the passage generally? Compare ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῆ ἀμαρτία and ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ with ll. 5, 6, στρατευομένων . . . τῷ θεῷ . . . καὶ τῆ ἀμαρτία. The plural βέλη ἐκλεκτά is in harmony with Orig. in Ps. cxx (cxix) 4 οὐκ ὰν δὲ φαρέτρα ἦν τῷ θεῷ δὶ εν βέλος, κ.τ.λ.: see the context for the βέλος ἀγάπης and τετρωμένη, ll. 16, 17.— J. A. R.]
- vi ll. 3-7 εἰ γάρ ἐστιν . . . οὐδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν περὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένων.

  As the εἰ γάρ clause is the protasis, the οὐδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν clause must be the apodosis and must contain the main verb of the sentence.

Read therefore οὐ δε(ĉ) ἀμφιβάλλειν.

vi ll. 11, 12 οἱ μὲν οὖν φαῦλοι μελετήσαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων τὸν νοῦν ἱκανῶς ἠκόνησαν ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀκουόντων.

Ps. lxiv (lxiii) 3 ἠκόνησαν ως ρομφαίαν τὰς γλώσσας αὐτων. In the first part of the clause τὸν νοῦν is Harnack's addition (assimilating

line 12 to line 13); but if ἐκανῶς is correct, μελετήσαντες ἐκανῶς must, I suppose, be taken together, and τὸν νοῦν is out of place between them. [For ἰκανῶς compare Orig. in Ps. lxiv (lxiii) 3 οἱ ἰκανοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων κ.τ.λ.—J. A. R.]

ll. 15, 16 οἱ μὲν γὰρ φαῦλοι τιτρώσκουσι μαχαίρα, †γλώσσας δὲ σοφίαν ἐδυτας καὶ τιτρώκουσιν ἀγάπη τη ἀγάπη οὖν ἔτρωσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος.

No wonder that Harnack noted 'locus corruptus est'. But he was wrong in supposing further that something had fallen out; Wohlenberg completely restores text and sense by pointing to the two biblical passages which Origen has in mind, Prov. xii 18 εἰσὶν οὶ λέγοντες τιτρώσκουσι μαχαίρα γλῶσσαι δὲ σοφῶν ἰῶνται, and Cant. ii 5 (= v 8) τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγώ.

vii ll. 1-5 ὁ ταύτας, ὡς ἔχει, θείας θεωρίας ἀνεψγμένως νοήσας τὸν θεὸν λόγον εἶναι τὸ ἄλφα, ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τῶν ἀπάντων, πρῶτόν τε οὐ χρόνω ἀλλὰ τιμἢ—αὐτῷ γὰρ προσφέρεται δόξα καὶ τιμή . . . ὅτι ἐπὶ συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων ὡς τὸ τέλος ἐπάγων τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένοις τὸ ω εἶναι εἴρηται. καὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος πάλιν οὐ κατὰ χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπάγων.

Clearly if the text is right as printed, Harnack is right that 'aliquid Wohlenberg makes an approach to giving the sentence a construction by supplying νοήσει after νοήσας. Stählin suggests οίδεν for είναι. Even these alterations leave a great deal that is to me unintelligible. To Harnack are due (1) correction of ἀνεωγμένως for MS ἀνοιγμένως, (2) the marks of a lacuna after τιμή, (3) the insertion of  $\tau \acute{o}$  before  $\tau \acute{\epsilon} \lambda os$ , (4) the insertion of  $\tau \acute{o}$  before  $\omega$ . It may be remarked in passing that it is extraordinarily misleading to have words printed in the text which are not in the MS and are not in any way distinguished typographically from the rest; no edition which claims to be called critical has the right to do this, least of all an editio princeps. Of the four changes introduced the last seems certainly right, but none of the rest are certain and perhaps none are probable; the third is obviously unnecessary, since the phrase  $\tau \in \lambda_{0}$ s ἐπάγων occurs again without the article two lines lower down. ἀνοιγμένως of the MS compare xxv 7 ἦνοῖχθαι MS ἦνεῷχθαι Harnack: late Greek departed so commonly from the Attic forms of ἀνοίγνυμι that I should rather scruple to alter the MS readings. In the words αὐτῶ προσφέρεται δόξα καὶ τιμή allusion is I think meant to be made to Apoc. v 12, 13.

vii ll. 13–16 δ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὰ γράμματα, τὸ α φημὶ καὶ τὸ ω, οὐ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀλλ' ἄπερ γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, οἶδεν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων καὶ τέλος τῶν ἄπάντων κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεολόγον Ἰωάννην εἰπόντα κτλ.

