A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
VOLUME II
A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES
ALSO
THE GREEK TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME II.

Page 10, line 1. See Abbott, *Notes on N.T. Criticism*, p. 104, for passages in Origen and Clement of Alex. in which παρθένος are applied to men, and in Ignatius (*Smyrn. 13*) to widows. But nothing that he says can explain the application of εἰς μερὰ γυναικαὶ σὺν ἐμολύνθησαν to women.

Page 27, line 9. For "Only the faithful . . . fifth seal" read "The faithful suffer physical martyrdom, but their prayers become an instrument of wrath in the hands of God." See vol. ii. 403, note 2.

Page 49, line 7 ab imo. Transpose the subject-matter of the fifth and sixth beatitudes. See vol. ii. 445, note 1.

Page 72, line 3 ab imo. Delete "Again we should expect καθημα . . . iii. 31." Our author only uses the participle of καθήθαν, but his sources (xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 7) use the pres. ind. In the LXX the pres. and imperf. forms of καθήσαω have disappeared, their place being taken by καθήμαι, καθῆμαι. See Thackeray, *Gram.* 271 sq.

Page 75, line 8. After "first" add "either in Dan. iv. 34 (LXX), θεὸς τ. θεῶν καὶ κύριος τ. κυρίων καὶ βασιλεῖς τ. βασιλείων, or (rather in the pre-Maccabean section of 1 Enoch—see my second edition, p. lli sq.)."

Page 90, lines 25–27. Delete "καθημα . . . iii. 21; and." See note above on p. 72, l. 3.


Page 203, line 4 ab imo. The line "[καὶ λέγει . . . αὐτῷ] should not be bracketed, but read immediately before xxi. 6b–8. See vol. ii. 379, 444, where it is restored to its right place.
Page 219, line 3 ab imo. *After "world" add "of the living."* Christ judges the living: God Himself judges the dead according to our author's view.

Page 234, line 18. *Add "Where no reading of Tyc is quoted, Tyc agrees with vg."*

Page 234, line 20. *Add "From 20° to 21ª (nova facio omnia) Pr in his comm. has copied verbatim the work of Augustine (de Cív. Dei, xx. 7–17), retaining Augustine's Italian text. In the App. Crit. these verses are quoted without any mark of distinction.*

Page 240, ver. 11, line 2. *After 2020: add ηχονής 181:
" " " 11, " 11. For post Θαραμ. pon read τάκ after Θαραμ. Similarly elsewhere.*


Page 279, ver. 2, lines 5, 8, 9. *Delete et Ν. Similarly elsewhere.*

Page 288, ver. 12, line 11. *Delete Or°. Or° conflates 046 al and Αν 025: and reads καὶ το τρεῖτον αὐτής μή φανὴ ημέρα (so 046 al) καὶ η ημέρα μή φανὴ το τρεῖτον (τέταρτον Α) αὐτής (so Αν 025).*
Chapter XIV.

Introduction.

§ 1. Character and Object of this Chapter.

The entire chapter is proleptic in character. That is, the orderly development of future events as set forth in the successive visions is here, as in two sections heretofore, abandoned, and all the coming judgments from XVI. 17 to XX. 7–10, are summarized in XIV. 6–11, 14, 18–20. To this summary is prefixed a short description of the blessed (who are identical with the 144,000 in VII. 4–8) in the Millennial Kingdom established on the earth with Mount Zion as its centre, XIV. 1–5. Thus we have in this chapter a general introduction to XVI. 17–XX. 1–10. It is therefore of the nature of an intermesso.

The object of XIV. is to encourage the faithful to endurance in the face of impending universal martyrdom. Hence in XIV. 1–5 the veil is lifted for a moment from the future and to the Seer is disclosed a vision of the martyrs enjoying the blessedness of the Millennial Kingdom on Mount Zion in attendance on their Lord. We have here a later stage of their blessedness than that depicted in VII. 9–17, where the martyrs are represented as having arrived or arriving in heaven straight from the scene of martyrdom. See Chapter VII., Introduction, § 10.

But the faithful are further encouraged to endurance and loyalty by the proclamation of the doom of the proud anti-Christian power, XIV. 8–11, and of all the heathen powers whether confederate with it or not, XIV. 14, 18–20.

This chapter thus contains three visions, which are all proleptic.

¹ XIV. 12–13 belong to XIII., and are read immediately after XIII. 18 in this edition. They are from the hand of our author.

Vol. II.—1
1. xiv. 1-5. Vision of the glorified martyrs with the Lamb on Mount Zion during the Millennial reign. Cf. xx. 4. The greater part of xiv. 4-5 is interpolated.

2. xiv. 6-11. Vision of the judgment on the antichristian Roman Empire and its adherents and their everlasting torment. Cf. xvi. 17-xviii.


§ 2. This chapter, with the exception of certain interpolations (cf. xiv. 4-5, 15-17), is from the hand of our author; for (1) the order of the words is Hebraic: (2) the diction and style are decidedly his.

The first question needs no discussion: the fact is so obvious. Hence we shall limit our consideration to (2).

(2) The diction is that of our author except in xiv. 15-17, which in the first place is a doublet of xiv. 14, 18-20 and in the next exhibits three constructions, which are against the usage of our author (see notes on τῷ καθημένῳ οὐ τῆς νεφέλης, in xiv. 15, ὁ καθήμενος οὐ τῆς νεφέλης and ἐβαλεν . . . οὐ κύριος γίνη in xiv. 16). Of xiv. 3-5 only οἱ ἕγοροι διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπορχή τῷ θεῷ ἀμώμῳ εἰσών seems to be original. The interpolations in those verses are, however, in the style of our author, except, perhaps, ὅπου ἄν ὁ πάγος in xiv. 4, but the thought conveyed is wholly against the context.

I will now enumerate some of the phrases characteristic of our author, though not, except in a few cases, peculiar to him.

1. καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἴδοι. See iv. 1, note. γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετατόπων αὐτῶν. See vii. 3, note. 2. φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, x. 4, 8, xi. 12, xiv. 13. ὁς φωνῆ συννυμίων τολμῶν; cf. i. 15, xix. 6. φωνὴ καθημένων. Cf. xviii. 22. 2-3. ἐν καθαιρόμενων . . . καὶ ἔδουσιν we have the familiar Hebrew idiom reproduced already in i. 5-6, ii. 2, 9, etc. (see note in loc.). ἔδουσιν ὡς ἥλιον καταγίζων; cf. v. 9. ἐνόπλων τοῦ θρόνου; cf. iv. 5, 6, etc. 4. The use of ἀρχή = "sacrifice," though not found elsewhere in our author, is in keeping with his frequent use of Greek words in the same sense as in the LXX. 5. The asyndetic addition of the clause ἀμώμῳ εἰσὼν (cf. xvi. 6). 6. πετάμενον ἐν μεταφωνήματι. Already in viii. 13. With εἰσεχειρίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατακοίμητας (A., καθημένους, KCPQ); cf. x. 7. The enumeration τῶν ἔννοι καὶ φυλῆν κτλ. (see note on v. 9) and the grammatical irregularity λέγων in 7 instead of λέγοντα are both characteristic of his style. 7. λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Cf. xiv. 9. ἐν is used also before φωνῇ μεγ. after κηρύ¬

σεων (v. 2), but after κράζειν only in passages from another hand (xiv. 15, xviii. 2). On the other hand it is absent after λέγειν in this phrase (v. 12, viii. 13), after κράζειν (vi. 10, vii. 2, io, x. 3),
after φωνεῖν (xiv. 18). Hence our author varies in his use of this phrase in connection with λέγειν. See note on x. 2. φοβήθητε τὸν Θεόν. So xiv. 4, xix. 5 (cf. xi 18, φοβουμένους τὸ ὄντομα σου). διότι αὐτῷ δόξαν. Cf. xvi. 9, xix. 7—also in the incorporated source, xi. 13. ἦλθεν ἢ ὃ πᾶς τῆς κρίσεως. Cf. similar phrases: vi. 17, ἦλθεν ἢ ἡμέρα . . . τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτῶν; xi. 18, ἦλθεν . . . ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κρίθηκαί; xviii. 10, ἦλθεν ἢ κρίσις σου: also in interpolated section, xiv. 15. προσκυνήσατε, c. dat. of God: cf. iv. 10, vii. 11, note, xi. 16, xix. 10, xxii. 9, whereas it takes the acc. of τὸ θηρίον in 9—in both respects exhibiting our author's usage. πηγὰς ὑδάτων: cf. viii. 10, xvi. 4.

8. οἰνοῦ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας. So xviii. 3. See note in loc. 9. προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον. See note on 7. λαμβάνει χάραγμα. Cf. xiv. 11, xix. 20, xx. 4. But we should probably read τὸ χάραγμα. See note in loc. ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. We should most probably read ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, since the context clearly comes from our author's hand. See note on vii. 3. ίορ ρεῖν the dative. ἐπὶ τὴν χείρα. Cf. xx. 1, 4. See note on xiii. 16. 10. καὶ αὐτὸς πίεται. For the use of καὶ see note on xiv. 10. βασανίζεται ἐν πυρί καὶ θεῖο. βασανίζει is found four times elsewhere in our author, while βασανισμός (see next verse), which occurs four times, is not attested elsewhere in the N.T. With πυρί καὶ θείῳ cf. xx. 10, xxi. 8, xix. 20. 11. ὁ καιρὸς ἀναβάει. Cf. viii. 4, ix. 2, xix. 3. ὁ χρόνος ἀνάπαυσις κτλ. Already in iv. 8. οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θηρίον. Characteristic of our author both as to grammar and diction. 12. ἐδε ἢ ὑπομονὴ κτλ. Cf. xiii. 10. τῶν ἄγιων . . . οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ ἐντόλας. For the phrase cf. xii. 17. The irregularity is characteristic of our author. 13. λέγει τὸ πνεύμα. Cf. ii. 7, etc., xxii. 17. 14. καὶ εἴδον καὶ ιδοῦ. See iv. 1, note. ἐπὶ τὴν νεμφέλην καθήμενον. Characteristic of our author: see note on iv. 2, and contrast the non-Johannine constructions of this phrase in 15, 16. δμοιον ὕδων ἄνθρωποι. This unique construction is found only in our author. It has already occurred in i. 13, and, as we have seen in the Additional Note on i. 13, vol. i. p. 36, might be regarded as a further development of other linguistic constructions, to which attention is called in that note.

Interpolation—15-17. In this short section there are four constructions which are foreign to our author's use. These are given in the note on 15-17, p. 21. Other grounds for regarding 15-17 as interpolated are given in the note on 14-20, p. 18 sq.

18-20. These verses are in keeping with the diction and style of our author. They contain, it is true, several words not found elsewhere in our author φωνεῖν, τρυγάν, βόστρυχ, ἀμπελος, ἀκμαίων, σταφυλη, χαλινός, but these help to delineate his subject.
18. ἐφάνησεν φως ἡ μεγάλη. Though φωνὴ is not found elsewhere in our author the construction is always that which he uses with κράζειν, and in two cases out of four with λέγειν. πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον. The vernacular use of the pronoun here is elsewhere in our author not infrequent. ἐβαλεν... εἰς τὴν γῆν. See note in loc. λητοῦ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. xix. 15. ἐπανήθη αὐτὸς λητὸς. Cf. xix. 15. ἄχρι τῶν χαλιῶν. ἄχρι occurs six times in our author as a preposition and five times as a conjunction, but not once in the other Johannine writings in the N.T.

§ 3. Interpolated passages, 3°-4° (ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς... ἐγκαταστάσαν), 4°, καὶ τῶν ἀρνίων, and probably 5, καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐκ εὑρήθη ψεύδος. See the grounds for this conclusion in loc. 15-17. That these verses are an intrusion is manifest on many grounds. See the general grounds in the note on 14-20, p. 18 sq., and the grammatical grounds in the note on 15-17, p. 21.

XIV. 1-5. A proleptic vision of the 144,000 with the Lamb on Mount Zion—i.e. of the risen martyrs with Christ during the Millennial reign. That these are the same as the 144,000 in vii. 4-8, i.e. the spiritual Israel, the entire Christian community, alike Jewish and Gentile, which were sealed to protect them from the demonic woes, that are to follow speedily, we hope to prove in the course of our criticism of verses 1-5 (see also vol. i. p. 199 sqq.). In vii. 9-17 this same body of the faithful is represented as arriving in heaven during the great final tribulation, or as already assembled there at its close. Here they are represented as having at a later stage come down to earth for the Millennial reign (cf. xx. 4). The vision is therefore proleptic. There is a progressive note in each vision.

1. καὶ ἐδοὺ καὶ ἐδοὺ. See note in iv. 1.

τὸ ἀρνίον. The Lamb is here set over against the Beast in xiii., and the followers of the Lamb with His name and that of His Father over against the followers of the Beast with his mark on their forehead.

From O.T. times Mount Zion was associated in the minds of the faithful with divine deliverance. Thus Joel ii. 32 (iii. 5) writes: “And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered; for in Mount Zion and Jerusalem shall be those that escape, as the Lord hath said.” In the 8th cent. B.C. there existed for a time the belief that Jerusalem could not be destroyed. In later times it was held that a special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that would befall the rest of the earth: cf. 2 Bar. xxix. 2 (where see my note), xl. 2, lxxi. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49, vi. 25. This idea was revived in Talmudic literature.

This appearance of the Messiah with a mighty multitude on
Mount Zion was a Jewish expectation, as we see in 4 Ezra xiii. 35, 39, 40, "But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Zion. . . . And whereas thou didst see that he summoned and gathered to himself another multitude which was peaceable, these are the ten tribes." In 4 Ezra ii. 42 (Christian or Christian recast of Jewish material) we have a close parallel to our text: "I Esdras saw upon Mount Zion a great multitude which I could not (dist. c, "no man could") number, and they all praised the Lord with songs. 43. And in the midst of them there was a young man of high stature, taller than all the rest, and upon every one of their heads he set crowns . . . 44. So I asked the angel and said: Who are these, my Lord? 45. He answered and said unto me: These be they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God."

This last work was probably written about 200-250 A.D., and therefore forms an early testimony to the right interpretation of the 144,000 on Mount Zion in our text; for it appears to identify the multitude described in vii. 9-17 and that in our text. In accordance with vii. 9-17 the writer of 4 Ezra ii. 42-47 represents them as having confessed and stood out stoutly for the name of God, and so as now clad in the garments of immortality, and in accordance with xiv. 1-5 of our text they stand on Mount Zion with the Messiah.

καταν τεσσεράκοντα κτλ. The answer to the question as to the identity of the 144,000 that accompany the Lamb has in part been given in the Introduction to Chap. vii. where we have found them to be the same as the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and the great multitude in vii. 9-17. But, though the constituents of the multitude are the same, the circumstances are different. In the vision before us the scene is upon earth (cf. ver. 2). The blessed faithful follow the Lamb on Mount Zion. And yet they have already passed through the gates of death, and have been presented as an offering (ἀπομετρητοί) to God (xiv. 4). Hence we have here a momentary vision of the saints, who have returned to earth to share in the Millennial reign. (Cf. xx. 4-6.)

But the above identification of the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and xiv. 1-5 is apparently rejected by every modern scholar, save Alford, who has clung fast to it, although unable to surmount the chief difficulty that stands in its way. A minor difficulty, i.e. the absence of the defining article to identify these 144,000 with those spoken of in vii. 4, he treats as negligible on the ground that the reader was meant to identify the two hosts, seeing that they consist of the same number and are both marked on the forehead as God's own possession.

Alford may be right in ignoring the absence of the article (cf. xv. 2, where the expected article is missing, ὅς ἐδάλασσαν
instead of τὴν θάλασσαν, and xiv. 9, where τό is wanting before χάραγμα), but the present writer is of opinion that the real explanation is that it was excised by the interpolator of the introductory sentences in xiv. 4-5, who sought by his manipulation of the text to destroy the identity of the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and the 144,000 in the present passage, and to transform them into a body of monkish celibates. Having thus explained the absence of the article, there is another and greater difficulty, which stands in the way of this identification, and this is that the 144,000 are described as "first-fruits" to God and to the Lamb. If these 144,000, as the present writer holds, are identical with the entire body of Christians living in the last days, who have been sealed with a view to their protection against the demonic woes, how is it that they are designated as "first fruits"?

It is the interpretation set on this word διαφορά by all scholars in the past that has misled them into differentiating the 144,000 in vii. 4-8 and in xiv. 1-5. This word has hitherto been taken universally to mean "first fruits" in this passage. That in the Pauline Epistles and in St. James it bears this meaning is indubitable. But this is by no means the case in the LXX, although Grimm's Lexicon and Thayer's enlarged edition of Grimm state that διαφορά is generally the equivalent of ἀνάθεμα. So far is this from being the case that it is generally not the equivalent of this word. Thus whereas διαφορά occurs about 66 times in the LXX, it is a rendering of ἀνάθεμα only 19 times. In the remaining 47 times, it is once a rendering for the Hebrew word for "tithe," 4 times of בַלֶּה (="fat," in which case it means "the best of"), and 40 times a rendering of ἔριμα (="offering" or "oblation"), and once of ἔμπνευ (="offering"). Thus we see that in the LXX oftener than twice out of three times it means "an offering." In Sirach it occurs four times, but only once with the meaning of "first fruits," while in the other three passages it signifies either an "offering" or "gift." Hesychius also notes that one of its Greek meanings is προσφορά. It is clear, then, that in the Greek Bible of Judaism διαφορά meant "offering," "sacrifice," or "gift" nearly 3 times out of 4.· Now

1 The above note was written before the publication of Moulton and Milligan's Vocabulary of the Greek Testament. Though these editors have not corrected the misstatements in Grimm's and Thayer's lexicons, to which they give their imprimatur in their preface, they have shown from the Magnesian inscriptions (ed. Kern. 1900), that διαφορά is very commonly used as a "gift" to a deity, and that this use occurred as early as the 6th cent. B.C. in Athens (Syll. Inscr. Graec., Dittenberger, 1888-1901). They conclude that in the N.T. "we are perhaps at liberty to render 'sacrifice' or 'gift' where it improves the sense," though they do not specify any individual passage save Rom. viii. 23. The Magnesia above referred to was in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. Hence the local and κομῆ use of διαφορά confirms the conclusions arrived at above.
it is just this meaning that our text requires. The faithful, whether as martyrs or confessors, are sacrifices to God. As such they are offered on the heavenly altar, vi. 9. A further sacrificial reference is discoverable in the epithet in xiv. 5, where they are said to be ἀμαμωτή, that is, “unblemished,” sacrificially perfect.

This clause we might compare iii. 12, where a threefold inscription on the foreheads of the faithful is mentioned. But, if we compare xxii. 4, where the name is simply said to be that of God, and 4 of the present chapter, where καὶ τὸ ἄρνων appears to be an interpolation, it is possible that ἀμαμωτή καὶ τὸ ἄρνων is also an interpolation. The seal consists in the name of God inscribed on the brow. This inscription declares that the person so inscribed is God’s own possession: it is at the same time evidence that his character is such as befits a servant of God.

2. φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφρανοῦ κτλ. The singers are the angel choirs in heaven and not the 144,000 in Mt. Zion, but the new song is intelligible to the 144,000 and to them alone owing to their fellowship with Christ.

Most of the phrases of this verse occur elsewhere in our author, see p. 2.

κιθαριζόντων . . . 3. καὶ φωνεῖν. These words should be rendered: “harpers harping . . . and singing.” It is another instance of the literal reproduction in Greek of a familiar Hebrew idiom, which we have found already in i. 5-6, ii. 2, 9, 20, vii. 14, xv. 3. Thus the style is very characteristic of our author. Here the new song is at first sung not by the redeemed (as in xv. 3; 4 Ezra ii. 42), but by angelic choirs before the throne.

3. καὶ φωνεῖν = καὶ φωνῶν. See preceding note.

δὲ φωνή καυῖν. See note on v. 9.

ἐνότων τοῦ θρόνου. See Introd. to Chap. xiv. § 2.

οὐδεὶς ἐθνῶν κτλ. Only those who are redeemed from the earth can learn the song; for the soul apprehends only that for which it has an affinity. Their spiritual experience won through travail and tears is the mother of understanding. The song is the expression of the inner life, and so in the measure of their spiritual growth is likewise the measure of their spiritual apprehension.

οἱ ἱγοραζόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. The diction and thought here have already occurred in v. 9, 10. That passage is of supreme importance in dealing with the text immediately before us. Now the leading thought in v. 9, 10 is that the faithful are bought by Christ for God, and consecrated to His service as kings and priests. Here also, whether we retain or omit the disturbing clauses ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς: στρωλ ἐκεῖν ὁ . . . ἱγοραζόμενον, the
idea is of a like nature. The 144,000 have been bought to be an offering or sacrifice (ἅρπαξ, xiv. 4: see note on 1) unto God: cf. vi. 9.

This verse, with the exception of the words ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἅρπαξ τῷ θεῷ οἱ γυροφάρμακον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἅρπαξ τῷ θεῷ, seems to be a later addition due to the incorporation of a marginal explanatory gloss. In support of the aorist we might adduce our author's usage elsewhere: see v. 9, ἔγραψας τῷ θεῷ . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κτλ. If, on the other hand, we adopt the former view, then in of ἔγραψαμένοι . . . καὶ . . . οὐχ εὑρίθη we have, if the latter clause is original, another instance of our author's reproduction in Greek of a Hebrew idiom: see ii. 2, 9, 20, vii. 14, xiv. 2-3. This combination of the perfect and aorist is found often in our author: cf. ii. 3, 5, iii. 2, 3, 17, xvi. 6. That καὶ τῷ ἄρπει is an addition appears to be clear from the fact that the 144,000 have been bought by the Son for the Father; and not by the Son for the Father and for Himself: cf. v. 9. The Church is the bride of the Lamb: cf. xix. 7, 8; Eph. v. 27, not an offering presented to Him. If the above clauses are interpolated, the original of 3-4 may have run as follows: of ἔγραψαμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἅρπαξ τῷ θεῷ. We shall now deal with the clauses, which for the time being we have assumed to be interpolations.

But let us waive for the moment the question of the authenticity of these clauses and study them in themselves and with regard to their immediate context. Now, first of all, it is admitted, so far as I am aware, on all hands that the 144,000, whether identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8, or representing the elite of the saints composed of Christian ascetics (Bousset, Moffatt), must embrace both men and women. That ἔγραψαμένοι can be used of men is of course acknowledged. So far all is clear. But when we start from these premises and try to explain οὐκ εὐρίθη we are plunged into hopeless difficulties. For, if we take these words literally, it is obvious that they cannot be used of women. Nor indeed can they be applied to women in any intelligible sense, whatever the metaphorical meaning may be that we attach to the words. Had the writer wished, he could easily have found a phrase applicable literally and metaphorically alike to men and women, such as of ἔγραψαμένοι οὐκ ἔμολονθησαν οὐκ ἔμολονθησαν. ἔγραψαμένοι is used metaphorically in xiv. 8, xvii. 2, 4, xviii. 3, xix. 2, and ἔγραψαμένοι in xvii. 2, xviii. 3, 9 in the sense of idolatrous worship. Such a clause could be used both of men and women, in a literal or metaphorical sense, and the same idea could have been expressed in other ways. Hence we conclude either that men alone are referred to in the text, or that this passage is interpolated. Since we cannot accept the
former alternative, we are forced to adopt the latter, and the task devolves upon us to settle, so far as we may, the ground of the interpolation, its extent and meaning.

Now the chief ground for this interpolation is most naturally to be discovered in the misunderstanding of the word ἀπαρχή as “first fruits.” The monkish interpolator, convinced that the highest type of the Christian life was the celibate, naturally identified the 144,000, who form the “first fruits” (or best portion of the Christian Church), with the celibates. The superiority of the celibate life, though un-Jewish and un-Christian, was early adopted from the Gnostics and other Christian heretics. Thus Saturninus and Basilides declared that “marriage and generation are from Satan” (Iren. Adv. Haer. i. 24), while Tatian (Eus. H.E. iv. xxix. 3) pronounced marriage to be “corruption and fornication.” Marcion (Hipp. Phil. vii. 17–19) established churches of celibates, while the Encratites claimed a self-restraint in advance of that of the Christians. Similarly the religions of Isis and Mithra had their celibates throughout the Roman Empire, as Buddhism in the far East, certain orders of the Aztec priesthood in Mexico, the Vestal Virgins in Rome, and the “Virgins of the Sun” in Peru. The pressure of such ideas from without early made itself felt, not in the N.T. but in early Christianity, as we see from Polycarp, Ad Phil. ii. iv. v.; Hermas, Vis. ii. 2, 3, Sim. ix. 11 (see Hastings, Encyc. of Ethics and Religion, iii. 271–273, from which the above facts are drawn). The interpolation was probably made by John’s editor.

It is, of course, possible that the interpolated passage appeared first as a marginal gloss on the passage, and that it was subsequently incorporated into the text with a necessary change or two.

As regards the extent, it appears to begin with ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς and end with ἡγορᾶσθησαν. The repetition of the ἡγορᾶσθη with two different adverbial phrases is remarkable. That ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων is to be preferred to ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς seems clear from v. 9, where we have ἡγορᾶσας . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς.

The meaning of the interpolation we have already gathered from the foregoing criticism of the passage. The glossor or interpolator, as the case may be, took the passage to refer to celibates, and, as the peculiar clause ὡς μετὰ γυναικῶν οἰκ ἔρωτνθησαν proves, made it refer to male celibates. They were the “first fruits” of the entire Christian Church (for such, of course, he conceived the meaning of ἀπαρχή).

This word as used by the interpolator carries with it the degradation of marriage—an idea inadmissible in the N.T. The use of the aorist here shows that their life on earth regarded as a discipline belongs to the past.
4. The word παρθένος was applied to men also: cf. Life of Asenath, 3. ἵνα ἐν οὐς ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἄνγη ὑποσβήση . . . καὶ παρθένος. 6. διότι καὶ αὐτὸς παρθένος. In Suidas it is applied to Abel: Ἀβέλ οὗτος παρθένος καὶ δίκαιος ὑπήρ. Cf. also Epiph. i. 385 C. παρθενεύω is used of males in Just. Frag. 1577 A.

οὗτοι οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες κτλ. These words can hardly fail to be an echo of our Lord's: cf. Mk. ii. 14, x. 21; Luke ix. 59; John i. 43, xxi. 19. For another echo cf. 1 Pet. ii. 21, ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἱκνεσιν αὐτοῦ. In vii. 17 it is said that the Lamb will be the shepherd of the blessed described in vii. 14-15. This means according to oriental conceptions that the blessed follow Him. Thus to follow Christ is characteristic of the faithful, whether on earth, on which they were called to follow Him even unto death (Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24, 25), or in the Millennial kingdom, or in heaven. But it would be possible to take ἀκολουθοῦντες as referring to the past, and the subsequent words as implying that in such following of the Lamb they underwent martyrdom. Cf. vii. 14, xii. 11. But the context does not favour this interpretation. ὅπου ἰν ὑπάγει. ὅπου elsewhere in the Apocalypse means "where," but with verbs of motion it was used as the equivalent of ὅπου. Cf. John vii. 21, 22, xiiii. 33, 36. The ἰν in this connection is impossible in classical Greek. In viii. 1 we have ὅταν ἠρνέει, and in Mk. vi. 56 ἰν occurs after ὅπου with the past imperfect indicative. The construction seems to imply an action of indefinite frequency: cf. Robertson, Gram. 958.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄθροισθαι. This phrase summarizes the full enumeration given in v. 9. ἀπαρχὴ = "sacrifice" or "offering." See note on 1. [καὶ τῷ ἄρνῳ.] An addition. See note on 4.

5. καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ὁ χείρι ἐρέθη θεοῦ. This clause recalls most nearly Zeph. iii. 13, καὶ οὗ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλώσσα δόλια, and Isa. liii. 9. In 1 Pet. ii. 22 we have the latter reproduced: ὅποῖ ὁ θεοῦ δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Cf. John i. 47. It must, however, be confessed that this clause follows weakly after οἱ ἀγασμένοι . . . ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ.

ἀμώμοι εἰσίν. This sentence introduced asyndetically is in the style of our author: cf. xvi. 6. ἀμώμος [= ἱματία] describes best the character of the ἀπαρχὴ; in the LXX it has three times out of four a sacrificial reference, and affirms the flawlessness of the victim. It is that which is unblemished, sacrificially perfect. In 1 Pet. i. 19 Christ Himself is described as ἀμωμάτῳ ἀμώμων, and in Heb. ix. 14 as offering Himself as an unblemished sacrifice unto God (ταυτόν προστίθενες ἀμώμων τῷ θεῷ). In the present context the 144,000 who had been offered in sacrifice to God (ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ) are likewise described as ἀμώμων. In the five other passages, where it occurs in the Pauline Epistles and Jude,
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VARIOUS CRITICISMS OF 1-5

the clause has an ethical meaning and connotes "blamelessness."

Note on xiv. 1-5.—This section has been an occasion of great difficulty to scholars. I have sought to show that much of this difficulty arose from misconception of the word ἀπαρχὴ. But, as we have seen, there are other difficulties, which cannot be got rid of save by the excision of certain clauses. Völter (iv. 38 sq., 139 sq.) excises xiv. 4-5 and a phrase in xiv. 1, and then identifies the 144,000 here with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8. Weyland excises xiv. 1, 4-5, Erbes xiv. 4 sq., and a phrase in 4 sq. Spitta is the most drastic of all. He changes τὸ ὄνομα ... πατρὸς αὐτοῦ into τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωντος: excises 2-3 and reduces 4-5 to the following form: αὐτῷ ἡγορασθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ. (See pp. 144 sq., 147 sq., 536.) Wellhausen recognizes the fact that the text shows undoubted signs of interpolation. Bousset admits the possibility of a source underlying xiv. 1-5, but he thinks it impossible to recover it. He therefore takes the text as it stands and interprets the 144,000 to be a body of Christian ascetics and, therefore, different from the 144,000 in vii. 4-8. He thinks, however, that there are signs in the Apocalypse that these two bodies were originally identical.

In the above study of xiv. 1-5 I have attempted to show that xiv. 1-3 comes from the hand of our author (see also Introd. p. 2) save probably one phrase (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ) in xiv. 1. As regards xiv. 4-5 the case is different. Here the diction is not much of a guide to us, but the ideas and the irregularity of the order of the sentences are. Thus of the various descriptions of the 144,000 in 4-5 it is clear from the earlier chapters that the essential one is, without doubt, that which describes them as a sacrifice to God.

At the close of 5 this idea recurs in the words, ἠμώμοι εἰσιν, but a purely ethical description intervenes—καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι . . . ψεῦδος. This appears irregular, but greater difficulties have already emerged in connection with 4 sq., where the un-Jewish and un-Christian idea is presented, that the very elite of the blessed consists of ascetics, and that, too, male ascetics. On these and other grounds we have excised certain clauses and concluded that, before the monkish glosser went to work, our author's text read as follows in xiv. 3-5, οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεῷ ἠμώμοι εἰσιν. But καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι . . . ψεῦδος may be original. To the interpolator of the above clauses we may owe also the removal of the article before the 144,000, which identified this 144,000 with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8.

6-11. Vision of the judgment to be executed on the Roman Empire and its worshippers, in which three angels make proclamation. The first proclaimed to all men an eternal Gospel, the
burden of which was that all men should worship the one God who had created heaven and earth, for that the hour of judgment had come (6-7). The second announced, as though already accomplished, the fall of Rome, which had made all the nations to drink of the wine of her fornication (8). The third proclaimed that those who submitted to the mandates of Rome would share in the everlasting torment that awaited her (9-11).

6. ἄλλον ἄγγελον. The presence of the ἄλλον occasions some difficulty. It is supported by the best textual authorities. If it is original, we might, perhaps, with Düberdieck explain the word as used in contradistinction to the angels that had appeared in earlier scenes. He compares x. 1 where ἄλλον ἄγγελον has already been mentioned, who, as in the present instance, proclaims the impending end of the world. Erbes and J. Weiss suppose we have here a reference to viii. 13, where the phraseology is certainly similar: δῶς ἄτονον πεταμένου ἐν μεσογανήματι λάκτωνος φωνῆ μεγάλην. Bousset suggests that in ἄλλον ἄγγελον we have a dittography, and J. Weiss that it is a corruption of ἄλλον αἴτον. Cf. viii. 13. It seems best to explain ἄλλ. ἄγγ. as = “another, an angel.” See note on 15 below. The difficulty recurs in 8, 9.


صةγγέλον αἴτον. This phrase is found here only in the Johannine writings, whereas the cognate verb occurs here and in x. 7. صصةγγέλον here is not to be translated as if it were το ἱσταγγέλον. Its character is defined by its present context and x. 7. It is a proclamation of the impending end of the world and of the final judgment, which, while it is a message of good tidings to the faithful, constitutes for all nations a last summons to repentance.

In x. 7 it was made known to His servants the prophets, here it is proclaimed to all the world. This gospel is termed αἴτον because possibly our author wishes to emphasize its unchangeable validity for all eternity.

τοὺς κατοικοῦτος ἐτὶ τῆς γῆς (A and some cursive). ΝCQP read τ. καθημένους ἐτὶ τ. γῆς. The textual evidence is here indecisive. Difficulties beset both readings. The second reading is against the normal usage of our author. We should expect ἐτὶ τ. γῆς = after the καθημένου. But ἐτὶ τ. γῆς is the universal construction in our author after κατοικεῖν. Hence if we could discover any good ground for the change of κατοικοῦτος into καθημένου, we shall have little hesitation in recognizing A as right. Now, though the scribes of ΝCQP were occasionally doubtful as to our author’s constructions after δ καθημένου, τοῦ καθημένου, τῆ
καθημένῳ, they could have had no doubt as to the meaning of the phrase "κατακοινώτες" εἰς τῆς γῆς (always so except in xiii. 12, xvii. 1, 2, where these constructions are found in sources) elsewhere in our author, i.e. iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, etc. And since this meaning was always bad in all other passages, and since it could not bear such a meaning here, some early scribe may have been led to substitute "καθημένους" for "κατακοινώτας" and thus give the phrase the neutral colour it required here. But, if this hypothesis of the origin of "καθημένους" is right, its presence here can only call for condemnation. It is against our author's usage wholly in this construction: indeed, according to his usage it could only mean "those who sat on the earth." 1

If, then, we accept the reading of A, we must in this one passage attach a purely neutral or geographical sense to the phrase, such as it bears not infrequently in 1 Enoch (see xxxviii. 5, note). See note on xi. 10.

ἀν ἑνὸς καὶ φυλῆν κτλ. See note on v. 9.

λέγων. The grammatical irregularity is characteristic of our author. See iv. 1, xi. 1.

7. λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See Introduction to this Chapter, § 2: also note on x. 2.

φοβήσατε τὸν θεόν κτλ. This gospel is based on a purely theistic foundation. But, when the last hour has come, a man's chief concern is not dogmatic fullness or correctness of creed, but only self-humiliation before and self-surrender to the Lord of all. With this announcement we might compare the gospel as preached by our Lord in Mark i. 15, μετανοεῖτε καὶ πυταχεῖτε ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ.

But a really excellent parallel is to be found in St. Paul's speech at Lystra, Acts xiv. 15: εὐαγγελιζόμενοι μᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαιῶν ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ θεόν ἔριντα δὲ ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κτλ. On the creation idea, cf. x. 6 of our text.

The clause φοβ. τ. θεοῦ is found in Eccles. xii. 13, and δόται αὐτῷ δόξαν in Josh vii. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 5; Isa. xiii. 12; Jer. xiii. 16, but they both belong to our author's phraseology: see Introd. to Chap. xiv., p. 3.

ἵλαθεν ἡ ἡμᾶς τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ. The diction and form of this sentence are characteristic of our author, but are of still more frequent occurrence in the Fourth Gospel. Cf. ii. 4, iv. 21, 23,
14 THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN [XIV. 7-8.


This is the usage of our author: contrast 9 where this verb takes the acc. of τό θηρίον—also the usage of our author. See note on vii. 11.

Since God has created the world, man’s allegiance is due to God. The fact of God as creator has already been brought forward in iv. 11, x. 6, but in both these passages κτίσεως and not ποιήσεως has been used. References to the creative activity of God are rare in the N.T. but frequent in the O.T. See note on iv. 11.

The absence of the article is noteworthy, contrast xvi. 4, viii. 10. The phrase is a familiar O.T. one: cf. 1 Kings xviii. 5; 2 Kings iii. 19 (יוּשֵׁנִי), 25; Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 9.

8. The second angel proclaims the fall of Rome.

άλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος. So the best MSS. But we should rather expect simply ἄγγελος δεύτερος or ἄλλος ἄγγ. δεύτ.; for when our author uses another adjective in addition to ἄλλος it is added after the noun: cf. vi. 4, x. 1, xiv. 9, xv. 1: i.e. “another angel, a second one.”

ἐπέσεν, ἐπέσεν Βαβυλών. These words are already found in Isa. xxi. 9. ἔπεσεν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, LXX, πέτυχεν πέτυχεν Βαβυλών. Cf. Jer. lii. 8. But the two clauses ἐπέσεν . . . τά ἔδρα seem to be derived by our author immediately from xviii. 2–3 (a source). Τῷ Βαβυλών our author always attaches the epithet ἡ μεγάλη, an epithet which goes back to Dan. iv. 27 (בִּשְׂרוֹן לַבָּשׂ); cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21. That Babylon was already a synonym for Rome in the first century A.D. is clear from 2 Bar. x. 1; Sibyl. Or. v. 143, 159; 1 Pet. v. 13 (?). Cf. also xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21.

ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς παράκλησιν ἐν τῇ ἐδρᾳ. This very extraordinary form of speech, which recurs in xviii. 3, can hardly be original. The text as it stands combines two wholly disparate ideas. The first is ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς—a phrase which occurs in xvii. 2—i.e. “the wine of her fornication,” which Babylon has made all the nations to drink. This wine symbolizes the intoxicating power, the corrupting influence of Rome. The second is ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ (τοῦ Θεοῦ)—a phrase which occurs in xiv. 10—i.e. “the wine of the wrath of God,” which He will give Babylon to drink. This latter phrase recurs in a fuller form in xvi. 19, xix. 15, τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς δργῆς αὐτοῦ. But in the O.T. it is God Himself that presents through His prophet this wine of wrath to the nations: cf. Jer. xxv. 15, which seems to have been in the mind of our author, λάβε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρὸς μαμ
XIV. 8-9. DOOM OF WORSHIPPERS OF BEAST

καὶ ποιεῖς πάντα τὰ εἶνα. In xxviii. (li.) 7 Babylon is said to be a cup in the hand of the Lord whereof the nations have drunk and become mad: ποτήριον χρυσόν Βαβυλῶν ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου μεθύσκων πάσαν τὴν γῆν. Ἀπὸ τούτο ὁλίγον ἐπάσαν ἔθνη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐσαλώθησαν (ἡγήθη).

As we study the above facts two ways of dealing with the text appear to be open to us. 1. Excise τοῦ θυμοῦ as an interpolation due to the occurrence of the phrase τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ in 10. The extraordinary divergence of the MSS in xviii. 3, where the phrase recurs, points either to an interpolated or a very difficult text. 2. Since our author appears to have had Jer. xxv. 15 sq. in his mind, and since the text there has ἡμιν (= “the wine which is wrath,” i.e. wine of wrath), it is possible that he took ἡμιν in the sense of “poison,” which it sometimes bears (cf. Deut. xxxii. 24, 33; Ps. lviii. 5, cxl. 4). The fact that it maddens the nations (Jer. xxv. 16, li. 7; Hab. ii. 15) might be taken to favour this meaning. If this be right, then our text would mean “the wine of the poison of her fornication.” But it seems best to regard τοῦ θυμοῦ as an interpolation. The nations, having drunk of the wine of the fornication of Babylon, have really therein drunk the wine of the wrath of God.

9. The third angel proclaims a doom of everlasting torment for adherents of the Imperial cult. This forms a counter proclamation to that in xiii. 15, 17.

ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note on x. 2.
προσκυνεῖ τὸ θηρίον. See note on 7.
† λαμβάνει χάραγμα †. Cf. xii. 11, xix. 20, xx. 4. On χάραγμα, see xiii. 16, note. The absence of the article before χάραγμα is suspicious. The context leads us to expect it. First it immediately follows the definite mention of the Beast (τὸ θηρίον), whose mark it is. Next this mark has already been twice mentioned in xiii.—in the first instance in xiii. 16, without the article because mentioned for the first time, and again in xiii. 17 with the article. Finally the angel would not speak in this indefinite way of this brand of hell. Contrast xx. 4. All mankind knew “the mark.” We must suppose the angel knew so also. Hence we should read τὸ χάραγμα or excise καὶ λαμβάνει . . . χεῖρα αὐτοῦ as an interpolation.
† ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου †. This construction of ἐπὶ with μετώπου is against our author’s usage. We should expect ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον. See notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16. When we combine these two irregularities just dealt with, we are forced, it seems, to infer either that the text is corrupt or that we have in καὶ λαμβάνει . . . χεῖρα αὐτοῦ a marginal gloss. The closing words of 11 support the former con-
clusion. Hence we should probably read καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ χάραγμα ἐκ τοῦ μετωτοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.