The MS gives ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχή for τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχήν, and with an improved punctuation there is no reason at all why the MS reading

should not be retained: ὁ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὰ γράμματα, τὸ α ψημὶ καὶ τὸ ω, οὐ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀλλὶ ἄπερ γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον οἶδεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων κτλ. 'He who has learnt all this knows that the letters,  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$ , are not the material letters of the alphabet, but those which the Holy Spirit writes.' So far the clause is closely connected with the preceding sentences; a new paragraph might begin with the next words.

ix II. 2-5 ἐπεὶ οὖν ηλιος ἡμέραν καὶ οὐ νύκτα φωτίζει, τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ διάγουσι χρεία λυχνίας οὐ φωτός. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ κατὰ τὴν θείαν παίδευσιν φωτίζον τοὺς ἀκούοντας. καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ αὐτὸ δεῖ ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, λυχνίας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνόμασεν.

I do not understand how, on this reading, it is proposed to construe the sentence  $\tau \circ \hat{v} \circ \cdots = \phi \omega \tau i \zeta \circ v$ , seeing that  $\phi \hat{\omega} \circ i$  is the only neuter noun, and that it has just been said 'there is no need of light'. Read, for  $\chi \rho \epsilon i \hat{\alpha} \lambda \nu \chi \nu i \hat{\alpha} \circ \hat{\nu} \phi \omega \tau \acute{o} \circ$ ,  $\chi \rho \epsilon i \hat{\alpha} \lambda \nu \chi \nu \iota \alpha (\hat{\iota}) \circ \nu \phi \omega \tau \acute{o} \circ$ : 'those who cannot get daylight must needs have candle-light.' Again,  $\hat{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \mu \hat{\eta} \hat{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \alpha \chi \circ \hat{\nu} \circ \hat{\delta} \circ \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\iota}$  cannot be right: Wohlenberg sees this, but his suggestion  $\hat{\alpha} \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\nu} \hat{\delta} \hat{\lambda} \hat{\alpha} \mu \pi \epsilon \iota$  is unnecessarily violent, and we want nothing more drastic than  $\hat{\alpha} \dot{\nu} \tau \circ (\hat{\nu}) \hat{\delta} \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\iota}$ . 'Because it is just in the churches that the candle-light is wanted, he called the churches candlesticks.'

ix ll. 6, 7 τῷ ζ ἀριθμῷ, μυστικῷ ὄντι, διὸ ἄγιος καὶ εὐλογημένος ἐστίν.

Compare Scholion xxviii l. 7 εἰ οὖν . . . ἔχει λοιπὸν ἐπτὰ κέρατα, ἁγίαν βασιλείαν καὶ εὐλογημένην ἔχει. Seven in both cases is 'holy and blessed', because God 'blessed the seventh day and hallowed it', εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, Gen. ii 3 = Exod. xx II. So also Schol. xxvii l. 7 θειῷ ἀριθμῷ σφραγίδων.

ix l. 9 ιν' ουν ωφελήση τους δυναμένους δ τον λύχνον άψας.

The biblical reference is rather to Luke, who alone uses the phrase  $\lambda \dot{\nu} \chi \nu \sigma \nu \dot{a} \psi a s$  (viii 16, xi 33), than with Harnack to Matt. Harnack, perhaps rightly, doubts  $\tau o \dot{\nu} s \delta \nu \nu a \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \sigma v s$ , and tentatively suggests the very remote substitute  $\tau o \dot{\nu} s \dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \dot{\omega} \pi \sigma v s$ : possibly  $\tau o \dot{\nu} s \delta \epsilon \sigma \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \sigma v s$ , cf.  $\delta \epsilon \hat{\iota} s \dot{\nu} s \dot{\nu}$ 

[ix l. 10 έπὶ τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ λυχνία ἐτίθετο αὐτόν.

The MS has ἐπὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ λόγου ὡς ἐπὶ λυχνίᾳ: and the genitive of the MS should stand in the first clause, and ἐπὶ λυχνίας (with Luke viii 16) should be read in the second, s and ι being often confused in the MS.—J. A. R.]

ix ll. 14–16 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ λείπονται τούτου οἱ νυκτερινὴν κατάστασιν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' οὖν φωτίζονται ὑπὸ λύχνου ἐκεῖθεν ἀφθέντος.