10. καὶ αὐτὸς πιέται, "he too (the man who has received the mark) shall drink." To Rome herself finally this cup is given in xvi. 17. The καὶ introduces the apodosis as in x. 17 (iii. 20 καὶ)

δὲ τοῦ οἰνοῦ τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῇ ποτήριῳ τῆς ὀργῆς. Parallel expressions to ποτήριον τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ are found in Isa. li. 17, 22; Jer. xxv. 15, and in xviii. 6 in our text. The subject has in part been discussed under ver. 8 above. The only real difficulty lies in the words τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ... τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου. The source of the expression appears to be Ps. lxixv. 9, διὶ ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνον ἀκράτου πλήρεις κεράσματος. Here the Mass. has ἀλήθεια σιμάκες for the last four words. We should also compare Jer. xxxii. 1 (xxv. 15) τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου = ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ σωτ. We have still another parallel in Pss. Sol. viii 15, διὰ τούτῳ ἐκέρασεν αὐτός ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα πλανήσως ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῦ ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου ἐς μέθην.

From the last passage it follows that there can be no inconsistency between ἐκέρασεν and ἀκράτου. The verb refers to the mingling of this wine with elements (as the literal wine with spices) that will not weaken it but render it noxious or poisonous, whereas the adjective (ἀκράτου) states that it is unmixed with water. For this use of ἀκράτου cf. 3 Macc. v. 2; Galen (in Wetstein): οἶνον ἀκράτου εἶναι λέγομεν, ὃ μὴ μέμηται τὸ ὑδρῷ ἢ... διέγει μέμηται. In Ps. lxixv. 9 the same explanation of the LXX would hold good, though in that case we have to read ῥῆμα π. In Jer. xxxii. 1 (xxv. 15) ἀκράτου therefore implies ῥῆμα π, and not the Massoretic reading given above. On the other hand, it must be stated that modern scholars, though they accept ῥῆμα as the reading in Jer. xxv. 15, do not attribute to it the same meaning either here or in Ps. lxixv. 9 as the LXX.

From the above authorities we conclude that the passage is to be explained "the wine of the wrath of God which is mingled sheer in the cup," etc. But for the close parallels given above we might accept the proposal of Ewald, Alford and others that from the almost universal custom of mixing wine with water the common term for preparing wine came to be κεράννυμι. Thus Eustathius says on Od. v. 93 that in κέρασε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν the verb κέρασε = ἐνέχυ. A further suggestion may be offered. Our author, we know, was better acquainted with Hebrew than with Greek. It is possible, therefore, that judging from the LXX he took ἀκρατος to be a right rendering of ῥῆμα just as the author of Pss. Sol. xvi. 11 took διέγειμα (which really means "faintheartedness") to be a right rendering of ῥῆμα ( = "impatience"), a misrendering that is also found in the LXX. If
this be so, then we might assign to διπατος the meaning of ἐντῶ, and render "the wine of the wrath of God which is mingled foaming in the cup." The "foaming" or "fermentation" is still going on; for God has just mingled this cup of judgment for the nations.

βασανισθήσεται ἐν τῷ θεῷ. The imagery goes back to the torments to be inflicted on Edom: Isa. xxxiv. 8-10. The punishment of brimstone and fire appears first in connection with Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xix. 24). As Anderson Scott writes in loc., "it is instructive to trace the development of the symbolism springing from the circumstances of an event in history, providing the traditional features, first of any great judgment, then of the day of the Lord, and, finally, of the judgment of Christ." Our author uses this symbolism again in xix. 20, xx. 10, xxi. 8.

ἐνωτος τῶν ἀγγέλων. The idea has occurred already in 1 Enoch xlvi. 9 in another form:

"And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:

As straw in fire, so shall they burn before the face of the holy:

As lead in water, so shall they sink before the face of the righteous,

And no trace of them shall any more be found."

In 1 Enoch xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27, 4 Ezra vii. 36, as in the passage before us, the sufferings of the wicked form an ever-present spectacle to the righteous; but not so in the Parables of 1 Enoch. There Gehenna and its victims form only a temporary spectacle. Then they vanish from the presence of the righteous for ever, as in the later sections of the Apocalypse. See 1 Enoch xlvi. 9, note, lxii. 12, 13. This is not due to any moralisation of the idea but to the conception of a new heaven and a new earth, which exclude the possibility of the Gehenna conception. In Luke xii. 9 the wicked are to be disowned by Christ in the presence of His angels. This idea of Gehenna as an ever-present spectacle over against Paradise arose through a mistaken etymology of the phrase μὴ ἀναστάσαι in Isa. lxvi. 24 and Dan. xii. 2. In the 1st cent. B.C. or as early as the close of the 2nd cent. B.C. Jewish scholars regarded μιας as derived from μάρτυς. Thus the LXX of Isa. lxvi. 24 renders this word ἔφυρεν εἰς ἀπατήν.

καὶ ἐνωτος τοῦ ἄρτου. Many critics remove this phrase as a gloss owing to the position after τῶν ἀγγέλων. If it is original it is best to render the phrase: "even before the Lamb." Bousset suggests that the phrase "before the angels" is a late Jewish periphrasis for "before God." Cf. Luke xv. 10, xii. 8, 9;
and Bousset's *Rel. des Judentums*, 308, but in the present context this is unlikely.

11. καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν . . . ἀναβάεται. Cf. xviii. 9, xix. 3, xx. 10; Isa. xxxiv. 10, ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ αὐτῆς ὡς πέσα καιμαμένη νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ οὗ σβεσθήσεται ἐκ τῶν αἰῶνα χρόνων, καὶ ἀναβάεται ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἄνω. The word βασανισμὸς is used here as denoting the condition of those in torment, and similarly in xviii. 7, 10, 15, whereas in the gloss (?) in ix. 5 it has an active meaning. In Luke xvi. 23, 28 (Wisd. iii. 1; 4 Macc. xiii. 15) βάσανος is used to denote passive suffering.

οὐχ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν εἰπλ. Cf. iv. 8, where the same Greek clause occurs, but there it means the deliberate and willing surrender on the part of the Cherubim of their entire time to the praise of God, whereas here it denotes the involuntary endurance of ceaseless torment on the part of those who worship the Beast: cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 6.

"And now we long for a little rest but find it not: We follow hard upon and obtain it not."

eἰ τις λαμβάνει = οἱ λαμβάνοντες.

**XIV. 12-18.** These verses do not belong here but have in this edition been restored to their original position after xiii. 15. Just as at the close of xiii. 10 our author enforced the need of patience and faithfulness under the persecutions described in xiii. 10a,b,c, so after he has foretold universal persecution and martyrdom for the saints in xiii. 15, and in xiv. 12 has enforced the need of patience on the part of the saints, a voice from heaven is heard declaring the blessedness of those who die in the Lord. For a full treatment of these verses see the section that follows immediately after xiii. 15, vol. i. pp. 368-373.

**14, 18-20.** A proleptic vision of the preliminary Messianic judgment executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations, which is described in detail in xix. 11-16, and further apparently in xx. 7-10, and under another form in xvii. 14. Although nearly all scholars have taken 14-20 to be the work of one hand, it is clear, as Wellhausen has already recognized, that in 14-20 there are doublets. Wellhausen takes these to be 14-16 and 17-20, but a study of the text and context shows that this analysis of the passage cannot be sustained. No more can that of Bousset, who regards xiv. 14-20 as originally from a foreign source, like xi. 1-13, and considers xiv. 17-18 as the addition of a reviser. For (1) since in xiv. 15-17 there are constructions (see notes on 15-17, p. 21) which are against our author’s use, we conclude that these verses are an intrusion here, and that xiv. 14, 18-20 represent the original text. (2) Again the phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος (15) is noteworthy. It shows
that the interpolator failed to recognize the "One like a Son of Man" in 14 as Christ, and took Him to be simply an angel, and hence assigned a mightier rôle to this second and unnamed angel. But to place beside the Son of Man a second figure, and that merely an angelic one as the judge of the earth, is hardly intelligible from any point of view.

(3) When 15-17 are removed, the text describes the Son of Man reaping the vintage of the earth just as in xix. 11-16, where He treads the winepress of the wrath of God. This fact is also against Wellhausen's analysis which would connect the Son of Man with the harvesting of the earth and an angel with the gathering in of the vintage of the earth.

(4) Again, neither ἔπιλογος (Matt. xxv. 24, etc.) nor any of its derivatives (Matt. ix. 37 sq., xiii. 30, xxv. 24; Mark iv. 29; John iv. 35 sqq.) is used elsewhere in the Apocalypse in regard to divine judgment, whereas in xix. vintage terms are applied metaphorically as in xiv. 18-20 to this judgment.

(5) Again, instead of τὸ δρέπανον σου in 15 we should expect σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δὲ, as rightly in 18, seeing that the δρέπανον is already described as δὲ in 14.

(6) Finally, when the intrusive doublet (15-17) is removed, we understand why it is that the angel from the altar conveys the command to the Son of Man to gather in the vintage of the earth. The angel of the altar has had to do with the souls of those who had been martyred, and whose souls had cried in vi. 9 from beneath the altar to God for judgment on the inhabitants of the earth. This act of Messianic judgment is thus connected with the prayers of the martyrs: cf. Luke xviii. 7, 8.

14. There can be no question as to the identity of the divine figure seated on the cloud. He is described as "One like a Son of Man." The phrase δὲ τὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον is a solecism so far as regards form, and is found only in our author here and in i. 13. The O.T. source of this expression is undoubtedly Dan. vii. 13, "I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man (LXX, ὃς ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ)." But the expression, though identical in both works, so far as language goes, is dissimilar in meaning. According to the interpretation of the angel in Dan. vii. 18, 22, 27, the phrase denotes the saints of the Most High. But this is not all. In apocalyptic visions, where men or bodies of men are symbolized by beasts (as in Daniel, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, etc.), angels and supernatural beings are symbolized by men. If, therefore, the expression "Son of Man" is to be taken strictly in Daniel, it undoubtedly suggests a supernatural being or body of such beings—supernatural beings but not angels; for the form of the phrase excludes this possibility. In the
apocalyptic vision an angel is simply designated "a man." Hence the words "like a man" = "like an angel," i.e. a being who is of a supernatural character but not an angel. Thus in Daniel we are to infer that the faithful remnant in Israel are to be transformed into supernatural beings as in 1 Enoch xc. 38 (161 B.C.). That this is the meaning of the text is proved by the adjoining clause, "there came with the clouds of heaven." This clause implies beyond question supernatural authority.

Thus in Daniel the phrase is a collective designation of the righteous Israelites after they have undergone a heavenly transformation.

But a further development was necessary before we arrive at the conception conveyed by this phrase in our author, and this development was reached first, so far as existing literature goes, in 1 Enoch xxxvii.—lxxi., the author of which interpreted "one like a son of man" of an individual, i.e. the Messiah, and by so doing rose to the conception of a supernatural Messiah. Thus the way was prepared for the N.T. designation "the Son of Man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) which in the Gospels has thrown off its distinctive apocalyptic form—"like unto a Son of Man" (ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου), a form, however, which has been retained in the Apocalypse. On this use of ὁς in apocalyptic see additional note on i. 10, vol. i. p. 35 sq. For a like transition inside our author, cf. xv. 2, where we have first ὁς βάλασον τα ξύλα and then τὴν βάλασαν τὴν βαλίνην.

In 4 Ezra xiii. 3 (before 70 A.D.) we find the very same expression. The Latin here is wanting, but the Syriac = ὁς ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, where, however, the Syriac is only a paraphrastic rendering of ὁμοιον as in the Peshitto of Ezek. i. 5, 22, 26, x. 1; and of Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14. See Gwynn, Apocalypse of St. John, i. 13, note. Thus the Syriac of the Peshitto in Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and 4 Ezra xiii. 3 is exactly the same, and both presuppose ὁμοιον τινα (i.e. τιν) ἀνθρώπου. Hence 4 Ezra xiii. 3 should be rendered as follows:

"And I beheld and lo! the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas one like a son of man. And I beheld and lo! this son of man flew with the clouds of heaven." The Ethiopic version supports this rendering.

ὁμοιον τινα. See the last note but one.


στέφανον χρυσών. We have here the golden wreath but not the διαδήματα, which he wears in xix. 12. Even in the Apocalypse the στέφανος has many associations. Probably it carries with it here the idea of victory as in ii. 10, iii. 11, vi. 2.

[15–17. We have seen already in note on p. 18 that these
verses are a doublet of 14, 18-20. We have found that 14, 18-20 come from the hand of our author and form a uniform picture, the unity of which is broken up by the interpolated verses 15-17. This doublet was probably suggested by the poetic parallelism in Joel iii. 13.

"Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe:
Come, tread ye, for the winepress is full."

In 15-17 the judgment is represented as a harvesting of the earth. This figure is used both in the O.T. and in the Gospels in relation to the last judgment: cf. Matt. xiii. 30, 39, but not in the Apocalypse, save in the present interpolated passage, where the figure is worked out fully and vividly. The interpolator of 15-17 has, of course, imitated the phrasing and diction of the Apocalypse, but he betrays his ignorance in four constructions, i.e., in 15, κραξὼν εν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, whereas our author would have written κράζων φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (see Introd. to this Chap. § 2); τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην (whereas our author would have written ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης: see vol. i. p. 112 sq.): in 16, δό καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης (whereas our author would have written ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης); and ἐβαλεν... ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (whereas our author would have written ἐβαλεν... εἰς τὴν γῆν).

15. ἄλλος ἄγγελος. The attempt to explain the ἄλλος here as looking back to 6 or 9 can hardly be justified, since 6-11 and 14-20 are quite distinct visions. Even the use of καὶ εἰδὼν καὶ ἴδον in xiv. 14 (see note on iv. 1) is sufficient to prove that this is so.

It is most important to distinguish the different meanings of ἄλλος in xiv. 8, 9, 15, 17, 18. In xiv. 8, 9 there is no difficulty. ἄλλος is used idiomatically as in classical Greek, and the phrase = "another, the second angel," etc. But in xiv. 15, 17, 18 there is this use and another. In 15, 17 we have the ordinary use, where the phrase = "another angel." For the interpolator of xiv. 15-17 regarded the Son of Man in xiv. 14 merely as an angel, since in xiv. 17 he makes an angel hold joint authority with Him in the Messianic Judgment and discharge in xiv. 19-20 the duty assigned to the Messiah in xiv. 11-16. Hence in xiv. 15 ἄλλος ἄγγελος = "another angel." But in xiv. 18 the phrase is to be rendered differently. There, on the excision of xiv. 15-17 as an interpolation, the ἄλλος in ἄλλ. ἄγγ. refers back indeed to the Son of Man in xiv. 14, but at the same time it distinguishes this angel from the Son of Man, as a different kind of being; for nowhere throughout our author is the Son of Man conceived of as an angel. Hence ἄλλα ἄγγ.: "another, an angel." Cf. the use of ἔτερος in Luke xxiii. 32.

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ. i.e. the heavenly temple. See note in vol. i. p. 111 sq.
κραζειν ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Our author does not insert the ἐν:
cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17, where we have κραζειν φωνῇ
μεγάλῃ. It is true that in xviii. 2 we have κραζειν ἐν ἱσχύρᾳ
φωνῇ. But this latter passage is from another source.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης. Here and in the next verse the
construction is against the usage of our author, though it is the
more usual in classical Greek. See note on iv. 2.

In the three lines beginning with πέμψων τὸ δρέπανόν σου we
have apparently a paraphrase of Joel iv. 13, ἦσαν ἤδη ἐρήμοι ἐγενεῖ
τῷ, the first line being an expanded translation of the first two
words in Joel, and the second and third lines being probably
duplicate paraphrastic renderings of the last three words, though,
like the LXX and the Targum, they presuppose a text differing
from the Massoretic. Thus line two, ὅτι ἔλθεν ἡ δρα θερίσαι,
presupposes by ἔλθεν some Hebrew verb—“has come” as also
does the LXX by παρέστηκεν (cf. Mark iv. 29, ἀποστέλλει τὸ
δρέπανον, ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμὸς) and the Targum by קָּנְא. In
line three, ὅτι ἔξηράνθη ὁ θερισμὸς τῆς γῆς, ἔξηράνθη pre-
supposes ἔρχεται. Is this a corruption of hos? ἔξηράνθη is un-
exampled in the sense of “to ripen,” so far as I am aware, but
might be explained as a rendering of a corrupt text. ἔξηράνθη
means “to dry up,” as in xvi. 12, or “to wither” when used of
plants (cf. Matt. xiii. 6, etc.) or of crops (cf. Joel i. 17, ἔξηράνθη
σῖτος), but not “to ripen.” It will be observed that the winter of
15-17 uses some form of the Hebrew text and not the LXX.

τὸ δρέπανόν σου. We should observe two things here. First,
we should expect the addition of τὸ δὲὖ here, since the epithet
is already attached to δρέπανον in 14. In 18, which we hold to
be the original sequel to 14, we find, as we should expect, πέμψων
σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δὲὖ. Next, in 15 we note the position of the
σου after its noun, in which case the emphasis is laid on the pro-
noun, whereas in 18 the σου stands before its noun, in which case
the emphasis is laid on τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δὲὖ—a fact which points to
the thoroughness with which the vintage is carried out in 19-20.

δρα θερίσαι. For the construction cf. v. 5, ix. 10, xi. 6,
xvi. 9.

16. This verse is modelled on 19, the judgment being referred
to under the figure of a harvest instead of a vintage. But, as I
have already pointed out on 15, the construction ὅτι καθημένος ἐπὶ
τῆς νεφέλης is against the usage of our author. ἔβαλεν... ἐπὶ
tῆς γῆς is unexampled in our author. In such a construction
εἰς not ἐν is always used by him. See note on 19.

17. τοῦ ραοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. See note in vol. i. p. 111 sq.

18. We here resume the original vision into which 15-17
were interpolated. In this verse ἄλλος ἄγγελος is to be rendered
“another, an angel.” See note on 15 above. The phrase ὁ ἄγγελος ἔσωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς appears to be interpolated. At all events it makes no contribution to the context. If it had any right to a place in our text it might have been in viii. 3, but even there it would have been meaningless. Lists of angels who were set over the natural elements will be found in I Enoch lx. 11-21; Jub. ii. 2. See Bousset, Religion des Judentums, 317; Encyc. Bib. ii. 1258 sqq.; Jewish Encyc. i. 589 sqq.

When the disturbing interpolation, 15-17, is removed, the rôle of the angel, who came forth from the altar, is at once intelligible. The number of the martyrs is at last complete, and now their prayer (vi. 10) from beneath the altar can be fulfilled, and so the angel, who has to do with the souls of the martyrs beneath the altar, is entrusted by God with the task of carrying to the Son of Man the command to undertake the judgment of the earth—to thrust in the sickle and tread the winepress of the wrath of God (cf. xix. 15). This judgment is the Messianic judgment that precedes the Millennial reign of the Messiah. In xvi. 7 the altar itself proclaims the truth and righteousness of God's judgments. In ix. 13 a voice from the altar commands the letting loose of the first demonic woe against those who had not the seal of God in their foreheads. On this—the one heavenly altar—see note in vol. i. p. 224 sq. Only one angel is mentioned here in connection with the righteous martyrs beneath the altar. But in contemporary and earlier apocalyptic many angels were said to keep guard over the souls of the departed righteous: cf. I Enoch c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95.

See note at the beginning of this verse.

ἐφώνησεν φωνὴ μεγάλη. φωνεῖν is found only here in our author. For the entire phrase cf. Mark i. 26; Acts xvi. 28.

τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δῆμο, i.e. the sharp sickle mentioned in 14.

τὸ χίλιον τοῦ τέωτον. Here (cf. 15) we have a tristich, of which the first and third lines are largely a reproduction of Joel iv. 13. The first line consists simply of the words in Joel, with the addition of the epithet “sharp,” which the context requires (cf. 14 ad fin.), while the third line is in part a translation and in part a transformation of the clause in Joel, ἄβαλη ἀρά τρώστη; for ἄρμασεν is a good rendering of ἄβαλη, whereas αἱ σταυροί αἰθήθησασ is simply substituted instead of ἄρμασεν=ἀρά. And yet this tristich gives the impression of the master hand, and drives home in each line with ever-increasing force the thought of the Seer, who does not quote but simply transforms an O.T. couplet to serve his present purpose. What a contrast it presents to the feebleness of the tristich in 15! It should perhaps be mentioned here that some scholars have taken 15-16 to refer to the ingather-
ing of the saints, and 17–20 to the judgment that befalls the wicked, and thought that there is a delicate propriety in the fact that the former is assigned to the Son of Man, and the latter to a nameless angel. But there is no support for this view in our author; for in xix. 11–16 it is this very treading of the wine-press of the wrath of God that is especially the rôle of the Son of God. Moreover, in the rest of the N.T. the words ἐπικέφαλος and ἐπικεφάλεμα are used of reaping harvests good or bad, alike as regards man (cf. Matt. xxv. 24, 26; Gal. vii. 7, 8; 1 Cor. ix. 11) and the angels, who are termed the ἔργατος (see Matt. xiii. 30, 39; cf. Mark iv. 29). As a man sows good or evil, he reaps accordingly. Similarly in the judgment, the angels gather alike the tares and the wheat in the last great harvesting (Matt. xiii. 30, 39). The word στόχος, “wheat,” as a symbol of the righteous is not found in our author. Finally—to resume once more—in xiv. 6–20 we have a proleptic summary from the divine standpoint of the Messianic judgments which are represented on a larger canvas in xvi. 18–xviii. and xix. 11–21, xx. 7–10. Thus there is no ground for the attempt to differentiate and justify the occurrence side by side of what are really doublets. 15–17 are, from whatever standpoint we regard them, a disturbing element in the text.

15. ἔβαλεν . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν. Our author uses either ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, v. 3, 10, 13, vii. 1, x. 2, 5, 8, xvi. 18, xviii. 24, or εἰς τὴν γῆν, v. 6, vi. 13, viii. 5, 7, ix. 1, 3, xii. 4, 9, 13, xiii. 13, xvi. 1, 2. ἔβαλεν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is found only in the interpolated passage, xiv. 15–17. ἔβαλεν is here another rendering of ἐβάλω in Joel iv. 13.

[6 ἄγγελος]. An interpolation due to the hand that inserted 15–18. The Son of Man is never described as an angel. See note on 15.

τὴν λῃστὴν . . . τῶν μέγαν. This irregularity is probably to be explained by the fact that λῃστῆς in classical Greek is sometimes masculine (Winer, § lxxix. 4, p. 661; cf. Kautzsch's Gesenius' Heb. Gram. for similar anomalies in Heb.: § 110 k, 135 a, 144a, 145 a, t, u). Analogous solecisms are characteristic of our author: cf. xx. 14, τὸ τέμπον . . . ἐκχων.

λῃστήν τού θυμόν τοῦ θεοῦ. Here and in xix. 15 only in the N.T. The phrase τού θυμόν τοῦ θεοῦ is rather frequent: cf. xv. 1, 7, xvi. 1, 19, xix. 15.

20. Though the Messianic judgment as executed by the Son of Man is here described in awful terms, it is not the final judgment, which is regarded by our author as the prerogative of the Father: cf. xx. 11 sqq. The diction appears to be influenced by Isa. lxiii. 3, where Yahweh declares, “I have trodden the winepress alone,” and in 1 Enoch c. 3, “And the horses shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners, And the chariot
shall be submerged to its height." This phraseology reappears in Talmudic writings in connection with the carnage at Bether in the time of Hadrian: see my note in 1 Enoch c. 3; also 4 Ezra xv. 35, erit sanguis a gladio usque ad ventrem equi; 36, et femur hominis et poplites cameli.

δέῳδεν τῆς πόλεως. There can be no question as to the identity of "the city." It is not Rome (for its destruction has already been announced in the hearing of the Seer in 9), but Jerusalem. It is, moreover, most probably not the earthly Jerusalem but the heavenly Jerusalem which is to descend from heaven to be the centre of the Kingdom of Christ for the 1000 years. For in the notes on xx. 1–6 we shall see that the heavenly Jerusalem described in xxi. 9–xxii. 2 is in reality the city that is to come down from heaven to take the place of the old Jerusalem and become the capital of Christ's kingdom for the 1000 years. If xiv. 14, 18–20 is a proleptic summary of xix. 11–21 only, then the city referred to might be the historic Jerusalem, or rather its ruined site: but if this is a summary of xix. 11–21 and also xx. 7–10, then the city can be none other than the city that came down from heaven—the seat of the Messianic Kingdom.

Jewish tradition had long associated the neighbourhood of Jerusalem with the scene of the judgment of the Gentiles. According to Joel iii. 2, 12, God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles in "the valley of Jehoshaphat," a phrase which Theodotion renders by τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως. According to the Midrash Mishle, 68d, God was to judge the whole world in this valley. It is referred to in 1 Enoch liii. 1 (where see my note). Zechariah speaks also of the judgment of the Gentiles, who laid Jerusalem desolate, being executed on the Mount of Olives (xiv. 2 sqq., 12 sq.). In our author it is all the heathen nations that are to be similarly judged.

ἀπὸ στάδιων κτλ. See preceding notes.

ἀπὸ στάδιων κτλ. = "to a distance of 1600 furlongs." This peculiar use of ἀπὸ is found also in John xi. 18, xxi. 8 (ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων). Abbott (Gram. p. 227) describes it as "a natural transposition arising from the desire to give prominence to the notion 'distant,' as in our 'distant two hundred cubits,' and then illogically allowing the preposition that signifies distance to govern 'cubits.'" Similar transpositions occur in the case of πρό, as in John xii. 1, πρὸ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα; LXX of Amos i. 1, iv. 7, Hippocrates, πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τελευτῆς (this last is quoted from Moulton, Gram. 101, note); and also in the case of μετὰ: cf. Test. Reub. i. 2; Test. Zeb. i. 1; Plut. Coriol. 11. These idioms are not Latinisms but of Greek origin.

As regards the number itself various explanations have been offered, but none is absolutely convincing. Some have found
in 1600 the idea of completeness, and therefore inferred that the
deluge of blood swept over the whole earth (as Victorinus—per
omnes mundi quattuor partes), the holy city alone being exempt.
Others have conceived that Palestine only was designed by the
number, since according to Jerome (Ep. 129, Ad Dard.) the
length of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba was 160 miles. But
160 miles = only 1280 stades. A nearer approach to the number
in our text is to be found in the Itinerarium of Antoninus, accord­
ing to which Palestine was said to be 1664 stades from Tyre to
El-Arish.

Of the two above interpretations I am inclined to adopt the
former. The more we study xiv. 14, 18-20 the more clear it
becomes that it deals with the same subject as xix. 11-21, for
xiv. 18-19 clearly state that the judgment is of the whole earth.
Hence it is not merely the heathen nations that had submitted
for the anticristian empire of Rome that are destroyed in
xix. 11-21, but likewise all the remaining heathen nations that
rebel against the kingdom of Christ (xx. 7-10) after the lapse of
the 1000 years. Hence the slaughter is commensurate with the
inhabited world.

These words apparently refer to
the heavenly horsemen who are mentioned definitely (xix. 14+)
in another vision dealing with the same events, i.e. xix. 11-21.

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. Character and object of this Chapter.

The chronological order of events in the Seer's visions of the
future is here resumed. In other words, this chapter, so far as
chronological order goes, follows immediately on xiii.; for, as we
have seen (see p. 1: cf. 32), xiv. broke away from this order and
was wholly proleptic, passing over as it did the first six Bowls
and summarizing the divine judgments from the seventh Bowl
(xvi. 17) to xx. 7-10. In order, therefore, to recognize the con­
nection between xiii. and the present chapter, we have only to
remember that in xiii. 15 the second Beast caused all that refused
to worship the first Beast to be put to death. Thus all the faith­
ful were put to death and the roll of the martyrs was complete
with the close of xiii.; and when we come to xv. we find that
xv. 2-4 looks upon the destruction of the entire body of the
faithful as already an event of the past (see note on xv. 2-4), and
represents the entire martyr host as standing on the sea of glass
before God and singing a song of praise to the Lord God of
Hosts. xv. 1 is an interpolation (see § 7). In xv. 5-xvi. 1 the
Seer has a vision of the appointment of seven angels with seven
Bowls to execute the last series of cosmic woes upon the earth. It is to be observed that in these three series—the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Bowls—there is a distinct development and not a mere recapitulation as has hitherto either wholly or in part been assumed by students of the Apocalypse. This will be clear as we advance.

For to the first four Seals and the sixth all men—saints and sinners, Christians and heathen alike—are subject. Only the faithful are the victims of the fifth Seal. The sixth Seal describes in hyperbolic language the signs which precede the end, which, however, is not so near as the unbelievers apprehend. But there are worse things to come, the fifth, sixth and seventh, or rather the first, second, and third, Trumpets,¹ that is, the three demonic Woes, viii.—ix., xi. 14b, 15, xii.—xiii. In vii. the faithful are sealed in order to secure them from these Woes. Hence these Woes did not affect the faithful, but only those that were without the seal of God. When we come to the Bowls we have arrived at a fresh stage of development. Since the martyrdom of the faithful is complete in xiii. and all the martyrs are represented as already in heaven in xv. 2—4, it is clear that only the heathen nations, that form the Roman Empire or hold aloof from it, survive.

On this heathen world, limited in the fifth Bowl to the empire of the Beast, are poured down the plagues of the seven Bowls. Whilst the Seals and the Trumpets or Woes could be regarded as having a disciplining effect on the faithful, however they might affect the unbelievers, the Bowls cannot be regarded in any other light than that of punishments, though such expressions as those in xvi. 9, 11, which refer to the refusal of men to repent notwithstanding these plagues, point to the fact that repentance was still possible for them. That the plagues, which are universal and not local (except the fifth), do not annihilate the heathen nations is clear from the fact that the eternal gospel (xiv. 6) is to be preached to the surviving nations after the close of the seven Bowls and the Messianic judgment (xix. 11—21).

§ 2. Relation of xv. to xiv. and xvi.—xx. In xiv. our author has given three proleptic visions—the first portraying the blessedness awaiting the martyrs in the Millennial kingdom, while the second and third describe the judgments about to befall Rome and the heathen nations. Thus xiv. summarized the outstanding events from the close of the universal martyrdom of the faithful to the final judgment. From this prelude the Seer now returns to describe in detail the events thus briefly foreshadowed, and first of all the blessedness into which the martyred faithful enter immediately on death, xv. 2—4, and the subsequent

¹ We have seen that the first four Trumpets are an interpolation in the text (see p. 219 sqq.).
Millennial reign on earth, xx. 4–6 (cf. xiv. 1–5). Next we have the vision of the seven last Plagues, which are to descend on the heathen world, from which all the faithful had already been removed, xv. 5–xviii. (cf. xiv. 6–11). The doom of antichristian Rome, which does not come to pass till the seventh Plague, is portrayed with great fullness in xvii.–xviii. On the destruction of Rome there follow thanksgivings in heaven, xix. 1–8. The next act of judgment is that executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations, xix. 11–21 (cf. xiv. 14, 18–20).

§ 3. This chapter consists of two visions. The first, xv. 2–4, deals with the triumphal song sung by the martyrs as they stand round the sea of glass in heaven. It is a song of unmixed praise and thanksgiving; for the last martyrdom on earth is over and the ranks of the martyrs in heaven are now complete. The second vision relates to the Seven Angels who come forth from the heavenly Temple and are thereupon furnished with the seven Bowls which are full of the wrath of God.

§ 4. The diction of x. 2–8 is, except in the case of one phrase in 6, that of our author. This will be apparent as we proceed.

1. This verse could be assigned to him in point of diction but not the phrase ἁγγέλους ἐπὶ ἔχοντας πληγὰς ἐπὶ, because of the context. As I shall show in § 7 ad fin., our author could not use this expression here or in 6. Otherwise the language recalls that of our author, but yet in certain respects with a difference. καὶ εἶδον is, of course, attested throughout the book. οἴμειον. This word has already been used in a like (and yet not altogether like) connection in xii. 1, 3. A perfect parallel to its present usage would have led us to expect it in xii. 13. μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν: cf. xv. 3. ἁγγέλους ἐπὶ. This is the right order for the numeral in our author. τὰς ἐρχόμενα seems borrowed from xxi. 9. ὅπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐτελέσθη κτλ.: cf. 8 But the subject-matter is open to objection (see note in loc.).

2. νικώνας ἐκ. A pregnant construction. Though νικάν is a favourite verb with our author the construction here is unique in Greek. τοῦ θριῶν καὶ . . . τής εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ καὶ . . . τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ τ. ἐνόμισεν. Cf. xiii. 17, xiv. 11. ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τ. θάλασσαν. Our author in x. 5, 8 writes ἐπὶ with the gen. in this phrase. But his usage is not fixed. See note on xv. 2. κιβάρας τοῦ θεοῦ—a Hebraism.

3. καὶ ἰδὼν. Here, as in xiv. 3, καὶ ἰδὼν is to be taken as καὶ ἰδοῦνας. In fact this is the reading of N Prim. Vg. and S. See note on xiv. 3. κύριε ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ. A familiar title of God in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 7, xiv. 6, xxii. 22. δίκαιος καὶ ἀληθινος recurs in converse order in xvi. 7, xix. 2.
§ 5. Strongly Hebraic character of xv.

This chapter is Hebraic in character. 1. The writer translates in xv. 4 the Hebrew of Jer. x 7, where the LXX is lacking: δ βασιλεῦς . . . τίς οὖν μὴ φοβηθῇ; Here Theodotion and Aquila render τίς οὖν μὴ φοβηθήσεται σε βασιλεὺς τῶν θεῶν; It is true that the words πάντα τὰ θεῖα . . . ἐν πάση τῷ σώματι in 4 agree verbatim with the LXX of Ps lxxxvi. 9, save that it omits ὅσα ἐποίησεν after θεῖα. But there is nothing distinctive in the LXX rendering.

2. As regards the order this is also Hebraic. The verb nearly always begins the clause or follows immediately on the subject as in 4, 7, 8. In 4 the position of ἐφανερώθησαν serves to gives emphasis.

3. There are some Hebraisms. Thus in 2–3 we have τὸς νικῶντας τὴν νευκηκώτας . . . after the model of the Hebrew participle: ἐστώτας καὶ ἄδοντας ἐστώτας . . . καὶ ἄδοντας (see in loc.): and κυράρας τοῦ θεοῦ = μαχαίρι τοῦ θεοῦ. Possibly νικῶντας ἐκ may be due to a Hebraism.

4. In 5, 6 there are two phrases which apparently cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the hypothesis that δ ναός τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου in 5 is a translation from a Hebrew text, and that a corrupt one, and that the second phrase in 6 is due to the translator taking ἔτως to mean λίθον, whereas in this context it could only = βίσωπον. See text in locis.

§ 6. xv. 2–8 appears to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source.

Since xv. 2–8 is from the hand of our author (§ 4), and since, according to § 5, xv. 2–8 is not only strongly Hebraic but appears to imply a Hebrew source; and, finally, since in xv. 5, 6 the text can be best explained on the hypothesis of a corrupt
Hebrew source, this section appears to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source.

§ 7. xv. 1 appears to be an interpolation, the chapter having originally begun with xv. 2: further, for οἱ ἐπὶ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγάς in 6 we should read simply ἄγγελοι ἑπτά. (Cf. xv. 7, xvi. 1.) The question has naturally been asked, how can the Seer have seen the angels in xv. 1, before they came forth from the Temple, which was not opened till xv. 5? This fact has caused much difficulty, and, as we should expect, a variety of explanations has been offered. Volter in his last works assigns xv. 5-6 to the Apocalypse of Cerinthus and xv. 1-4, 7 to an editor in Trajan's time. Weyland ascribes xv. 1, 6-8 to an editor and the remaining verses to two different sources. Spitta traces xv. 1 and fragments of 2, 3, 5 and 7 to an editor: Erbes, xv. 1, 5-8 to an editor of the year 80 A.D., and J. Weiss, xv. 1-4, 6-7 to an editor of the year 95 A.D.

None of these solutions of the difficulty has gained acceptance, and so Bousset thinks there is no need to excise any part of the text, and that xv. 1 is simply to be regarded as a superscription. But this explanation is, if anything, less satisfactory than the preceding. For (1) a superscription should not be introduced by the words καὶ εἶδον, but rather be something of the nature of ἡ δρασις τῶν ἑπτά ἄγγελων κτλ. (2) If it were a superscription it ought to have been inserted immediately after 4 and not before 2, seeing that 2-4 constitute an independent and absolutely different vision. (3) That a new and important vision is introduced by xv. 5 is shown by the use of the clause μετὰ ταύτα εἶδον. See iv. 1 π. (4) Again, as I have shown below, the Seven Angels are wrongly described in this verse as “seven angels having seven plagues—the last.” Their right description would be “seven angels having seven bowls.” (5) The clause ὅτι ἐν αἰθίας ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is unjustifiable. The wrath of God cannot be conceived as coming to an end till sin is at an end or adequately punished. And this does not take place till the final judgment. (6) The scene of the Seer's vision is wrongly represented as having been experienced on the earth—εἶδον ἀλλ' σχῆμα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (cf. xii. 1, 3)—whereas it was undoubtedly in heaven: cf. xv. 5 sqq. Accordingly there appears to be no other way of solving the difficulty than to suppose either that xv. 1 is due to a marginal gloss subsequently incorporated in the text, or that it was an early interpolation by a scribe. Hence the chapter really begins with the vision of the triumphant martyrs in heaven, xv. 2-4, while xv. 5 introduces the vision of seven angels coming forth from the Temple in heaven. In xv. 6 instead of οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγάς we should simply read ἄγγελοι ἑπτά. The change was
made when xv. 1 was incorporated in the text. The interpolator, moreover, made a very inept addition. He did not know his text. For, as is clear from xv. 7, the Seven Angels did not receive "the bowls full of the wrath of God" till after they had left the Temple, whereas in 6 they are represented as having the plagues before doing so. Again, these Seven Angels, when they are mentioned subsequently, as they are four times, are never described as "the seven angels having the seven plagues," but simply as "the seven angels," xvi. 1, or "the seven angels which had the seven bowls," in xvi. 1, xxi. 9. Each bowl contains a plague, and so the seven plagues, xv. 8, result respectively from the pouring forth in succession of the seven Bowls.

1. This verse cannot be original, as we have already seen in the Introd. to this Chapter, § 7. It is true that the style resembles that of our author, but there are strong grounds against its being from his hand. The first is that the Seer cannot have seen the angels in 1, seeing that the Temple is closed till 5, and the angels do not emerge from it till then. But there are other and more radical grounds for the rejection of this verse. (1) First, as we are aware (see note on iv. 1) the clause καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐλέον (xv. 5) always introduces a new and important section in the Apocalypse; but, if it had already been introduced in xv. 1, then this clause would be out of place. Moreover, in xv. 1 the clause καὶ ἐλέον is used by our Seer to introduce the less important sections. The interpolator of xv. 1 does not seem to have been aware of this usage. If we excise xv. 1 and remember that xiv. is wholly proleptic in character, referring as it does to events subsequent to xvi. 17 (see p. 2), then the blessedness of the martyred faithful is set forth in contrast to their terrible plight in xiii. (2) The expression ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔχοντα πληγὰς ἐπὶ ἔπτα is not that used by our author elsewhere, save in 6 where it appears also to be an interpolation, though it may have been suggested by the last clause in xv. 8. For the last three words we should have ἔχοντας φιάλας ἐπὶ ἔπτα: cf. xv. 7, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. See also 8. The phraseology throughout xvi. also supports this objection. (3) The words τὰς ἔχοντας (probably derived from xxi. 9) are generally explained as the last plagues in contrast to the plagues mentioned in ix. 20; but that this is not the meaning of the writer of this verse is clear from the clause which follows, with which we shall now deal. (4) The clause just referred to—ὅτι ἐν αἰνίας ἐκλέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ—cannot be given any satisfactory explanation. It manifestly states that the wrath of God will be consummated in these seven Bowls, whereas the last and most terrible of the divine judgments do not take place till after their close. The
right expression is found in xv. 8, ἀρχι τελεσθώσην αἱ ἐπτὰ πληγαί, which is probably the source of the interpolator's phrase. These seven Plagues can be described as wholly consummated in xvi.-xviii., but not so the wrath of God.

On the above grounds we cannot but regard xv. 1 as an interpolation. When this interpolation was once effected, ἁγγελοι ἐπτὰ in 6 was changed into οἱ ἐπτὰ ἁγγελοί οἱ ἑκοτες τὰς ἐπτὰ πληγαίς in order to adapt the context to the text thus interpolated. The incongruity of the addition οἱ ἑκοτες τὲ ἐπτὰ πληγαίς is very glaring, seeing that the seven angels do not receive the plague-bearing Bowls till the next verse.