The MS has ἀλλ' οὐ, for which Diobouniotis conjectures and Harnack accepts ἀλλ' οὖν. I believe they are quite right, though Wohlenberg wants to return to ἄλλου.

x ll. 1, 2 τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἃ σὺν ἀγάπη κατορθοῦται. ἀγάπη is perhaps a reference to Rom. v 3-5.

[ x l. 4 εἰ καθάπαξ ἐνεκαλεῖτο ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ἀγάπην.

Better perhaps εἰ καθάπαξ ἐνεκάλει τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ἀ.—J. A. R.]

xi ll. 5, 6 ώς μη άδικηθηναι ύπ' αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ μη βλαβηναι.

Typography should come to the assistance of the reader here: ὡς μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀντὶ τοῦ 'μὴ βλαβῆναι'.

xi ll. 8, 9 ἰσοδυναμεῖ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ φθείρεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ.

MS τοῦτο τό: I should prefer ἰσοδυναμεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ φθείρεσθαι κτλ. xi ll. 9–12 οὖκ ἀδικεῖται δὲ οὖδὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου. οἰόμενός τις ἀδύνατα εἶναι περὶ ἀγγέλου ἐκλαβεῖν ἀπολυθήσεται τοῦ περισπασμοῦ γνοὺς ὡς πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις δεκτική ἐστι τῶν ἀποδοθέντων σημαινομένων περὶ τοῦ θανάτου. ἴσως δὲ ὁ ταραττόμενος τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἐν νῷ λαβὼν πέπονθεν ταραχήν.

Harnack, who notes 'usus insuetus' of the word περισπασμού, supplies three parallels from Origen (p. 50); I can add two more, from Orig. in Eph. iv 15 (J. T. S. iii 415 ll. 91, 92) and (still closer) in Rom. vi 12 ἀπολύων ἡμᾶς περισπασμού. I find more difficulty in seeing meaning or connexion in the text as it stands; and I suggest ούκ άδικείται δε ούδε έκ τούτου. τὸ(ν) δεύτερο(ν) θάνατο(ν) οἰόμενός τις άδύνατα είναι περί ἀγγέλου ἐκλαβείν κτλ. 'And he is not injured even by this. If any one thinks that it is impossible to interpret of an angel [sc. the angel of the church of Smyrna] the "second death", his doubts will be solved when he recognizes' &c. There should be a full stop after ἐκ τούτου, and only a colon after περὶ τοῦ θανάτου: Dr Armitage Robinson has rightly divined that the final clause in the passage merely means 'he who doubts on this point perhaps in reality only doubts because he has been thinking of natural death' ( J. T. S. Jan. 1912 p. 295). Harnack has rightly accepted ἴσωs for the MS ίσος: Wohlenberg thinks of Ἰησοῦς.

xiii l. 3 οὐκ ἀπεγνωστέον καὶ περὶ ἀσάρκων τινῶν ψευδομάντεων ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι δι ἀποκαλύψεως γὰρ ἐδείχθη τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.

Presumably the words should be  $o\dot{v}\kappa$   $\dot{a}\pi\langle o\rangle\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\tau\dot{\epsilon}o\nu$ , and the meaning 'we must not reject the idea that . . .' The  $\dot{a}\sigma a\rho\kappa\sigma\iota$   $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta o-\mu\dot{a}\nu\tau\epsilon\iota s$  are surely not human, though both Harnack and Stählin interpret them as heretical teachers; the point of the last clause is exactly that the reference to immaterial spirits is natural enough in a 'revelation' of things hidden.

xiv ll. 4, 5 τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μάννα τὸ κεκρυμμένον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινόν.

Full stop after κεκρυμμένον, and here the first part of the comment ends. The succeeding words are simply the *lemma* from Apoc. ii 17,

which the rest of this scholion expounds: see Dr Armitage Robinson p. 295.

xiv II. 5, 6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ πνευματικῶν ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω, χωριστέον παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ δηλουμένου περὶ τῆς ψήφου.