καὶ εἶδον. See notes on iv. 1.
καὶ εἶδον . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This clause seems to have been suggested by xii. 1.

ἀλλὰ ὁµελείων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Cf. xii. 1, 3, where this phrase implies that the Seer is on earth. But clearly in the vision of the Seven Angels he is in heaven: see xv. 5, xvi. 1. This fact the interpolator failed to recognize.

μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν. Suggested (?) by the phrase μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά in 3. ἁγγελοὺς ἐπτὰ . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. This passage has already been dealt with above. See also note on 7.

2-4. With this vision the march in the development of future events is resumed. The line of advance was abandoned for the time being in xiv., which, as we have seen, is wholly prophetic, and summarized all the coming judgments from the seventh Bowl to the immediate advent of the final judgment. Hence xv 2-4 is to be taken in close connection with xiii. In xiii. 15 the second Beast is represented as exterminating the entire body of the faithful, and xv. 2-4 looks upon that extermination as already an event of the past. The roll of the martyrs is at last complete, and no longer are any of the faithful to be found on the earth, but only the heathen nations, which are either devoted followers of the Antichrist or occupy a neutral position. xv. 2-4 thus forms a companion picture to vii. 9-16. In both these the roll of the martyrs has just been completed or is on the eve of completion in heaven. The final judgment is still in the distance; for the conversion of the nations (cf. the announcement of the glad tidings in xiv. 6) is foretold (xv. 4) as an event of the future. In xiv. 1-5 and xx. 4, which depict a later stage, the martyrs have descended with Christ to the earth to share with Him the Millennial reign.

2. ὑά (see Additional Note, i. p. 35 sq.) θαλασσαν δείπνην (ὥστε ἀρκεῖ). This sea has already been referred to in iv. 6. The absence of the article is what we expect in this Hebraistic expression, which = "the likeness of a sea of glass."
This description is not attached to the heavenly sea when it is mentioned in iv. 6. But the difference of context is a sufficient explanation. In iv. 6 the vision is one of peace, whereas here it is one of judgment. This phrase, therefore, may refer either to the sea as glowing with the wrath of God, or as reflecting the lightnings that proceeded from the throne of God, though there is here, it is true, no mention of these lightnings. In 2 Enoch xxix. 1–2 there is a passage that may be quoted, though it does not throw any real light on the text. "From the gleam of My eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, which is both fire in water, and water in fire."

τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου. This is a very difficult phrase. There is no difficulty with the participle. Here νικῶντας = νικηκρότασι. The great tribulation is over, and the martyrs have triumphed over the Beast by proving faithful unto death. As our author thinks in Hebrew, his use of the Greek participle reflects that of the Hebrew participle, which, as we are aware, can = νικῶντας, νικηκρότας or νικησομένος according to the context. Here νικῶντας is to be taken as a perfect participle. The roll of the martyrs is at last complete, but it has only just been completed. The Antichristian powers have not yet been judged, nor has the Millennial Kingdom been as yet established. When this kingdom is established the martyrs shall descend and reign (v. 10) with Christ for 1000 years (xiv. 1–5, xx. 4), and all the nations of the earth, which had not been leagued with Rome, shall come and worship before God (xiv. 4, xxi. 24–26).

νικῶντας ἐκ. The use of ἐκ after νικῶντας is very difficult. Winer (p. 460) quotes this passage in connection with a number of other passages where ἐκ is found, but not one of them has the same source as ἐκ here. He compares the Latin expression "victoriam ferre ex aliquo," Livy, viii. 8, etc. But it would be difficult to justify the occurrence of a Latinism in our text. There is just the possibility that our author was here reproducing the Hebrew idiom נבורי מישׁהוּת (cf. 2 Sam. i. 23; Ps. lxv. 3) = "those who had been stronger than the beast." But no adequate explanation has as yet been offered.

As Swete (in loc.) has pointed out, the martyrs show themselves as conquerors up to the moment of death: cf. Ep. Smyrn. 19, διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ στὸν τῆς ἀφθορίας στέφανον ἀπολαβόν. Passio S. Perpetuae, 18, "illuxit dies victoriae illorum, et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum quasi in caelum, hilares et vultu decori." But our Seer follows them into the life beyond and sees the exultant host celebrating not their own victory but the praises of God.

ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος κτλ. Cf. xiii. 1, 14, 17, xiv. 9, 11, xix. 20, xx. 4.

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This phrase could mean "standing on" (cf. x. 5, 8, xii. 18, xiv. 1) or "standing by" (cf. iii. 20). This scene of the victors standing on the heavenly sea with harps in their hands and praising God recalls Israel's song of triumph over Egypt on the shore of the Red Sea. The phraseology is unusual. In x. 5, 8 ἵστρομ is used with ἐπὶ τῆς θὰλασσᾶς. Further, our author prefers generally the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς θὰλασσᾶς to ἐπὶ τὴν θὰλασσὰν: cf. vii. 1, x. 2, 5, 8. But the fact that ἵστρομ ἐπὶ is in the case of all other nouns followed by the accusative (iii. 20, vii. 1, viii. 3, xi. 11, xii. 18, xiv. 1) may have led to the use of the accusative (instead of the gen.) of θὰλασσὰν in the present instance after ἵστρωτας ἐπὶ.

κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ = "harps belonging to the service of God." The omission of the article before κιθάρας is a Hebraism. On this idea cf. v. 8, xiv. 2. With this phrase we might compare 1 Thess. iv. 16, ἐν σάλπηγγι θεοῦ, and 1 Chron. xvi. 42; 2 Chron. vii. 6, ὕμνον ἱσερ "instruments to accompany the songs of God."

καὶ ἔδωκαν. These words are to be taken as καὶ ἔδωκαν and the passage to be rendered: "I saw ... standing on the sea ... and singing." This Hebraism has occurred several times already: see note on xiv. 2–3.

Τὴν φόνιν Μωσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φόνιν τοῦ ἄρνιου. Now that the martyr host is completed, and are already standing before God, they sing a song of praise to God, but not one of triumph over their enemies—a fact which differentiates this song from that in Ex. xv. The first words, "the song of Moses the servant of God," recall Ex. xiv. 31, xv. 1, where Moses and the children of Israel sang a song of thanksgiving to God, but still more a paean of triumph over the Egyptians and of joy at their destruction (Ex. xv. 2–19).

As that song was sung on earth, on the shore of the Red Sea by Israel after the flesh, so this song is sung in heaven by the Sea of Glass before God by the spiritual Israel.

The expression Τὴν φόνιν Μωσέως . . . καὶ τ. φόνιν τοῦ ἄρνιου creates insuperable difficulties. To excise (as most editors have done) καὶ τ. φόνιν τοῦ ἄρνιου as an interpolation would only aggravate the difficulty in the present context. For, since it was through the Lamb that the Christian martyrs triumphed, if the song that followed was associated with any name, that name must have been that of the Lamb. Hence the difficulty does not originate in connection with this phrase, but rather with τ. φόνιν Μωσέως. How then are we to explain the collocation of the two phrases? Bousset is of opinion that the repetition of the phrase suggests that the victors sang first the old Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 2–19) and then a new song—that of the Lamb, which is then given. This apparently is the view of Swete.
“St. John does not write τ. ψηθν Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ ἄριστου, for the notes are distinct though they form a harmony.” This view can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. That the old dispensation is superseded is the essential belief of our author, and it can no less have been his conviction that in heaven the faithful members of the old dispensation would accept the teaching of the new. Moreover, if our author deliberately omits all reference to the Law throughout the Apocalypse, it would be surprising if he referred here to its author Moses, and placed him before the Lamb. This being so, we can hardly suppose that our author implies that the song of Moses, given in Ex. xv. 2-19, was actually sung by a body of Christian martyrs before the throne. We, therefore, expect that, if the text is original, the song given in our text, which makes no definite mention of either Moses or of the Lamb, was sung alike by the martyred faithful of Judaism and Christianity, and that too led by the Lamb, as the song in Ex. xv. was led by Moses. But the form of the text is against this conclusion, and implies that the song or songs are led by Moses and the Lamb.

Thus there seems to be no way out of the difficulty save by assuming that the words τ. ψηθν Μωυσέως τοῦ δουλου τοῦ θεου originated in a marginal gloss, which was subsequently incorporated in the text. Moreover, the nature of the song supports this assumption, since it is not a song of triumph, but simply a paean of thanksgiving, which the martyrs sing, when in the first perfect unclouded vision of God they wholly forget themselves and burst forth into praise of the Lord God of Hosts, who alone is holy, whose works are great and marvellous, whose ways are righteousness and truth, and to whom all the nations shall do homage, because of the coming manifestation of God’s righteous judgments.

Not until this stage does the Seer behold the complete spiritual transformation of the faithful in heaven. At the same time by its mention of divine judgments to come, it prepares the way for the advent of the Seven Angels with their plagues. This song, therefore, though sung by the victorious Christian host of martyrs, could not be more fittingly conceived. Its sole theme is God; for, in the perfect vision of God, self is wholly forgotten, and so far as there is a reference to the earth from which they have been delivered, it is one of hopefulness: “the nations shall come and worship before Thee.”

The gloss τ. ψηθν Μωυσέως κτλ. in this context is probably due to the fact that the triumph of the actual Israel over the Egyptians at the Red Sea was certainly regarded by the Christians of the first century as prefiguring the triumphs of the spiritual Israel, as we see from the Pauline Epistles.
This song of Moses in Ex. xv. had already been incorporated in the Temple Services. Thus it was sung at the evening sacrifice on the Sabbath (Edersheim, The Temple, p. 188), and in the benediction that followed the Shema there is a reference to it: "A new song did they that were delivered sing to Thy name by the seashore" (Encyc. Bib. iv. 4954). According to Philo (De Vita Contempl. xi.) this song was sung by the Therapeutae, the men forming one chorus and the women the other, while in the De Agricultura, xvii., he writes: "the chorus of men will have Moses for their leader and that of the women will be under the guidance of Miriam. . . . Accordingly all the men sing the song on the seashore. . . . Moses being the leader of their song; and the women sing—Miriam being their leader."

The Martyrs' Song is formed almost wholly of O.T. expressions.

μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου. The first epithet as describing the works of God is found in Ps. xcii. 5, cxii. 2, and the second in Ps. xcviii. 1, cxxxix. 14; I Chron. xvi. 9.

κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See Amos iv. 13, but the phrase occurs several times elsewhere in our text (see note on i. 8).

ynchronously καὶ ἀληθινὰι αἰ δδοῖ σου. Cf. xvi. 7, xix. 2; Ps. cxlv. 17, δίκαιος κύριος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς δδοῖς σου: Deut. xxxii. 4, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα σου.

ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἔθνων. 4, τὶς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ. These clauses are a rendering of Jer. x. 7, which, though present in Aquila and Theodotion, are wanting in the LXX. The title "king of the nations" is here peculiarly appropriate, since it is God's dealings with the nations alike in the way of condemnation and of mercy that is the theme of this song and of the chapters that follow.

καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου. Cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, δοξάσωσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου; see also 12; Mal. i. 11, τὸ ὄνομά σου δεδώσαι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. μόνος ἄγιος. Cf. i Sam. ii. 2, ὅτι σὺ ἐστιν ἄγιος ὡς κύριος. With the expression μόνος ἄγιος cf. Rom. xvi. 27, μόνω σοφῷ.

ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥσουσιν . . . ἐνώπιον σου. From Ps. lxxxvi. 9. τὰ δικαιώματα κτλ. Cf. Ps. xcixii. 2. δικαιώματα here means the judicial sentences of God in relation to the nations either in the way of mercy or condemnation. On Rome and all the adherents of the Empire will be manifested the judgments of God; whereas during the Millennial period the rest of the nations will experience His mercy. Cf. xiv. 6—7, which refer to the Millennial period. On the other hand, some scholars take δικαιώματα in the sense of "righteous deeds"—a meaning which it undoubtedly possesses in the gloss in xix. 9 But xvi. 1, φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, xvi. 7, δίκαιοι αἱ κρίσεις σου, and
other analogous expressions are in favour of the interpretation given above.

These words point forward to the conversion of the nations during the Millennial reign: cf. xxiv. 24 sq., xxii. 2. In xiv. 7 the nations are exorted to repent and worship God. Of course it is only the nations that survive the judgments in xvi.-xix. that are so converted.

This clause gives the ground for the clause that immediately precedes: "for Thy righteous judgments shall have been made manifest."

**XV. 5–XVI. 1.** The commission of the Seven Angels with the Bowls.

5. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἶδον. As has been shown on iv. 1, this phrase is never used except at the beginning of an important section. Thus the insertion of xv. 1, which already deals with this subject, is wholly against the usage of our author. See also above on 1.

This designation of the heavenly Temple is certainly strange—"the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony." It appears either to be an interpolation or the rendering of a corrupt Hebrew source. If we translate the phrase into Hebrew it is clear that ναὸς must be rendered by ἡ νημία, στήριξις generally by ναὸς (occasionally by μνημεῖον), and μαρτύριον by μνήμη (or possibly by μνῆμα). But it must certainly be confessed that οἷον ἀνδρόν μονοί is an absolutely unexampled designation, and difficult to justify.

The phrase in the text cannot be a rendering of מֶשֶךְ אֲלֹהִים מְנוּרָה (cf. Ex. xl. 2, 6, 29, since ναὸς is never used to translate מֶשֶךְ).

Zullig thinks that this expression is used in order to recall the fact that, when the Tabernacle with all its holy vessels was brought up to Jerusalem by the order of Solomon, the Ark was removed from it and set up in the most holy place in the Temple (2 Chron. v. 5; 1 Kings viii. 4), and that from that time forward the temple could also bear the name of the Tabernacle, and that in fact it is called misskan (מִשָּׁן) in Ps. lxxxiv. 2, cxxxii. 5, and ὀχήλ (ἐχήλ) in Ezek. xii. 1. Hence he would, as Bousset, render the entire phrase as "the temple, that is, the tabernacle of the testimony." The genitive would in this case be one of apposition. But against the identification of the ναὸς and στήριξις in our text there is the very great objection, that in Apocalyptic, from the vision in Isa. vi. to the latest times, it is the Temple, whether in heaven or on earth, and not the Tabernacle, that is referred to as the scene of apocalyptic vision. See note
on viii. 3. Hence, since throughout the rest of the Apocalypse this usage is followed, the natural inference is that it is followed here. If this be so, then it is to be concluded that τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου is an addition. If we might here assume a Hebrew original, we could dispose of the difficulty. Thus δ' ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὗραντί, which might easily be a corruption of ἡ ἁφή Ἀδρίας συνείσηκεν = δ' ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἐν τῷ οὗραντί—the very phrase that is found in xi. 19, with the same verb in both cases, i.e. ἣνος.

6. οἱ ἐπὶ ἅγιον ὢν. οἱ ἔχον. τ. ἐπὶ πληγάς. As we have already seen on 1, we should excise οἱ ἔχον. τ. ἐπὶ πληγάς as an addition from the hand that added i and read simply ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ.

ἐνδεδυμένοι ἔλιθον ἔτος ἐνεστερικῶν ἔλινας χρυσάς. See note on the diction in i. 13.

ἐνδεδυμένοι ἔλιθον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν. AC, a few Cursives, and the MSS of the Vulg. read λίθον for λίνον, which is found in the lesser authorities. That λίθον would more readily be changed into λίνον and not vice versa is evident in itself. Besides, though the best Codd. of the Vulg. have latipide the official text has lineteo. WH adduce Ezek. xxviii. 13, πάντα λίθον χρυσίων ἐνδεδυσαί in support of λίθον. Further, λίνον (=flax) is not used as the equivalent of λινοῦ (=a garment made of flax) except in a few passages throughout Greek literature: cf. Homer, I. ix. 661, Od. xiii. 73, 118; Aesch. Suppl. 120, 132, Etym. Magn. The evidence, therefore, is strongly in favour of λίθον. But, notwithstanding the advocacy of WH, λίθον cannot be right. We must, therefore, assume either that, despite the very great improbability, λίθον is a primitive corruption of the all but unexampled word λινοῦ (="linen garment"—a most unusual meaning), or that we have here a mistranslation from the Hebrew. ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον = ὄψιν κατακαλάβη. But ὄψιν, as we know, means either βυσσίνος, Gen. xli. 42; Ex. xxviii. 35 (39), or λίθος (cf. Esth. i. 6) or μάρμαρος (Cant. v. 15). In fact, in later Hebrew it generally means "alabaster" or "marble." In the Epistle of Jeremy 71 the same mistranslation, as Ball has shown, occurs: "Ye shall know them to be no gods by the purple and the marble (τῆς μαρμάρου) which roteth upon them." Here μάρμαρος = ὄψιν, which should have been rendered by τοῦ βυσσίνου = "fine linen." "Marble doesn't rot," as Ball remarks. Now returning to our text, if we may assume a Hebrew original, then instead of ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν we should read ἐνδεδυμένοι βυσσίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν.

To confirm this conclusion we have only to turn to xix. 8, where we find περιβάληται βυσσίνον λαμπρὸν καθαρὸν, or to xix. 14, where we have the clause that should be in our text, ἐνδεδυμένοι
Hence we render "clothed in fine linen pure bright." On the significance of this expression see note on iii. 5.

7. ἐν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἔσω, i.e. one of the Cherubim. See note on iv. 6. The Cherubim in the Apocalyptic of the 1st cent. A.D. have come to be the chief order of angels. It is fitting therefore that one of them should act as an intermediary between God and the Seven Angels of the Bowls. Even in Ezek. x. 7 it is one of the Cherubim that hands over to one of the seven angels of judgment coals of fire to be sprinkled on the earth.

ἐπὶ τὰ φίλας χρυσάς. On the position of ἐπὶ before its noun see note on vili. 2.

φίλας . . . γεμούσας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. It is highly probable that the Greek word φίλας was adopted into both Hebrew and Aramaic as early as the beginning of the Christian era: see Levi's two Lexicons in loc. It is noteworthy that it is used in connection with the same idea as in our text in the Targum on Isa. li. 17, where the Hebrew נ酏هة ("the cup of His wrath") is explained by מיל הלחמה and in 22 מיל נחמד by מיל נחמד והרמח. Again in the Targum of Jon. on Gen. xl. 12 we have מיל נחמד ידידי = "the bowl of wrath" (i.e. of the divine wrath). The word thus appears to have had the same idea associated with it as in our text. With the present passage cf. xiv. 8, 10.

τοῦ ἕλετος εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας. See note on iv. 9.

8. ἐγεμυσθήθη δὲ ναὸς κατοικῆ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ. γεμίζω belongs to the vocabulary of our author but is not used in this connection in the LXX. The first four words recall the statement in Isa. vi. 4, where in connection with the great vision of Isaiah it is said that "the house (i.e. the Temple) was filled with smoke" (ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήσθη κατοικῆ—LXX). The combined ideas of the Temple being filled with smoke and with the glory of the Lord are found in Ezek. x. 4, "The house (i.e. the Temple) was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the Lord's glory": Ex. xl. 35, "Moses was not able to enter into the tent of meeting because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." See also 1 Kings viii. 10. The glory of God is spoken of as filling the temple in Ezek. xliv. 4; 2 Chron. vii. 2-3. During such manifestations of God's presence no one could enter the earthly temple. In all the O.T. passages above cited the presence of God is a mark of His gracious purposes. Hence the inability of humanity to approach God in these passages was due to the infinite transcendence of God and His unapproachableness by merely finite
creatures. But that cannot be the meaning of the clause in our text.

_ἐκ τὴς δυνάμεως._ This attribute of God is here set parallel with His glory. It is to be manifested in the plagues that follow.

_οὐδεὶς ἐδώνατο εἰσελθεῖν κτλ._ As we have seen in the first note on this verse, none could enter the earthly Temple in the O.T. during special manifestations of God’s presence therein. But, since this cannot hold of the heavenly Temple, inasmuch as in heaven the heavenly hosts are constantly represented as standing in God’s immediate presence, it seems necessary to attach a figurative meaning to the clause _οὐδεὶς ἐδώνατο εἰσελθεῖν κτλ._, and to interpret these words as meaning that, until the plagues were accomplished, none could avert by prayer the doom about to befall the earth through these plagues. At the close of these judgments God’s gracious purposes with regard to the nations would take effect: see xiv. 6, xxi. 24, 26.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. The object of this Chapter.

The object of this chapter is to set forth the last series of plagues that are to befall the earth. These plagues are symbolized under the seven Bowls which are poured forth by Seven Angels.

In these seven Bowls we have no mere repetition of the divine visitations in the Seals and Woes. Not only are they different in themselves from the Seals and Woes, but they differ further in respect of time and the people affected by them. Although these facts have been brought forward in the Introduction to xv., it is necessary here to emphasize them anew, since the prevailing view is that in the Bowls we have not advanced chronologically, but that in the Seals, Trumpets (Woes), and Bowls the same great principles of God’s government are displayed under different aspects. Even scholars, like Bousset, who are opposed to the Recapitulation Theory, are disposed to acknowledge in some degree its validity in regard to the Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls. Though the reader should consult the Introduction to xv., I will here repeat the two chief _differentiae_ between the Bowls and the Seals and Woes. These are that the people affected in each series is different and that their order is alike logical and chronological. Under the Seals (save the fifth to which only the Christians were subject) Christian and heathen alike suffer. Then after the sealing of the faithful takes place, all those who had not been so sealed are exposed to the three
XVI. § 1–8. | DICTION AND IDIOM

demonic Woes. In the course of the third Woe the last of the faithful are martyred, and at its close the world is inhabited only by the heathen nations. Then follows the last series of cosmic and other plagues, which are all embracing in their incidence with the exception of the fifth Bowl, which is confined to the kingdom of the Beast, just as the fifth Seal affected only the faithful.

§ 2. State of the Text.

The text of this chapter has suffered much through faulty transcription and deliberate alteration. xvi. 1 has μεγάλης φωνῆς —an abnormal order of words in our author. Both the context and the diction of xvi. 2, and certain clauses in 13–14 are against their authenticity, as is shown in the notes on these passages. The apparently meaningless interchange of εἰς and ἐκάτωτερ after ἐκχέω is strange. xvi. 10 has sustained the loss of several clauses. xvi. 5–7, which belongs to xix., has been restored in this edition to its original position after xix. 4; xvi. 15, which belongs to iii., has been restored after iii. 5.

§ 3. Diction and Idiom.

When the interpolated clauses in xvi. 2, 13–14 are removed, the entire phraseology and constructions are those of our author, with the exception of xvi. 1. There are, as was to be expected, phrases not found elsewhere in our author, but these are not against any established usage on his part.

(a) Diction.

1. ἤκουσα ... φωνῆς ἐκ: cf. iii. 20, xiv. 13, xxi. 3. Elsewhere in our author φωνῆν after ἤκουσαν. τοῦ ἐπὶ ἁγγέλου: cf. xv. 6, 8, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. ὑπάγετε εἰς ἐκχέστε: cf. x. 8, ὑπαγε λαβέ. ἐκχέστε ... εἰς: cf. 2, 3, 4, but ἐκάτωτερ ἐπὶ in 8, 10, 12, 17. τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. xiv. 10, 19, xv. 7.

2. ἀπῆλθεν ... καὶ ἔχεσθεν: cf. v. 7, ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἔληφθεν: xvii. 1, xxi. 9 (a Hebraism). Cf. John v. 15, ix. 7, xi. 31. ἔγραψεν ἀληθείας ... ἐπὶ. Here only in our author. On the interpolation τοῦ ἐχόντας ... ἱνα, see note in loc.


10. τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου: cf. xiii. 2. ἐκκοιμημένη: cf. ix. 2, where the word refers to the same phenomenon. ἐκ τοῦ πόλου: cf. xi, xxi. 4. Only once elsewhere in N.T., i.e. Col. iv. 13.


19. ἐστιμάζω. A frequent word in our author. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἠλιοῦ: cf. vii. 2.

18. τοῦ ἄρκοντος ... τοῦ θηρίου: cf. xiii. 4. τοῦ ψευδοπρο-
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φήτου: cf. xix. 20, xx. 10. πνεύματα τρία: such is our author's order: see note on viii. 2.

14. τῆς οἰκουμένης ἥλις: cf. iii. 10, xii. 9. συναγαγέν αὐτοῦ εἰς τ. πόλεμον: cf. xx. 8, where the same words recur: see also xix. 19. τῆς ἡμέρας τ. μεγάλης: cf. vi. 17. τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος: cf. i. 8, iv. 8 n., xi. 17, xv. 3, etc.

15. This verse should be read after iii. 3. Every phrase of it has its parallel in iii. See notes in loc.

16. τὸν καλοῦμενον: cf. i. 9, xi. 8, xii. 9, xix. 11. ἑβραϊστή: cf. ix. 11.

17. φωνῇ . . . ἐκ τοῦ και ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου: cf. xx. 2, 10 for this combination of prepositions. Elsewhere we have φωνῇ ἀπὸ τ. θρόνου in xix. 5 and φ. ἐκ τ. θρ. in xxi. 3 and ἐκ τ. θρ. with other nouns iv. 5, xxii. 1. γέγονεν: cf. xxii. 6.


19. τῷ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὁργῆς: cf. xiv. 8, 10, xix. 15.

20. ἐφυγεν, καὶ . . . ὁ δὴ εὐλαβη: cf. xx. 11.


(b) Idiom.

1. μεγάλης φωνῆς: the order of the words in this phrase is unique in our author. It is certainly abnormal and is corrected in NP into φωνῆς μεγάλης. But there are a few instances where the adjective precedes its noun in our author: cf. i. 10, iii. 12 (in both passages, however, between art. and noun), and ὅλογος in three cases.

2. ἐγένετο . . . ἐπὶ: unique in our author.

3. αἷμα ὡς νεκροῖ, ἢ.η. αἷμα ὃς αἷμα νεκροῖ: see Additional Note in vol. i. p. 35.

8. εὐθηνατος εἰς τοὺς ἑωμένους: cf. vi. 4, viii. 2, etc.

9. ἐξονόμησαν . . . δούναι: cf. xi. 18, Ἴδθεν . . . ὡς καιρὸς . . . δοῦναι, xvi. 19, ἐμνήσθη . . . δοῦναι.

1. μεγάλης φωνῆς. In every other instance of this phrase, in the Apocalypse, i. 10, v. 2, 12, vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 3, xi. 12, 15, xii. 10, xiv. 7, 9, 15, 18, xvi. 17, xix. 1, 17, xxi. 3, the noun φωνῆ precedes the adjective. This "great voice," as that in 17, seems to be that of God Himself and not of an angel. According to xv. 8 none could enter the Temple till the plagues were accomplished. But it is possible that it is the voice of the angel of the altar, as in xiv. 18.

ἐκχειρεῖ ὁ εὐθυς φίλας κτλ. Cf. Dan. ix. 11, Jer. x. 25, xlii. 18, xlv. 6, on this Semitic use of the verb τινι or τίνι. ἐκχείω occurs repeatedly in this chapter and not elsewhere in the Apocalypse.
XVI.1-3.] FIRST AND SECOND BOWLS

ἐκχέει, (see Winer, § 13, 23. Blass, p. 41, would read ἐκχέαται) . . . εἰς τ. γῆν. So also in 2. Cf. ἐξέχειν εἰς τ. βάλασσαν in 3, and the same verb with εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς in 4. On the other hand, we have the same verb with ἐπὶ τ. ποταμῶν in 12, and with ἐπὶ τ. ἡλιον (8), ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον (10), and ἐπὶ τ. ἀέρα (17).

tὰς ἐπτά φαίλας τοῦ θυμοῦ. On the first four Trumpets, which can hardly on any hypothesis be regarded as the work of our author, see Introd. to viii., vol. i. p. 219 sq.

2. This plague recalls the sixth Egyptian plague: Ex. ix. 10-11; Deut. xxviii. 35.

ἐγένετο ἄλκος . . . πονηρὰν. The first two words we have in Ex. ix. 10, ἀλκής ἄλκη, and the two latter in Deut. xxviii. 35 and Job ii. 7, ἄλκη ἀλκη. In the last two passages the LXX renders ἄλκα πονηριάον.

ἐγένετο . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. In Ex. ix. 10 we have ἐγένετο . . . ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (i.e. ἄνθρωποι). Thus our author is independent of the LXX. For the construction, Luke i. 65, iii. 2 are generally quoted. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, “upon men,” i.e. on all mankind: cf. xvi. 8, 21.

[τ. ἐχοντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ.] Cf. xiii. 17, xiv. 9, 11, xiv. 20.

This clause has been assigned by Spitta (p. 163) to the final editor of the Book, though he does not specify the grounds. There are, however, good reasons for regarding them as a gloss.

1. The fourth Plague is universal in its incidence as regards the sun, and also the second so far as those on the sea are concerned. That the third is so likewise as regards all fresh waters is clear. Such also is the sixth and the seventh as regards the Euphrates and the air. Hence it is natural to expect that the first Plague is of the same character as in the second, third, and fourth, i.e. universal in its incidence. 2. The construction τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ is against our author's usage. See note on vii. ii.

If the above conclusion is not valid, then we must assume that only the adherents of the Roman Empire, and not the rest of the heathen, are affected by the first Plague. In this respect the first and fifth Plagues would have the same incidence. But not only are the followers of the Beast subject to certain physical evils, but they alone are susceptible to the deceitful signs wrought by the false prophet (xiv. 20). With this susceptibility to evil influence we should contrast the security against demonic influences enjoyed by those who were sealed by God in vii. 4-8, ix. 4. But all the faithful have already been removed from the earth (see Introd. to xv. p. 26).

8. This Plague recalls the first Egyptian plague, Ex. vii. 17-21, though in the latter the Nile alone is smitten.
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πάσα ψυχὴ λοιπ. (Cf. ναζανίς, Gen. i. 21, or ἄνθρωπος, i. 30.) ῥά ἐν τῇ δαίδασσῃ. In viii. 9 only a third of the things in the sea perished. Here the destruction is complete.

4. εἰς τ. πτωσάμους καὶ τ. πηγὰς τῶν ὁδότων. See note on viii. 10. δέσεως αλμα, i.e. the fresh waters became blood.

8°. [καὶ ἡκοῦσα τοῦ ἄγγελου τῶν ὁδότων λέγοντος.] An interpolation to introduce xvi. 5b-7, which originally followed after xix. 4, and to which context it is restored in this edition. Cf. 1 Enoch lxvi. 2. “Those angels were over the powers of the waters.” In vii. 1 of our text the angels who had control of the winds are referred to, and in xiv. 18 the angel over fire, though the latter appears to be a gloss. On the various classes of angels see the Index to Charles’ The Apocr. and Pseudep. vol. ii.; Bousset, Rel. des Judenthums, 317, also Jewish Encyc., art. “Angelology.”

5b-7. This passage has been restored after xix. 4, where the grounds are fully stated for this restoration.

8. The fourth Bowl takes effect on the sun, and causes a plague of excessive heat.

ἐξέχεται . . . ἐν τῶν ἡλίων. On the use of ἐν here instead of εἰς as in the preceding verses, see note on 1. The construction ἐνδόθη αὐτῷ is a frequent one in our author: see Introd. to Chap. vii., vol. i. p. 191.

9. ἐκαυματίσθησαν . . . καίμα. (See Blass, Gr. p. 91 sq.) Contrast vii. 16, οὐδὲ μὴ παύσῃ ἐν (emended) αὐτοὺς οἱ ἡλίοι οὐδὲ τῶν καίμα.

ἐπελεφίμησαν τὸ δόμα τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. xiii. 6; Isa. lii. 5; Rom. ii. 24; 1 Tim. vi. 1; Jas. ii. 7.

ἐξοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν. See note on ii. 26 on the significance of the article with ἐξουσίαν. Bousset brackets here with the inferior MSS the article. This is strange, since he is aware that when ἐξουσία is accompanied by the art. it cannot’s full authority or power, and this is certainly the meaning in the present passage.

οὗ μετενόησαν. Cf. ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11. In xi. 13 the Jews repent owing to the earthquake.

δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν. Cf. xi. 13, xiv. 7, xix. 7.

10-11. The fifth Bowl. If we compare this Bowl with the first Woe it is clear that they are developments of the same tradition, though they refer to different periods, the Christians being still upon the earth during the Woes, but not during the Bowls. Thus both affect only the adherents of the beast (xvi. 10: cf. ix. 4). In xvi. 10 the kingdom of the beast is darkened; in ix. 2 the sun is darkened by the smoke issuing from the pit, and from this smoke issued the demonic locusts. In xvi. 10–11
men gnawed their tongues through pain and blasphemed the God of heaven; in ix. 5–6 men were tormented by the locusts and sought death but could not find it.

Similarly we shall find that the sixth Bowl agrees closely with the second Woe (see note on xvi. 12–16), and the seventh Bowl with the third Woe (see note on xvi. 17–21). These facts will help us in the elucidation of the difficulties affecting the fifth Bowl.

But there is another point worthy of consideration. If we compare the seven Bowls with the Seven Seals, we find that, whereas only the faithful were the victims of the fifth Seal, only the followers of the beast are affected by the fifth Bowl.

10. The visitation on the kingdom of the Antichrist.

τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου, i.e. Rome. Cf. xiii. 2, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ (i.e. τῷ θηρίῳ) δ ὀρέκτω . . . τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. The first four Bowls had affected the world at large; the fifth assails only the kingdom of the Beast.

ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐκσκοτωμένη. Owing to this clause the fifth Plague has been taken to be one of darkness recalling the Egyptian one, Ex. x. 21 sqq. But this interpretation cannot be upheld. A plague of darkness would be wholly insufficient to explain the agony experienced by the adherents of the Beast after the pouring out of the fifth Bowl. Hence something else than the darkness that ensued on the pouring out of the fifth Bowl must be presupposed as the cause of this agony. Now, if we turn to the first Woe of which the fifth Bowl is in some sense an abbreviation, we can explain both these statements. There we find that the sun was darkened by the smoke that issued from the pit (ix. 2). There is every reason for supposing that we have here the true explanation of the darkening of the kingdom of the Beast. Further, the cause of the torments endured by the adherents of the Beast (xvi. 10, ἐμασώτω τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πάνω) is to be traced to the demonic locusts which issued from the smoke that ascended from the pit. Men were so tortured by the scorpion-like stings of these locusts (ix. 10) that they longed for death to end their agony (ix. 5–6). Hence we infer that after ἐκσκοτωμένη several clauses have been lost, in which the causes of the darkness and the sufferings of mankind were given. The hypothesis that certain clauses of the nature suggested originally stood after ἐκσκοτωμένη is established by a clause in 11, i.e. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔλκων αὐτῶν. These sores could not have been caused by the darkness. Spitta and, so far as I am aware, Spitta alone (p. 171) has recognized this fact that the fifth Bowl originally treated of demonic locusts as the first Woe does. But he rejects (171, 576) τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐγένετο η βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐκσκοτωμένη as an addition from the hand of the final editor on the ground that
the throne of the beast is not to be identified with Rome but with the abyss as in ix. 11, and that accordingly the place on which the fifth Bowl is to be poured should be named, where the plague in question is to be developed, analogously with the rest of the plagues (xvi. 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 17). He also excises the clause καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλκύων αὐτῶν to the weakening of his own hypothesis. But I have already shown above that ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐκκοτωμένη can be fully justified. Nor can any valid objection be taken to τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θηρίου, seeing that already in xiii. 2 the Dragon had given his throne to the Beast. Thus it is only necessary here to suppose a lacuna in the text.

ἐκμακρύντω κτλ. In the LXX only in Job xxx. 5.

11. Their sufferings drove the followers of the beast to fresh blasphemy instead of to repentance.

τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. See xi. 13.
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλκύων αὐτῶν. This phrase proves that the sufferings of the subjects of the Beast are not intelligible from the text as it stands after the loss of the clauses referred to in the note on 10. Some scholars explain it as referring to the phrase ἐλκος κακῶν in 2.

ὡς μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν. So already in ii. 21, ix. 20.

12-16. The sixth Bowl—at all events xvi. 12—is related to the second Woe, ix. 13-21. In the latter passage we have an account of the demonic horsemen from the Euphrates, whose objective is the heathen unbelieving world. In the present context the river Euphrates is dried up in order that the way may be prepared for the kings coming from the East under Nero rediēvōs, and their objective is Rome, the throne of the Beast. This forecast reappears in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16. The powers of the Beast are therefore at variance. On the other hand, the gathering together of the kings of the earth to Armageddon is a distant echo of the onslaught of the forces of Gog in Ezekiel on Jerusalem. This expectation has undergone many developments in the interval, and reappears in a duplicated form under the actual designation of Gog and Magog in xx. 7-10, where it represents the last uprising of the powers of evil before their final destruction by fire from heaven. But the present context (xvi. 13-16) reproduces an earlier form of this expectation, and this form of it is referred to twice elsewhere in the book—in xiv. 14, 18-20, and xix. 11-21. In these three passages, which refer to a universal insurrection of the heathen nations at the instigation of the demons and the Beast and the False Prophet, before the Messianic Kingdom, the forces of evil are destroyed by the Messiah, and the Beast and the False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, whereas in the final insurrection of the heathen nations due to the direct instigation of Satan at the close of the Messianic Kingdom they are annihilated
by fire from heaven, and Satan himself cast into the lake of fire, where already were the Beast and the False Prophet.

Further, it is to be observed that the uprising of the kings of the East against Rome is only the preparatory step to their conflict with the Lamb, as we see in xvii. 12-17. Hence their combination here (xvi. 12) with the kings of the whole earth (xvii. 14) to resist the Lamb.

12. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

19. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

The march of the kings of the East against Rome is only the preparatory step to their conflict with the Lamb, as we see in xvii. 12-17. Hence their combination here (xvi. 12) with the kings of the whole earth (xvii. 14) to resist the Lamb.

19. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

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19. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

Further, it is to be observed that the uprising of the kings of the East against Rome is only the preparatory step to their conflict with the Lamb, as we see in xvii. 12-17. Hence their combination here (xvi. 12) with the kings of the whole earth (xvii. 14) to resist the Lamb.

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The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

Further, it is to be observed that the uprising of the kings of the East against Rome is only the preparatory step to their conflict with the Lamb, as we see in xvii. 12-17. Hence their combination here (xvi. 12) with the kings of the whole earth (xvii. 14) to resist the Lamb.

19. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

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19. The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.

The march of the kings of the East against Rome, which is described more fully in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16.
their masters, xiii. 13, 14). The phrase πνεύματα δαμασίων should be rendered "spirits, that is, demons," i.e. "demonic spirits," as in Luke iv. 33, πνεύμα δαμασίων ἀκαθάρτου = "a spirit, that is, an unclean demon." The genitive is one of apposition or definition: cf. ii. 10, ὁ στῆφανος τῆς ζωῆς. Demons have no spirits, but are themselves spirits. According to I Enoch xv. 8, 9, 11, xvi. 1, xix., xcix. 7, the demons were the spirits which went forth from the antediluvian giants on their destruction, these giants being the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men (cf. Gen. vi. 1). These demons were not to incur punishment till the final judgment: cf. Matt. viii. 29; i Enoch xvi. 1; Jubilees x. 5–11. They were subject to Satan as in our text: cf. Matt. xii. 24–28. 2. Or it may be rendered: "they are, to wit, demonic spirits, sign workers." But however we take this clause it is of the nature of a gloss.

† ἀ ἐκπόρευται †.—This—the best attested text—is wholly unsatisfactory. ν and several cursives read ἐκπόρευσθαί. Though this is less unsatisfactory it is against our author's usage as well as against Greek idiom. The context undoubtedly requires ἐκπορευόμενα, since without this participle the construction and meaning are both defective. For the preceding words ἦδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος ... πνεύματα τρία are incomplete in both respects without the participle ἐκπορευόμενα. The phrase ἐκ τ. στόματος ... ἐκπορευόμενα is of frequent occurrence in our text: cf. i. 16, ix. 17, 18, xi. 5, xix. 15, 21. Thus we should read ἦδον ἐκ τ. στόματος τ. δράκοντος ... πνεύματα τρία ... ἐκπορευόμενα (cf. i. 16 for the same separation of ἐκ τ. στόματος and the verb), and translate: "and I saw from the mouth of the dragon ... three unclean spirits going forth." The present text ἦδον ἐκ τ. στόματος ... πνεύματα τρία without a participle, which at once explains the ἐκ and completes the sentence, is, so far as I am aware, unexampled, and yet it has been thoughtlessly accepted by every grammarian and student of the Apocalypse, perhaps in many cases from the idea that any construction is possible in this Book.

Hence, since for ἀ ἐκπορευέται we must read ἐκπορευόμενα and connect it with ἦδον ἐκ κτλ., we conclude that ἦδον γὰρ ... σημεία is a marginal gloss, and likewise ὡς βάταρχοι if this is the earliest form of this phrase. Thus ὡς βάταρχοι ... σημεία was originally a marginal gloss which on its incorporation into the text brought about the change of ἐκπορευόμενα into ἀ ἐκπορευέται.

ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς οἰκουμένης διήγησ. Cf. iii. 10, xii. 9, for the same phrase and the same thought connection.

συναγαγέων αὐτῶν κτλ. Cf. xx. 8.

ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ. This is the great day of Yahweh's reckoning with the ungodly nations. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 12,
XVI. 14-16. XVI. 15 TO BE RESTORED BEFORE III. 3b

η τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα. See Charles’ Eschatology (see Index), also the authorities quoted in the note of vi. 17 of our text.

τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος. A divine title frequently found in our author: cf. i. 8, iv. 8 (note), xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22.

15. With Könnecke (Emendationen zu Stellen NT. 35-37, whose work I have not seen; the reference I owe to Moffatt) this verse is to be taken as an intrusion here. Originally either it stood between iii. 3a and 3b, where it would complete the ἑοῦ series of ii. 22, iii. 9, 20, or it should with Beza be transposed before iii. 18. I therefore bracket it with most modern critics in its present context.

What Könnecke’s arguments are I do not know, but the cogency of his suggestion manifests itself on a comparison of 15 with iii. 2-4. To see how fitly it comes in after iii. 3a we have only to compare ἑοῦ ἐρχομαι with the series of verbs so introduced in ii. 22, iii. 9, 20: ὁ κλήτης μοικάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἡμάτια αὐτῶν (xvi. 15ab) with γίνον γρηγορῶν in iii. 2 and ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἥξω ὅσ κλήτης in iii. 3b (observe also the use of τηρεῖν though without an expressed object in iii. 3a and οὖν ἐμαλλόν τὰ ἡμάτια αὐτῶν in iii. 4): ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιτατῇ (xvi. 15) with περιτατήσουσιν μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς in iii. 4, and the remaining words καὶ βλέπων τὸν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτῶν with ἵνα μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητος σου, iii. 18. κλήτης and γρηγορεῖν occur only in xvi. 15 and iii. 2-3 in our author.

This verse implies that the sixth Bowl will take the world by surprise. But it is hard to see how the elaborate preparations of the kings of the East followed by those of all the kings of the world could do so. Finally, the utter inappropriateness of 15 in its present context is further evident from the fact that all the faithful have already been removed from the earth.

This verse forms one of the seven beatitudes in the Apocalypse: i. 3 (iii. 3) (xiv. 13), xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 14, 7. When xvi. 15 is restored to its original context, we find a special appositeness in their order: first beatitude (i. 3) deals with those who read the prophecy; the second (iii. 3, i.e. xvi. 15) with those who watch and keep their garments clean; the third, xiv. 12-13 (to be read after xii. 15), with those who die in the Lord in the last persecution: the fourth, xix. 9, with those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb: the fifth, xx. 6, with those who share in the first resurrection: the sixth, xxii. 14, with those who had washed their garments and had permission to eat of the tree of life during the Millennial Kingdom: the seventh, xxii. 7, with those who keep the words of this Book.

16. This verse should follow immediately on 14, and 15 be transferred to its original context between iii. 3a and iii. 3b.
Neuter nouns in the plural are followed either by the singular (viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xvi. 14, etc.) or plural verb in the Apocalypse, but mostly by the latter.

The phrase “Mountains of Megiddo” was notable as the scene where Barak and Deborah overthrew the forces of Sisera by “the waters of Megiddo” (Judg. v. 19-21), and Pharaoh Necho defeated and slew Josiah, i.e., in “the plain of Megiddo” (2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Herod. ii. 159). But the phrase “Mountains of Megiddo” is not found elsewhere. Owing to this fact it has been proposed by Hilgenfeld to take Ἀρ Μαγεῦδων as = τὴν Μηνίαν, where, ῥῆ = “city of Megiddo.” Volter regards Ἀρ as = Υἱος, “land.” But both these conjectures have failed to meet with acceptance. It is best at present to regard the first element in the phrase as = “Mountains”; for the final conflict in Ezek. xxxviii. 8, 21, xxxix. 2, 4, 17—a passage which influenced our author in xx. 8-11—was to take place on “the mountains of Israel.” In Dan. xi. 45 the writer expected that Antiochus would meet his end “between the sea and the glorious holy mountain.” Since Megiddo is not associated with any eschatological expectation, it is possible some corruption underlies this word. Hence the phrase in Daniel, “glorious holy mountain” (= Μωνία Ζιών), as well as the expression in Ezekiel, “Mountains of Israel,” may give some support to the conjecture cited by Cheyne (Encyc. Bib. i. 311) that Ἀρ Μαγεῦδων = ἡ Μηνία ἡ Ῥῆ, his “fruitful mountain.” This would associate the battle scene with Jerusalem as in Joel iii. 2; Zech. xiv. 2 sqq.; 1 Enoch lvi. 7, xc. 13-19. As Rome was to be laid desolate by the kings of the East, xvi. 12, xvii. 16-17, so (after the destruction of the kings of the East—see xix. 13 n.) the kings of the whole earth were to be destroyed in the neighbourhood of Zion. Now, since xvi. 14, 16 and xx. 8-10 are both ultimately derived from Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix., and since in xx. 8-10 the scene of the last great struggle at the close of the Millennial Kingdom is placed in the neighbourhood of the Heavenly Jerusalem (which has taken the place of the Old), it is possible that Ἀρ Μαγεῦδων may be a corruption either for ἡ Μηνία Ῥῆ = “his fruitful mountain,” as above suggested, or for Ἡρῴδας, “the desirable city” (i.e. Jerusalem: cf. זאדר דא, “the desirable land,” i.e. Palestine, Jer. iii. 19; Zech. vii. 14). The latter suggestion derives some countenance from xx. 9, γνώκατε ἡγαθημένον, which is there surrounded by the hostile armies.
of Gog and Magog. But everything connected with the text and meaning of the phrase is uncertain. Hence Gunkel, followed by Cheyne and Bousset, conjectures in his *Schopfung und Chaos*, 263-266, that we have in this mysterious phrase a survival of some ancient myth—no longer intelligible to our author—which associated the final conflict of the gods with some ancient mountain. Hommel’s suggestion that the phrase goes back to (Isa. xiv. 13) “the mountain in the north where the gods meet,” springs from the same view of the passage. Hence Bousset concludes that the context here goes back to an ancient myth which described the assault on the holy mountain of the gods by an army of demons mustered by certain evil spirits. To this myth our author in Bousset’s opinion gave an historical character by connecting it with the Parthians. See Nestle’s art. in Hastings’ *D.B.* ii. 304 sq.

17–21. The seventh Bowl. Just as the fifth and sixth Bowls showed undeniable affinities with the first and second Woes, so the seventh Bowl appears to be slightly related to the third Woe, xi. 14–19. In xvi. 17 a voice from heaven declares that the punishment of the heathen and of the great city of Rome is now completed in the pouring out of the seventh Bowl with the results about to be recounted. In xi. 18 it is said that the time has come for “destroying those who destroy the earth”: cf. xix. 2. This connection is indeed slight in itself, but there are others, for the “earthquake and great hail” in xi. 19 are described at some length in xvi. 18–21.

ἐν τῷ ἀδρα. On this visitation on the air cf. ix. 2. The construction with ἐν here is extraordinary: see note on 1.

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. A divine voice was heard coming from the Temple in xvi. 1. Here the place whence it comes is more nearly defined. Throughout the Apocalypse the throne is connected with the Temple, though at times it is impossible to visualize the vision. But, as we have seen in the note on iv. 2, the combination of the Temple and throne scenery goes far back into Judaism.

φωνῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου. So also in xix. 5. It is noteworthy that in exactly a similar connection our author uses ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου in xxii. 3.

γέγονεν. Cf. xxi. 6. The great voice from the throne, which had commanded these plagues, xvi. 1, now proclaims that they are at an end.

18. ἀπραταλ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί. See notes on iv. 5, viii. 5.

σεισμοῦς . . . μέγας. Cf. viii. 5, xi. 19.

ὁ λός ὁκε ἔγνετο αὐτῷ ἀπὸ ἄνθρωποι ἔγνεντο ἔπι τῆς γῆς. The
phraseology is borrowed from Dan. xii. 1. Cf. Theod. ἀλήθεια, οἷς οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ’ ἦς γεγίνεται θέων ἐν τῇ γῇ (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, AQ), and the LXX οἷς οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἀφ’ οὐ ἐγενήθησαν. Here the εἰς τῆς γῆς is found both in our text and Theod.—a fact which may point to the presence of γῆς in the text of Daniel in the 1st cent. A.D. Our text is clearly an independent rendering of Dan. xii. 1. Cf. Ass. Mos. viii. 1, “ira quae talis non fuit in illis.”

19. [καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς τρία μέρη] καὶ οἱ πόλεις τῶν θυερῶν ἔπεσαν. I have bracketed the first clause; for εἰς τρία μέρη is against the usage of our author, who would have written εἰς μέρη τρία: cf. xvi. 13, xxii. 13 (four times). Moreover, there is no hint in xvii.—xviii. that Rome had suffered from a violent earthquake. Rome is dealt with in the words which follow—καὶ Βαβυλῶν κτλ. These words prepare the reader for xvii.—xviii.

ἐγένετο . . . εἰς. Cf. Acts v. 36. In viii. 11 of our author the text is corrupt.

ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη. Here as in xiv. 8 (see note) it is Rome, not Jerusalem, that is designated as “Babylon the Great.” Jerusalem had already been in part overthrown by an earthquake in xi. 13: 7000 of its inhabitants had been thereby destroyed and the rest had repented. Here, according to the interpolator, it is Rome that is visited by an earthquake, and that an earthquake such as had never yet been experienced on earth, and yet in xvii. 3—4 Rome appears not to have suffered in this earthquake in the least degree. Its final overthrow and destruction are yet to come in xvii.—xviii. This judgment and that of the great hail do not lead men to repent: rather they blaspheme the more: cf. ver. 21. To identify Babylon here with Jerusalem, as is done by J. Weiss, Moffatt, and some other scholars, is against the whole context and the right conception of xvii.—xviii.

ἐμφασθῇ δόξαν. The passive use of μεταφηματίζει is found in Ezek. iii. 20 (οὐ μὴ μεταφηματίζων αἰ διακοσιούναμι ἀπότου), xviii. 22, 24. It is found also in Acts x. 31 and elsewhere. As regards the construction we should compare xi. 18, ἧλθεν ὅ καίρος . . . δόξαν, xvi. 9, ὡς μετενόησαν δόξαν. In Ps. cix. 16 and ciii. 18 we find the infinitive in Hebrew after וְרי. τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὥργης ἀπότου. See notes on xiv. 8, 10. The expression τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὥργης recurs in xix. 15. In Isa. vii. 4; Jer. iv. 26, xxv. 16 (xlix. 37), xxxii. 23 (xxv. 37); Lam. i. 12, ii. 3, iv. 11; Ezek. xxiii. 25; Hos. xi. 9; Nah. i. 6, we find the combination ὥργη θυμοῦ (= ἦν ἥρα). The order θυμὸς ὥργης is infrequent in the LXX but it is found: cf. Isa. ix. 18.

20. πᾶσα νῆσος ἐφυγεν. Cf. vi. 14, πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος . . . ἐκκινήθησαν.
XVI. 80-81.

THE SEVENTH BOWL

οὐχ ἐφέθησαν. Cf. v. 4, xii. 8, xiv. 5, xviii. 21, xx. 11 (ἵφυσιν ἡ γῆ ... καὶ τόπος οὐχ ἐφέθη) — a familiar Hebrew expression (יִשְׁכְּל נְּכָה) : cf. Ps. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 36.

dη όυχ ἐφέθησαν. This disappearance of the mountains is one of the signs of the end of the world: cf. vi. 14; also Ass. Mos. x. 4, "And the high mountains shall be made low, and the hills shall be shaken and fall," also x Enoch i. 6. In later Christian Apocalyptic this idea is found not unfrequently: cf. Sibyl. Or. viii. 234, 236, ὑψώσει δὲ φάραγγας, ὀλεὶ δὲ ὑψώματα βουνῶν, ὑψὸς δ' οὐκέτι λοιπὸν (so Hase) ἐν ἀνθρώποις φανεῖται. ἢ ποιεῖ πεδίων ἐσται καὶ πάσα θάλασσα οὐκέτι πλούν ἔχει.

A Latin translation of viii. 217-250 is given in Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xviii. 23:

"Dejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo.
Non erit in rebus hominum sublime vel altum.
Tam aequantur campis montes et coerula ponti
Omnia cessabunt."

Lactantius, Div. Inst. vii. 16, 11, "Montes quoque altissimi decident et planis aequabuntur, mare innavigabile constituetur."

The idea underlying these passages is to be carefully distinguished from that which appears in the Zend religion to the effect that the mountains, being the work of the evil spirit Ahriman, would disappear with him, and the new earth would be "an iceless, slopeless plain; even the mountain whose summit is the support of the Kinvat bridge they keep down, and it will not exist," Bund. xxx. 33 (S.B.E. v. 129 sq.). The object of the earth being made a smooth plain was, as Boklen states (Eschatologie, p. 133), to make intercourse easy for the renewed humanity. In this connection, cf. Sib. Or. iii. 776 sqq.

Yet another idea underlies the use of analogous phrases in Isa. xl. 4; 1 Bar. v. 5-9; Pss. Sol. xi. 5.

21. χαλάξα μεγάλη. So also in xi. 19. Probably the τίνι τύμπανος of Ex. ix. 24 — the seventh of the Egyptian plagues.

ὁ ταλαντία. A talent (τάλαντον = ὑπὸ) weighed something between 108 and 130 lbs. The word ταλαντία is found in Polybius and Josephus, as Swete points out.

ἐβλασφήμησον ... τὸν θεὸν. As in xvi. 9, 11 so here the effect of the judgment is only to harden the hearts of the heathen nations. This attitude of theirs stands in contrast with that of the Jews in xi. 13.

σφόδρα. Here only in our author. It stands last like τίνι in Hebrew, not only here but elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. Matt. ii. 10, xxvi. 22; Mark xvi. 4, etc. But in all such cases σφόδρα
follows immediately after the adjective it qualifies, whereas here, as occasionally in the case of the Hebrew יִדְקַד, the adjective and adverb are sundered.

CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. Contents and Authorship.

This chapter begins with a promise on the part of an angel to the Seer to show him “the judgment of the Great Harlot,” but throughout the chapter this subject is not referred to save once (in xvii. 16), and alike the vision in xvii. 3b–6 and its interpretation by the angel are concerned with the Beast, which according to the present form of the text symbolizes the demonic Nero, or Nero returning from the abyss to lead the Parthian powers against Rome. The judgment of the Great Harlot is given at length in xviii.

But if we are to give the subject the fuller treatment it demands, we soon recognize that xvii. cannot be treated apart from xviii. Thus in xvii. 1 an angel summoned the Seer to show him “the judgment of the Great Harlot,” and transported him in the spirit (xvii. 3) to the wilderness, where he had a vision of the woman and of the scarlet Beast, whereon she sat, with its seven heads and ten horns. Now the woman was magnificently arrayed in purple and scarlet and adorned with gold and precious stones, and on her forehead she bore the name of Babylon, the mother of fornication and abomination, and she was drunken with the blood of Christian martyrs (xvii. 4–6). And when the Seer was filled with amazement at what he saw, the angel turned aside from his original purpose of showing him the judgment of the Great Harlot, and proceeded to explain the hidden meaning of the woman and the Beast with the seven heads and ten horns. The Beast, said the angel, “was and is not and is about to come up out of the abyss and goeth to destruction,” and all the faithless upon earth shall marvel at his return after his death (xvii. 7–8), but they that are wise will not do so; for they will see that the seven heads are seven kings, of whom the sixth is at present reigning. This sixth would in due course be succeeded by the seventh, who would reign but a short time. And on the death of the seventh king would follow an eighth, who was in reality the Beast—and yet he would not be the eighth king, since he was actually one of the seven (xvii. 9–11). (The Beast is clearly here the demonic Nero returning to earth from the abyss.)

So much for the seven heads. As for the ten horns, these are ten subordinate kings who will shortly come into their royal authority, and with one accord will, through the ordinance of
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God, place all their power at the disposal of the Beast, and the Beast and these kings will hate the Harlot, and destroy her by fire (xvii. 12-13, 17, 16). And having destroyed the Harlot they will go to war with the Lamb, but they will be overcome by the Lamb and His followers (xvii. 14, a conquest implied by xix. 13). Now the Harlot is none other than the city Rome (xvii. 18), whose doom is described in the vision that follows.

So much for the thought of the chapter as it stands. But the order of events is strange and unexpected. Though the Seer has promised in xvii. 1 a vision of the judgment of the Great Harlot, in all the verses that follow there is not a reference to this subject save in xvii. 16. The promise, in fact, is not redeemed till xviii., for the single mention of this judgment in xvii. 16 cannot be regarded as a fulfilment of it. xviii. is necessarily introduced by the technical phrase μηται ρα'υτα εδων, since other weighty subjects have intervened between xvii. 1 and its fulfilment in xviii.

The irregular character of this chapter prepares us for the conclusion which a detailed study of it makes manifest, i.e. that our author is here using sources which for convenience' sake are here designated as A and B. A = 1a-2, 3b-6a, 7, 18, and some clauses in 8-10. B is fragmentary: 11-13, 17, 16 (see § 5).

The order of the words in A is Semitic, but not in B, and whereas the diction and idiom in both show indubitable traces of our author’s hand, they just as indubitably contain idioms which are against his usage (§ 3). Again, though the thought underlying the present form of the chapter is that of our author, even the most superficial criticism makes it clear that this thought is superinduced, and that the meaning of the symbol “the Beast” has been transformed by additions to the text. Thus in A the Beast symbolized the Roman Empire, a meaning which still survives in xvii. 3, whereas in B it symbolized the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings in order to destroy Rome (§ 4).

By certain additions in xvii. 8, 11 the Beast has come to symbolize Nero redivivus or the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss—an expectation prevalent from 90 A.D. onwards in many Christian communities.

There are certain dislocations of the text. Thus xvii. 17 should be transposed before xvii. 16, and xvii. 14—an addition of our author—should be placed after xvii. 16, since it deals with the destruction of the Beast and his Parthian allies, who in xvii. 17, 16 have already destroyed Rome. There are two glosses, one in xvii. 9, which gives an alternative and wrong interpretation of the seven heads in xvii. 9, and another in xvii. 15, which was originally a marginal gloss on ετι σεατωv in xvii. 1 and has got wrongly thrust into its present position (§ 4).
§ 2. The order of the Words.

So far as the order of the words goes, this chapter falls into two parts. xvii. 1-10 is Hebraic as to order. Thus the verb precedes the object three times in xvii. 7, twice in xvii. 3, and once in xvii. 1, 6. In xvii. 8 the verb precedes the subject twice, and once in xvii. 1 and 2. In xvii. 4-5 there are only substantive sentences.

In xvii. 11-17 the order is decidedly non-Semitic. Only once, i.e. in xvii. 17, does the verb precede the subject, whereas the object, and also the subject where expressed, precede the verb twice in each of the verses xvii. 12, 13, 16 (i.e. six times in three verses). Again, in each of xvii. 14, 16, 17 the order subj. vb. obj. occurs once, and in each of xvii. 14, 15 the order subj. and vb. It is true that in some of these cases the order is quite good Semitic, inasmuch as its unusualness serves to mark emphasis, opposition, or the like: but in respect of order xvii. 11-17 is, as a whole, non-Semitic and differs in this respect from xvii. 1-10. Such a fact can hardly be accidental, and must be accounted for. The linguistic character of xvii. 11-17 is almost without parallel in the rest of the book save in xi. 1-13, which on these and other grounds we were obliged to attribute to a Greek or Aramaic source (see i. p. 270 sqq.). Any theory as to the authorship of xvii. should account for these facts. So far as these facts go we are predisposed to assign xvii. 1-10 and xvii. 11-17 (or the original forms of these; for they exhibit undoubted marks of revision, as we shall see presently) to different sources, the latter apparently to a Greek source.

§ 3. The diction and idiom of this Chapter show manifest traces of the hand of our author (in the way of revision, as we shall see later), but they are frequently against his usage.

(a) Traces of the hand of our author, especially in xvii. 1-9, 14 (which verse is wholly from his hand).—καὶ ἡμῖν ἦσαν . . . δείξω in xvii. 1, recurs in xxi. 9: indeed every word and phrase of xvii. 1 are from our author. Thus εἶναι is his universal usage. On ἀληθέου ἤσαν . . . λέγον and δείξω see iv. 1 n. In xvii. 3, ἀπενεκρ. . . ἐν πρεσβείᾳ recurs in xxi. 10. The constructions καθημένης ἐπὶ θείων, xvii. 1 and καθημένην ἐπὶ θείων in xvii. 3

1 If, as we shall seek to prove, part of xvii. 1 has come from a source, then the form of the phrase καθημένης ἐπὶ θείων πολλῶν seems to come from our author; for the phrase is clearly derived from Jer. li. (xxviii.) 13, and since καθημένων is never used as a translation of מַלַע which is in the original here,
are also his idiom (see iv. 2, note). περιβεβλημένη c. acc. xvii. 4 (see iii. 5, note); also ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῆς, xvii. 5 (see vii. 3 n.); also οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, xvii. 8 (see i. p. 336, and contrast of κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν, xvii. 2); also ἥν καὶ οὐκ εἶσαι καὶ μὴλει ἀναβαίνει ... ὑπάγεις ἐν τῷ άῖνα πάρεσται: In xvii. 8; ὅθε ... σοφίαν (cf. xiii. 18) in xvii. 9; ἥν ... ἐστιν καὶ εἰς ἀπάλλαξιν ὑπάγεις in xvii. 11, and αἰτίας (= αἰ) in xvii. 12. xvii. 14 is wholly from his hand: with οὗτοι ... ἐνηκέρ οὗτος. xv. 14 in xvii. 21 conflicts with the universal usage of our author: see vol. i. p. 336, and note on xi. 10. γέμοντα ὀνόματα, xvii. 3 (3b)—elsewhere c. gen. See n. on xvii. 3. In xvii. 8 γέραπται ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον is against his usage; for in this phrase we have always γράφεσθαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ elsewhere: cf. (i. 3) xiii. 8, xx. 12, xxi. 27 [xxii. 18, 19]. In different phrases γράφεν ἐπὶ συμ. acc. is found: cf. ii. 17, ἐπὶ τὴν ψηφιον ... γεγραμμένον: iii. 12, γράφω ἐπὶ αὐτόν τὸ ὄνομα: cf. also xix. 16. The order in αὐτόν δὲι is against his usage, xvii. 10—elsewhere δὲ precedes: cf. x. 11, xx. 3, xi. 5: ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά, xvii. 11—elsewhere in Apoc. always ἐκ ἐκ: cf. v. 5, vi. 1 (bis), vii. 13, ix. 13, xiii. 3, xv. 7, xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

In xvii. 8, which like xiii. 8 is a rendering of the same Hebrew source, the split relative is not reproduced in the Greek, though it is in xiii. 8. In xvii. 15 oὗ is used, though our author uses ὅποιον always elsewhere (but this verse is a gloss on xvii. 1). γρόμη in xvii. 13, 17 is not found elsewhere in the Apoc., and the form of the enumeration in xvii. 15 is not that of our author. Here δίνοι is substituted for λαοί: see note in loc. Finally, in xvii. 17 ἀξίοι is followed by the indicative (by the subjunctive in inferior MSS) but elsewhere in our author by the subjunctive: see ii. 25, note.

From (b) we see that this chapter exhibits many constructions, which are against our author’s usage elsewhere in the Apocalypse.

On the other hand, (a) just as decidedly exhibits his handiwork. Since the thought underlying the present form of the text is that of our author, the obvious hypothesis is that he is making use of sources, which he revises and recasts to suit his κατασκηνοδος (as in the LXX) would be the natural rendering. But our author could not use this latter participle, since it is reserved by him for dwellers in heaven; see note on xvii. 1. Hence we have καλωσθή for ὅποιον instead possibly of κατασκηνοδος ἐπὶ θρόνοιν. Since this verse has been recast by our author, this form of this phrase instead of that in xvii. 2 may be due to him.
own purpose. In other words, the evidence of this section tends to prove that not only is xvii. 11-17 based on a source, as we inferred in § 2, but also xvii. 1-10, 18.

Further research will define more closely the extent and character of these sources. But first of all we must show that the conclusions provisionally arrived at from the form of the text are confirmed by the subject-matter. Hence we shall now proceed to prove that the chapter as it stands is of a composite nature.

§ 4. The text is deranged and composite—being based on two Sources.

The text is deranged, however we may account for it. For whereas in xvii. 7 the angel promises to disclose the mystery of the woman and the Beast (which the Seer had already seen in xvii. 3) and in this order, he at once proceeds to tell the mystery of the Beast, and there is no mention of the woman till xvii. 18. Hence the natural position of xvii. 18 is immediately after xvii. 7. Again, xvii. 17, which gives the explanation of xvii. 13, can hardly have been read unless in immediate connection with xvii. 13: i.e. 13, "These have one mind, and they give their power and authority unto the beast." 17. For God did put into their hearts to do His mind [and to come to one mind], and to give their kingdom unto the beast," etc.

The chapter is also composite. We have already seen in § 3 that whereas certain parts of the chapter show clear traces of the hand of John, the phraseology of certain other parts is decidedly against his usage. We have also seen in § 2 that the order of the words in xvii. 1-10 is Semitic, whereas that in xvii. 11-17 is not so. Now, if with these facts we combine the further one that, whereas xvii. 1-10 culminates in a prediction of the death of Titus (xvii. 10), the other (xvii. 11-17) culminates in a prediction of the destruction of the Harlot City (xvii. 16), we can hardly evade the conclusion that behind these two sections there were two independent sources.1 But there is another indication of the independence of these two sections. In xvii. 3, 7 the Beast can only be the Roman Empire, whereas originally in xvii. 11-13, 17, 16 the Beast was not the Roman Empire (as originally in xvii. 3-10), but the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings.

That our author, therefore, has laid two sources under contribution is to be concluded from the above phenomena, in the first of which the Beast represented the Roman Empire,

1 I have thus on largely independent grounds arrived at the same conclusions as Wellhausen (Analyse, 26-29) on the original sources of this chapter.
whereas in the second it represented the living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts (cf. xvi. 12).

To the above evidence of the compositeness of this chapter we might add the twofold explanation of the seven heads in xvii. 9–10 as symbolizing seven hills and seven kings: the glaring contradiction between xvii. 16, where the ten horns are represented as God's agents in destroying Rome, although they had themselves been already destroyed by the Lamb and His followers in xvii. 14, and the belated gloss in xvii. 15, which has no raison d'être in its present position but was obviously added by a stupid scribe originally in the margin opposite xvii. 1 as an explanation of τῆς πόρνης . . . τῆς κοθημένης ἐκι ὕδατον.

§ 5. The two Sources A and B, and their dates.

In the determination of these two sources I agree on the whole with Wellhausen. A consists, according to this scholar, of 3 (with the exception of the phrase “and ten horns”)–4, 6b–7 (with the exception of “and the ten horns”), 9 (excluding all but the words “the seven heads”), 10 (omitting the initial “and”). He thinks that 18 may have originally stood after 7 but was omitted by the redactor, who, however, out of a feeling of conscientiousness added it at the close of B! B consists, he holds, of 11–13, 16 (omitting “and the ten horns which thou sawest and the beast”), 17. A and B were bound together by a redactor and revised. In A, 6 is a Christian addition, and in B 14. xvii. 1–3 may, with the exception of xvii. 11, have belonged either to A or B.

I am unable to accept Wellhausen's hypothesis in all its details, but, as we have already seen (§§ 2, 3), the evidence of the order of the words and to some extent the idioms point to two sources, and these, like Wellhausen, I designate as A and B.

(a) A consisted originally of το ἱσ. καὶ καὶ ἐκ ἐν . . . ἔτη (om. καὶ καὶ ἐκ . . . ἔτη), 2, 3b (καὶ ἐκ . . . ἔτη, 2b, 5b ἐκ . . . ἔτη), 7, 18, 8 (om. Ἄν καὶ καὶ ἔτη . . . ἔτη, which addition has displaced a clause: om. also ἄν καὶ καὶ ἔτη . . . ἔτη, 9 (om. ἄν καὶ καὶ ἔτη . . . ἔτη). ἔτη). 10 (om. the first καὶ).

In this oracle the beast is the Roman Empire, its seven heads are the Roman emperors, five of whom belong to the past, one is, i.e., Vespasian, whereas the seventh, Titus, as the

1 This, however, is no doubt due to an accidental displacement. When it is read after 11–13, the contradiction disappears. In the text as it stands the demonic Nero returning from the abyss is the Antichrist, and therefore must be destroyed by the Christ.

2 Bousset regards xviii. 1–7, 9–11, 15–18 as an original Jewish source of Vespasian's time, while he assigns xviii. 8, 12–14 and certain clauses in 6, 9, 11 to the last editor of the Apocalypse.
destroyer of Jerusalem, would speedily perish. The date is thus fixed and the authorship may have been Jewish Christian.

(6) B = [om. ἡς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ καὶ εἰς ἀπόλλειν ὑπάγει], 12-13, 17, 16. In this second oracle the Beast is Nero returning from the East, and not the Roman Empire as in A. The order of the words, as we have shown (§ 2), differs in B from that in A. This source is fragmentary. Preceding ver. 11 there must have been some account of the seven heads, but not that in A, since it identified the Beast with the Roman Empire and not with Nero.1 Since the eighth is spoken of, i.e. Nero returning from the East, we may conclude with great probability that it was written during the reign of Titus. The oracle may be regarded as written by a Jew; for whereas the hatred of the Jews was fierce against Rome in the time of Vespasian and Titus, it was not so on the part of the Christians. The Christians, moreover, could not have had any sympathy with Nero. Their expectation is best expressed in the addition of John, i.e. ver. 14, where Nero and his allies attack the Lamb.

We have already observed that 15 was originally a marginal gloss on ver. 1, τῆς πόρνης . . . ἔπειδήνων. Ver. 14 is clearly from the hand of John, 16 manifestly stood originally after 17.

§ 6. Our author's editing of A and B and the new meaning given thereby to the whole.

Now that we have determined the extent of A and B, we have next to show the use our author made of them. First of all, the introductory words in xvii. 1, καὶ ἡ ἡλιθεν εἰς ἐκ . . . Δέιστο δεῖσι σοι, are clearly from his hand. Then follow the words from A, ὁ κρίμα . . . τῆς πόρνης αὐτῆς, which form the title of xviii. But though πόρνης is preceded by the article—another fact pointing to a source—the Harlot has not been mentioned as yet. The original vision of the Harlot consisted of the source A, in which the Beast was the Roman Empire on which the woman (Rome) was seated. This source our author introduces by 3α καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν μὲ εἰς ἀρμον ἐν πνεύματι. In 3b-7 he makes no change save by the insertion (?) of καὶ κῆρατα δεκα in 3, in order to prepare for B (i.e. 11-13, 17, 16), and by the addition of the clause 6b καὶ ἔκ τοῦ αἰματος . . . ἰησοῦ. In 8-10 he has recast the text. For the original form of 8 see the note in loc. (p. 67 sq.). His additions, ἡς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν . . . ὑπάγει and ὅτι ἡς . . . πάρεσται, transform the meaning of the verse, which, though it originally identified the Beast with the Roman Empire, signifies in its present form the demonic Nero returning from the abyss.

1 The Beast is the supporter of the woman, i.e. Rome (xvii. 3), in A, whereas in B the Beast is the destroyer of Rome, xvii. 12, 16.
In 9, "δεί δ νοὺς ... σοφίαν" is from his hand, while "ἐπὶ διήδη ... ἐν αὐτῶν καὶ" is clearly the gloss of an ignorant scribe. Ver. 18, which originally stood in A after 7, was transposed to its present position in order to introduce the great chapter xviii. on the doom of Rome.

Having utilized A our author now proceeds to incorporate B of which only 11-13, 17, 16 survives in our author's work. The introduction, as we have already pointed out (§ 5 (β)), has been omitted and its place is now taken by 10, which belongs to A. Two clauses have been introduced by our author into 11, i.e. δ ἢν καὶ ὅθεν ἔστων καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἴπτει. By their introduction the expectation of a living Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthians is transformed into an expectation of a demonic Nero, as in xvii. 8. 12-13 are apparently as they stood in the original oracle, but 14-15 had no place there. 15 is, as we have elsewhere observed, a gloss, which stood originally in the margin opposite ver. 1 (τῆς πορνῆς . . . ἐν ἄνδρον), while 14 comes from our author's hand; but, since it could only properly follow 16, as it deals with the destruction of the Beast and his Parthian allies, who in 16 destroy Rome, it has most probably got displaced. Thus 11-17 should be read in the following order: 11-13, 17, 16, 14.

Thus by his editorial changes and additions our author has transformed the original meaning of his sources except in ver. 3, where the Beast is still the Roman Empire. Throughout the rest of the chapter, however, the Beast has become none other than the demonic Nero.

§ 7. A (= xvii. 1a-2, 3b-6a, 7, 18, and certain clauses in 8-10) was probably derived from the same source as xviii.

See Introd. to xviii. § 7.

§ 8. A, though found by our author in a Greek form, was most probably translated from a Hebrew source.

In §§ 6, 3 I have shown that, although there are indubitable signs of our author's revision of A, yet some idioms and constructions survive, which are contrary to his usage—such as αἱ κατακοίμησε τὴν γῆν (xvii. 2), γέμος δοξάτα (xvii. 3), γέραται ἐπὶ τὸ βύθιον (xvii. 8). It thus appears that the Greek form of A is not due to our author.

But, further, there are signs that A was originally written in Hebrew. Thus, if πορνῶν is the original text in xvii. 5, the context (βδελυγματῶν) suggests that we should here have not "harlots" but "harlotry." This, as I have shown in the note
in loc., could have arisen from a misreading of ἱς τῆς πόρνης (= harlotry) as τῆς τῆς = "harlots."

But the strongest evidence is that found in ver. 8, which is a doublet of xiii. 3°, 8. These two passages cannot, so far as I can discover, be explained except as independent Greek renderings of one and the same Hebrew original, the Greek rendering of xiii. 3°, 8 being that of our author and the Greek of xviii. 8 being that of some unknown scholar. This question is fully dealt with in the Introd. to xiii. § 4, vol. i. p. 337.

1. καὶ ἠλθέν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἐπτά φιάλας, καὶ ἡλάτησεν μετ' ἐμοὶ λέγων· Δαιρό, δεῖξω σοι τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὀθάτων πολλῶν,

2. μεθ' ἦς ἐπὶ χείμαρροι οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

1. εἰς . . . ἀγγέλων. One of the angels of the Bowls acts as the angel of interpretation. The words καὶ ἠλθέν εἰς . . . δείξω σοι recur in xxi. 9. On ἡλάτησεν μετ' ἐμοὶ λέγων see iv. 1 n. δείξω σοι has already occurred in iv. 1; δείπνο, as we have seen, recurs in xxi. 9.

τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης . . . πορνείας αὐτῆς. These words form the title that should be prefixed to chap. xviii. They prepare us for a vision of the judgment of the Great Harlot, but there is none such in xvii. 3-18: only a prediction of it in xvii. 16. But in xviii. we have an elaborate vision of this judgment, and it is therefore to this chapter that these words form a title. And lest there should be any doubt on this head we find that the greater part of the title xvii. 2 is repeated in xviii. 3, though the order of the clauses is reversed and the diction slightly changed, and that the words τὸ κρίμα reappear as ἡ κρίσις in reference to her in xviii. 10. Cf. also xviii. 8, 20. But since the Great Harlot has not hitherto been mentioned, another vision is necessary to her identification. In this vision (xvii. 3-6) she appears riding the Beast with seven heads and ten horns—elements which are duly interpreted in xvii. 9, 12.

τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης. The Harlot is the city of Rome. This word is applied to Nineveh by Nahum (iii. 4), and to Tyre by Isaiah (xxiii. 16, 17). In 5 it is named Babylon. The doom of Babylon has already been pronounced twice, xiv. 8, xvi. 19. Rome is already known by this name in 1 Pet. v. 13; 2 Bar. lxxvii. 7, "The King of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion"; and the Sibyline Oracles, v. 143, 159.

τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὀθάτων πολλῶν. This is an independent translation of Jer. lii. (LXX—xxviii.) 13, מִשְׁחָל רָעָה. The LXX has here κατασκηνοῦσα (κατασκηνοῦσα, Q) ἐpv ὀθάτωι πολλοῖς. κατασκηνοῦσα or σκηνοῦσα is the natural rendering of מִשְׁחָל here, but our author reserves this word for dwellers in heaven: cf. vii. 15, xii. 12,
xiii. 6. Rome cannot be rightly described as “sitting on many waters,” but the description of Babylon, which stood for the personification of wickedness in the O.T., is here simply taken over. The idea of security may underlie the phrase: Babylon felt safe owing to the many waters on which it was situated—the Euphrates which flowed through it and the morasses and canals by which it was surrounded (see Cornill on Jer. ii. 13). Yet this fact that Rome did not sit on many waters was a difficulty to a later writer and led to the gloss in xvii. 15, that the many waters are many peoples. Bousset thinks that a still older tradition lies behind this figure of a woman seated on many waters, and compares Sibyll. Or. iii. 75-77, v. 18, viii. 200. Gunkel (Schopfung, 361) finds in the “many waters” a reference to the abyss which was the dwelling of Tiamat. But, however this may be, there was no consciousness of the Babylonian myth in the mind of the writer.

2. ἐπόρνευον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Cf. xviii. 3, 9 for the recurrence of this diction. The πορνεία of which the kings of the earth are guilty is set down to the account of all the nations in xiv. 8. They have all shared in the vices and idolatries of Rome. With ἐμεθύσθησαν cf. Jer. xxviii. (li.) 7, ποτήριον χρυσοῦν Βαβυλών ἐν χερί κυρίου, μεθύσκων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. It points to the result of πεπότικεν in xiv. 8: cf. also xviii. 3. οἱ κατακομβές τῆς γῆς. On this construction, found here only, see note on xi. 10, and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii., vol. i. p. 336. On οὐν πορνείας cf. xiv. 8, xviii. 3. We should observe that the relative construction is broken off in the sentence, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν . . . αἰτήσεως. This is good Hebrew. It is also good Greek: see W.-M. sect. xxii. p. 186.

It is noteworthy that in the two clauses μεθ’ ὑπαιπόρνευον . . . γῆς and καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν . . . αἰτήσεως of this verse and in xviii. 3, the same thought and largely the same language recur, but in the reverse order.

3. καὶ ἀπῆνεκέν με εἰς ἐρήμων ἐν πνεύματι. καὶ εἰδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίων κόκκινων, γέμοντα δύοματα βλασφημίας, ἕχων κεφαλᾶς ἐπτα καὶ κέρατα δέκα.

This clause introduces a new vision. See note on iv. 2. The Seer has the vision of Babylon in the wilderness: of the Heavenly Jerusalem from a lofty mountain top, xxi. 10, where see note. The contrast is significant. Many scholars think that the wilderness as the scene of the vision was suggested by Isa. xxi. 1, where to the vision of the fall of Babylon is affixed the heading, “The oracle of the wilderness of the sea” (ὁ ἱερὸς θαῦμα). Here the LXX has simply τὸ ὅραμα τῆς ἑρήμου. θαυμάσας . . . ἐπὶ θηρίων κόκκινων. The omission of the article before θηρίων points to an independent vision here. The Beast
is undoubtedly the Roman Empire. On its power the Harlot
reposes. The scarlet colour indicates the luxury and ostentatious
magnificence of the empire, and refers probably not to the Beast
itself but to its covering. Swete quotes Juv. iii. 283 sq., “Cave
t hunc, quem coccina laena Vitari iubet et comitum longissimus
ordo.” The word is a rendering in the LXX of ἡ κόκκινη, ἡ παραθύρων
μν "κατά τὴν πρώτην σειράνην. The construction is κατὰ σύνεσιν. In xiii. 1 names of blasphemy are only on the seven
heads, i.e. the seven deified emperors. Here they cover the
entire body, and may refer to the innumerable deities of her own
and subject countries which Rome recognized. γέμειν ἐκκρετον
once in xvii. 4, but always elsewhere in Apoc. c. gen. iv. 6, 8,
v. 8, xv. 7, xvii. 4, xxi. 9.
ξυμνος κεφαλαι ἐπτα. Probably the original text. On the
κεφαλαι ἐπτα see note on xiii. 1.
6. περιβελτιμενη . . . μαργαριται. Almost the same phrase
recurs in xviii. 16.
τοπορυφον και κοκκινον. “Purple and scarlet.” These
colours symbolize the luxury and splendour of imperial Rome.
The two colours are nearly allied, for the χλαμύδα κοκκίνην of
Matt. xxvii. 28 is called τοπορφία in Mark xv. 17, 20, and ἴματιον
tοπορυφον in John xix. 2, 5. But the colours are distinct. See
Ex. xxv. 4, xxvi. 1.
κεχρυσομενη χρυσω και λιθω τιμω. λιθω τιμω is generally
said to depend on κεχρυσομενη by a zeugma, “from which
the reader must mentally supply some such participle as κεκοσμημενη”
(Swete). But χρυσων appears to be used in a loose way in the
LXX as “to cover or adorn”; for χρυσων χρυσω (2 Chron
iii. 10), καταχρυσων χρυσω (Ex. xxv. 11, 13; 2 Chron. iii. 4,
ix. 17), περιχρυσων χρυσω (1 Kings x. 18) are renderings of τοπορφ
(= to overlay) when followed by βην. Similarly χρυσων χρυσω
of προφυτου by τοπορφ in 2 Chron. iii. 7, 8. When followed
by προφυτου it is actually rendered καταχρασειων χρυσων in 2 Chron.
iv. 9, and when followed immediately by προφυτου in 2 Chron iv
6, by κοσμειν. Hence we should render κεχρυσομενη here by
“covered.”
χρυσω χρυσω . . . και μαργαριται. Cf. T. Jud. xiii. 5, και ἐκώσ
These words are said of the father of Bathshua who so adorned her in order to seduce Judah.