'Corrupta videntur' Harnack. Wohlenberg restores text and sense by placing the comma after  $\lambda \delta \gamma \sigma s$ , and from the MS reading  $\chi \omega \rho \sigma \tau \delta \sigma \tau$  instead of  $\chi \omega \rho \sigma \tau \delta \sigma \tau$ . 'We must rise above all material ideas.'

xiv ll. 9-15 έπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν προκοπὴν οἰκείαν τῷ ἐκ τῆς προκοπῆς ποιότητι ἔχει τις προσηγορίαν, ἀεὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν προτέρων παρερχομένων, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν γραφόμενον ὄνομα τοῦ τελειωθέντος, οὐκ ἔχον ἔτερον μετὰ τοῦτο, ἀεὶ καινόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἀδιάδοχον Καινὴν Διαθήκην καὶ ἔτι τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου παραστατικόν. τοῦτο οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων μόνος.

Harnack's text is here quite unintelligible; but we owe to him one excellent emendation,  $\tau ο \tilde{v}$  κρυπτο $\tilde{v}$  τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου for  $\tau ο \tilde{v}$  κρούστου(?) of the MS. In restoring a consecutive meaning to the passage, we will begin by dividing it in the middle, at the point where the break comes between the comment on καινόν and the comment on  $\tilde{v}$  οιδείς οίδεν: place a full stop therefore after Καινὴν  $\Delta \iota a \theta \eta κ \eta v$ . What follows ought to be easy enough: ἔτι is in the MS ἐπί, and αὐτῶν is αὐτῶ read therefore καὶ ἐπ(ε)ὶ τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου παραστατικὸν τοῦτο, οὐδεὶς αὐτ(ὸ) οίδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. 'And since this new name is indicative of the "secret man of the heart", no one knows it save he who receives it.'

xv ll. 8–12 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οῦς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφοιτήσας, διὰ τοῦ χαλκολιβάνου παραβάλλονται—διὰ τὸ θεϊκὸν λίβανος, χαλκὸς διὰ τὸ τοῖς κτίσμασι συγκαταβαίνειν εἶχον ποιεῖν ἐπιπορευόμενον διεγερτικὸν τῶν κοιμωμένων.

Harnack's text differs from the MS mainly by the correction of ἐπιπορευόμενος to ἐπιπορευόμενον: but he has rightly queried the word είχον, for which Wohlenberg and Stählin both make the simple but brilliant emendation  $\hat{\eta}\chi\sigma\nu$ . Some smaller supplementary changes are however necessary to complete the restoration. The whole clause from χαλκός onwards must be taken together: the feet are not compared to brass because He condescends to creation, but because as He moves about the clang of His footsteps is meant to rouse the sleepers. Retain therefore the MS reading ἐπιπορευόμενος, and write χαλκὸς διὰ τὸ τοῖς κτίσμασι συγκαταβαίν(ω)ν ήχον ποιεῖν ἐπιπορευόμενος διεγερτικόν των κοιμωμένων. The first part of the sentence might stand as it is, if παραβάλλονται can mean 'set before us', 'presented to us'; but if, as I rather think, it can only mean 'compared', I suppose we must alter text and punctuation as follows—οί πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὖς έπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφοιτήσας δι' α(ΰ)τοῦ, χαλκολιβάν(ψ) παραβάλλονται. This also has the advantage of echoing rather more closely the wording of the biblical text 'like to fine brass'.

xvi l. ι ἐπίστησον μὴ ἐφαρμόζη.

Here, and in xix 2, 3 ἐπίστησον μὴ . . . ὧσιν, Harnack emends the indicatives of the MS, ἐφαρμόζει and εἰσίν, into subjunctives. I think he is wrong, and that Origen uses ἐπίστησον μή with the indicative.

xvi ll. 2-4 διὰ τὸ τὰ ἔργα τῆς γνώμης ἐκείνης προσῆφθαι τῷ Ἰεζάβελ εἰς πορνείαν κατασπασάση καὶ χρῆσιν εἰδωλοθύτων πειρωμένη.

χρῆσω cannot be accusative after πειρωμένη. If the editors had understood that the definition at the end of the clause is attached to τῆς γνώμης ἐκείνης and not to τῆ Ἰεζάβελ, they would not have needlessly altered the readings of the MS κατασπῶν and πειρωμένης. Render 'because the practices of that theology are attached to the name of Jezebel, since it attempts to drag men into fornication and the use of *idolothyta*'. [So too Stählin.]

χνιιί 1. 3 πρό ἀνατολής τοῦ τής δικαιοσύνης ήλίου.

Mal. iv 2 ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν . . . ἤλιος δικαιοσύνης.

xix l. 4 ἀσυντρόχαστον.

Not in L. S., who recognize only ἀσύντροχος: but see συντροχάζω. Harnack notes that Origen uses ἀσυντρόχαστον in the *de oratione*.

xx l. 1 ἄγιος, ἀληθινὸς ὁ μὴ μετουσία ἀλλ' οὐσία ὢν τοιοῦτος, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος.

The first two words should be separately printed, as a *lemma* from Apoc. iii 7: the comment begins with  $\delta \mu \dot{\eta}$ .

xx ll. 8-10 διὸ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει τὰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου, οὐκέτι ἐφεξῆς τὰ λοιπὰ φυλαχθῆναι χώραν ἔχοντα. ἀνοίγει μὲν τὰ δυνατὰ ἀνθρώποις νοῆσαι, κλείει δὲ ὅσα μὴ δύναται ἐν τῆ παρούση γνῶναι.

MS ουκετι φυ υφεξεις τα λοιπα λαχθηναι, and Dr Armitage Robinson

pointed out (J. T. S. Jan. p. 295) that the words  $\mathring{v}\phi \acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon} \iota s$  τὰ λοιπά have nothing to do with the text, which reads straightforwardly if they are omitted, 'the literal meaning of the Law has no longer any place for observance'.  $\mathring{v}\phi \acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon} \iota s$  τὰ λοιπά is perhaps a direction to the copyist, jotted down in the margin of the MS, and unintelligently incorporated as a gloss. Certainly the last line does not seem to be Origen's: the interpretation of 'opening' and 'shutting' is inconsistent with what precedes, and is rather suggestive of a more literal school of interpretation.  $\mathring{\eta}$  παροῦσα reminds us of the Antiochene writers, and their favourite contrast between  $\mathring{\eta}$  παροῦσα κατάστασιs and  $\mathring{\eta}$  μέλλουσα κατάστασιs. But they did not accept the Apocalypse.

xxi ll. 5-7 καὶ ἐπιμετεωρίζονται οὖτοι εὖσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς πτεροῖς. λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν κτλ.

Wohlenberg has done excellent service here, having seen that this is no biblical citation but an introduction by Origen to the citation from Job which follows: καὶ ἐπ(ε)ὶ μετεωρίζονται οὖτοι εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς πτεροῖς, λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν κτλ.

 xxi ll. 11-12 ἐρχόμενος γὰρ δι' ἐνεργειῶν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα οὐκ ἐκβάλλεται ἔξω.

Jo. vi 37 τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρός με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω.

xxi l. 15 καταβάσα παρά θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Not from Apoc. xxi 2 (as Harnack) but simply from the verse on which the Scholiast is commenting, iii 12.

xxii ll. 1-4 ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπάρχει οὐ διὰ τὸ πίστεως καὶ ἀληθείας μετέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ βέβαιον κατ' οὐσίαν εἶναι ἀληθινὸς γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀληθινὸν εἶναι.

From  $\beta \in \beta a \omega \nu$  onwards in this sentence exactly half the words are given by the editors in a form different from the MS, which reads δια το βεβαιος και ουσια ειναι αληθινος γαρ τον αυτον επ' αυτου το αληθεια και αληθινος ειναι. Both Stählin and Wohlenberg make their proposals for improvement: the former writes διὰ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ οὐσίαν είναι άληθ(ιν)ως γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ άλήθειαν καὶ άληθινὸν είναι, the latter διὰ τὸ βέβαιος καὶ οὐσία εἶναι· ἀληθινὸς γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀληθινὸς εἶναι. I am sure that Wohlenberg is right against Harnack and Stählin in retaining the nominatives of the MS with το . . . είναι. I think too that οὐσία of the MS is right, comparing xx 1 ὁ μη μετουσία ἀλλ' οὐσία ὢν τοιοῦτος. And lastly Wohlenberg's  $\vec{a}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\delta s$  yà $\rho$   $\tau\delta$   $\vec{a}\dot{v}\tau\delta$   $\vec{\epsilon}\pi'$   $\vec{a}\dot{v}\tau\delta\hat{v}$   $\tau\hat{\phi}$   $\vec{a}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota a$  . . .  $\epsilon\hat{i}\nu a\iota$ , 'for "True" is the same thing in his case with being "the Truth", seems to give just the sense we want with the minimum of change in the wording of the MS. But I should propose to transfer the second ἀληθινός into the first part of the sentence, so that the whole would read διὰ τὸ βέβαιος καὶ οὐσία είναι ἀληθινός (ἀληθινὸς) γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τ(ῷ) ἀλήθεια είναι.