These words are modelled on Jer. xxvii. (i.) 7, θυμήν χρυσόν Βασιλέων εν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς. Here καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα. Here καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα is either to be taken with R. V. as "even the unclean things of her fornication," or as governed by έξοσα, just as the words that follow—καὶ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον—are dependent on this participle.

Cf. Seneca, Controv. i. 2 (quoted by Wetstein), "Stetisti puella in lupanari... stetisti cum meretricibus... nomen tuum pependit a fronte"; Juv. vi. 122 sq., "Tunc nuda papillis Constantin auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae."

This word indicates that the following name is not to be taken literally, but to be interpreted πνευματικῶς (xi. 8). This can be done only by the initiated. Babylon is the mystical name for Rome. Many scholars take it as part of the inscription.

Thus Rome is the mother of harlotry and the world's idolatries. With this statement we might compare Tacitus, Ann. xv. 44, where he speaks of Rome as the city "quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confundat celebranturque."

The text refers to the Neronic persecution described so vividly by Tac. Ann. xv. 44, "Igitur primum corrupti qui fabeantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde in crimine incendi quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibia, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum."

1 It is noteworthy that Wellhausen mistranslates πορνῶν as "harlotries." It was a right instinct, however, that led him to this mistranslation.
interirent aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis uralentur." This verse, either in part or as a whole, is from the hand of our author, who thus gives a Christian character to an originally Jewish source and transforms an oracle of Vespasian’s date into a prophecy of the destruction of Rome in the last days (see Introd. § 5).

μεθύσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰματος. This conception of a nation drunk, not with wine but with blood, was familiar to the literature of the ancient world. Thus Josephus (Bell. v. 8. 2) writes of his infatuated countrymen besieged by the Romans: ἐτί γὰρ παρην ἐσθίαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων κακῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως αἷμα πίναν. The metaphor is also found in a fragment of Euripides preserved in Philo, Lec. Alleg. iii. 71, ἐμπλήσθητι μου | πίνονα κελαινὸν αἷμα: in Cic. Phil. ii. 29, “gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsor-bueras”; Suet. Tib. 59, “Fastidit vinum quia jam sitiit iste cruorem: Tam bibit nunc avide quam bibit ante merum,” and in a form more closely related to our text in Plin. H. N. xiv. 22, 28, “(Antonius) ebrius jam sanguine civium.” But in the LXX we find the best analogies: cf. Isa. xxxiv. 5, ἐμφύσηθη . . . ἡ μάχαιρα μου, xxxiv. 7, μεθυσθήσεται ἠ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰματος: also li. 21; Jer. xxvi. (xlvii.) 10.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰματος τῶν μαρτυρῶν ἦσον. This clause is regarded by the majority of critics as an addition to the original Jewish source. If it is from the hand of our author, his intention seems to have been to give his source a Christian character, though this was hardly necessary when once the source was incorporated in his work. If the ἄγιοι are Christian saints, the two clauses are tautologous. The ἄγιος who is martyred is of necessity a μάρτυς. On this word see note on ii. 13. It is possible, but improbable, that the ἄγιοι represent the Jewish martyrs who fell in the war of 66–70. This was the meaning of the clause in the original source.

7. καὶ ἔθαύμασα ἰδὼν αὐτὴν θαύμα μέγα. καὶ εἰπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος Διὰ τι ἔθαύμασας; ἦν ἐρῶ σοι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ βαστάζοντος αὐτὴν, τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα. The Seer is naturally astonished at the fearful vision he has just seen, just as the inhabitants of the earth will be astonished when they see the reality, xvii. 8. In xvii. 1–2 he was promised a vision of the judgment of the Great Harlot. This vision is given in xviii., but since the Great Harlot had not heretofore been mentioned, the mystery of the Great Harlot is beheld by the Seer in a vision, xvii. 3–6, and interpreted in xvii. 18, which originally followed on xvii. 7. See Introd. to this Chap. § 6.

For a linguistic parallel to τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς cf. i. 20; and for a like dialogue between the angel and the Seer, cf vii.
13-14. We should observe here that the angel promises an interpretation of the woman and the Beast with seven heads and ten horns, and in this order. But the mystery of the woman is not explained till xvii. 18, and the angel at once proceeds to set forth the meaning of the Beast. Our author is here using sources, and has freely recast them to suit his own purpose. In our text the Beast is Nero rediuius, but in the sources used by our author we have seen that this was not so (see Introd. § 4). In the source behind xvii. 3-10 the Beast was originally the Roman Empire, as it still is in xvii. 3 (see note in loc.). In the second source, xvii. 11-17, the Beast was obviously Nero returning from the East at the head of the Parthian kings in order to destroy Rome. But our text as it stands represents the expectation of Nero returning as a demonic king from the abyss. This interpretation is indubitably set forth in xvii. 8, which is a recast of the older tradition identifying the Beast with the Empire, and in xvii. 14 which comes directly from our author.

8-18. An interpretation of the vision, in the course of which the older materials of the source are recast with additions in order to depict the expectation of the Neronic Antichrist who was to come up from the abyss.

8. τὸ θηρίον δ ἐδεῖ ἢ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μελλεῖ ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει: καὶ θαυμασθῆσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὸ οὐ γεγραμμένος ὁ Βιβλίος τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον διὶ ἢ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ πάρεσται.

Thus the verse ran originally: τὸ θηρίον δ ἐδεῖ . . . (original lost) καὶ θαυμασθῆσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὸ οὐ γεγραμμένος οἱ Βιβλίος τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον. In the original form of this verse the Beast symbolized the Empire, as it still does in xvii. 3, and in xiii. 3-10 originally. But here our author has omitted the description of the Beast which came after ἢ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν . . . ὑπάγει, and again after βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον added ἢ καὶ οὐκ . . . πάρεσται in the place of quite a different clause that stood in the source, as we shall see presently.

But not only has some description of the Beast at the beginning of this verse been displaced by the additions of our author, but something has also been lost or displaced at the close of the verse by another of his additions. For, as it stands, 8 simply states that the faithless inhabitants of the earth shall marvel when they behold the Beast. But there is nothing surprising in this fact; for the Seer marvels in the preceding verse. Hence, since the context implies that they will do something which would be the natural outcome of their ungodliness, we conclude that a clause to the effect that they would worship
him has been dislodged by the addition “which was and is not and shall come.” Now, if we turn to xiii. 3°, 8 we find the very clause we are in search of, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες. When this clause is restored, the mystery of the beast in the source is sufficiently disclosed. The Beast is clearly the Roman Empire. It is on the Beast, i.e. the Empire, that the woman, i.e. Rome, is seated. But the changes introduced by our author have transformed the significance of the Beast. The Beast now means the demonic Nero returning from the abyss, and it is clearly the intention of our author that 11 should be taken in this sense.

The Beast is now the Neronian Antichrist coming up from the abyss, as in xiii. 3, 12, 14. In these passages he is represented as the hellish antitype of Christ. In ὁ ἄγιος καὶ ὁ θὰνατος καὶ πάρεσται there is a parody of the divine name ὁ ἄγιος καὶ ὁ θὰνατος ὁ ἐφογόμενος in i. 4, 8, iv. 8, while the ὁ θὰνατος and the parallel descriptions, ὡς ἐσφαγμένης εἰς τὰνατος, xiii. 3, and ὅ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τῆς μαχαίρας, xiii. 14, are intended to allude to the death of Christ.

In the Introd. to xiii., vol. i. p. 337, I have, I think, proved that this verse is a doublet of xiii. 3°, 8—and that both are Greek versions of the same Hebrew original. Since xvii. 8 in some form belonged to xvii. 3–10, it is from this Hebrew source that xiii. 3°, 8 is derived. When our author incorporated his Greek version of this source in xiii. 3°, 8 he added τοῦ ἄριστου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου. Bousset is of opinion that a redactor in close dependence on xiii. 8, or the same writer who wrote xiii. (in the opinion of Bousset our author), composed xvii. 8; but all the evidence when closely examined points in a different direction.

βλέποντων where we expect βλέποντες may be due to ὅρι, or to a not unnatural rendering of μὴ γνίσθη. 9–10. ὅτι ὃ ῥας ὃ ἐχθρὸς σοφίαν αἰ ἐπτά κεφαλαὶ ἐπτὰ [ὅρη ἐσοιρ, ὅπων τῇ γυνή κἀθηται ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. 10. καὶ] βασιλεῖς [ἐπτὰ] ἐσοιρ· οἱ πάντες ἐπεσαν, ὃ εἰς ἐσοιρ, ὃ ἀλλος οὐπώ ἡλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἐλθὴ ὁλίγον αὐτῶν δεὶ μείναι.

9. ἤδε ὃ ῥας καὶ = “here is needed the intelligence which is wisdom.” It relates to what follows, as in xiii. 18, and comes from the hand of our author.

ὅρη ... αὐτῶν καὶ. This is an obvious addition to the text, but it appears to be a very ancient one and may have gone back to the Johannine school, as its Hebraic character shows: ὁ ῥας ... αὐτῶν. Bousset (p. 416) suggests that our author himself made this addition, when he found that he could discover no historical interpretation of xvii. 10–11. This addition, however, is wholly unsuitable; for the seven heads do not belong to the woman (i.e. Rome) but to the Beast. But the gloss interprets
the heads as if they were an adjunct of the woman, whereas they belong to the Beast. This absolute misconception of the text is fatal to the genuineness of these words. Again our author in the genuine sections uses καθηδρας only in the participle (see note on iii. 21) and καθήκων in the finite tenses and infinitive. But there is another objection; for it is clear that, of the two conflicting explanations given in immediate connection, only one can stand—in this case the latter. The idea conveyed of the gloss was a familiar one. “The city of seven hills” was a familiar expression in classical writers: cf. Horace, Carm. Sec. 7, “Di, quibus septem placuere colles”; Virg. Aen. vi. 782, “Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,” Georg. ii. 534; Martial, iv. 64, “septem dominos montes”; Cicero, Ad Att. vi. 5, ἐκ ἔτος ἐπαλάθου: Propertius, iii. 10. See Wetstein in loc.

10. βασιλεῖς [ἐπτάδε] κτλ. For βασιλεῖς as applied to Roman emperors see 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; 1 Tim. ii. 2. We have here a very clear intimation of the date of this source. Five emperors have already fallen, one is, and another is yet to come. This source was probably written, therefore, under the sixth emperor. Before we can ascertain who this emperor was, we must decide whether we shall include or exclude in our reckoning Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and with what emperor we shall begin. First of all we may safely exclude the above three emperors from our consideration. Suetonius (Vesp. i.) describes their reigns as “rebellio trium principum.” Next, though Suetonius, Josephus, and 4 Ezra xi. 12, 13, xii. 14, 15 (see Box, p. 262 sq.), begin with Cæsar, it seems clear here that our text begins with Augustus, as does Tacitus. The first five emperors are Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. The emperor who “is” is Vespasian, 69-79 A.D., and the one who “is not yet come,” Titus, 79-81. Titus thus fulfilled the prediction, ὅταν ἔλθῃ δῆλον κτλ.

ὅταν ἔλθῃ δῆλον κτλ. The ground for this expectation is most probably that assigned by Wellhausen (Analyse, 28). “Titus is assumed to be the coming seventh and last: he as the destroyer of Jerusalem will be overtaken by vengeance after a short reign.”

But what are we to make of this reckoning in its present

1 On the order of the numerals see note on viii. 2. When the gloss ἤρη ἐτῶν καὶ was incorporated in the text, ἐπτάδε was of necessity added after βασιλεῖς.

2 Another explanation of this prophecy is that the writer of this source knew of the hopeless condition of Titus' health: cf. Suetonius, Titus, 7; Dio Cæs. liv. 26. 2; Plutarch, De iussu sanitate præcepta, c. 3, p. 123 D (quoted from Bousset). Another is that there was a traditional view that the empire must have seven emperors before its destruction. As the sixth was now living, the Seer necessarily predicts a seventh.
context? Our author has taken over this source and that which follows, but he is writing in the reign of Domitian. If he took xvii. 10 seriously, Domitian must have been for him the sixth emperor, and he could only have justified this view, as Bousset points out (p. 416), by a very artificial method of reckoning, i.e. by beginning with Galba, the successor of Nero: Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian. But we may safely reject this reckoning as impossible, and assume that here, as frequently elsewhere, our author has taken over material that in some one or more respects served his purpose, though in others it was unsuitable. Owing to its unintelligibleness from the historic point of view, some scribe added a geographical explanation in xvii. 9.

11-17. On the source behind these verses see Introd. § 5.

11. καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς δύνατος ἐστιν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει.

This verse presents some difficulty. We have already sought to show (Introd. § 4-5) that xvii. 11-17 is a new source used by our author, referring to the return of Nero from the East at the head of the Parthian kings. Only the latter part of this source is preserved in our text, and this is edited and brought up to date by the addition of ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν and καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει in xvii. 11 (see similar addition in xvii. 8), and other changes subsequently. In the original source the Beast was the living Nero returning from the East: in our text the Beast has become Nero redivivus, as in xvii. 8. This is the view accepted by such scholars as Ewald, De Wette, Hilgenfeld, Vischer, Völter, Spitta, Holtzmann, Weizsacker, Bousset. On the other hand, it has been maintained recently by J. Weiss and Swete and Moffatt that the Beast is to be identified with Domitian. Moffatt regards this verse as “a parenthesis added by John to bring the source up to date . . . since the death of Titus had not been followed by the appearance of the Nero-antichrist” . . . “Domitian, the eighth emperor, under whom he writes, is identified with the true Neronic genius of the empire.” (Cf. Eus. H.E. iii. 20; Tert. Apol. 5: “portio Neronis de crudelitate.” De Pallio, 4, Subneronom. To these we might add Juv. iv. 37 sq., “Calvo serviret Roma Neroni”; Mart. xi. 33, etc. Moffatt seeks to explain the words ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά by showing that Domitian was closely associated with the imperial power already (Tac. Hist. iii. 84, iv. 2, 3; cf. Jos. Bell. iv. 11. 4, etc.), and points out that whereas it was said of the Neronic Antichrist in xvii. 8, ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, no such expression is used here. Thus Moffatt recognizes the true Nero redivivus in xvii. 8, 14, and a second Nero in the person of Domitian in xvii. 11, and maintains that they are not to be identified. That the juxta-
position of Domitian as a second Nero and Nero *redivivus* is awkward, Moffatt admits, but says it is "inevitable under the circumstances." But his arguments are unconvincing. The ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν taken together with ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά admits of only one interpretation. The person so described "was and is not" (ἥν καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν). But Domitian ἐστὶν. Of him our author cannot say οὐκ ἐστὶν. Moreover, the pre-existence ascribed to Domitian in ὃ ἦν is also inexplicable. Nor can he in any intelligible sense be described as ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά. Finally, if we interpret xvii. 12-17 of the Parthian invasion, there is no ground in comparative religion or history for representing Domitian as in any sense its leader. The addition of καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀδιήσουσα is here wholly unnecessary. ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν has the same force as the like expressions in xiii. 3, 12, 14.

 eius ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. The issue of the impending conflict is certain. The Antichrist, though he thinks he is accomplishing his own purposes, is accomplishing the purposes of God, and is all the time marching to his own destruction, which is also the purpose of God.

12-13, 17-16, 14. The destruction of Rome by Nero *redivivus* and his Parthian allies (12-13, 17, 16), and the destruction of the latter by the Lamb (14).

12. καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἐκείνα ἀπέστησε βασιλείς εἰσὶν, οὕτως βασιλείας ἄρα ἔδαφος, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλείας μίαν ἄραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου.

The kings are symbolized by the horns, and are thus differentiated from the emperors who are symbolized by the heads of the Beast. Who are these kings? Various answers have been given. 1. They are said to be unknown powers belonging to the future which as confederates of the returning emperor will arise and overthrow Rome (Weizsacker and Holtzmann). Swete's interpretation belongs partly to this class. "The ten kings... represent forces which arising out of the empire itself... would turn their arms against Rome and bring about her downfall." 2. The governors of the senatorial provinces who held office for a year (μίαν ἄραν). So Ewald, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Mommsen, B. Weiss, Briggs, Selwyn. Bousset states that the expressions τὴν δυναμῖν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ διδάσκειν, xvii. 13, and the parallels in xvii. 17 are against this view; but this is not necessarily so. These governors possessed a certain delegated authority (ὡς βασιλείας), and only for a year (μίαν ἄραν). But again this interpretation has not the support of xvi. 12 or of the universal expectation that was then current in the East and in the Roman Empire. The phrase δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ shows that these have actual kingdoms, and so the text could not apply to Roman officials. 3. The
Parthian satraps (Eichhorn, De Wette, Bleek, Bousset, J. Weiss, Wellhausen, Scott, Moffatt). According to xvi. 12, the Parthians had several kings or satraps. It is stated that there were as many as fourteen, but the number ten here is not to be pressed. According to the current belief of the generation that followed the death of Nero, it was held that Nero had escaped to the East, and that he would return against Rome at the head of the Parthian hosts. That this belief was taken seriously is proved by the fact that three pretenders appeared between 69-88 A.D. under Nero’s name as claimants of the imperial throne. For the evidence see App. to this chapter (p. 80). Since this belief had firmly established itself both in the Gentile and Hellenistic Jewish worlds within the first decade after Nero’s death, since, further, it is attested actually in our text in xvi. 12, there can be little doubt that the source in xvii. 12-17 is to be explained thereby. But in the present context, in which Nero is a demon from the abyss, it is possible that these kings are, as Bousset suggests, regarded by our Seer as demonic powers.

δέκα βασιλεῖς. Cf. Dan. vii. 24, καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται (Theod.).

βασιλεῖαν οὖν Ἀλαβ. These words referring to the Parthian satraps are intelligible from the standpoint of the world empire of Rome. They hold a quasi-kingly power (ὡς βασιλεῖς) for a brief span (μιᾶν ὀραν), since the Antichrist’s power will speedily be brought to an end.

13. οὕτως μὲν γνῶμην ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ διδόσαν. The Greek structure of this verse is still more manifest than that which precedes.

μιᾶν γνῶμην ἔχουσιν—a good Greek idiom. Cf. Thuc. ii. 86, γνώμην ἔχοντες . . . μὴ ἐκλίπτων, Herod. i. 207; ii. 56, etc.

The unanimity of the Parthian kings is explained in xvii. 17.

15. [καὶ ἐξετιν μοὶ τὰ ἱδάτα & εἴδες, οὗ ἡ πόρυς κάθεται, λαόι καὶ δύσλοι εἰσίν καὶ θην καὶ γλύσσαι.] This is a gloss explanatory of xvii. 1, where the Harlot City is said to sit ἐς ἱδάτων πολλῶν. But since it was not Rome but the literal Babylon that was so situated, the glosser, after the analogy of Isa. viii. 7, Jer. xlvii. 2, interprets the many waters here as referring to the peoples over which Rome ruled. In xvii. 1 the phrase ἐς ἱδάτων πολλῶν is simply taken over from Jer. See note in loc. The style is not that of our author. He never uses ὅσον: cf. ii. 13 (ὅσι), xi. 8, xii. 6, 14, xx. 10. Nor is the enumeration λαὸς κτλ. that of our author. See note on v. 9. He uses φυλαι instead of ἱδάοι. Again we should expect καθέται in our author and not καθέται. See note on 9 and on iii. 21.
17. δὲ γὰρ θεὸς ἐδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιήσαι τὴν
γνώμην αὐτῶν, [καὶ ποιήσαι μιὰν γνώμην] καὶ δούναι τὴν βασιλείαν
αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ, ἃχρι τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

This verse explains the remarkable unanimity of these kings.
It was due to God, not to any mere earthly policy, and it would
last till the oracles of the prophets regarding Rome were accom­
plished, and the Antichrist and the kings met in the last great
battle with the Lamb, xvii. 14. Even the wrath of men is made
to praise Him. There is no real dualism in the universe. The
very powers of evil ultimately subserve the purposes of God and
are then destroyed. (Cf. xvii. 14.) Since the Beast, which in
the source meant the living Nero returning from the East at
the head of the Parthians, has become in our author the demonic
Nero, it is probable that his attendant hosts are also to be re­
garded as of demonic origin.

ἐδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν. For this Hebraism (= תּוּבַל תּוּבַל) cf. Neh. vii. 5. There is a closely related idiom in
Jer. xxxxi. (xxxviii.) 33; 1 Thess. iv. 8; Heb. viii. 10.

[καὶ ποιήσαι μιὰν γνώμην.] I have, with Alford, bracketed this
clause as an early gloss from xvii. 13. It is superfluous after
ποιήσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν, which is really explained by καὶ δούναι

τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ. In their present context these
prophecies must relate not only to the destruction of Rome by
Nero and the Parthians as in the source, but to the overthrow
of the power of the Beast and his Parthian allies.

16. καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα & εἰδες καὶ τὸ θηρίον, αὐτοὶ μοιχήσουσιν
τὴν πόρνην, καὶ ἡρμημενεύσουσιν ποίησον αὐτήν καὶ γυμνήν, καὶ τὰς
σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται, καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί.

I have restored this verse to the place which it had originally
in the source and in our author, i.e. after xvii. 17, which in its turn
followed immediately on xvii. 13. The Harlot City was to be
destroyed by the forces of evil themselves. As the Beast is
demonic and the horns are conceived as part of him, these kings
appear also to have a demonic character in their present con­
text.

The author of this source must have had Ezek. xxiii. 25–29
before him, but not the LXX. He reproduces the thought but
not the form of the Hebrew. Thus μοιχήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην is a
free rendering of xxiii. 29, וַיָּבָשֶׁהֱ לַחֲדָתָהּ, which the LXX
translates literally. Next with ἡρμημενεύσουσιν ποίησον αὐτήν καὶ
γυμνήν cf. xxiii. 26, וַיִּשָּׁא לִשְׁפֹּט וּלְעָבְדוּ, (ἐκτύπωσαν σε τὸν
ἱματισμὸν σου, and xxiii. 29, וַיַּעֲשֵׂה עָבְדֵךְ לְעָבָדָה. With αὐτὴν
κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί cf. xxiii. 25, וַיַּעֲשֵׂה לַעֲבָדָה. All these state­
ments are made by Ezekiel with regard to Jerusalem, which at
one moment is spoken of as a woman stripped of her garments
and left naked, and at another as a city burnt with fire. The writer here uses the same figures of Rome.

ηρημωμένης ποιήσωσιν. For construction, see Introd. § 3, p. 67.

tάς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται: cf. xix. 18, Ps. xxvii. 2, τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μοι. 

κατασβάγων τὰς σάρκας τοῦ λαοῦ μου: 2 Kings ix. 36, κατασβάγονται οἱ κύριοι τὰς σάρκας 'Ιεροσόλυμα: σάρκας denotes the fleshy parts of the body.

κατασβάσωσιν ἐν πυρί: cf. xviii. 8; Jer. vii. 31; Nah. iii 15.

These words can only refer to the city whom the woman represents. Death by fire was not the punishment of the harlot, unless she were a priest's daughter: cf. Lev. xxi. 9.

14. οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνου πολεμήσωσιν, καὶ τὸ ἄρνον νικήσει αὐτοῦς,

οἱ κύριοι κυρίων ἐστίν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων,

καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν κλητοί καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ.

This verse is manifestly added by our author to the source he is using. But this verse could not have been inserted in its present position by our author; for it treats of the destruction of the forces appointed by God for Rome's destruction, which they effect in 16. In xvii. 17, 16, according to the MSS text, the ten horns and the Beast are represented as executing a divine judgment on the Harlot City and as destroying Rome after they had already themselves been destroyed (xvii. 14). Hence this verse belongs rightly after 16. I have restored it accordingly. With μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνου πολεμήσωσιν... νικήσει αὐτοῦς compare xiii. 7, which is from his hand. For κύριοι... βασιλεῶν cf. xix. 16.

The subject of this vision, i.e. the Parthian kings and their destruction (12-13, 17, 16, 14), has been in part referred to in xvi. 12, and is regarded as already accomplished in xix. 13, where the words περιβεβλημένος ἰμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι speak of the vesture of the Divine Warrior as already dipped in blood (i.e. in that of the Parthian kings) before the Messianic campaign against the kings of the earth in xix. 11-21.

The concluding line describes the armies who followed the Lamb, i.e. "the called, elect, and faithful." That these should crush hostile nations we learn from ii. 26, 27, and their descent from heaven to do so is seen in a vision in xix. 14. Hence they are a martyr host of warriors. It was a well-known Jewish expectation that the righteous would take part in the destruction of the wicked: cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 5, xc. 19, xci. 12 for the period of the sword, when the wicked are given into the hands of the righteous, op. cit. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcviii. 12, xcix. 4, 6; Wisd. iii. 8. The martyrs are not here engaged on a mission of revenge, but in the fulfilment of a righteous retribution.
In xv. 4 the vision—which is in reality a prophecy—shows that the thought of revenge has wholly passed from the minds of the glorified martyrs. But the nations there referred to are those that are contemporary with the Millennial Reign. See the third note further on.

κύριος κυρίων ... βασιλέων. This title recurs in xix. 16. In both instances it is used of the Son. The combination of these titles as applied to God is found first in 1 Enoch ix. 4, δ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ (δ) κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ δ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων. (So the two Greek versions in Syncellus, whereas the Ethiopic implies βασιλέων for βασιλευόντων.) It is worth observing that 1 Tim. vi. 15 has βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων. These titles occur often separately as applied to God, κύριος τῶν κυρίων, Deut. x. 17; δ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων: 1 Enoch lxiii. 4, lxxxiv. 2; 2 Macc. xiii. 4. See Bousset's Rel. d. Judenthums, 306.

The use of such titles in reference to Marduk in Babylonian literature is noted by Zimmern, K. A. T. 373 sq., 390. Marduk is actually named “Lord of Lords, King of Kings.” “King of Kings” was a designation of the Babylonian and Persian kings: cf. Ezek. xxvi. 7; Ezra vii. 12; Dan. ii. 37; of the Egyptian kings, Diod. Sic. i. 55. 7, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσώσωι. But this title is far outbid by those given to Domitian: “Dominus et deus noster.” Suet. Domit. 13: cf. Mart. v. 8.

οἱ μετ' αὐτῶ Κλητοὶ κτλ. Κλητοὶ and ἐκλεκτοὶ occur only here in the Apocalypse. We are to understand πολεμήσωσιν and νικήσωσιν from what precedes. The followers of the Lamb who have been called and chosen will manifest their loyalty and share in the Lamb's victory (cf. xii. 11). According to this context those who answer the call are elected and prove their loyalty: cf. 2 Pet. i. 10, σπουδάσατε βεβαιάν ὑμῶν τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν πιστεύοντες. But these loyal followers of the Lamb belong already to the heavenly hosts; for they accompany Him from heaven: cf. xix. 14. They are called πιστῶσι as their Leader is called πιστός (i. 5).

18. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡν εἰδες ἐστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἡ ἐχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.

Our author knows at last the interpretation of the chief figure in the vision. The woman is the city Rome, the empress of the entire world.

This verse belonged to the source A: see Introd. to Chap., § 5, and had its place immediately after xvii. 7, but was transferred to its present position in order to introduce the great chapter of the downfall of Rome.

On the phrase ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, see note on xi. 8.
Additional Note on xvii.

The Antichrist, Beliar,¹ and Neronic Myths, and their ultimate Fusion in early Christian Literature.

This question bristles with problems. Many of these, it is true, have been solved and others are on the way to solution. Nevertheless, many lie still in the background and have not as yet yielded up their secret to research. The chief workers in this field have been Gunkel and Bousset. While the services of the former have been at times brilliant, they have at the same time showed a lack of sound judgment. In the latter respect Bousset in his Antichrist Legend (translated from the German, 1896) and in the Offenbarung Johannis, 1906, has made an admirable contribution, and proved that outside Daniel and Revelation there was an independent tradition of the Antichrist myth coming down from ancient times and diffused through many lands. A study of such articles as Creation, Dragon, Leviathan, Serpent in the Encyc. Biblica will show that the Creation Story passed through a long development within the domain of Hebrew and Jewish thought, and further study proves that such an expression as "the great dragon, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. xii. 9), finds one of its sources ultimately in the myth that underlies the Creation story. But the present study cannot take account of the manifold traces of this development discoverable in the O.T. (see Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos—a book full of suggestion, but in many of its conclusions, especially as regards Revelation, demonstrably wrong). It must be strictly limited to the ideas of the Antichrist and kindred conceptions that prevailed within Judaism and Christianity from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. or thereabouts.

In a study of the present subject in 1900 (see Ascension of Isaiah, pp. li–lxxiii) I pointed out that, whilst Bousset's and Gunkel's works (above cited) were most helpful and stimulating in many directions, they did not deal satisfactorily with the relations of Beliar and the Antichrist, and that their account of the fusion of the latter with the Neronic legend was wanting in lucidity and consistency. This defect Bousset has from his own standpoint partially remedied in Rel. d. Judentums im Neuest. Zeitalter², 1906, and his article on "Antichrist" in Hastings' Encyc. of Religion and Ethics, i. 578 sqq. Here he has vastly improved on his earlier studies, and removed many of the defects to which I took objection in 1900. But, notwithstanding these advances on Bousset's part, I feel constrained to republish here the main part

¹ This is the form that Belial takes in Jubilees, Testaments XII Patriarcha, the Sibylline Oracles, Martyrdom of Isaiah.
of my study of 1900 with such additions and improvements as the work of the intervening years has naturally brought with them.

If we can succeed in establishing with approximate accuracy the dates when the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths originated and became fused together, we acquire means for determining the dates of the fragments of such myths as have secured an entrance into the work of our author.

The aim, therefore, of the present note is to touch briefly on the history of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, before the fusion of any one of them with another, or of each with all; and next to give the passages from Jewish and Christian literature where such fusion is attested and their approximate dates. Thus I shall deal with—

I. The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.

II. The fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of Beliar, and subsequently and independently with the Neronic myth.

III. The fusion of all these myths together.

I. The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.

i. The Antichrist myth.—The term "Antichrist" is comparatively late though the idea signified by it is early. Thus it is not attested till far on in the first century of our era; for it is found in the N.T. only in the Johannine Epistles—1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. The idea, however, can be traced back to the second century B.C., and appears first in the Book of Daniel. This conception takes two forms: (a) the individual Antichrist, and (b) the collective Antichrist.

(a) A God-opposing individual.—In Daniel we find the individual Antichrist (the king of the North, xi. 40) appearing at the head of mighty armies, with which he crushes certain nations and preserves others, persecutes the saints (vii. 25), putting numbers of them to death (viii. 10), sets up in the Temple "the abomination that maketh desolate" (i.e. the heathen altar over the altar of burnt-offering, viii. 13, ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11), "magnifies himself above every god" (xi. 36: cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4), and after a reign of three and a half years (vii. 25 sq.) meets his end (xi. 45). The historical figure here referred to was Antiochus iv. Epiphanes (i.e. (God) made manifest). The idea, which may in part have existed already and which became impersonated in Antiochus disassociated itself from the historical figure of Antiochus, and through its enlargement and enrichment in the Book of Daniel established itself as a permanent expectation in Judaism. In the
earliest literature, therefore, where the idea appears, it implies a being of human origin (though claiming divine prerogatives), whereas Beliar, who came subsequently to be identified with the Antichrist, was originally a superhuman or Satanic being.

The next historical character to whom epithets belonging to the Antichrist are applied, is Pompey the Great, who committed the unpardonable act of profaning the Temple by entering the Holy of Holies after his conquest of Jerusalem. Thus in the Pss. of Solomon (70–40 B.C.), Pompey is called "the Dragon" (δ ὁδείκτης, ii. 29). There may be here an unconscious allusion to the Dragon myth (see Cheyne's art. "Dragon" in the Encyc. Bib. i.). He is described as "the sinner," ii. 1 (δ ἄμαρτωλός), the personification of sin (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, δ ἄνθρωπος ζής ἄμαρτιας —so the inferior Uncials): "the lawless one," xvii. 13 (δ ἄνομος), an attribute of Beliar (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, δ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἄνομίας, NB). But since his soldiers are designated "the lawless ones" (xvii. 20, οἱ ἄνομοι), the epithet may mean no more than heathen, as in I Cor. ix. 21; 2 Cor. vi. 14; Acts ii. 23. The epithet "lawless," if technically used, is proper to the Beliar myth.

This expectation may have been influenced by the action of the emperor Caligula (37–41 A.D.), when he ordered the governor Petronius to erect his statue in the Temple. If he had persisted in this act of profanation, the Jews would undoubtedly have regarded it as a fulfilment of the prediction of the setting up of "the abomination of desolation" in the Temple. This phrase was, as we are aware, first applied to the heathen altar set up by Antiochus in the Temple (1 Macc. i. 54), and probably also to the image of Olympian Zeus beside it (cf. Taanith iv. 6). Bousset suggests that "the ever recurring expectation of later times, that Antichrist would take his place in the Temple of Jerusalem, dates . . . from this period."

The next reference to the Antichrist is to be found in 2 Bar. xxxvi. 5, xxxix. 3, xl. 1, 2, according to which the head of the Roman Empire was to be brought before the Messiah and destroyed, and still another in 4 Ezra v. 6, where the reign of the Antichrist is foretold: "Et regnabit quem non sperant, qui inhabitant super terram."

(δ) A God-opposing power, or the collective Antichrist.—So far we have cited our authorities as testifying to a single individual Antichrist. But with the expectation of an individual Antichrist that of a collective Antichrist, (α) secular, or (β) religious, is often involved.

(α) Thus in Dan. vii. 7 sqq., 19 sqq. the Fourth Empire (i.e. the Greek or Macedonian) is the collective Antichrist. The identity of the Seleucidae or Greek rulers of Syria with the Fourth Kingdom appears in the Sibylline Oracles,
iii. 388–400 (before 140 B.C.). But at the close of the first cent. B.C. or the beginning of the first cent. A.D. the prophecy of Daniel was reinterpreted, and, since Syria had now ceased to be a world power, the Fourth Empire was identified with the new world power Rome. This is first seen in the Assumption of Moses (7–30 A.D.), where the overthrow of Rome by Israel is predicted:

x. 8. “Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt go up against the eagle,
And its neck and wings shall be destroyed.”

Lest his contemporaries should misunderstand Dan. vii. 17–19, 23 sqq. as referring to the Greek Empire, the Seer in 4 Ezra xii. 11–12 expressly states that this passage refers to the Roman Empire. This is the universal view of the first century A.D. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxvi.–xl.; 4 Ezra v. 3–4, xi. 40 sqq. It is attested in the N.T.: see the Little Jewish Apocalypse incorporated in Mark xiii. (especially 14 = Matt. xxiv. 15 = Luke xxi. 20), and in the sources behind xiii. 1–10 (see § 8 in the Introd. to xiii.), xvii. 3–10, where it is symbolized by the Beast in our Apocalypse. But in our text the meaning of the symbol has been changed: it stands only in part for the Roman Empire, but mainly for Nero redivivus, the demonic Antichrist coming up from the abyss, in xiii. 3 and similarly in xvii. 1–10; but the original meaning of the symbol still survives in xiii. 1–2, xvii. 3. In the Ep. Barn. iv. 4–5 (100–120 A.D.) the Fourth Kingdom is Rome: so also in Hippolytus (220 A.D.), and in the Talmud—Aboda Zara, r.b.

(β) The collective Antichrist of a religious origin. In the Johannine Epistles of the N.T. (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7) the Antichrist is the collective name for the false teachers who have gone forth from the bosom of the Church as deceivers (πλάνοι). This conception is not to be confounded with that of pseudo-Christ (ψευδόχριστος) of Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22. The individual Antichrist of the religious type is probably referred to in John v. 43, “If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.”

Again the original source lying behind xiii. 11–14, 16–17

1 Here the words “its neck and wings” have been transposed from line 2. The transmitted text runs:

“And thou shalt go up against (i.e. by πληθυντι) the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be destroyed”

(where “implebuntur” of the MS = συντελεσθήσονται, which should have been rendered “delebuntur” here). We have here an early form of the Eagle Vision such as we find in 4 Ezra xi.
was a Jewish Apocalypse directed against the individual Anti-Christ in the form of the False Prophet (see Introd. to Chap. xiii. § 8, vol. i. pp. 342–344). In our text it has been transformed into a collective Antichrist, i.e. the heathen imperial priesthood, and designated the second Beast in subordination to the first in xiii. 1-10. Originally this Antichrist was conceived as independent and without any Antichrist beside him.

ii. In the O.T. Beliar does not appear as a proper name (see "Beliar" in the Bible Dictionaries). Beliar first attains to personality in the second century B.C. Thus, according to the Test. XII Patriarchs, Beliar rules over souls that are constantly disturbed (T. Dan iv. 7), or which yield to the evil inclinations (T. Ash. i. 8), but flees from those that keep the law (T. Dan v. 1). The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take from him the souls he had led captive (T. Dan v. 10), and Beliar will be bound (T. Levi xviii. 12), and cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and the spirits subject to him will be punished (T. Levi iii. 3). This conception is very like that of Satan—a fact which becomes clearer still in Jubilees i. 20, where Beliar (like Satan: cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 1 Enoch xl. 7; Rev. xii. 10) is said to be the accuser of the faithful before God. This identification of Beliar and Satan appears in the Christian pseudepigraph, The Questions of Bartholomew (ed. Bonwetsch, 1897), iv. 25. In 2 Cor. vi. 15, Beliar seems a synonym for Satan. Hence we may conclude that towards the close of the second century B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit, and as naught else, until the Beliar myth coalesced with that of the Antichrist.

iii. The Neronic myth in its earliest form.—Here our task is simply to show that soon after the death of Nero the myth became current that (a) Nero had not really died, but was still living; and (b) that he would soon return from this far East to take vengeance on Rome.

(a) When Nero with the help of a freedman committed suicide and was cremated (Suet. Nero, 49), so great was the public joy that the people thronged the streets in holiday attire (op. cit. 57). All, however, did not share in the belief of Nero's death. Thus Tacitus (Hist. ii. 8) writes that there were many who pretended and believed that he was still alive; and Suetonius (Nero, 57) declares that edicts were issued in his name as though he were still alive and would return speedily to destroy his enemies. As early as 69 A.D. an impostor appeared under his name and headed a rebellion against Rome (Tac. Hist. ii. 8, 9).

(b) That Nero had taken refuge in the East probably formed a constituent of the myth from the outset—a point on which
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON XVII.

Evidence will be furnished later. Predictions had been made during Nero's lifetime that the East would be the scene of his future greatness: some of these represented Jerusalem as the seat of his empire; others promised him the sovereignty of the world (Suet. *Nero*, 40). Probably such vaticinations as these, combined with the fact that Nero had already established friendly relations with the Parthian king Vologeses I. (*Suet. Nero*, 57), led Nero, as the end drew nigh, to think of fleeing to the Parthians (*op. cit. 47*).

In conformity with this expectation we find that a second pseudo-Nero appeared under Titus on the Euphrates, about 80 A.D., and was recognized by the Parthian king Artabanus (Zonaras, xi. 18). Finally, about 88 A.D. a third pretender came forward among the Parthians and all but succeeded in hurling Parthia against Rome (*Tac. Hist. i. 2; Suet. Nero*, 57). This Nero myth, thus firmly rooted in the Gentile world, passed over to the Jewish. The Jewish source, lying behind Rev. xvii. 12-17 (*i.e. xvii. 11* 12-13, 17, 16) and written probably in the reign of Titus, embodies this expectation and predicts the destruction of Rome by the Parthians under the leadership of Nero, who is there called "the beast." This expectation of a Parthian invasion of the West is explicitly stated in xvi. 12. With these passages Rev. ix. 13-21 should be compared, though here we have a demonic form of the myth. The Sibylline Oracles, *v*. 143-148 (71-74 A.D.—so Zahn and Bousset), prove that this myth had established itself in the eschatology of Hellenistic Judaism. According to the passage just referred to, the flight of Nero from Rome to the Parthians is mentioned, and in *v*. 361-364 his return to destroy Rome. Early in the next decade we find other testimonies to the prevalence of this myth: see Sibyll. Or. *iv*. 119-122, where Nero is described as a fugitive to Parthia, and *iv*. 137-139, where he is described as returning to assail the West at the head of a vast host.

It is possible that the statement in the Talmud (*Yoma*, 10*), to the effect that Rome would be destroyed by the Persians, is an echo of this early expectation.

II. The fusion of the Antichrist myth (i.) with that of Beliar before 50 A.D.; and (ii.) independently with that of Nero redivivus, 88-100 A.D.

1. As a result of this fusion the Antichrist is regarded as (a) a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers—this appears to have been effected on Christian soil before 50 A.D.; (b) a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D.

(a) 2 *Thess. ii*. 1-12, according to the usual interpretation, presents an indubitable instance of this fusion. Thus, on the one hand, we have Beliar. "The man of lawlessness"
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(δ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνωμίας) is all but certainly a translation of Beliar; for ἀνωμία is the LXX rendering of it in Deut. xvi. 9, and ἀνωμία in 2 Kings xxii. 5, and παράνομος is frequently found as its equivalent, when it is used as an epithet: Deut. xiii. 13; Judg. xix. 22, xx. 13; 2 Kings xvi. 7, etc.

In the next place it is Beliar appearing as the Antichrist; for the words "he that opposeth himself . . . against all that is called God" (δ ἄντικείμενος . . . ἐπὶ πάντα λέγόμενον θεόν) form an excellent definition of the Antichrist. Since 2 Thess. is now generally (and certainly by the present writer) regarded as an authentic writing of St. Paul, we have here the earliest evidence for the fusion of these ideas (circ. 50 A.D.), and also for the humanization of the Beliar myth through its fusion with that of the Antichrist; for hitherto Beliar had been conceived as a Satanic or superhuman being. The Antichrist thus comes to be conceived as a God-opposing man armed with Satanic powers.

We should next observe that in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the myth appears to have a purely religious significance and not a political one, as in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii. Thus in 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7 the Roman Empire is referred to as the power which checks the manifestation of the Antichrist, whereas in Rev. xiii. 1-10 it is the Roman Empire that stood originally in the source of this passage and that still stands in the background as the Antichrist, while the demonic Nero stands in the foreground as this being. In no case could 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 have been written after 70 A.D. This section is a Christian transformation of a current Judaistic myth.

Another phase of this expectation appears in Rev. xiii. 11-17. In the source of this passage the Antichrist was conceived similarly to that in 2 Thess. ii. But by our author this conception was recast and interpreted of the priesthood, which was attached to the cultus of the Caesars, and had the chief seat of its activities in the province of Asia. This Antichrist—in our author symbolized by the second Beast—is a false teacher and prophet. Hence this conception is akin to that which prevails in the Johannine Epistles: 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. Though both in the Epistles and Rev. xiii. 11-17 the Antichrist is human, in the latter passage he is armed with Satanic powers and "deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by reason of the signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast" (xiii. 14). His task is to make the inhabitants of the earth worship the first Beast (i.e. the Beliar Nero), whose death-stroke had been healed (xiii. 12). This subordinate Antichrist is designated as "the false prophet" in xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Thus a conception which had originally grown up in Jewish and Christian circles, and, referring to a Jewish Antichrist, had a
purely religious significance, was recast by our author and reinterpreted of a heathen corporation, the Imperial priesthood, which was in part religious and in part political in its aims.

Sibyline Or. ii. 167 sq. (circ. 200 A.D.) should probably be cited under this head, where it is said that Beliar will come and work many portents before men.

(b) The Beliar Antichrist = a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D. (or 30 A.D.).

This stage of the myth is attested in Rev. xi. 7, where as the Beast from the abyss he makes war with and kills the witnesses. The Antichrist in this passage makes his advent in Jerusalem (xi. 8), and therefore before 70 A.D. This phase of the myth was originally independent of that which appears in Rev. xiii. and xvii., where it has been fused together with the Neronic myth. But in its present context in xi. it is treated as identical with the conception in xiii. and xvii. and is used proleptically in reference to it.

We should probably not be wrong in recognizing in the Assumption of Moses x. 1, 2 an instance of this compound conception.

1. "And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
   And then Satan shall be no more,
   And sorrow shall depart with him.

2. Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
   Who has been appointed chief,
   And he shall forthwith avenge them of their adversaries."

If this passage comes rightly under this head, then the fusion of the ideas of Beliar and Antichrist must be anterior to 30 A.D.

ii. Fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of the Nero redivivus.—This fusion could not have taken place before the first half of Domitian's reign, when the last Neronic pretender appeared. As soon, however, as the hope of the return of the living Nero could no longer be entertained, the way was prepared for this transformation of the myth. The living Nero was no longer expected, but Nero restored to life from the abyss. This expectation appears in Rev. xiii., xvii. But it is questionable if this classification is right, and the very much conflated conceptions of the Antichrist in these chapters had best been reckoned under III. The simple Neronic myth needs some infusion of the Beliar myth in order to develop the expectation of Nero redivivus, or Nero as a demonic power.

III. Fusion of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths in various degrees and forms.

From this fusion the myth emerges in three forms, which
owe their diversity in the main to the three variations of the Neronic myth which enter into and affect the combination. These are: (i.) Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as alive. The Antichrist has here a political significance, and is human. (ii.) Incarnation of Beliar in the form of the dead Nero. The Antichrist is here a Satanic being. (iii.) Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.

(i.) Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as living—before 90 A.D.—We have seen above from documentary evidence that before 80 A.D. the myth had gained wide circulation both among Gentiles and Jews, that Nero was still living in the East, and would speedily return to avenge himself on Rome. We have further seen that long before 80 A.D. the minds of both Jews and Christians were familiar with the expectation of the Antichrist pure and simple, and of the Antichrist possessing the attributes of Beliar or Satan, and so denoting a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers, or a truly Satanic being. So strong was the tendency of such mythical currents to merge in a common stream that it is not surprising to find this coalescence achieved in Sibyll. Or. iii. 63–74. This passage is unhappily of uncertain date, though no doubt before 90 A.D., since Nero is still regarded as alive. Its significance, however, cannot be mistaken. Beliar comes as Antichrist and is descended from Augustus (εκ Σεβαστηνῶν). That this descendant of Augustus is Nero there seems no room for doubt. The lines are:

εκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἦςιν Βελιάρ μετόπισθεν
καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων ὄψεις, ὄψεις δὲ τάλασσαν . . .
καὶ νέκιας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλά τούσθει . . .
ἀλλ' ὑπόταν μεγάλῳ θεῷ τελάσθων ἀπελαῖ.
καὶ δύναμις φλογεύσα ταῖς σφαγῶν ἡμῶν ἦςιν,
καὶ Βελίαρ φλέξει καὶ ὑπερφύλαυς ἄνθρωπος
τάντας, ὥσι τοῦ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησαντο.

It is possible, however, that the Σεβαστηνοί are the inhabitants of Σεβαστή, i.e. Samaria. In that case the text would come under ii. i. (b).

ii. Incarnation of Beliar as Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.—In due time the belief that Nero was still alive in the East began to die. The time of its extinction must naturally have varied according to temperament and locality. It is accordingly difficult to assign definite dates. Since, however, the latest pretender to the Neronic rôle came forward in 88 A.D., we may not unreasonably infer that from that year the belief began to lose its grip on the common folk, and to decline steadily till it finally disappeared. No doubt during the next
twenty years or more it crops up sporadically, but even during that period its place has been taken by two rival and stronger forms of the same myth.

These new forms may have already been evolved in the later years of Vespasian. At all events they are not later than 90–100 A.D. Now that the belief that Nero was still alive had already been abandoned, there were two courses of development open for this myth, in case the Neronic element was still to be retained. Either Beliar must come in the form of the dead Nero, or Nero must be recalled to life by a Satanic miracle as in (iii.). The first course is adopted by the writer of the Ascension of Isaiah, the second by our author in xiii., xvii. The passage in the Ascension, iv. 2–4, is as follows:

"And after (the age) is fulfilled, Beliar, the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother, who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hand. 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come, and there will come with him all the powers of this world," etc.

(iii.) Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.
—The chief authority attesting this expectation is Rev. xiii., xvii. in their present form as they left our author's hand. But we shall first deal shortly with others in the Sibylline Oracles. In Sibyll. Or. v. 28–34 (written in the reign of Hadrian) the description of the Antichrist involves all the above elements. Thus it is Nero redivivus that is described; for the author of the lines is writing two generations after Nero's death. In the next place he is called in semi-mythological language "the serpent" (herein we have the Beliar element), and finally he makes himself equal to God. The lines bearing on our subject are v. 28–29, 33–34.

\[\text{πεντήκοντα δ' ὅσις κεραύν λάχε, κοίρας ἵστατι, δεινὸς ὄφις . . . ἀλλ' ἵστατι καὶ δύστος ὀλοίως' εἶνα ἀνακάμψει ἱσάξων θεῷ αὐτῶν.}\]

v. 214–227 belongs more clearly to this division. According to this passage, Nero is to return aloft, upborne by the Fates. His achievements are portrayed in 219–225. In Book viii., of which lines 4–429 belong to the close of the second century, the various myths have so thoroughly coalesced that Nero is no longer regarded as a man but as a Satanic monster. He has become the Dragon (viii. 88, πορφυρῶς τε ὀράκων), and assumed the monster's form (157, θῆρα μέγαν).
It is needless here to pursue the ramifications of this myth further in this and later literature than to state, that so thoroughly did the Neronic element in the composite Antichrist conception gain the upper hand in the East, that in Armenian the word Nero became and remains the equivalent for Antichrist.

We shall now return to the most important testimonies of this subject, i.e. in Rev. xiii., xvii. We need not here deal with them in detail, since they are fully discussed already. Here we have the most vigorous and illuminating conception of the Antichrist in all literature, although, as we have seen in our study of these chapters, our author was to a considerable extent indebted to existing sources in their composition. But though the elements of the Antichrist were drawn for the most part from disparate sources, the result is no mere mosaic, no laboured syncretism of conflicting traits, but a marvellous portrait of the great God-opposing power that should hereafter arise, who was to exalt might above right, and attempt, successfully or unsuccessfully for the time, to seize the sovereignty of the world, backed by hosts of intellectual workers, who would uphold his pretensions, justify all his actions, and enforce his political aims by an economic warfare, which menaced with destruction all that did not bow down to his arrogant and godless claims. And though the justness of this forecast is clear to the student who approaches the subject with some insight, and to all students who approach it with the experience of the present world war, we find that as late as 1908, Bousset in his article on the “Antichrist” in Hastings’ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, writes as follows: “The interest in the (Antichrist) legend... is now to be found only among the lower classes of the Christian community, among sects, eccentric individuals, and fanatics.”

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. The present attitude of the Central Powers of Europe on this question of might against right, of Caesarism against religion, of the state against God, is the greatest fulfilment that the Johannine prophecy in xiii. has as yet received. Even the very indefiniteness regarding the chief Antichrist in xiii. is reproduced in the present upheaval of

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1 This is the second Beast in xiii.—the false prophet.
2 The measures described in xiii. 16-17.
evil powers. In xiii. the Antichrist is conceived as a single individual, i.e. the demonic Nero; but, even so, behind him stands the Roman Empire, which is one with him in character and purpose, and is itself the Fourth Kingdom or the Kingdom of the Antichrist—in fact, the Antichrist itself. So in regard to the present war, it is difficult to determine whether the Kaiser or his people can advance the best claims to the title of a modern Antichrist. If he is a present-day representative of the Antichrist, so just as surely is the empire behind him, for it is one in spirit and purpose with its leader—whether regarded from its military side, its intellectual, or its industrial. They are in a degree far transcending that of ancient Rome "those who are destroying the earth" (Rev. xi. 18).

CHAPTER XVIII.

§ 1. The Contents and Character of this Chapter.

This chapter, which deals with the doom of Rome, opens with a prophetic prelude, in which the Seer looks far forward and sees the destruction of Rome as already accomplished, and the earth's proud capital as the haunt of every unclean thing—both demonic and belonging to this world. This prelude, described as an angelic utterance from heaven (1-3), is proleptic, since in the rest of the chapter various stages in the actual destruction are described.

In 4-8 there follows another voice addressed to the faithful (4-5), and to the ministers of God's wrath, who were assembled for the destruction of Rome.

We now come to the three threnodies pronounced respectively over burning Rome by the kings (9-10), by the merchant princes of the earth (11-13, 15-16), and by the shipowners and sailors of all the world (17-19). Each in turn bewail the doom of the great city in whose wantonness and luxury and wealth they had all shared.

The chapter closes with a song of doom preluded by a symbolic action on the part of a strong angel. This dirge is uttered by the Seer who wrote the Oracle, which John has utilized here for his own purposes. At its close he has added 20, 23'—24, in which he appeals to heaven and to the martyrs,

1 As John had not the opportunity of revising his great Apocolypse, several traces of the expectations belonging to the Vespanianic period survive in this Jewish source. According to John's own view, the smoke of Rome was to go up till the world's end (xix. 3), but not so in this source (xviii. 2).

2 Another element testifying to the origin of the source in Vespanian's time. The faithful had all been removed from the earth at the close of xiii.

3 In the original source—Nero and the Parthians.
apostles and prophets already there, to rejoice over the destruction of Rome. This appeal is answered in xix. This last part of the chapter was evidently found by our author in a very confused condition. It should be read as follows (as we have shown in § 6): 21, 14, 22abcd, 23cd, 22defh, 23bh, 20, 23f, 24.

As we have already stated, John has here used a source belonging to the Vespasianic period, and written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. It was apparently written originally in Hebrew, and found by John in a Greek translation. The grounds for these statements are given in the sections that follow. To the same Vespasianic source xvii. 1b-7, 18, 8-10 (in part) originally belonged.

§ 2. The Diction, Idiom, and Style of xviii. 2-23 is not that of our author.

The style of this chapter has none of our author’s characteristic abnormal constructions (see 2). It has, on the other hand, constructions which are wholly against his usage (see 3). This chapter contains a great many ἄσταξ λεγόμενα so far as the rest of the N.T. is concerned (see footnote on 1), and also peculiar usages of certain words (see 5) not only unknown in the rest of the N.T. and the LXX, but almost unknown elsewhere. The style is most carefully elaborated, and in this respect different from that of our author. Our author is, of course, a stylist, but with him style is a wholly secondary consideration. His theme had wholly gained possession of him, and being the greatest of all themes it naturally expresses itself in great and noble words. But the writer of xviii. 2-23 is no less conscious of the claims of form than he is of the subject-matter of his vision. He is a conscious stylist. Moreover, the order of his words is less Semitic than that of any other chapter in the Apocalypse from our author’s hand. Thus the verb frequently follows after the subject or the object, or both combined: cf. 3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17. In xvii. 1b-2, 3b-7, 8-10, the earlier part of this source, the order is Semitic, but this seems owing to the revision it has undergone at the hands of our author before he incorporated it in his text.

Finally, this source has influenced our author (see 7).

1. Diction.—The source begins with 2. It is introduced by 1. every phrase of which is from our author. Thus μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδοὺν is a characteristic phrase: ἐδοὺν ἀλλον ἀγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is found in x. 1 and again in xx. 1. On ἐδοὺν ἐξοντίαν cf. ix. 3, xvi. 9, xx. 6; and on ἐφωμόθηκη ἐκ τῆς δύνας αὐτοῦ, cf. xxii. 23, ἡ γὰρ δύνα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώμων αὐτῆ. The style of 2-23 is not that of our author, nor the diction nor the idiom.
The *diction* is in the main different. I have added a list of phrases and clauses common to xviii. and the rest of the book. Now from this list must be withdrawn those given under 20, 23, 24, since either originally or in their present form they are from our author’s hand. Next, those given under 3, 10, 16 are repeated from the earlier part of the same source, xvii. 1–10, but not found elsewhere in the Book. Again, this old Vespasianic source has not unnaturally influenced our author’s *diction*; hence the clauses given in 2, 3 are the source of xiv. 8, and the rare use of βύσσινον in 12 appears to be the source of our author’s use of it in xiv. 8, 14. Thus the clauses with a diction akin to that in our author are those given under 4 (8), 9, 21 (below). But the clauses which in these verses are common to this source and our author are not distinctive. On the other hand, xviii. has a large number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, so far as the rest of our author and the N.T. are concerned.¹

2. ἐπεσεν, ἐπεσεν Βαβυλώνι ἡ μεγάλη: cf. xiv. 8, which, however, appears to be borrowed from this source.

3. ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὕτης πεπότικεν πάντα τὰ ἔθη—the source of xiv. 8. οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μετ’ αὐτῆς ἐπόρισαν: cf. 9, xvii. 2, where the clause has already occurred.

4. ἡκουσα ἄλλην φωνήν ἐκ τοῦ ὄραν Λέγουσαν: cf. x. 4, 8, xi. 12, xiv. 2, etc.


9. κόψονται ἐπ’ αὐτῇ: cf. i. 7.

10. ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη: cf. 16, 19, xvii. 18—all belonging to the same source.

12. βυσσινόν: cf. 16, xiv. 8, 14, where this use of βύσσινον as a noun appears derived from the use in this source.

16. ἡ περιβεβλημένη . . . μαργαρίτη: repeated with slight variations from xviii. 4—both belonging to the same source.

17. ἐσπήσαν. Our author would have used ἐσταθήσαν or ἐστήκεισαν. See vol. i. p. 272.

20. εὐφραίνου: cf. xii. 12. οὐρανέ. Our author uses this word in the sing. οἱ ἁγιοί κ. οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφήται. The order is unusual: contrast xi. 18, xviii. 24. ἐκρίνεν: cf. xvi. 6.


22. ἐπιλαβήσαν πάντα τὰ ἔθη: cf. xx. 3, 8, xii. 9, xiii. 14.

¹ Thus we have φυλακή in xviii. 2: οὐράρνου in xviii. 3 (cf. οὐράρνου in 7, 9, also δι. λέγ.), διαβόλατε, and διελα and διελαν as nouns in 6, στρυκοῦ, θύνον, ἐλεφάντινον, μαρμάρινον in 12, and in the same verse κοκκίνον as a noun (cf. 16, xvi. 4), κινάμωνον, δωμάνον, σέμιδαλα [κεδών, σωμάτων in this sense] in 13, διάφαρα, λυπάρα in 14, πορφύροιον as a noun in 16 (xvii. 4), ἔργαλονται (in this sense) in 17, τιμίστησον in 19, μῦλον, ὀρμήματι in 21, μουσικῆς, σαλτσίτων in 22.
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24. προφητών καὶ ἀγίων: cf. xi. 18. ἐσφαγμένων: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 9, xiii. 8.

2. The style of xviii. 2–23 exhibits none of the abnormal constructions⁴ so frequent in our author, is far more normal than that of our author, and is comparatively good Greek. In fact the writer of this source was a conscious stylist.

3. Whilst this source has none of our author’s characteristic abnormal constructions, it contains constructions which are wholly against his usage. Thus οὐαὶ cum nom. in 10, 16, 19, whereas it appears in our author only cum acc. ἐν ἱσχυρᾷ φωνῇ in 2 is both as regards the epithet and the order in this phrase unexampled in our author (see note in loc.). αὐτῆς αἱ ἄμαρτλαι in 5 is an example of the unemphatic position of αὐτῶς not elsewhere in our author save in one Uncial (A) in xxi. 3 (see vol. ii. p. 208, footnote). κράζειν ἐν ... φωνῇ in 2 is against our author’s usage, who never inserts the ἐν here: cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10, x. 3, xix. 17. In xviii. 4 the order ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβῃτε (KACQ) is unparalleled in our author. Hence some later authorities transpose ἐκ τ. πληγῶν αὐτῆς after λάβῃτε. Again, ἡ μεγάλη πόλις in 21 is unparalleled in our author. The attraction of the relative in xviii. 6, πατηριῷ ὁ ἐκείνας, is against his usage: cf. i. 20. Even the title of Babylon in xviii. 10, ἡ πόλις ἡ ἱσχυρά, is against our author’s use, who calls it ἡ μεγάλη in xiv. 8, xvi. 19, a title which appears also in this source in xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21. Finally, in xviii. 7 we find καθήμαι where our author would have used καθίζω: see note on iii. 21; and ὅ μὴ, xviii. 14, with εὑρίσκουσιν, where he would use εὑρόσων.

4. The accumulation of participles is a frequent characteristic of this source—without any real parallel in the rest of the Book. Thus in xviii. 9–10 we have οὐ ... πορευόμενος καὶ στραγγάστας ὅταν βλέπων ... ἀπὸ μακρῶν ἐστηκότες ... λέγοντες, all dependent on the subject of the principal verb. In 15, οἱ πλούτησαντες ... κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες, similarly dependent on the subject of the principal verb: in 18, βλέποντες ... λέγοντες: in 19, κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, λέγοντες. The same accumulation of participles is to be found in the earlier fragment of this source, i.e. xvii. 1c–2, 3b–7, 18, 8–10. Thus in xvii. 3 we have γυναῖκα καθημένη ἐπὶ θηρίον ... γόμοντα ... ἕχων: in 4, περιβεβλημένη ... καὶ κεχυρωμένη ... ἔχουσα: in 7, τοῦ βασιλείατος, τοῦ ἔχοντος: in 8, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ... βλέποντες.

5. The use of neuter adjectives in the sing. as nouns is

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⁴ Thus the syntax is carefully observed as regards gender and number. Even λέγοντες (λέγοντες, etc.) always agrees with the noun on which it depends; contrast our author’s use: i. 11, iv. 1, v. 12, 13, ix. 14, x. 8 (δῖς), xi. 1, 15, xiv. 7, xix. 1, 6.
characteristic of this source: *i.e. βύσσινον = “fine linen” in xviii. 12, 16. This usage occurs only once in the LXX in Dan. x. 5°. Occasionally τὰ βύσσινα is used in this sense in the LXX. Similarly πορφυροῦν in xvii. 4, xviii. 16, κόκκινον in xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16, σιρικῶν, xviii. 12, and διπλῶν in xviii. 6, are used as nouns, although, save in the case of σιρικῶν and διπλῶν, such a use of these words in the sing. seems unattested elsewhere. σιρικῶν is found in Arrian and Strabo as a noun, and διπλῶν appears to be used similarly in the LXX in Ex. xxii. 7, 9. For certain adjectives employed in this way in the rest of the N.T. see Robertson, Gram. 653 sq., who, however, as the rest of the N.T. grammarians, fails to notice most of the above words.

6. The order of this source is less Semitic than that of our author: see above.

7. This source appears to have influenced our author.—As regards xviii. 2–23, it has become clear that it is not our author’s production, as we have found also with regard to xvii. 1°–2, 3°–7, 18, 8–10. Now this source, dating from the time of Vespasian, had been in our author’s hands and was apparently laid under contribution by him. Thus xiv. 8 is composed simply of xviii. 2°, 3° put together. Again our author’s peculiar use of βύσσινον in xix. 8, 14 as a noun appears due to this same use in xviii. 12, 16 (see 5. above). The fact that this use of βύσσινον is characteristic of this source and borrowed by our author gains support by its use of πορφυροῦν (xvii. 4, xviii. 16), κόκκινον (xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16), σιρικῶν (xviii. 12), and διπλῶν (xviii. 6) as nouns, although, save in the case of the σιρικῶν and διπλῶν, such a use seems unattested elsewhere. διπλά and τὰ κόκκινα are found elsewhere. Since, therefore, our author appears to have been influenced by this source in the above respects, it is possible that he may have been also influenced by it in his use of ἰσχυράς, which occurs 4 times in xviii. and 5 times in the rest of our author. Three of these five times it occurs in the phrase ἀγγελος ἰσχυρὸς found also in xviii. 21. But οὐκ ... ἐτί, which is 6 times in xviii., occurs 9 times in the rest of our author and belongs to his vocabulary. His use of διὰ τοῦτο, vii. 15, xii. 12, is not to be traced to xviii. 8, seeing that it is a very common phrase, being found 15 times in the Johannine Gospel and 3 times in the Epistles.

§ 3. The Greek appears to be a translation from a Hebrew source.

The evidence for the hypothesis is not conclusive. It will be found in the notes on 8, 19, 22 in connection with the words and phrases πένθος, ἐκ τῆς τιμιότητος, and μονοσκίων. The use of δυνάμεως in 3 may suggest ἴνη = “wealth.”
§ 4. The text has suffered great dislocations— in some degree comparable to those in xxii. Translation of xviii. 21-24 in its reconstructed order.

One of these dislocations—that of 14— was observed by early scholars like Beza and Vitringa, which they restore after 23d. But the present writer thinks that 14 should be read immediately after 21: 20 he finds is also out of place. It should be replaced after 23ab. The various elements of 22-23 have been disarranged, as is shown in the notes.

21-24 should be read in the following order: 21, 14, 22ab-d, 23cd, 22ef-h, 23ab, 20, 23f, 24.

21. And a strong angel took up a stone as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying:

"Thus with violence shall be cast down,
Babylon the great city,
And shall no more be found.

(The Seer's dirge over Babylon.)

14. And the fruits which thy soul lusted after
Are gone from thee:
And all the dainties and the splendours
Are perished from thee.
[And men shall find them no more at all].

22ab-d. And the voice of the harpers and singers
<Shall be heard no more in thee>,
And <the voice> of the fluteplayers and trumpeters
Shall be heard no more in thee.

23cd. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride
Shall be heard no more in thee:

22ef. And no craftsman of whatsoever craft
Shall be found any more in thee:

22gh. And the voice of the millstone
Shall be heard no more in thee:

23ab. And the light of the lamp
Shall shine no more in thee:

(The Seer's appeal to heaven and its inhabitants to rejoice over the doom of Rome.)

20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven,
And ye saints and ye apostles and ye prophets;
For God hath judged your judgment upon her;
XVIII. [§ 4–8.] OF THE TIME OF VESPASIAN

23. For with her sorcery had all the nations been deceived:
24. And in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints
   And of all that had been slain upon the earth.”

§ 5. xviii. was written in the time of Vespasian.¹

This statement can be proved by means of 2, 4, 6–8.
(a) For first of all presupposes the fires of Rome to have been long extinct, and its ruins to have become the abode of every unclean spirit, bird, and beast. Now such a supposition even in a vision was not possible for the Seer writing in 95 A.D.
He was then looking forward to the destruction of Rome as one of the last great acts in the judgment of the world. Moreover, the fires which should consume Rome, xviii. 9, 15, 18, were never, so long as the earth lasted, to be extinguished, xix. 3. Hence, however we explain xviii. 2, it was written at an earlier date than the Apocalypse as a whole. But, whereas the prophecy in 2 is merely proleptic and therefore not at variance with xviii. 8, 15, 18, it is really irreconcilable with xix. 3, which declares that the smoke of Rome’s ruins will go up till the world’s end. The former gives the expectation of a Jewish Seer in Vespasian’s time, the latter that of our author John in 95 A.D.
(b) In the note on 4 I have shown that the presupposition underlying it runs counter to the expectation of our Seer, that after chap. xiii. all the faithful had been put to death. But in this verse a considerable body of the faithful is presumed to be actually present in Rome. Such a presumption would be justifiable in Vespasian’s time after the fall of Jerusalem, to which period xviii. can most reasonably be assigned.
(c) In 6–8 the same Vespasianic standpoint is transparent. We have such an expectation here as would be naturally entertained by a zealous Jew after the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 6. xviii. preserved in a corrupt condition and adapted by our author to his own purpose.

The dislocation of 14 and 20 and of several clauses in 21–24 from their original contexts shows how profoundly the original source has suffered (see § 4). There is no reason to suppose that these dislocations were due to our author. Either they were already present in his source, or they are due to accidental disarrangement subsequently. It should be borne in mind that, if the present writer’s hypothesis is sound as to the death of John when he had completed xx. 3, we are to regard i.–xx. 3 as never having undergone a final revision at his hands. In fact we have in i.–xx. 3, the first sketch of a great work, portions of which

¹ On a variety of grounds Sabatier, Rauch, Spitta, Weyland, Bousset, J. Weiss, Wellhausen, and Moffatt accept the Vespasianic date of xviii.
have been most carefully worked out from the visions of many years, while others show not a few inequalities and inconsistencies that a final revision would have removed.

As regards the corruptions in the text we have already (§ 3) sought to explain those in 8, 19, 22 by means of a Hebrew background. The ungrammatical clause (καὶ ἐπὶ πλῆθος κτλ.) in 13 is merely a gloss. 23, if it belonged to the original source, is at all events in its wrong context where it stands. 24 is from the hand of John as well as the phrase καὶ οἱ ἄνωτοι in 20.

§ 7. xvii. and xviii. 1c-2, 3b-7, 18, 8-10 are a Greek translation of one and the same Hebrew source.

We have already come to the conclusion that xvii. 1c-2, 3b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. 2-24 are of a Vespasianic date, and that the Greek of these sections is apparently a translation (not made but revised by John) from a Hebrew original. Since xvii. 1c-2, 3b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. 2-23, which are closely connected by their peculiar and in some respects unique diction, deal with the same subject and belong to the same date, we conclude that they are from the same hand. The former served as an introduction to the latter. xviii. 1 gives the title of xviii. τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὀδάτων πολλῶν. Next, xvii. 2 (μεθ' ἦς ἐπόρισαν οἱ βασιλείς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐκκύθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆς γῆς εἰς τοῦ οἴου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς) is repeated in substance and in part verbally in xviii. 3, ἐκ τοῦ οἴου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεποίηκεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, and 23, ἐν τῇ φαρακίᾳ σου ἐπιλάθησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Next, clauses from xvii. 4 (περιθεβλημένη πορ­φυρῶν καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη χρωστῷ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργυράτῳ) are repeated almost word for word in xviii. 16, ἡ περι­θεβλημένη . . . πορφυρῶν καὶ κόκκινον καὶ κεχρυσωμένη . . . λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργυρίτῃ. Again, ποτήριον . . . ἐν τῇ χεριὶ αὐτῆς γέμον βεθλεμμάτων in xvii. 4 is recalled by ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὑ ἐκείνων in xviii. 6; Βαβυλών ἡ μεγίλη in xviii. 5 by a kindred clause in xviii. 10; and ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη in xviii. 18 by the same phrase in xviii. 10, 16, 19.

Hence xvii. 1c-2, 3b-7, 18, 8-10, and xviii. appear to be derived from one and the same Hebrew source. With this he has combined another source, xvii. 11-13, 17, 16, which foretold the destruction of Rome by Nero and the Parthians. xvii. 2 gives the title of the Vision in xviii., i.e. the Doom of Rome; this judgment is preceded by a vision of Rome before its overthrow in

1 It is important to observe that πορφυρῶν used as a noun seems to occur only in xvii. 4 and xviii. 16, that κόκκινον is used as a noun in the sing. in xvii. 4b, xviii. 12, 16—a most rare use, though it is found in the LXX and elsewhere as a noun in the plural. See § 2. 5 above.

2 The order of the words in xviii. while in the main Semitic, is not as decided so as in xvii. 1c-2, 3b-7, 18, 8-10. The latter has been thoroughly revised by our author.
xvii. 3–7, 18, 8–10, and by a prophecy of the coming destruction of Rome by fire at the hands of Nero and the Parthians, i.e. xvii. 12–13, 17, 16. It is not till we come to xviii. that the promise of the Angel of the Bowls in xvii. 1, δείξω σοι τὸ κρίμα τῆς ἁπάντης, is fulfilled. xviii. is a vision of Rome’s doom, which is foretold in xvii. 16.

1–8. The proclamation of the doom of Babylon by the first angel. This proclamation is proleptic. The angel’s words regard Rome’s doom as already accomplished far in the past.

From 2nd it appears that the fires that consumed it have long since been quenched, and that it has become the abode of unclean birds and demons. See the note on these clauses below.

1. ἄλλον ἄγγελον. This angel is distinguished from the angel mentioned in xvii. 1, 7, who is the angelus interpres.

2. ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. This is a direct rendering of Ezek. xiii. 2, γένετο ἡ ἡλία ἡ ἑλληνιστικὴ ἀληθινὴ, where the LXX has ἁ γὰρ ἐξελαμπτέν ὁς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης. Here the Targum has מַעַּר יְרוּשָׁלַי. Thus the brightness of God’s glory is here attributed to an angel. See further on this “brightness” in note on xxi. 23. On this use of ἐκ = “by reason of,” cf. viii. 13, xvi. 11.

2. ἐκραβὲν ἐν ἱσχυρᾷ φωτesti. The diction in this phrase is unexampled in our author: the order is most exceptional. See note on x. 3.

3. ἐπεσεν ἐπεσεν Βασιλείων ᾧ μεγάλη. This clause has already occurred in xiv. 8 (see note). The Greek here, with the exception of the epithet, is an independent rendering of Isa. xxi. 9.

3rd. These three clauses are to be taken proleptically in reference to 9, 15, 18: otherwise they occasion difficulty; for in 9, 15, 18, Rome is seen in the Seer’s vision to be consumed by fire: whereas these clauses presuppose the fires of Rome to have been long extinct, and the ruins to have become the hold of unclean birds and demons. xiv. 11 refers not to the city Rome, but to the eternal torment of the worshippers of the Beast in the next world. On the other hand it is impossible to reconcile 3rd with xix. 3, which represents the smoke of her burning as going up for ever and ever, i.e. to the end of the world. This last is our author’s own expectation. Here that of his source conflicts with it: see Introd. to this Chap., § 5.

4. ἄγνωστο κατοικητῆριν δαμονῶν... μεμοιημένον: cf. Isa. xiii. 21–22 (δαμόνια ἐκεῖ ὁρκηθῆσονται); Jer. li. 31, “Babylon shall become... a dwelling for jackals”; 1 Bar. iv. 35, κατοικηθήσεται ὑπὸ δαμονῶν. In Isa. xxxiv. 11, 13, 14–15, Jer. l. 39, there is a list of unclean birds and beasts that are to inhabit Edom or Babylon given: cf. Zeph. ii. 14. The δαμόνια are the סין, or more probably the בְּנֵי גֶּזֶר (Isa. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14).
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THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN [XVIII. 2-4.

8. The nations as a whole, the rulers of the earth and its merchants, were involved in the sin of Rome.

τῆς πορφείας αὐτῆς. I have here with much hesitation bracketed τοῦ θυμοῦ, although it has the support of the best MSS. But the extraordinary diversity among the authorities points to some corruption in the above text. See notes on xiv. 8, xvii. 2. In the latter passage we have an exact parallel to xviii. 3a, for 3a (cf. 23d ὅτι ἐν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου ἐπλανήθησαν πᾶντα τὰ ἔθη) corresponds to ἐμεθύσησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τ. γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οίνου τῆς πορφείας αὐτῆς. 3b corresponds almost verbatim with xvii. 2a, μεθ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπώνυμων οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς.

οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς. Their laments over Rome is given in 9-20, as that of the merchants in 11-13, 15-16.

περιτοικεῖν. This reading, supported by a few cursives, appears to be the true one, though in the cursives only a happy conjecture. It explains the impossible readings of ΝΑΚ. It is also required by the context: otherwise Rome is represented only as passively evil. τέντωκαν though originating in a scribal error seemed to derive support from ἐπέσεων. As Babylon fell, so did the nations.

οἱ εἴμοροι τῆς γῆς. This phrase, which is peculiar to this chapter in the N.T. (cf. 11, 15, 23), is significant. All the merchants of the world are involved in the overthrow of Rome. The long list of merchants who traded with Tyre, according to Ezek. xxvii. 9-25, was in the mind of our author.

ἐκ ... αὐτῆς ἐπλανήσαν: cf. 15.

τῆς δυνάμεως = "wealth"—a meaning which is found also in the LXX of Deut. viii. 17, Ruth iv. 11, where δύναμις is a rendering of ἕρ. In Isa. lx. 6 it is rendered by ἅρχες = "wealth." This meaning is to be found in Xen. Cyr. vii. 4. 34, etc., 2 Cor. viii. 3, and the Papyri.

τοῦ στράτους αὐτῆς = "of her wantonness." Here and in 2 Kings xix. 28. Cf. στρατηγός in 9, and καταστρατηγός τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "to wax wanton against the restrictions prescribed by Christ," in 1 Tim. v. 11.

8-4. The second voice, which comes from heaven itself. 4-5 are addressed to the faithful, and 6-8 to the ministers of God's wrath who were seen by the Seer to be assembling for the work of destruction.

4. No justifiable meaning can be attached to this verse as it stands. As we have repeatedly seen heretofore (cf. also ver. 20), the presupposition of the Seer is that after xiii. all the faithful had been put to death. In xv. 2-4 the army of martyrs is seen in its completeness in a vision before the throne of God, while the Seven Bowls are poured down on a wholly heathen world. In the present verse, therefore, indeed in the present chapter, we
have a document that belongs, as a large body of modern scholars
have recognized, to the time of Vespasian. This oracle dealt
with the destruction of Rome. Volter (Offenbarung Johannis, 1904), J. Weiss and Erbes ascribe this oracle to a Christian
source written respectively about 60, 70 and 80 AD. On the
other hand, Vischer, Schoen, Weyland, Spitta trace it, and
rightly in the opinion of the present writer, to a Jewish source.
Whether Jewish or Christian originally, it is partially adapted to
its present context by the mention of the “apostles” in 20, and
by the addition of 24.

αλλάν ανέφην. The words that follow—ὁ λαὸς μου—seem to
suggest that it is God that speaks. But 5 is against this con­
clusion. Cf. xvi. i for a like difficulty. It may, however, be
Christ that speaks.

ἐξέλθατε ἐὰν αὐτῆς ὁ λαὸς μου. These words appear to be a
reproduction of Jer. li. (xxviii.) 45, ἵνα μὴ θανατησί. Since they
are not found in ΛΑΒΔΩ of the LXX and in Qms are
rendered by ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς λαὸς μου, this clause seems
to have been translated directly from the Hebrew, and inde­
dependently of the LXX.

There are, it is true, many parallels in the O.T. to the above
clause in our text. Cf. Jer. xxvii. (l.) 8, ἀπαλλυθρώθητε ἐκ μέσου
Βαβυλῶνος . . καὶ ἐξέλθατε: xxviii. (lii.) 6, φεύγετε ἐκ μέσου Βαβυ­
lῶνος, καὶ ἀνάσωσίετε ἐκαστὸς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτὸς καὶ μὴ ἀποφει­
τήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτῆς; Isa. xlvi. 20, ἐξελθεί ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος: lii. 11, ἀπόστητη, ἀποστητε, ἐξέλθατε ἐκεῖθεν . . ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς: cf. also
2 Bar. ii. i, “Retire from this city”; Matt. xxiv. 16, τὸτε οἱ ἐν τῇ
Ιουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀρη. The last quotation belongs to
the Little Apocalypse, and refers, of course, to Jerusalem.

συνκοιλώθητε ταῖς ἡμαρτίαις: cf. Eph. v. 11, μη συνκοι­
wνεῖτε τ. ἐργαὶ . . τ. σκότους: i Tim. v. 22, μηδὲ κοινώνει
ἀμαρτίαις ἀλληλοῦς. These words deal with the guilt of sharing in
the sin of Rome, as the words that follow deal with the
punishment that such guilt must entail.

ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς, “some of her plagues.”

5. ἐκκαλλήθησαν . . ἀχρὶ τ. οὐρανοῦ. These words are,
apparently, a reminiscence of Jer. i. 9, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας.
If so, then ἐκκαλλήθησαν is simply to be rendered (as in the
A.V. and R.V. and the Vulg., pervenerunt) “have reached.”
This rendering of ἢμερα very rare,—see Lam. ii. 2 and
Zech. xiv. 5, ἐνκαλληθήσεται (Ὑμηρ) φύραγε ὁρῶν ἐως Ἰασός,
—but the meaning belonging to this Hebrew verb is clearly
the one required by our context. We might also compare with
our text i Esdr. viii. 72, αἱ δὲ ἀγνοοί ἡμῶν ὑπερήφανοι ἐως τοῦ
ophero: cf. Ezra ix. 6; also 4 Ezra xi. 43, “Et ascendit con­
tumelia tua ad altissimum et superbia tua ad fortem.” If this
rendering is right, then we are not to attempt to render ἐκκλησίαν κτλ. as "have grown together into such a mass as to reach the heaven." It would be extraordinary if God was not mindful of the sins of Rome (5") till they pressed in a mass against the roof of heaven. To such an extravagant conception the parallelism καὶ ἐμνημονεύσεν δ θεός τα ἄδικαμα αὐτῆς would form a singular anticlimax—a piece of sheer bathos. Hence we infer that ἐκκλησίαν is here = ἡμῖν, and that the rendering is independent of the LXX in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 9, ἔγγυεν εἰς οὖραν τὸ κρίμα αὐτῆς. The rendering of the two Syriac Versions here is very felicitous, i.e. "have cleaved to." This rendering of κολλάσθαι is found once more in the Syriac Versions, namely, in Luke x. 11, but there it is very felicitous.