xxii ll. 14-18 τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶν λέγειν· μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι, καὶ τό· ἐγενήθητέ μοι εἰς πλησμονήν, οἱονεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἔξετε [ʔ] ἐν ἐμοί· ὅταν γὰρ τὴν περί τινος μνήμην ἀποκαλεῖ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ κύριος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἤμεσεν, γενόμενον αὐτῷ εἰς πλησμονὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης καὶ κακίας παχύτητα μὴ χωροῦντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

For ἐπὶ πόλλ ἔξετε—truly a counsel of despair—the MS gives επι πολλεξεται, and the true reading suggested itself independently to Stählin, Wohlenberg, and myself, ἐπιπολάζετε 'you remain undigested', literally 'you keep on the surface of the stomach'. ἀποκαλεῖ: the word means 'to stigmatize' (as in the next scholion, l. 6 ὁ δὴ καὶ κυβίαν ἀπεκάλεσεν ὁ ἀπόστολος) and is out of place here, as Stählin too has seen. His suggestion is ἀπολεῖ, comparing Sap. iv 19 ἡ μνήμη αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖται: what had occurred to me is rather ἀπο(β)αλεῖ or ἀπο(β)άλ(η). For διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης καὶ κακίας παχύτητα the MS has διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης κακίας παχύτητα, from which Wohlenberg has rightly restored διὰ τὴν ἀπόζὸ) τῆς κακίας παχύτητα.

xxiii ll. 4, 5 τὴν δὲ μεσότητα τὴν ἄπρακτον ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ χλιαρόν, ὅπερ δηλοῦ τὴν πρὸς πάντα ῥαδίαν μετάκλησιν.

An admirably simple and satisfactory emendation, μετάκλισιν, comes from Wohlenberg.

xxiv b. At the foot of the page Harnack prints the following, which in the MS follows Schol. xxiv, and which he regards as an impassioned address to Origen by an admiring reader: \*Ω σου πάντως ἀκούειν ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγοντος [cod λέγων] ὡς [cod ἢ] μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἢνθισμένου [cod ἢθησμένου]· οὖτω σου πάντως ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς [cod ἢ] μόνου τοῦ πνευματικὸν [cod πνευματικοῦ] ἔχοντος [cod ἔχωντος] ὡτίον προστεθειμένον αὐτῷ [?] θεόθεν κατὰ τὸ λεχθέν· προσέθηκέ μοι ὡτίον τοῦ ἀκούειν [Is. l 5] τὸ γὰρ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῆς ἀκουστικῆς ὅργανον καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἔχουσι, μόνων [cod μόνον] τῶν κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα σοφῶν ἐχόντων τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ὡτίον, περὶ οὖ ὁ σωτὴρ πληθυντικῶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἔχων ὧτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω [Matt. xi 15].

Robinson, Wohlenberg, and Stählin have each seen that we have here simply another scholion of Origen. On iii 22, δ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, he writes according to their restored text ὡς οὖ παντὸς ἀκούειν ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικῶν λόγων [ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγοντος Stählin] ἢ μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰθισμένου· οὖτως οὖ παντός ἐστιν ἀκούειν τοῦ πνεύματος ἢ μόνου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ κτλ. For ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγων of the MS I venture to suggest ἐπιστημονικὰ λεγ(όντ)ων.

xxv ll. 6-11 διὸ ὅταν λέγη θύραν ἢνεῷχθαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τὴν κατὰ σαφή-νειαν διαίρεσιν τῶν νοητῶν ἐκλαμβάνωμεν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀναβαίνων τις ἐκεῖ τῶν ἀγίων λέγη τὰς πιστώσεις, πιστώσεις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γεγράφθαι.

ώς ετερόν τινα ἀνάλαβε τὸν Ἰωάννην ὧσπερ τὸν Ἡλίαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ προσετάγη εκουσίφ ὁρμἢ ἀναβῆναι.