On the other hand, it must be conceded that κολλάσθαι is the general rendering of בָּרָה in the LXX. If it presupposes this Hebrew word here, then our text is not a reminiscence of Jer. li. 9. But even so, the context is against the meaning belonging to בָּרָה. Such a passage as i Bar. i. 20, ἐκκλησία ἢ ἡμᾶς τὰ κακὰ καὶ ἡ ἀρά, does not support our text in the sense of "cleave unto." Even in this passage of Baruch ἐκκλησία probably presupposes a corrupt Hebrew text. See Whitehouse in Charles, The Apoc. and Pseud. i. 578, and Kneucker in loc. The Syriac Version of Baruch = אֶת־פּוּרֵנְרֵעַ, while the Greek = περινεοῖ. Dan. ix. 11, with which i Bar. i. 15–ii. 17 is closely related, supports the former.

αὐτῆς αἱ ἀμαρτίαι. On this vernacular use of the genitive of αὐτός see notes on ii. 2, 19, and in vol. ii. 208, footnote.

ἐμνημονεύσεν δ θεός κτλ. Cf. xvi. 19, Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνημονεύσεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

6. In its present context this verse is to be taken as addressed to Nero redivivus and the hosts that followed him: cf. xvii. 11–17. But it is not to be forgotten that already Rome has for the most part been destroyed in xvi. 19 by a great earthquake, and its entire destruction by fire foretold in xvii. 16. The present chapter, taken by itself, shows no consciousness of the first of these judgments. But the destruction of Rome by fire is proclaimed in xviii. 8, 9, 15. Hence the description of the final overthrow of Rome in xviii. 21 must be taken as purely figurative.

ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὅς καὶ αὐτῇ ἀπέδωκεν κτλ., i.e. deal out to her the same measure that she dealt to others. Cf. Jer. xxvii. (l.) 29, ἀνταποδοτε αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ ἐργα αὐτῆς κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ποιήσατε αὐτῇ: 15. ἐκδικεῖτε ἐν αὐτὴν καθὼς ἐποίησεν, ποιήσατε αὐτῇ: Ps. cxxxxvi. 8, μακάριος ὅς ἀνταποδώσει σοί τὸ ἀνταποδώμα σου ὅ ἀνταποδώκας ἡμῖν. On this principle of lex talionis see the notes in my edition of Jubilees on iv. 31, xlviii. 14.

 διπλώσατε διπλὰ: cf. Isa. xi. 2, ἐδέεσατο ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου
§ XVIII. 6–8. COMMAND TO MINISTERS OF DOOM

7. In this verse it is a question whether the speaker is a heavenly being or the Seer who wrote this vision.

διπλά τὰ ἀμαρτήματα αὐτῆς: Jer. xvi. 18, ἀνταποδώσω ... διπλάς τὰς κακίας αὐτῶν. διπλῶν διπλά is an extraordinary expression. Cf. Aesch. Agamem. 537, διπλάς δὲ ἐτίσων Πριμαιδαί θαμάρτια.

But in Aeschylus the διπλῶς is used purely as an adjective, whereas in our text it is a noun. For this use cf. Ex. xxii. 3, 6, 8. In the first passage we have διπλά in the LXX (ὃντι), in the second τὸ (? διπλῶν, and in the third διπλῶν, i.e. ἀποτίσει διπλῶν τῷ πλησίον. Cf. also Zech. ix. 12, διπλά ἀνταποδώσω.

ev τῷ ποτηρίῳ κτλ.: cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 4. This cup is the cup of the wrath of God. Cf. 2 Bar. xiii. 8, in which the Romans also are addressed.

"Ye who have drunken the strained wine
Drink ye also of its dregs,
The judgment of the Lofty One
Who has no respect of persons."

7. In this verse it is a question whether the speaker is a heavenly being or the Seer who wrote this vision.

διπλά ... τοσοῦτον. The torment and grief (or "misfortune") of Rome are to be proportionate to her self-glorification and wantonness. Cf. Isa. iii 16, 17, ἀνθ' ὑψώθησαν αἱ θυγατέρες Σειὼν ... καὶ ταπεινώσει δ' θεὸς ἄρχουσας θυγατέρας Σειὼν: Prov. xxix. 23, ὑβρις ἀνδρα ταπεινός: Luke xiv. 11, etc. On the probability that πένθος, which occurs twice in this verse, is to be rendered "misfortune" or "calamity," or that it is a translation of a corrupt form in the Hebrew original, see note on ver. 8.

οὗτος εἰς τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ... θεῷ. These lines reproduce freely Isa. xvi. 7, 8, ... ἡ ἱερατική ὑποστάσεις ἡμῶν αὐτης εἰς θεόν ... ἡ λέγουσα εἰς τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς ... οὐ καθὼς χήρα αὐτῇ γνώσθει δραματέαν. We should observe that for κάθησαι we should expect καθίζω (see note on iii. 21) if this chapter were from the hand of our author. As a parallel to our text, the boast of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 2 should be compared and also the self-glorification attributed to Rome in 2 Bar. xii. 3.

8. Because of (οὗτος ... διὰ τοῦτο) Rome's pride and self-confidence she shall be overthrown suddenly.

eν μὲν ἡμέρα ἡμουσιν. Isa. xvii. still influences our writer; for these words are derived from the Massoretic ver. 9, where the LXX (B) renders ἡμέρα ... ἐκεῖ σὺ εἰς τῇ φαρμακίᾳ σου. But NA etc. agree with Mass. It is noteworthy that διὰ is postpositive in ix. 12, 13, but prepositive in viii. 13, xvii. 12, 13, 17, xviii. 8, 10, 16, 19, xix. 17.
† θάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λυμός †. We might compare vi. 8.

It must be confessed that πένθος ("mourning") cannot with any justice be reckoned under the category of plagues. But first of all the presence of λυμός suggests that θάνατος here as in vi. 8 and frequently in the O.T. = ὠά, "pestilence." In that case the natural order would be λυμός καὶ θάνατος καὶ πένθος. Now returning to πένθος, it is possible that it should be rendered here according to a rare meaning by "calamity," "misfortune" (cf. Pindar, Ἰσθ. vi. (vii.) 51, ἔταν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν: Herod. iii. 14). If so, we should translate "famine and pestilence and misfortune." But the error may be due to a corruption in the Semitic original. Thus πένθος = ʾḥēm, corrupt for לְוָן. If this is right, we obtain an excellent sense—"famine and pestilence and destruction." The approach of the Parthians from the East under Nero would cut off food supplies from Rome and lead to famine, in the train of which pestilence would soon follow. The third plague would then prepare for the destruction of Rome by fire. Or, since the writer has, as has been shown on 7, borrowed freely from Isa. xlvii. 7, 8, it is possible that לְוָן ( = πένθος) may be a corruption of לְוָן in Isa. xlvii. 8—"famine and pestilence and loss of children." But the former restoration is to be preferred.

ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται. The judgment of Rome by fire, which according to xvii. 16 is to be executed by Nero and the Parthian kings, is here declared to come from God in the first instance. On the judgment by fire cf. Jer. i. 32, li. 25, 30, 32, 58.

ἰσχυρὸς δὲ θεὸς δὲ κρίνας αὐτήν. The translator of this chapter is fond of the word ἱσχυρὸς = cf. 2, 10, 21. Outside this chapter it occurs only five times in the Apocalypse: cf. Jer. xxvii. (l.) 34, δὲ λυτροῦμενος αὐτῶν ἱσχυρὸς . . . κρίναν κρινεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους αὐτοῦ. This κρίνας points to the fact that the decree of judgment has already been passed on Rome.

9-10. The dirge chanted over the conflagration of Rome by the kings, 9-10, by the merchant princes of the earth, 11-16, and the shipowners and sailors of the world, 17-19. The author is influenced by the doom song pronounced by Ezekiel over Tyre, Ezek. xxvi.-xxviii.

9-10. Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16-17, where the princes of the sea mourn over Tyre.

κλαίονται καὶ κόψονται ἐπὶ αὐτῇ: cf. 2 Sam. i. 12, ἐκώπαντο . . . καὶ ἐκλαυσαν . . . ἐπὶ. Hence our text = "shall weep and mourn over" (= יִצָּכְעֶה נְעִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). See also 11, 15, 19.

οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς: cf. vi. 15 (see note), xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3. These kings are the heads of the heathen nations. Foremost amongst them are princes subject to or in alliance with
Rome; for, as the next clause shows, they have been deeply affected by her influence. They are distinct from the Parthian kings who destroy Rome, xvii. 16.

οἱ μὲν ἄδεις πορεύονται: cf. xvii. 2, xviii. 3. στρηνιόνται. They too had lived wantonly like Rome: cf. 3.

Ἐστιν βλέπων . . . ἄδεις. This clause recurs in 18.

Τῆς πυρόσεως. The prophecy of Rome's destruction by fire is dwelt on again and again: cf. xvii. 16, xviii. 8, 18.

10. ἀπὸ μακρόθεν: cf. 15 (see note), 17; Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark v. 6, viii. 3, etc.

διὰ τῶν φόβων . . . ἄδεις. This phrase recurs in 15.

οὐαὶ οὐαὶ ἡ πόλις κτλ. This construction is not found in the N.T. except in Luke vi. 25; but it occurs frequently in the LXX: cf. Isa. v. 8, 11, 20, 21, 22; Hab. ii. 6, 12, 19; Zeph. ii. 5; Amos v. 18, where the R.V. rightly renders: "woe unto." Hence the rendering here, as in these passages, should be, "Woe, woe to the great city." The construction suggests the writer's acquaintance with the LXX. Our author's construction is otaī with the dat.: cf. viii. 13.

μιὰ ὀρῷ: cf. 8, 16, 19.

11–16. The merchants of the earth take up their dirge over Rome.

11. οἱ ἐμποροὶ τῆς γῆς. In Ezek. xxvii. 12–24 the various nations that had commercial relations with Tyre are enumerated.

κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἐπ' ἄδει: cf. 9, 15, 19; Mark xvi. 10; Luke vi. 25; Jas. iv. 9. This combination is found in Neh. i. 4.

γόμον = ship's freight or cargo: cf. Acts xxi. 3. The vastness of the commerce of Rome may be inferred from the following passages, which are all taken from Wetstein; Galen, De Antidot., i. 4, ἐὰν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατοικοῦμεν, εἰς ἣν ἐς ἄπαντοι τῶν ἔθνων καθ' ἐκατὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξικνοῦνται πάμπολλα . . . εἰς ἣν τὰ πανταχόθεν ἤκε καλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἔτους: Pliny, H.N. vi. 26, "Minima computione millies centena milia millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt": Aristides, In Rom., p. 200, ἄγεται δὲ ἐκ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὡσα ὡρας φύσις, καὶ χώρα ἐκάστα φέροντι, καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ λίμναι, καὶ τέγναι Ἐλληνον καὶ βαρβάρων: ὡστε εἰ τις ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιδεῖν βούλετο, δει αὐτὸν ἡ πάσαν εἰσελθόντα τὴν οἰκουμένην οὕτω θεάσασθαι, ἢ ἐν τίδε τῇ πόλει γενόμενον . . . τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται δέδου κομίζουσι παρὰ πάνων ὄλκαις, ἀνα πάσαν μὲν ὄρας, πάσαν δὲ φθινόπωρον παρατηρητός, ὡστε ἀοικέναι τὴν πόλιν κοιψάς τινι τῆς γῆς ἐργαστηρίῳ. φόρτους μὲν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμονίων Ἀράβων τοιοῦτοι ὅραν ἔστιν, ὡστε ἐκάσεα γυμνὰ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐκεὶ λειτύφαται τὰ δέντρα. . . . Ἐσθήτας δ' ἃ ἦσαν Βαβυλωνίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρου κόσμους. . . . Πάντα ἐναῦθα συμπίπτει,
In the Talmud, *Qidd. 49b*, it is stated that “Ten measures of wealth came down into the world: Rome received nine, and all the world one.”

Since 23° cannot stand in its present context, it may originally have stood after 11°, and so this verse may have run as follows:

11° “And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her,
23° For thy merchants were the princes of the earth,
11° For no man buyeth their merchandise any more.”

12–13. These two verses give a list of the articles imported by Rome from all quarters of the world. Holtzmann has recognized that the first four articles mentioned (i.e. precious stones) harmonize rhythmically with the next four, consisting of costly garments. But further examination of the passage shows that it consists, according to the present text, of nine lines. That the first four of these consist of two couplets there can be no doubt, but great difficulty attaches to the method of dealing with the remaining five lines. If they are to be retained as they stand, it might be best to regard them as consisting of a tristich and a distich:

“And cinnamon and spice and incense,
And ointment and frankincense and wine,
And oil and fine flour and wheat:
And beasts and sheep [and horses
And chariots and slaves] and souls of men.”

But it is probable that the words I have bracketed are an interpolation; for (1) their syntax—genitives where there ought to be accusatives—is wholly anomalous. It is without a real parallel in the abnormal style of our author, and is still more at variance with the much more grammatical style of this chapter, which, as we have elsewhere seen, comes from an independent source. (2) The same ideas are repeated in immediate proximity under different forms; for “slaves” and “souls of men” are here synonymous.

κτήνη, as is shown in the notes on 13 = draught cattle, i.e. horses, asses, etc., and thus the mention of horses separately, as in the present text, is wholly gratuitous. Now, if we excise as a gloss, which has crept in from the margin, the words “and horses and chariots and slaves,” we get rid of the anomalous syntax, and of the meaningless repetitions in the last line, and
recover the original text of 12-13, consisting of four stanzas of two lines each. The last stanza then would be:

"And oil and fine flour and wheat,
And beasts and sheep and souls of men."

The dramatic forcibleness of what seems at first a purely prosaic list of imports is in the highest degree impressive, closing as it does in the climax—

"And beasts and sheep and souls of men."

12. On the various articles mentioned in 12-13 the Bible Dictionaries should be consulted. Most of them are to be found in the imports of Tyre: Ezek. xxvii. 12-24, i.e. gold, silver, precious stones, fine linen, purple, brass, iron, all spices, oil, wheat, cattle, sheep, horses, and the souls of men.

σημικοῦ (so the uncials. The usual form is σημικοῦ). This word (= "silk") is a ἀπ. λεγ. in Biblical Greek, but it was used frequently by Greek writers after Alexander's time. How commonly it was used in Rome about 70 A.D. may be inferred from the words of Josephus (B.J. vii. 5. 4), who describes the triumphant army of Vespasian and Titus as being clothed ἐν ἐσθήσων σημικαῖς, ἐστεφανωμένοι δάφναις.

καὶ πᾶν ἔνθελον θύινον. The construction here changes and ἔνθελον is governed directly by ἀγωράζει. This change may be due not to a slip on the part of the translator, but to a right rendering of his text. The οἶδεις ἀγωράζει is to be taken closely with πᾶν ἔνθελον (= ἕνεκα . . . ἵνα νῦν τοί) = "no one buyeth any thyine wood." Hence καὶ πᾶν ἔνθελον θύινον should be rendered "or any thyine wood" and not as in the A.V. and R.V. "and all thyine wood." Of course it is possible that the translator ought to have rendered πάντως ἔνθελον, but, so far as the Hebrew before him went, the acc. was not only a possible but probably the right rendering.

θύινον. This wood most probably came from Thuias articulata, a tree which grew in N. Africa. It was known to the Greeks as θύια, θύινον, or θύια, to the Romans as citrus. It was much used in the making of costly tables: cf. Martial, xiv. 87, "Mensa citrea." Seneca (quoted by Swete from Mayor on Juv. i. 137) had (according to Dio, lxi. 10. 3) 300 such tables with ivory feet.

ἀλαφάτινον. Ivory was largely used, as Swete states, by wealthy Romans in the decoration of furniture, quoting Juv. xi. 120 sqq.

13. κυμάμμων. In the O.T. cinnamon appears thrice among aromatic spices. It is the Cassia lignea and was
imported, as it still is, from China. It was much used in Rome, as we can infer from Plautus, Propertius, Lucan, Martial.

ἀρωμον. This perfumed unguent was derived from a shrub of Eastern origin (Virg. Ecl. iv. 25, "Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum"). It was well known at Rome: Mart. viii. 77: "Si sapis, Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo splendeat": Statius Silv. i. 113: "Nec pingui crinem deducere amomo cessavit" (quoted by Wetstein). Theophrastus, ix. 7, is uncertain whether it was derived from Media or India. Pliny, H.N. xii. 28, mentions this costly unguent for the hair.

θυμάματα. See vi. 8, λίθανος: cf. viii. 3.

σεμίδαλυν (= θύμ). This word, meaning fine flour, is not found elsewhere in the N.T. though frequent in the LXX. Pliny, H.N. xiii. 21, refers to it: "Similago ex tritico fit laudatissimo."

στον. Egypt was the granary of Rome.

κτήνη. This word generally means flocks and herds, but it can also mean draught cattle or beasts for riding: hence horses or asses: cf. Luke x. 34; Acts xxiii. 24. That κτήνος could mean "a horse" is to be inferred also from Gen. viii. 19, where the Hebrew is שֵׂרֶן, which clearly the Greek translators read as שֵׂרֶן (= "horse"), and from Num. xvi. 32, where the translators again read שֵׂרֶן instead of שֵׂרֶן (= "substance"). From these facts we conclude that κτήνη means all kinds of cattle for draught or riding. Hence there is no real need for the word κτήνων which follows, as it is already included in κτήνη. Horses are mentioned among the imports of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 13 sq.

[καὶ κτήνων . . . σώματων.] I have already given in the introductory note on 12–13 the grounds on which these words are to be excised as an interpolation. The absolutely anomalous genitive here is, so far as I am aware, universally explained by inserting γόμον before it. Thus Holtzmann and Bousset remark here that as in 12 the gen. passes over into the acc., so here the acc. returns again into the gen. But, as I have shown on 12, the acc. can not only be accounted for, but probably justified: whereas nothing can justify the present genitives between a series of accusatives preceding and an acc. following. They are therefore to be regarded as an interpolation.

βαδὼν. The βάδη came, according to Quintilian (i. 5. 5), from Gaul and was a vehicle with four wheels (Isid. Etym. xx. 12). Cicero used it, and apparently it became fashionable at Rome.

σώματα. This word is used to translate πνεύμα ("souls") in the LXX of Gen. xxxvi. 6. It is also used elsewhere in the LXX in the sense of "slaves": cf. Gen. xxxiv. 29; Tob. x. 11 (σώματα καὶ κτήνη); Bel 32 (Theod.), δύο σώματα καὶ δύο πρόβατα: 2 Macc.
viii. 11. This non-Attic usage of the word arose apparently in Egypt, as the Papyri show, and later established itself in Greek generally. Hence a slave dealer is called a σωματεύτορος and a slave house σωματοτροφεῖον.

ψυχάς αὐθών. This phrase is borrowed from Ezek. xxvii. 13, οὗτοι ἐντορεύοντο σοι ἐν ψυχαῖς αὐθών (חלק ישנה). The phrase occurs also in 1 Chron. v. 21, but there it does not mean slaves as here.

14. This verse, as Vitringa, and in modern times Ewald (2nd ed.), Volkmar, B. Weiss, and Moffatt have recognized, is here out of place. These scholars have restored it after 23d, but the present writer is of opinion that it originally stood after 21, where he has restored it in this edition.

15. This verse resumes the dirge of the merchants over Rome, from which the writer had turned aside to describe the nature and extent of their commerce with Rome.

οἱ ἐμποροὶ τοῦτων — i.e. the merchants who dealt in the merchandise mentioned in 12–13: cf. 23. This phrase in itself, as B. Weiss observes, unconditionally excludes the presence of 14 where it stands in the text.

οἱ πλούτισαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς: cf. 3, 19.

ἀπὸ μακρόθεν οὐστόται: cf. 10, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστηκότες: 17, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν.

διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς. This phrase has already occurred in 10.

κλαίοντες κ. πενθοῦντες: cf. 9, 11, 19.

16. On this construction of οὖσα see note on 10. ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη: cf. 10, 19, xvii. 18. ἡ περιβεβλημένη πορφυρῶν καὶ κόκκινων. Repeated from xvii. 4. κεκρυσμένη χρυσῷ ... μαργαρίτῃ. Repeated from xvii. 4. μὴ ὁρᾷ ἡρμῆσθη. Repeated in 19. A corresponding clause in the dirge of the kings is found in 10.


17. κυβερνήτης. This word means “shipmaster” or captain as distinct from ναύκηρος = “shipowner.” In Acts xxvii. 11 we have τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναύκηρῳ = “the captain and the shipowner.” Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 807 B, ναύτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκηρος: Artemidorus, i. 37, ἀρχεῖ δὲ ... πρωτοῖς δ' κυβερνήτης, κυβερνήτην δ' ναύκηρος. The word κυβερνήτης is a rendering of בְּרָה in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 27, 28, where it means “pilots.” In Jon. i. 6 it means “a sailor,” for the captain is called בְּרָה בָּר, or “chief of the sailors.”

ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πλείων = “Every one that saileth any whither” (R.V.). Cf. Acts xxvii. 2, πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους. But the expression is a strange one, and there is much to be said for Nestle’s (Textual Criticism of the N.T., p. 168) correction
of τοῦτον into τῶν, i.e. ποντον. At all events Primasius supports this emendation: “omnis super mare navigans.”

ὅσα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται, “gain their living by the sea” (R.V.), lit. “work the sea.” This is good classical Greek. Thus Hesiod (Theog. 440) has οἱ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται: Dion. Hal. A. iii. 46, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάζετο . . . θάλασσαν: Appian, Pun., p. 2, τὴν θάλασσαν . . . ἐργαζόμενοι. For abundant illustrations of this idiom, see Wetstein in loc. What the Hebrew equivalent of the clause is is uncertain: possibly יָעַר אָכַל = “who trade on the sea”: cf. Gen. xxxiv. 10, 21, xlii. 34. The corresponding phrase ἐργάζονται τὴν γῆν is also good Greek and likewise good Hebrew: cf. Gen. ii. 5, 15, iii. 23, iv. 2; but the verb used in this connection ἔστω would not serve for the clause in our text.

ἀπὸ μακρὸθεν ἐστησαν. Cf. 10, 15.

18. βλέποντες τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρὸς εἰς αὐτῆς. This is the exact equivalent of the οὗτοι . . . αὐτῆς clause in 9.

18–19. The last clause of 18 and the first clause of 19 are dependent on Ezek. xxvii. 30–32. Thus τὶς ὁμοία τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ recalls Ezekiel’s words with regard to Tyre, xxvii. 32, “who is like unto Tyre?” Here ὡς ὑπὸ is rendered in the LXX by τῇ ὀσπερ Τύρου; Next, ἔβαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν is from xxvii. 30, “They shall cast up dust upon their heads” (ὁρισμενον ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γῆν καὶ σποδῶν στρώονται). Here the LXX presupposes quite a different and corrupt text (ἐπιθήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γῆν καὶ σποδῶν στρώονται). The same Hebrew clause is found in Josh. vii. 6 and Lam. ii. 10. In the former passage the LXX renders it almost as in our text. Even ἔκραξαν κλαίοντες καὶ πνευμόνες seems to be suggested by Ezek. xxvii. 30, 31, “they shall cry” (LXX κραξάντοι) . . . “they shall weep” (LXX—A only—κλαίονται). But the combination κλαίοντες καὶ πνευμόνες has already occurred in the text in 11, 15.

οδαὶ ἡ πόλις. See note on 10.

ἐπλαύσατο. Cf. 3, 15.

† ἐκ τῆς τιμίτητος αὐτῆς ὦρα ἡγημώθη †. The text is here corrupt. This becomes apparent, if we compare the corresponding clauses in the woes pronounced by the kings in 10, ὦρα ἡ ἐδώρεσθαι ἐς κρίσιν σου, and by the merchants in 16, ὦρα ἡ ἡγημώθη ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος. These parallel clauses lead us to expect a definite subject to be added after ἡγημώθη in 19 as there is after the verbs in 10, 16. Now we discover in the corrupt phrase ἐκ τῆς τιμίτητος αὐτῆς, the subject needed for ἡγημώθη, i.e. ἡ τιμίτητα αὐτῆς. Thus the final clause of the text should run: ὦρα ἡ ἡγημώθη ἡ τιμίτητα αὐτῆς. Thus this clause is brought into line with the corresponding clauses in 10,
16, and the woe pronounced by the seafolk falls naturally into three lines as the woe of the kings in 10.

"Woe, woe unto the great city,
Wherein were made rich all that had their ships at sea;
For in one hour are her precious things laid waste."

The corruption can be explained best through the Hebrew. The original — רֹבּ הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר וַתִּשְׁלוּ הַיָּם — The corruption could have arisen through an accidental doubling of the  ד (hence ידו) and the subsequent transposition of יִבְּרֵהְמַנְתָּה before in order to give some intelligible sense to the passage. Hence מַמְנוֹת the source of our corrupt text.

81-94. This section, embracing as it does 14 and 20, consists of a song of doom preluded by a symbolic action, the original idea of which is derived from Jer. li. 63, 64. This dirge is not put in the mouth of some particular class. The speaker is the Seer who wrote the original oracle, which has been utilized here by our author. Some attempts here have been made to adapt it to its new context. Thus the insertion of the phrase καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι in 20 is due to our author, and most probably the last clause of 23 and the whole of 24. The penultimate clause of 23 is either a gloss or should probably be restored after the first clause in 11. A line has probably been lost in 22.

81. καὶ ἤρεν εἰς ἄγγελος ἱσχύος κτλ. Here as in v. 2, x. 1 we have the phrase ἄγγ. ἱσχύος. The writer had Jer. li. 63, 64 in his mind: "And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates: and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink and shall not rise again." There may also be a reminiscence of Ezekiel's words with regard to Tyre, xxvi. 21. Cf. also Or. Sib. v. 158 sqq., on the destruction of Babylon by a great star.

λίθον ὃς μολυνόν μέγαν. The particle ὃς shows that it is not a millstone that is referred to here, but that what the Seer saw in the vision recalled the idea of such a stone. The stone was probably the μύλος ὄνικός, seeing it is defined as μέγας. To turn such a stone an ass was needed.

ὁ κτώς ὁμήματι βλασφημεσαί. It is not quite clear what ὁμήματι means here. It is rendered by Weissacker and Swete "with a rush": cf. Deut. (LXX) xxviii. 49; 1 Macc. vi. 33. This rendering is in keeping with the symbol of the boulder hurled down into the sea, but it is not in keeping with the thing symbolized—the destruction of Rome by fire by Nero and the Parthians. The rendering of the A.V. and Holtzmann, "with violence," suits the figure, but how it can be justified is not clear.
Perhaps ὀργήμα has here the meaning which belongs to it in the LXX in Hos. v. 10 (also in Symm.), Amos i. 11, Hab. iii. 8, i.e. "indignation"—ἐρήμης. This would suit the attitude alike of heaven and the Parthian hosts towards Rome. But the matter is uncertain.

ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. The order of the words as regards this particular adjective is not that of our author (see note on xvi. 1) nor of the rest of the source here used by him.

οὗ ὥσπερ ἐφεξῆ ἐστι. Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 21 in reference to Tyre.

14. This verse forms the opening stanza of the Seer's dirge over Rome. It consists of four stanzas of four lines each. These four stanzas are followed by two stanzas of three lines each. The text has suffered owing to one or perhaps two disturbing glosses and the loss of a line in the second stanza.

ὀριζόμενα—ripe fruit. This word, like the Hebrew יַרְדֶּן, means first late summer or autumn, and next the fruits that then ripen. Cf. Jer. xl. 10, 12. The phrase σοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς is a literal rendering of ἐπιθυμία τῆς ψυχῆς (cf. Deut. xii. 15, 20, 21, xiv. 26, Hebrew and LXX). The unemphatic or vernacular use of σοῦ here should be observed. That σοῦ is unemphatic is shown independently by its absence from the parallel verse. σοῦ follows ψυχῆς in the LXX.

τὰ λυπηρά. This phrase denotes the things that belong to a rich and sumptuous mode of life. Possibly food is specially referred to here. At all events λυπηρά is, in the few cases where it occurs in the LXX, a rendering of לִשְׁנָה, which primarily and generally means oil or fat. It is used in Ezek. xvi. 13, Prov. xxi. 17, as a sign of luxury, and refers undoubtedly to rich food. Cf. also Isa. xxx. 23.

τὰ λαμπρά. It is difficult to assign a definite meaning to this phrase. Probably it indicates the well-ordered magnificence in which the "pride of life" exhibits itself. Perhaps we might render "the splendours."

καὶ οὐκέτι... ἐφέρσουσιν. There can hardly be a doubt as to this clause being a gloss. Without it the stanza consists of four lines, as do the three succeeding stanzas. See Introd. to this Chap., § 4. We should observe that our author uses οὗ μη with the aorist subjunctive.

22-23. These verses have suffered severely in the course of transmission. We have already seen that 20 (see p. 92) should be restored after 23b. After a dirge of four stanzas of four lines each (=14, 22, 23a-d) the Seer in the original source calls upon heaven and the saints on earth to rejoice over the doom of Rome. But this is not all. In 22 there has been a loss of some words, while in 23 there is an addition to the
text which is not only meaningless but is also against the structure of the stanza.

22. This verse consists of two stanzas of four lines each. But the second line of the first stanza and one of the words of the third line have been lost. These losses can, however, easily be restored. It is obvious, from a comparison of the remaining stanzas, that φωνὴ κιθαριστῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν is too long: in fact these words are but the relics of three lines, and the whole stanza is to be read as follows:

καὶ φωνὴ κιθαριστῶν καὶ μουσικῶν
<οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἐτη;>
καὶ <φωνῇ> αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν
οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἐτη.

The omission may have been due to a lazy scribe, who failed to see that he was transcribing verse, and thought that the sense was not affected by his compression of the text. The student of MSS is not unacquainted with such arbitrary proceedings.

φωνῇ κιθαριστῶν καὶ † μουσικῶν † = “the voice of the harpers and singers.” The writer had Ezekiel’s words against Tyre (xxvi. 13) in his mind:

“I will cause the noise of the songs to cease
And the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard.”

He adopted the words “shall be no more heard,” and instead of speaking of “harps” changes this word into “harpers” and “songs” into “singers,” though as we shall see presently the text used by the Greek translator may have been corrupt here. Thus the first two lines would be somewhat as follows:

κῶνοι μουσίκης καὶ

while the next two lines would speak similarly of the fluteplayers and trumpeters.

But to return to μουσικῶν, it will be seen that I have rendered it “singers” on the strength of the context (i.e. that we must here have a specific and not a generic term) and of Ezek. xxvi. 13 (quoted above). Now in classical Greek μουσικός never appears to mean “a singer,” nor in later Greek, unless it is a translation from the Hebrew. It has been thought by some scholars that in 1 Macc. ix. 39, 41, δ νῦμφιοι ἔξηλθεν καὶ οἱ φιλοι αὐτοῦ . . . μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ ὀπλῶν πολλῶν . . . καὶ μετεστράφη . . . φωνῇ μουσικῶν αὐτῶν εἰς θρήνων, the word μουσικῶν may mean “singers”; but the fact that it stands between τυμπάνων and ὀπλῶν does not favour this
view. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27, μετὰ μουσικῶν (= נָּשִׁי) καὶ τυμπάνων. In 1 Esdr. iv. 63 the meaning is uncertain: ἐκθέσιον μετὰ μουσικῶν (= "songs" or "musical instruments") καὶ χαράς: But cf. v. 2, 59, Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, where it = "musical instruments," or "music." However, if it be conceded that the word in some of these passages means "singers," then this otherwise unattested meaning, appearing as it does in translations from the Hebrew, is in some way due to the Hebrew text. Only in one case does μουσικός appear as = "a singer," in a passage which none of the commentators has noticed, i.e. T. Jud. xxiii. 2, τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν μουσικᾶς καὶ δημοσίας ποιήσετε. Here the Greek is a translation from the Hebrew, and even here the rendering "minstrels" would accord better alike with the context and the etymology than "singers." ¹ In other passages in the LXX μουσικά = "songs." Cf. Gen. xxxi. 27; Ezek. xxvi. 13; Sir. xxxii. 6, xxxv. 3, 5, 6, xliv. 5, xlix. 1. From this examination of the word it follows that μουσικῶν means either "song" or "music," but never save in T. Jud. xxiii. 2 does it mean "singer" or rather "minstrel." And yet our text makes the meaning of "singers" indispensable. Hence we conclude either that μουσικῶν here = "singers,"—a meaning difficult to justify,—or that it is an error due to a corruption in the source. That is, μουσικῶν = נָּשִׁי, corrupt for נָּשִׁי = "singers." The rendering "minstrels" (R.V.) is here inadmissible; for we cannot have a generic term such as "minstrel" occurring in the midst of a list of specific terms.

ἀολητῶν. The fluteplayer (tibicen) was in much request on the Roman stage, and at Roman festivities as well as at funerals.

οὐλιποτῶν. The trumpeter (tubicen) had his part in the Roman games, in the theatre and at funerals.

22ο‒23. The order of these verses seems to be wrong. We should expect that the dirge, having begun with the luxuries of life and dwelt on their being brought to an end, would proceed in due gradation to the destruction of the barest necessities of life. And this expectation is confirmed by Jer. xxv. 10, which the Seer had in his mind: "I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the candle." If this view is right, as the present writer believes, we should rearrange as follows:

23ο. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride

Shall be heard no more in thee:

¹ Observe that in Eccles. ii. 8 נָּשִׁי נָּשִׁי is rendered by the LXX ἡθωράς καὶ ἡθόφασι, and not by μουσικός καὶ μουσικάς, which would mean "male and female minstrels."
And no craftsman of whatsoever craft
Shall be found any more in thee.

And the voice of the millstone
Shall be heard no more in thee:

And the light of the lamp
Shall shine no more in thee.

Thus the rejoicings attendant on marriage would no more be
known; the arts of civilized life would come to an end; the
familiar sounds of the household mill to be heard in every
hamlet would be no more heard, and the light of every lamp
would be extinguished. It will be observed that by this
rearrangement our text reproduces the order in Jer. xxv. 10.

23rd. φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νυμφης. See the quotation from
Jer. xxv. 10 given above. Cf. also vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxxii. 11.

23ab. τεχνίτης κτλ. This line would embrace skilled workers
in every kind of material.

φωνὴ μύλου (= δόματα λύμ, Jer. xxv. 10). It will be observed
that for φωνὴ μύλου the LXX reads δόμην μύρου, presupposing
νυμφὴ.

23ab. φῶς λύχνου (= ἐν ἀρνί, Jer. xxv. 10). At this stage the
Seer is not thinking of the brilliant lights and torches borne by
slaves as they escorted the wealthy Romans to their homes, but
simply anticipating the hour when all lights—even the meanest—
will be extinguished for ever.

20. Restored to its rightful place at the close of the writer's
dirge over Rome, this appeal to heaven and the saints to rejoice
over its destruction is most appropriate, and forms a fitting
introduction to xix., which contains the heavenly response,
whereas this apostrophe, standing as it does in the MSS, comes
in most awkwardly between two descriptive passages as Moffatt
has already recognized. The whole verse is to be ascribed to
John: Moffatt assigns it to the hand of a Christian editor.

There are, it is true, some difficulties in the style. Thus from
xi. 18, xviii. 24, we should expect ὀ προφήται . . . καὶ ὦ ἄγων.
But the fuller phrase here, ὦ ἄγων κ. ὦ ἀπόστολοι κ. ὀ προφήται,
may account for the difference of order. Again, κρίμα seems here
to have the sense of lawsuit or case—a meaning not found else­
where in our author: cf. xvii. 1, xix. 2, where it = sentence, judg­
ment. But even here it can bear the latter meaning: "God hath
judged your judgment (i.e. the judgment due to you) upon her."
On the other hand, εὐφραίνεσθαι belongs to the diction of our
author: cf. xii. 12, and the use of the singular εὐρανός is char­
acteristically that of John. Hence 20 is from the hand of
This call of the Seer to heaven and its inhabitants to rejoice over the accomplished doom of Rome is formed of two tristichs: 20, 23f–24.

εἰλίπαναμ. Modeled apparently on Jer. li. 48 (ירֵּעַ על בֵּית שָׁם), which is not found in the LXX.

οἱ αἰώνιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται: cf. xvi. 6. These must be the blessed in heaven—martyrs, apostles, and prophets: cf. xii. 12, where those addressed are the angelic hosts.

ἐκρίνετε· τῷ κρίμα ὤμων εἰς αὐτής = “hath judged your case against her” (lit. “at her cost”). This phrase is found in Lam. iii. 59, ἥτις ἡ ἀδικία, “judge Thou my cause.” With the idiom εἰς αὐτής cf. Ps. cxix. 84 (LXX), but here the present Hebrew text has ו and not ו. Or, as is suggested above, κρίμα εἰς αὐτής may here be taken in the sense of judgment. εἰς αὐτής is probably to be taken as the equivalent of ἔδωκα: cf. xiv. 2; 2 Kings ix. 7.

23f. [ὅτι οἱ ἐμποροί σου ἴσαν οἱ μεγαστάνες θῆς γῆς.] This line, which is based on Isa. xxiii. 8, μαρτυρεῖτε θῆς γῆς ἡ σειρὴ ἡ κρίμα τῆς γῆς, where the LXX has οἱ ἐμποροί αὐτῆς . . . ἀρχοντες τῆς γῆς. But in its present context there is no place for this line, being against the parallelism. It is also meaningless. There is no ground for saying that God destroyed Rome because its merchants were the great ones of the earth. The real reason is given by the next ὅτι clause. It is possible that this line may be a fragmentary survival of the original ending of the source used by our author. Perhaps it should be read immediately after the first clause in 11, “and the merchants of the earth—for thy merchants were the princes of the earth—weep,” etc. This would be analogous to the descriptive clause added in 9 after the phrase “the kings of the earth.”

23f–24. This stanza, consisting of three lines, gives the grounds for the destruction of Rome: her leading astray of the nations by her sorcery, and her bloodguiltiness in respect of the prophets and saints and of all the righteous, who had been slain by her throughout the world.

23f. ὅτι εἰν τῇ φαρμακία καὶ σου ἕπλανησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: cf. 3f. The σου is here corrupt for αὐτῆς. The corruption can be explained by the dislocation of the text and the influence of the preceding occurrences of the second personal pronoun. εἰν τῇ φαρμακίᾳ κτλ. Cf. Nah. iii. 4, where Nineveh is called “the mistress of witchcrafts (ἡγουµένη φαρµακων), that selleth nations through her whoredoms and families through her witchcrafts.” Cf. also Isa. xlvii. 12, where analogous charges are brought against Babylon.

24. While there is some doubt as to the provenance of 23f
XIX. § 1. Its Import

(i.e. the first line of the closing stanza), there can be none as to that of the last two lines. The προφηταὶ καὶ ἄγιοι are the Christian prophets and saints, and the subject of the last line is the universal martyrdom of the Christians apprehended by our author and regarded as accomplished at the close of xiii.

προφητῶν καὶ ἄγιων. See note on xvi. 6, xviii. 20.

αἷµα προφητῶν κτλ.: cf. Ezek. xxiv. 6, ὥπλας αἷµάτων: Jer. li. (LXX, xxvii.) 35, τὸ αἷµα µου ἐπὶ τῶν κατοικιῶντας Χαλδαίους, ἔρει ἰερουσαλήµ. In Matt. xxii. 35 a like charge is brought against Jerusalem: ὅπως ἐλθῇ ἐφ' υµᾶς πᾶν αἷµα δίκαιων ἐκχυσόµενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The Seer here is not thinking only of the martyrs under the Neronian persecution, nor yet of such as had already fallen under Domitian (see list of passages referring to this persecution in Lightfoot, Ep. Clem. i. 104-115) at the time of writing; he is rather from the standpoint of the Seer looking back on the universal martyrdom of the Christian Church as a fact already accomplished. The diction used—πάντων τῶν ἐσφαγµένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς—shows that it is of the martyrs that our author is thinking; for σφάζω has this connotation in our author’s language: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, vi. 9, xiii. 8. xiii. 3 is no exception, for the Beast is therein caricaturing the Lamb. On the other hand, in vi. 4 σφάζω is used in a more special sense.

CHAPTER XIX.

§ 1. Its Import.

No real difficulty emerges in this chapter either as regards its authorship or its relation to the chapters that precede and follow it. There can be no question as to the Johannine authorship of xix. 1-8, 9, 11-21 from the standpoint of its style and diction (§ 2), and there can be no doubt as to the relevancy and indispensible of its subject-matter (§ 4). Alike from its form and substance it receives unequivocal attestation.