The MS has in l. 8 αναβαίνειν for αναβαίνων: in l. 9 λέγει for λέγη, and πιστώσει δέ for πιστώσεις δέ; in l. 10 ετερός τι ανέλαβε for ετερόν τινα ἀνάλαβε. Stählin and Wohlenberg have of course seen that the full stop at γεγράφθαι must disappear and ἀνέλαβε of the MS return into the text: 'Scripture does not say that John was taken up, like Elijah, by some force or being (ἔτερός τις Stählin, ἔτερόν τι Wohlenberg) external to himself; he was bidden to go up of his own motion' -from which it follows (as Stählin points out) that the 'heaven' must be understood allegorically. But the difficulties of the passage do not end there. Ι do not feel that λέγη τὰς πιστώσεις πιστώσεις δέ can be right, though Harnack has found a parallel to the very rare word πίστωσις in Orig. de exhortatione martyrii 26 ai δι' δρκων πιστώσεις, and the verb πιστοῦται occurs in Schol, xxix 16. Whether the editorial note πιστώσει δέ is meant to imply that the MS gives πιστώσει instead of the double πιστώσεις or only of the second πιστώσεις of the text, I cannot say. But in any case for όταν άναβαίνων τις έκει των άγιων λέγη τάς (MS άναβαίνειν and λέγει) I am much tempted to read όταν αναβαίνειν τις έκει των αγίων λέγηται: "heaven" in Scripture commonly means "the nature of things immaterial", so when it says "a door was opened in heaven" we take it to mean "the clear insight into supramundane things", more especially if any of the Saints is said actually to "ascend thither".' For confusion between  $\iota$  and  $\varsigma$  compare above vi 16, ix 3, and Dr Robinson's note on ix 10. The phrase takes up of course the λέγων 'Ανάβα ώδε of Apoc. iv 1. For πιστώσεις or πιστώσει the sense might be best satisfied by πιστωθέντες, referring back to ἐκλαμβάνωμεν (ἐκλαμβάνομεν): but I do not propose so violent a change, and though the transition to the second person singular is a little awkward. I think the MS reading πιστώσει, as second person singular of the future middle, may really quite well stand.

xxv ll. 13-15 σημαίνει δὲ τὸ οὕτω λεχθὲν τὴν τῆς ἐννοήσεως μεγαλοφωνίαν μετὰ σαφηνείας γενομένης πρὸς αὐτόν.

This makes good enough sense no doubt; but it departs a little widely from the MS tradition  $\tau_{\omega}$  out  $\omega$   $\lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \nu$   $\tau \eta \nu$   $\epsilon \nu \nu \sigma \eta \sigma \iota \nu$   $\mu \epsilon \gamma a \lambda \sigma \phi \omega \nu \iota a \nu$ . And as the run of the sentence seems perhaps to suggest that the seer is still the subject, perhaps we should do better to read  $\sigma \eta \mu \alpha \iota \nu \iota \delta \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega}$  out  $\omega$   $\lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \langle \iota \rangle \hat{\eta} \nu \epsilon \nu \langle \epsilon \rangle \nu \delta \eta \sigma \langle \epsilon \rangle \nu$   $\mu \epsilon \gamma a \lambda \sigma \phi \omega \nu \langle a \nu \rangle$ .

χχνί Ι. Ι οὐ τοῦτο τὸ ὂν κτίζεται άλλὰ τὸ κτιζόμενόν έστι.

I do not know how the editors would translate this sentence, and it does not seem worth while to depart from the MS except to make a translateable text. The MS gives not τοῦτο τὸ ὄν but τοῦτο ὄν; and

if, by a very small change, we read οὖ που τὸ δν κτίζεται ἀλλὰ τὸ κτιζόμενον ἔστι, we at least get something we can construe. Origen is commenting on the phrase ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν, and begins by pointing out the difficulty of the order of the two verbs. 'We should not I suppose naturally say that that which is is created, but con versely that that which is created is.'

xxvi ll. 2-4 αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν· φησὶν καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετεί-

λατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.

Wohlenberg points out that this should be printed  $a \dot{v} \tau \dot{o} s \gamma \dot{a} \rho$   $\epsilon \ell \pi \epsilon \nu$ ,  $\phi \eta \sigma \ell \nu$ ,  $\kappa a \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \dot{\eta} \theta \eta \sigma a \nu \kappa \tau \lambda$ . 'He spake, says Scripture, and they were made.'

xxvi Il. 4-5 κτίζεται γάρ τις έπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, πρὸ τούτου ὢν θεοῦ ποίημα.

The whole point of the reference to Eph. ii 10 is that both words ποιέω and κτίζω occur there in conjunction; αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα κτισθέντες κτλ. Consequently ποίημα at least ought also to be spaced. xxvi ll. 5, 6 καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς οὖτος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκτίσατό σε καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔπλασέν σε.

Reference to L. S. shewed that  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tau i\sigma a\tau o$  could not have anything to do with  $\kappa\tau i\zeta_{\omega}$ , so it was clear that we must read  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tau i\eta\sigma a\tau o$ . Robinson saw that the sentence must be interrogative, thus cutting the ground from under Harnack's deduction that 'God is not Himself the Creator and Former'. But we owe to Wohlenberg the clearing up of the whole difficulty by identifying the sentence as a quotation from Deut. xxxii 6: as however the word  $\kappa\tau i\zeta_{\varepsilon\nu}$  is wanted somewhere—otherwise the citation would not bear on the  $\eta \sigma a\nu$   $\kappa a\lambda i i \kappa \tau i \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a\nu$ —and as Origen does actually cite the verse in his de oratione in the form  $i \kappa \tau i \eta \sigma a\tau i$  of  $\kappa \kappa a\lambda i i \kappa i i \eta i i$  form  $i \kappa \tau i \eta \sigma a\tau i$  in fact is not read by any of the main authorities of the LXX text ad loc.: AF give  $i \kappa \tau i \sigma \epsilon \nu$ , B omits the third verb altogether.

xxvii ll. 1-3 λέξει τις περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ὡς εἴη ὁ πᾶς λόγος τῆς προνοίας, καθ ὂν ἡ κρίσις θεοῦ ἐπάγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡδέα τε καὶ ἀηδῆ.

The MS omits ή, and for the editors' ἡδέα τε καὶ ἀηδῆ has ηδεατεκαιηδη. I do not know how it is proposed to construe the printed text. I keep close to the MS and read καθ' δν κρίσις θεοῦ ἐπάγεται τοῦς ἀνθρώποις ἥδε ἄτε καὶ ἥδη, 'according to which judgement from God upon men is being brought of this sort (i.e. of the sort described in the fifth chapter) because it is being brought now'; because the processes of Divine judgement are at work already, they are at work in this present world, in war, famine, and pestilence. xxvii l. 7 συσφίγγεται τὸ βιβλίον.

A beautiful emendation of Harnack's for οὖν σφίγγεται of the MS; but he could have kept closer to the tradition by writing συνσφίγγεται. xxvii l. 12 οὐδεὶς γεννητὸς . . . ἄξιος εὖρηται.

MS γενητόs, and it is a rash procedure to change the word. If we are to establish on a secure basis an induction as to the earliest use of γενητὸς γενητὸς ἀγένητος ἀγέννητος, we must not begin by deserting MS authority.

xxvii l. 13 τον της προνοίας λόγον διακρίσεως καὶ διοικήσεως φανερώσαι.

Wohlenberg much improves the sentence by writing διὰ κρίσεως as two words.

xxvii ll. 16–19 οὖτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα λέων, ἡ ῥίζα Δαυΐδ, τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον τυγχάνει περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου. καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν καὶ ἐν ἸΗσαΐα γέγραπται κτλ.

All the critics, Robinson, Stählin, Wohlenberg, have seen that the new sentence must begin not at καὶ Μωϋσῆς, but four words earlier at περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου. The reference to Isaiah is I suppose to Is. xxix 11 καὶ ἔσται ὑμῦν τὰ ῥήματα πάντα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου κτλ. I do not know whether the Mosaic reference is to Deut. xxxii (a chapter which we have twice found cited in these scholia) 34 οὖκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνῆκται παρ᾽ ἐμοί, καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῦς θησαυροῦς μου;

xxvii l. 19 έπεὶ πρώτης ἐπιδημίας κτλ.

The editors have rightly corrected  $\epsilon \pi i$  of the MS to  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon i$ ; they should have gone on, as Wohlenberg has noted, to correct  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \eta s$  into  $\pi \rho \delta \tau \eta s$ .

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