The chapter opens with the response (1-3) that the heavenly hosts make to the appeal of the Seer in xviii. 20, who thunder forth as with the mighty voice of a great multitude their exultation over the destruction of the Harlot City and God’s avenging of the saints which she had slain. The theme is taken up afresh by the Elders and the Living Creatures and by the angel of the altar of incense, 4, xvi. 5b-7. The echoes of the closing words of this anthem have hardly ceased to reverberate, when at the summons of a voice from the throne (5) the glorified host of martyrs burst forth with, as it were, the voice of many waters and the voice of mighty thunderings into glad thanksgivings (6-7),

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for that now at length the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth upon the earth and the advent of the kingdom of Christ is at hand. Thus, whereas the angels rejoice over the vindication of divine justice, the martyred host rejoice in that the kingdom of Christ is at hand with fresh stores of mercy and salvation for the sons of men (cf. xv. 4).

At this stage we should have expected a vision bearing on the destruction of the Parthian kings, mention of which was made proleptically in xvii. 14 (see § 4 ad fin.); but this vision may have been displaced by the interpolation 9b-10 (see § 2).

Now that the Harlot City (and the Parthian kings) have been destroyed, there remains only the execution of judgment on the kings of the earth who had shared in the spiritual fornication and abominations of Rome (xii-21). These are slain with the sword that proceeded out of the mouth of the Word of God, and the Beast and the False Prophet that deceived them were cast into the lake of fire.

§ 2. The Diction and Idiom.

There can be no doubt whatever that xix. 1-8, 11-21 comes from the hand of our author. Alike (a) the diction and (b) the idioms are his, as is shown fully in the notes on the various verses, but it will not be unhelpful to show in the case of a few verses how intimately every verse is bound up with what precedes.

(a) Diction.—1. μετὰ ταῦτα ἥκουσα: Frequent in our author. ὅς φωνὴν μεγάλην: cf. i. 15, vi. 1, 6, ix. 9, etc. μέγας is the adjective generally connected with φωνή: see xvi. 1, note. ὄχλου πολλοῦ ... λεγότων: cf. vii. 9. ὄχλος πολὺς ... ἔστωτες. Observe the same construction κατὰ σύνεσιν: ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν: cf. iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 10, xii. 10.

8. άλλωσιν καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ: cf. xv. 3.
8τι ἐκρίνειν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην: cf. xvii. 1; also 5, 16. ἡτίς ἐφθαίρει τὴν γῆν: cf. xi. 18. ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς: cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 2, xviii. 3. ἐβδοκισμὸν τὸ αἷμα . . . ἐκ: cf. vi. 10.

8. καὶ ὁ κατὰλεγόμενος καταβαίνει κτλ.: cf. xiv. 11 (xviii. 9, 18).

XVI. 5b-7. See notes on p. 120 sqq.

XIX. 5. φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἐξῆλθεν: cf. xvi. 17 for the more usual order. οἱ δούλοι αὐτοῦ . . . μεγάλοι: almost a verbal reproduction of xi. 18, though with a limitation of meaning.

1 8b is a gloss and 9b-10 an interpolation (see notes in loc.), which may have displaced a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings and their hosts by the Lamb and the glorified martyrs. See § 4, ad finem.
DICTION AND IDIOM

6. ὡς φωνὴν ἄχλου πολλοῦ: see note on i. ὡς φωνὴν ὀδάτων πολλοῦ: cf. i. 15, xiv. 2. ὡς φωνὴν βροντῶν: cf. vi. i. ἐβασιλεύσεν κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ: cf. xi. 17, ἐχαριστοῦμέν σου, κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ... ὁτι... ἐβασιλεύσας.

7. θύσωμεν τὴν δόξαν: see note on xi. 13. ἔλθεν ὁ γὰρ ὁμοίος: cf. xi. 18 for same use of verb. ἤτοιμας ἐστίν: cf. xxi. 2, ἤτοιμασμένην ὡς νυμφήν, also ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12.

8. περιβάλλεται βύσσινον: cf. for construction vii. 9, 13, x. 1–10. See note in loc.

9. νικῶν: cf. xii. 6. θελεῖν: see note on 1. ἐις... ὁδῷ: cf. i. 5, xiv. 2. Iων... θεωρεῖν: cf. vi. 1. ἐπιφανῆς... ἀτόμο—a gloss, though the diction is Johannine.


11. οἰ ὡς ὁθαλαμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλάξ πυρὸς: repeated from i. 11: ἐκ... ἀτόμο—a gloss, though the diction is Johannine.

12. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπροέτειται βομβαία ἀξιαία: cf. 21, i. 16, ii. 12. ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ βαρβαρίας σιθηρῆς: cf. ii. 27, xii. 5. τατεί ὁ λήγων τοῦ οἴνου τ. θυμοὺ κτλ.: cf. xiv. 19–20, τ. λήγων τ. θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ... καὶ ἐπιθῆς ἡ λιπώς.


14. ἐκατερεῖν φωνὴ μεγάλη: see note on xiv. 15. πετομένους ἐν μεσομανήματι: cf. viii. 13, x. 6.

15. χιλιάρχων: cf. vi. 15. ἕλευθεροι... μεγάλης: cf. xiii. 16.


17. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπροέτειται βομβαία ἀξιαία: cf. 21, i. 16, ii. 12. ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ βαρβαρίας σιθηρῆς: cf. ii. 27, xii. 5. τατεί ὁ λήγων τοῦ οἴνου τ. θυμοὺ κτλ.: cf. xiv. 19–20, τ. λήγων τ. θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ... καὶ ἐπιθῆς ἡ λιπώς.


21. τῇ βομβαίᾳ... ἐξεθεοῦσα ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ: see on 15.

(b) Idiom.—There are no idoms against our author's usage, while those that follow are characteristic of him.

1. ὡς φωνὴν: cf. passim. ἀξιαία... λεγόντων: cf. vii. 9.

2. ζητεῖ = ἦ in 2: cf. i. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 12. ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα... ἐκ: cf. vi. 10.

1 βύσσινον is used as a noun only once in the LXX in the sing., Dan. x. 5°; in the plural in the LXX in Dan. x. 5°, xiii. 6, 7; Isa. iii. 23: but in our author only in sing.: cf. xix. 8°, 14, xviii. 12, 16. This use of adjectives as nouns in the sing. is characteristic of the writer of xviii. Thus he uses βύσσινον as a noun in 12, 16, πυρφόροιν as a noun in 16, and in xvii. 4—which is from the same source, whereas the Fourth Gospel uses it as an adj. (cf. xix. 2, 5), κόκκονοιν as a noun (rare except in plural) in 12, 16 and in xvii. 4, but as an adj. in xvii. 3. I do not know of any other instances of πυρφόροιν as a noun. αἰματίν in 12; here only in Biblical Greek, though used by Plutarch, Strabo, etc.
4. ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ: see note on vii. 11.
5. καθημένως ὑπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ: see note on iv. 2. οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι: cf. xi. 18.
6. αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ: a Hebraism; see note in loc.
7. ὡς φωνὴ ἡχήμου... λεγόντων: see note on i.
8. ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἡ αἰα: cf. ix. 5.
9. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν: see note on iv. 2.
10. ἐπὶ τ. κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ: cf. x. 1, xiv. 14 (see Intr. to xiv. § 3).
11. περιβεβλημένος—a participle used as a finite verb: see note on iv. 7, vol. i. p. 104.
12. αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ἐπποίη: The dat. after ἐπὶ here seems due to αὐτῷ: cf. our author's usage where καθημένων is followed by gen. in 18, 19, 21, and where καθημένως is followed by dat.: iv. 9, v. 13, vii. 10, etc.
13. τομανεῖ: here used as equivalent to "will break": see note on ii. 27.
14. ἐπὶ τὸν μῆτρον... γεγραμμένον: cf. iii. 12, γράψε ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα.
15. καθημένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν: cf. 19, 21: see note on iv. 2.
16. προσκυνοῦτας τ. εἰκόνα: see note on vii. 11.

§ 3. xix. 9a–10 an Interpolation.

See note in loc.

§ 4. The Structure of the Book requires xix. 1–4, xvi. 5b–7, xix. 5–8, 9a, 11–21.

xix. 1–4, xvi. 5b–7, xix. 5–8 is the heavenly response to the Seer's appeal in xviii. 20. 9a contains the fourth of the seven beatitudes. The contents of xix. 11–21, which have already been proleptically described in xiv. 14, 18–20, xvi. 14, 16, are here seen in their due chronological connection, as the necessary prelude to xx.–xxii. The kings of the earth, who had shared in the idolatries and abominations of Rome, here meet with just doom, while the Beast and the False Prophet are cast down into the lake of fire. Only one more event must intervene before the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem, and this—the chaining of Satan—is witnessed in xx. 1–3.

There appears, however, to be a lacuna in this chapter. Where the interpolation (9b–10) stands we should expect a vision relating to the destruction of the Parthian kings. In xviii. we have the vision of the destruction of the Harlot City which had in an earlier chapter been spoken of proleptically as though already accomplished: cf. xiv. 8. In xix. 11–21 we have a vision of the destruction of the kings of the earth and the final
doom of the Beast and the False Prophet in their due chronological sequence, save in one respect, and this is, that after the destruction of Rome and before the destruction of the kings of the earth there ought to be a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings—a destruction that has already been referred to proleptically in xvii. 14 (see 12-13, 17, 16, 14). A short vision to this effect may have been displaced by the interpolation xix. 9b-10.

§ 5. The Method of our author elsewhere in this Book is observed here.

In xix. 1–8 our author pursues the method already familiar to us in preceding chapters, in accordance with which over against a vision of the tribulation of the faithful is set one of their deliverance and triumph, or over against a vision of coming judgment on the enemies of Christ is set one of the ultimate blessedness of the redeemed.

Thus xix. 1–4, xvi. 5b–7, xix. 5–8, which sets forth the joy of the angels on the dooms just executed on Rome and the joy of the glorified martyrs on the impending advent of the kingdom, is not only a heavenly response to the appeal of the Seer in xviii. 20, but the counterpart we expect of the dread judgments culminating in xvii.–xviii. With this notable contrast we might compare earlier analogous contrasts on this Book. Thus xv. 2–3, which comes in reality immediately after xiii. (since xiv. is entirely proleptic), brings out the glaring contrast between the universal martyrdom of the faithful in xiii. and the blessed inheritance on which they entered forthwith in heaven itself. Also in xiv. 1–5 we have a parallel to xv. 2–3 in contrast to xiii., where the visions were of such a nature as to daunt the faith­fullest heart, as they foretold the destruction of all God's servants. In like manner xi. 14–18 comes in as a contrast to the tribulations depicted in xi. 1–13 and the still darker visions that follow in xii.–xiii., claiming as it does that already, however great may appear the triumph of the Antichrist, it is but a pass­ing one, and that the issues of the strife are already made known to the hosts of heaven. Once more, after the account of the Seals is placed the vision of the great multitude in heaven, vii. 9–17.

On every ground, therefore, whether we regard the diction, the idioms, the due development of events in the Book, or the method pursued in this chapter, we conclude that it is the undoubted product of his pen.

1–8. Thanksgivings in heaven. The closing appeal in xviii. 20 to heaven to rejoice in that God had judged the great Harlot
City is answered by an exultant anthem voiced by a great multitude of angels (1-3) which is closed by the four and twenty Elders and the Cherubim with the response, “Amen, alleluia” (4-5). They had already voiced their thanksgivings in two anthems on the same subjects in xi. 15-18. Hence here they simply give utterance to their approval of the theme of the angels’ song. And whereas a voice from earth summoned the heavenly hosts to the duty of thanksgiving in that the doom of the Harlot City is already accomplished in 1-5, now in 6-8 a voice from the throne summons the glorified martyrs in heaven to the glad service of thanksgiving, whereupon there arose as it were the voice of a great multitude and of many waters and of mighty thunderings proclaiming that the Lord God Omnipotent had become King, and that the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem was at hand. It is fitting that the last song in the Apocalypse should come from the lips of the martyrs.

1. The thanksgiving in this verse has been explained by some interpreters as coming from the glorified martyrs, as in: i. 10-12; but the context and our author’s usage is against this interpretation. The context is against it; for the faithful, who appear to embrace only the glorified martyrs, do not offer their thanksgiving till 6-8. Further, our author’s usage is against it. In such a series of thanksgivings those of the angels could not be omitted, and, if the alleluia in 1 is ascribed to the glorified martyrs, then we have such an omission, while in 6-8 there would then be a duplication of the praises of the martyrs. Furthermore (see notes on iv. 4, v. 11), if any reference to the angels’ thanksgiving is made in our text, it must come in 1; for the mention of the Elders and the Living Creatures (and in this order) in 4 shows that the Seer is beginning his description with the outer ranks of the heavenly beings and proceeding inwards towards the throne. Thus, as in vii. 11, we have first angels, then the Elders, then the Living Creatures.

If the same order were observed as in vii. 9-11, we should have 6-8 before 1-5: in other words, the thanksgivings of men, then of angels, then of the Elders, and finally of the Living Creatures. But the order is otherwise here, and the change is instructive. Whereas in an earlier chapter, vi. 10, the cry of the faithful was for vengeance on their persecutors, here (cf. xv. 4) their sole theme of thanksgiving is that now at last “the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth,” and that “the marriage of the Lamb is come.” This prepares the reader for what is to follow in the speedy removal (in xix. 11-21) of all that prevents the advent of the heavenly Jerusalem. Hence 6-8 comes rightly at the close of 1-5. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in 1-5 the theme of the angels’ song is one of profound thanksgiving for
God's righteous judgment of Rome and His avenging of the blood of the martyrs. This thanksgiving follows naturally and immediately in response to the appeal in xviii. 20.

With the usual adjective our author connects with the word "οὐδὲν" (see xvi. note). With οὐδὲν πολλοῖς, cf. vii. 9, XIV. 9, S. 10, A. 11, and cf. i. 15 (v. 11), vi. 1, 6, ix. 9, xiv. 2, xix. 6. "Allاحة". As this word is a transliteration of η, the name of the city, we should have η, strange. The same irregularity is to be found in θεσσαλαί, which according to Dalman (Gram. p. 152, note 3), Delitzsch, and others is derived from "Η". This transliteration came into use before the Christian era amongst Hellenistic Jews, as Swete remarks, since it is found in 3 Macc. vii. 13; Tob. xiii. 18. In the LXX it is found frequently at the beginning and end of certain Pss.: see Swete, Intr. to O.T. in Greek, p. 250.

"ἡ χριστιανή καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. In xii. 10 we find ἡ χριστιανή and ἡ δύναμις conjoined, and in iv. 11, vii. 12, ἡ δύναμις (also in v. 12, but in the reverse order): in vii. 10, ἡ χριστιανή alone. This construction ἡ χριστιανή . . . τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν has already occurred in xii. 10, the more usual being that which is found in i. 6 (ἀντιθ. ἡ δύναμις), vii. 10.

2. άληθιναί καὶ δικαιαί αἱ πράγματα αὐτοῦ. This clause has, it we have concluded rightly, been reproduced in xvi. 7, which belongs to a dislocated passage, i.e. xvi. 5-7. A distant parallel occurs in xv. 3, δικαίαι καὶ άληθιναί αἱ δοκίμα σου. These words define the reason for this hymn of praise—the righteousness of God's judgments as exemplified in the destruction of the Harlot City.

With ἐκρίνει τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην. This clause is a justification of the preceding ὑποθεσια. It recalls xvii. 1, τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης. On ἐκρίνει cf. xviii. 8, 20, and on τῆς πόρνης τ. μεγάλης cf. xvii. 1, 5, 15, 16.

Ἡτίς ἐφθαίνει τῇ γῇ: cf. xi. 18, διαφθείραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τῇ γῇ, and the note thereon. The pronoun Ἕτίς appears here to be simply the equivalent of ἡ. It definitely determines who the Harlot is. For this usage of ὑποθεσια see note on xi. 8. ἐν τῇ πόρνηᾳ σοῦ. This is the first charge brought against Rome. It has corrupted the whole earth, cf. xiv. 8, xvii. 2, xviii. 3. The second charge is that stated in the words ἐξεδικέσει τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων κτλ. These words recall the complaint of the martyrs in vi. 10, οὐ . . . ἐκδικάσει τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἐκ τῆς γῆς, and now recognize the consummation of divine justice: cf. xi. 18. The idiom itself is found in 2 Kings ix. 7, έκδικήσεις ('HΠΣΗΗ) τὰ αἷμα τῶν δούλων μου . . . ἐκ χειρὸς (ΤΤΘ) ἔξαβελ.
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Cf. also Deut. xxxii. 43. τῶν δεόλων αὐτῶν recalls xviii. 24—the prophets and saints.

8. καὶ δεύτερον εἶρηκαί. “And a second time they say.” The second utterance or antistrophe from the lips of the same multitude consists not only of the word ἄλληλουα, but also of the words that follow καὶ ὁ καπνὸς . . . αἰῶνων. These words correspond to the tetristich that follows the first ἄλληλουα in 1–2.

καὶ ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς κτλ. This clause recalls xviii. 8 (ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται) and xviii. 9, 18 (τὸν καπνὸν τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς). Cf. also xiv. 11, καὶ ὁ καπνὸς τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν εἰς αἰῶνας αἰῶνων ἀναβαίνει. The καὶ is not to be taken here as a mere conjunction. We can only secure the right meaning of the clause that follows if καὶ is taken as a Hebraism: i.e. “Hallelujah; for the smoke thereof goeth up for ever and ever.” This clause therefore is a circumstantial clause introduced by καὶ (=1) and gives a statement of the concomitant conditions, which justify the action denoted by the principal verb (νῦν ἔχει). See Oxford Hebrew Dict. p. 253.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. This expression is equivalent here to 1000 years. For, since the advent of the Millennial Kingdom is already at hand, and since the earth is to be destroyed at its close, it follows that even the smoking ruins of Rome will cease to exist at that date. Contrast this meaning with that which it bears in xxii. 5, where it denotes eternity.

4. Now that the angelic hosts have sung their two paeans of triumph, the Elders and the Living Creatures too take their share in the praises of heaven with the words, Ἀμὴν, Ἀλληλουα, followed by xvi. 5b–7, which belongs here.

In iv. 8, 11, xi. 15–18 the Cherubim and the Elders offer their praises independently; in v. 9 together, as in the verse before us; in v. 14 the Cherubim pronounce the “amen” at the close of the doxology of all creation. In the present text both orders unite together (as in v. 9) in singing the antistrophe (consisting like the strophe 1b–2 of two stanzas of three lines each), 3b, xvi. 5b–7.

προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. Our author uses the dative when speaking of the highest form of worship: see note on vii. 11. τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ—also a characteristic usage of our author: see note on iv. 2.

Ἀμὴν, Ἀλληλουα. These words form the close of Ps. cvii. 48, ἦλθεν ἡ φωνή, where they are rendered in the LXX by γένους, γένους. Cf. also Neh. v. 13.

XVI. 5b–7. These verses, which in the MSS follow after xvi. 5b, do not belong to xvi., but have in this edition been restored to their original context after xix. 4. Either what
originally followed was lost (cf. loss in xvi. 10), or else it was deliberately removed by the Johannine editor and these verses substituted in their stead.

(1) The first ground for regarding these verses as an interpolation in their present context is that they limit the incidence of the Third Plague and probably that of the Second to the adherents of the Roman Empire. But, if the Second and Third Plagues are studied apart from these verses, the fact that their incidence is universal for sea and land cannot be questioned any more than that of the Fourth Plague, the Sixth, and the Seventh. We have already seen that the First also affects all the earth. Hence all the Bowls are universal in their incidence save the Fifth, just as all the Seals are likewise universal save the Fifth.

(2) The main point of these verses was not understood by the Johannine editor. Rightly understood they mean: God is righteous, inasmuch as He has made those who shed the blood of the prophets and saints to shed each other's blood (αἱμα αὐτὸς δέδωκας πείν, xvi. 6b) and stirred up the kings of the East against the great Harlot City Rome to destroy it, and eat her flesh (τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγωντα, xvii. 16). Now this judgment of Rome is not referred to till we come to the vision in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16: hence xvi. 5b-7 cannot rightly occur till after xvii., nor in fact till after xviii., which describes the destruction of Rome.

(3) Since xvi. 5b-7 does not belong to xvi. and cannot justly be used till after xviii., we have two further points to determine: i.e. (a) Are these verses from our author; and, if so, (b) what was their original context?

(a) The passage is genuine. In xvi. 5 on δ ἐν καὶ δ Ἱν cf. xi. 17 (n.): on ὅσιος as applied to God cf. xv. 4, στί μόνοις ὅσιος: on ταῦτα ἅρμας cf. vi. 10, xix. 2. 6. On αἷμα ἄγιον κ. προφητῶν cf. xi. 18, xviii. 24, xix. 2: on ἄξιοι εἰσών cf. iii. 4 and xiv. 5 for exactly the same asyndetic construction. 7. On κύριε δ θεός, δ παντοκράτωρ cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xix. 6, xxi. 22. Here we should observe that the divine title in 5 and this title in 7 are already conjoined in xi. 17: on ἄληθιναί κ. δικαιαί αἰ κρίσεως σου cf. xix. 2 where the words recur exactly as here; also in xv. 3 (in reverse order).

Thus the passage is undoubtedly Johannine.

(b) All the evidence is in favour of restoring it immediately after ἄληθινα in xix. 4. Thus we have: first two stanzas of three lines each, xix. 1-2, followed by one of two in xix. 3, and parallel with these two other stanzas of three lines each in xix. 4e, xvi. 5b-6 followed by another of two in xvi. 7b. The structure is thus perfectly symmetrical.
The Song of the Angels.

XIX. 1b. Ἀλληλουία.
'Ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ βάσις καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
2. Ὁτι ἄλλην καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ.
'Ὅτι ἐκρίνεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην,
'Ὅτι ἐφθαίρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς,
Καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς.
3. Καὶ δεύτερον εἰρήκαν.
'Ἄλληλουία.
Καὶ ὁ κατόδης αὐτής ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων.

The Song of the Elders and the Cherubim.

XVI. 4c. Ἀμήν, Ἀλληλουία.
5b. Δίκαιος εἶ, ὁ ἐν καὶ ὁ ἦν,
'Οσίος ὃ ταῦτα ἐκρίνας.
6. Ὁτι αἷμα ἀγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἔξεχαν,
Καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῖς δεδώκας πειν.
'Ἁξιόλεγον εἶσον.
7. Καὶ ἡκούσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος
'Ναι, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
'Ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου.

At first sight it might appear an objection that this doxology is addressed directly to God, whereas the doxology in xix. 1b-2 is not so directed, but God is spoken of in the third person. But this objection is groundless; for in iv. 8 the doxology speaks of God in the third person, whereas that which follows in iv. 11 is addressed directly to God. The same change of persons is found in the two thanksgivings in connection with the Lamb in v. 9-10 and v. 12. Here also the Elders and the Cherubim join together, as in v. 9, in this great anthem of praise. Again it is noteworthy that the doxologies of the twenty-four Elders are always elsewhere in our author (cf. iv. 11, v. 9, xi. 17) addressed directly to God, just as they are above in xix. 4c, xvi. 5b-6. Thus what at first sight appears to be an objection turns out to be evidence in favour of the above restoration.

(4) The reader will recognize at a glance the similarity of construction between the doxology in xix. 1-2 and that of the Elders and Living Creatures in xix. 4c, xvi. 5b-6, both of which consist of two stanzas of three lines each, and that in each case
these stanzas are followed by one of two lines. They both also deal with the same subject—thanksgiving over the fall of Rome.

XVI. δ. δ. δ ου και δ η. See note on i. 4.

δωρος. Cf. xv. 5. So the best authorities: “holy”—in apposition to δικαιος. If with ΜΠ we read δ δωρος the phrase is to be taken as a vocative, “Thou Holy One.” It represents God as faithful in His relation to men. See Trench (Synon., p. 316) on the relation of δικαιος and δωρος in Classical Greek. On this attribute of God cf. 1 Enoch i. 2, 3, x. i, xiv. i, xxv. 3, xxxvii. 2, cxxxiv. 1, xci. 2, xcii. xi, xcviii. 6, civ. 9.

δ. αιμα . . . εξεσαυν. Cf. Ps. lxixi. 3.

δοιεν και προφητων. We should expect the reverse order: cf. xviii. 24, xxii. 9.

αιμα αντοις διθωκας πειν. This expression has a technical sense in the O.T. and later books. Thus in Isa. xlix. 26 we have = “I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken with their own blood.” In that time “no man spareth his own brother” (Isa. ix. 19). This is the so-called Period of the Sword: cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 21, “I will call for a sword against him . . . every man’s sword shall be against his brother”; Hag. ii. 22, “I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms . . . everyone by the sword of his brother”; Zech. xiv. 13; 1 Enoch xxxvii. 5, xcviii. 12, xcix. 4, 6; Jub. xxii. 19; 2 Bar. xlvi. 32, lxx. 6-7; Mark xiii. 8. Thus the meaning of the clause in our text is that God would cause internecine war to arise amongst the Antichristian nations, i.e. between Rome and the nations of the East; for the latter, as the Seer has already testified in xvii. 12-13, 17, 16, would invade the West and destroy Rome. But the Johannine editor was wholly ignorant of the force of these words and took them in a literal and material sense: As Rome had shed the blood of the saints, so it should drink actual blood whereas they mean that the doom pronounced by God on those who had martyred the prophets and the saints would be that they should fall by each other’s hands, and thus they should eat each other’s flesh (xvii. 16) and drink each other’s blood (xvi. 6). We should observe that the two ideas in Isa. xlix. 26 are thus adopted by our author. πειν = πειν: cf. Blass, Gram. 23.

εξηκε απευν. Contrast the use of this phrase in iii. 4, and for the absence of the copula xiv. 5.

7. ηκουσα του θυσιαστηριου λεγον. This clause must be taken in connection with the statements made in reference to this altar, i.e. the altar of incense in the preceding chapters. In vi. 10 the souls of the martyrs are represented as beneath this altar, and from thence their prayers go forth to God. In viii. 3-4 the prayers of all the saints that are still upon earth are offered up upon it. In ix. 13 this altar first appears in con-
connection with judgment, where it is conceived as initiating the second Woe by ordering the four angels of punishment to be set loose. In xiv. 18, which represents a period chronologically later, i.e. when the roll of the martyrs is complete, an angel goes forth from this altar and delivers to the Son of Man the divine command to undertake the judgment of the earth. In the present passage the altar confirms the doxologies just uttered (vai), and declares that in the destruction of Rome the truth and righteousness of God are vindicated. Thus at last the prayers of the martyrs and of the saints are fulfilled.

XIX. 5. φωνὴ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ θρόνου. This voice directed to God's servants in heaven (i.e. the martyrs) seems to be that of one of the Cherubim or of the Elders, and not of an angel, since the two first orders were the nearest to the throne. In no case should the voice be ascribed to Christ, as in that case we should have not τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν in the words that follow, but τῷ θεῷ μοι, as in iii. 12.

ἀνέβη τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (= οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ θρόνου). ἀνέβη takes the acc. elsewhere in the N.T. and all but universally in the LXX. In the half-dozen or more of cases where ἀνέβη takes the dative in the LXX, we can explain it in i Chron. xvi 36, xxiii. 5, 2 Chron. xx. 19 as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom חָוַה לְחָוָה וּלְחָוָה or חָוַה לְחָוָה וּלְחָוָה. Still more remarkable is the careful following of the text in Ezra iii. 10, where ἀνέβη takes the acc. as לְבָרָא does in the Hebrew, and in iii. 11, where ἀνέβη τῷ κυρίῳ is a rendering of חָוַה לְחָוָה וּלְחָוָה. In 2 Chron. v. 13, ἀνέβη τῷ Κυρίῳ is a translation of "לְבָרָא חָוַה; also in vii. 3. Hence it is not improbable that this Hebrew idiom was in the mind of our author when he wrote, ἀνέβη τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν. The dative is also found in Pss. Sol. v. 1, ἀνέβη σω σοῦ τῷ ὑπόματί σου.

ἀνέβη . . . πάντες οἱ δούλοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροί καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. Cf. xi. 18, τοὺς δούλους σου καὶ τοὺς φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους. First of all, our text is influenced by Ps. cxxxv. 1, γὰρ ὁ θεὸς . . . ἡ τελείωσα (LXX, ἀνέβη . . . δούλου Κύριον), and 20, γὰρ ὁ θεὸς (LXX, οἱ φοβούμενοι τοῦ κυρίου). In the usage of our author the phrase δούλοι (τοῦ θεοῦ) represents the most notable servants of God—the Christian prophets (cf. i. 1, 7, xi. 18, xxii. 6) and martyrs (cf. vii. 3, xix. 2), and the servants of God generally in ii. 20, xxii. 3. The context therefore must decide its special significance in each case.

We have next to discover who these servants of God are. They can hardly be said to compose the Church universal; for (1) the presupposition of xviii. 20, ἐφραίνω . . . οὕτων, is that only those who are in heaven should take part in the thanksgivings over the fall of Rome. (2) The words, further, φωνὴ ἀπο


Response of the Martyrs

καὶ οἱ ἰωβασθέντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι. If we accept the καὶ (with AQ min̄ vgrad syr.1 s Prim.) we must render it as "even"; for there is no question here of two distinct classes of the faithful in heaven: there are only the martyrs. The martyrs are described here as οἱ δούλοι αὐτῶν, as in the angels' song in 2. This being so, the phrase καὶ οἱ ἰωβασθέντες αὐτῶν is not a strong one as descriptive of the martyrs. καὶ οἱ φοβ. αὐτῶν . . . μεγάλοι appears to be derived from Ps. cxiv. 13 (cxiii. 21) originally. The phrase οἱ ἰωβασθέντες ἐν δόναδι σοῦ bears another meaning in xi. 18 There the whole body of the faithful are referred to; xi. 18d-5 refers to the events subsequent to the final judgment, and to all the orders of the faithful who then enter into the everlasting Kingdom of God. Hence καὶ οἱ ἰωβασθέντες ἐν δόναδι σοῦ denotes a class of the faithful quite distinct from the other classes there enumerated. But in the present context only one class is mentioned, i.e. that of the martyrs.

6. Response of the martyr host to the divine command.

ἀς ψωνὴν ὀχλον πολλοῦ. See note on ver. 1. ἀς ψωνὴν ὃθάτων πολλῶν: cf. i. 15, xiv. 2. ἀς ψωνὴν βροτῶν λοχρῶν: cf. vi. 1 (x. 3). λεγόντων. This is the best attested reading (AP and many cursives). Presumably our author took it in immediate connection with βροτῶν. Cf. like irregularities in iv. 1, ψωνὴ . . . λέγων: in ix. 13, ψωνὴ . . . λέγοντα. λέγοντας (Q and many cursives) is, though parallels in our author's use (cf. v. 11, xiv. 6-7) could be adduced, probably a correction.

ὅτι ἰδασπένειν . . . καίρωμαν καὶ ἅγιολάμαν. For the same connection of ideas cf. Ps. xcvi. 1 ἶση ὡς ἡμῖν ἵππον (xcvi. 1, ὦ κύριος ἰδασπένειν, ἅγιολάμαν ἤ γη). With ἰδασπένειν: cf.
xi. 15, 17. With the destruction of Rome the reign of God is established on earth. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 34, 36, v. 21, 22, xvii. 1, 4, 38, 51, where the like thought of the kingship of God prevails. This is the second great stage in the destruction of evil in the universe. The first was achieved when Satan was cast down from heaven (chap. xii.).

κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. A favourite designation of God in our author. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xxi. 22. Against (A 1, 49, 95 al. me. arm.) other authorities add ὑμῶν after θεὸς owing to the influence of 1, 5. But this is against the usage of our author in this phrase, and the context itself is against its insertion. When ὁ παντοκράτωρ does not immediately follow, as in iv. 11, we have ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, where Dr. D'Arcy suggests there may be a reference to the blasphemous title assumed by Domitian, "Dominus et Deus noster."

7. χαύρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλίωμεν. For the same combination cf. Matt. v. 1, χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλίασθε. ἀγαλλίασθε is found in the N.T. only here and in Luke i. 47. Elsewhere in the N.T. and in the LXX the middle form is used. The classical form is ἀγάλλωμαι.

dώσομεν τὴν δόξαν. See note on xi. 13.

 fullfileν δὲ γάμος τοῦ ἄρνιου. Ὠδεῖν is used proleptically in xi. 18, but not to the same extent here; for Rome is already overthrown: the impenitent nations, the Beast and the False Prophet are on the eve of being cast into the lake of fire, the Millennial Kingdom on the eve of being set up, and the heavenly Jerusalem—the bride—of coming down from heaven. In fact, Ὠδεῖν refers here to the time just preceding the advent of the Millennial Kingdom, whereas in xi. 18 to the period that follows on its close. Cf. xiv. 7, 15, where it also occurs.

δὲ γάμος τοῦ ἄρνιου. As God in the O.T. is the Bridegroom of Israel (cf. Hos. ii. 16; Isa. liv. 6; Ezek. xvi. 7 sq.), in the N.T. this symbolism is transferred to Christ and the Church, which in our author is symbolized by the heavenly and the New Jerusalem: cf. xxi. 9-10, xxii. 17, xxi. 2. This figure of marriage denotes the intimate and indissoluble communion of Christ with the community, which He has purchased with His own blood (v. 6, 9, vii. 17, xiv. 1). This communion is reached first in its fulness by the martyrs, who reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Holy City, which comes down from heaven, and are yet in a mysterious way identified with the Holy City xxi. 9, xxi. 17, i.e. the Church, the Bride of Christ. The Gentiles converted during these 1000 years belong also to the Church. When the New (καυρί) Jerusalem descends in xxi. 2 after the final judgment and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, it has become a symbol for the Church Universal.
It is worth observing that the heavenly (or New?) Jerusalem is symbolized by a woman in 4 Ezra ix. 38 sqq., x. 25-50.

But to return to the term γάμος, we meet with the above symbolism in other parts of the N.T. Thus the marriage feast (γάμοι) is made by the king for His Son in Matt. xxii. 2 sqq.; the bride chamber is mentioned Matt. xxii. 10 (νυμφών), and the wedding garment (ἐνδύμα γάμος), xxii. 11; the sons of the bride-chamber, Mark ii. 19; the bridegroom (νυμφίος), Mark ii. 19, Matt. xxv. 1; and his friends (John iii. 29) and the bride (νύμφη) in Matt. xxv. 1 (D). In 2 Cor. xi. 2 the same symbolism occurs, ἡμοσάμην γάρ ὑμᾶς ἐνί ἄνδρι παρθένων ἀγνήν παραστῆσαι τῷ Χριστῷ: Eph. v. 25, 32, ως ἀνδρεῖς, ἀγάπατε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔγαγεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . τὸ μυστήριον τούτο μέγα ἐστίν, ἕως ἐπὶ λήγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

ἡ γυνη αὐτοῦ. Here ἡ γυνὴ is used as equivalent to ἡ μεμνημόνη (= ἡγνηκρίνη), as in Deut. xxii. 23; Matt. i. 20. In xxi. 9 of our text the τὴν γυναίκα appears to be a gloss. ἤτοιμασεν ἐαυτήν. A favourite word in our author (ix. 7, 15; xii. 6, xvi. 12, xxi. 2 (viii. 6)). Only the destruction of the Anti-Christian kings and nations, the casting of the Beast and the False Prophet into the lake of fire (xix. 11-21), and the chaining of Satan in the abyss (xx. 1-3), must intervene before the actual bridal, before the full spiritual communion of Christ and His Church is accomplished in the descent of the Holy City in xxi. 9 sqq.

καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται βύσσονον = "And it had been given unto her that she should array herself in fine linen." This privilege was already accorded to the martyr Church in vi. 11. περιβάλλεσθαι βύσσονον, ἵματα, στολάς are favourite expressions in our author: cf. iii. 18, vii. 9, 13, x. 1, xviii. 16, etc. Our author uses also the phrase ἐνδύομαι βύσσονα: cf. 14, xv. 6 (?). In the words ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται κτλ., and in the preceding clause ἤτοιμασεν ἐαυτήν, we have presented God's part and man's part in the work of redemption: cf. Phil. ii. 12-13, τὴν δακτύλιν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζομαι, θεος γάρ ἵστιν ὁ ἐνεχώρη ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλει καὶ τὸ ἐνεχώρησεν. The words καὶ ἐδόθη . . . καθαρὸν could be taken as part of the martyrs' song. But both the context and the parallelism are in favour of regarding them as a remark of the Seer.

βύσσονον: cf. 14, xviii. 12. Here used as a noun, as in Dan. (LXX) x. 5. On the meaning of this "fine linen" see note on iii. 5, vi. 11, vol. i. p. 184 sq.

λαμπρὸν καθαρὸν: cf. xv. 6. The vesture of the saints stands out in strong contrast with that of the Harlot in xvii. 4, xviii. 16.

[τὸ γάρ βύσσονον τὰ δικαίωμα τῶν ἀγίων ἐστίν.] This is
regarded by some scholars as the close of the anthem: if so, it is a prosaic one. Of course it might be urged that it does not come from the heavenly choir, but is an explanation of the Seer himself, as the preceding clause itself appears to be. But this can hardly be maintained. As we have seen in the note on xiv. 13, the righteous acts (so δικαιώματα: cf. xv. 4; Rom. v. 18; 1 Bar. ii. 19) of the saints are regarded by our author as the manifestation of the inner life and as practically identical with character—the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. Neither his righteous acts nor his character are to be regarded as the garment of the soul of the martyrs; for, though they had already this character they are described as without such garments for a time, even in heaven: see vi. xi. As a fitting clothing of the souls of the martyrs, God assigns them spiritual bodies, vi. xi (see note), which in iii. 5 (see note) and here are described as white garments or shining pure garments. The individuals also who compose the Church or Bride at this period are the martyrs. If this view is right, then $8^b$ is a gloss. In a limited sense it is a correct gloss, since the spiritual bodies will be in keeping with the character or righteous acts of the saints.

Alford regards the entire verse as an explanation of the Seer. But the objections to $8^b$ hold nevertheless.

9$^b$–10. This passage, which is in part a doublet of xxii. 8–9 but rewritten and given quite a different meaning, is bracketed as an interpolation.

1. The clause ὁδιῶν οἱ λάγων οἱ διηθυνοὶ τῶν θεοῦ εἰσίν (9) is rather inept here, seeing that the words referred to are the triumphant songs of the angels and martyrs in heaven. In xxii. 6, on the other hand, they are full of significance, coming in as they do at the close of the Book and giving it a solemn attestation. In xxi. 5 the authenticity of the phrase can hardly be maintained.

2. xix. 10 is in part a doublet of xxii. 8–9. This fact in itself is only of importance when combined with others.

3. xix. 10 is rewritten from xxii. 8–9 by the editor and given a less general meaning. In xxii. 8–9 the angel is a fellow-servant of the prophets and of all Christians. In xix. 10 he is a fellow-servant only of the prophets and those endowed with the prophetic spirit.

4. If xix. 10 were original, the action of the Seer in xxii. 8–9, in again prostrating himself before the angel, would be incomprehensible. But if xix. 10 is an interpolation, then xxii. 8–9 is intelligible and in its right context at the close of the Book.

5. προσκυνήσας αὐτῷ (10) is not used elsewhere in our author of simple homage or even of a ἐρωτευόμενος τῶν ἄγγελων (Col. ii. 18),
but only of divine worship (see note on vii. 11). We should, if this phrase were from our author's hand, have προσκυνήσαι αὐτῶν. In xxii. 8 no such breach of our author's usage is committed.

The above difficulties are against the direct authorship of the Seer. The most natural hypothesis as to their insertion here is, that they were inserted by the disciple who edited the whole work, who, though he repeats some clauses from John's own hand, supplements them with others from his own. This hypothesis would explain the misuse of the phrase προσκυνήσαι αὐτῷ in this context, and the addition of the final clause ἢ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ ἐστίν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας. For this clause gives the preceding one, τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, a new meaning. In itself the latter means the whole body of believers generally, but when the last clause of 10 is added it means the limited body of Christian prophets. By this gloss the exact parallelism of xix. 9-10 with xxii. 8-9 is destroyed, for there the angel represents himself as the servant of the prophets and the whole Christian community.

The beatitude is the fourth of our author's seven beatitudes. But there is a difficulty in κεκλημένοι; for throughout the Millennial Reign all men alike are “called” to share in the kingdom: cf. xiv. 7, xv. 4, xxii. 17. There is no blessedness in being called (cf. Luke xiv. 24, οὐδὲ τε ἐκλεκτός καὶ ἐκλεγέται, ἀλλ' ἐκλεγέται), unless a man accepts the call and is found faithful—is “chosen” ἐκλεκτός and found faithful πιστός (cf. xvii. 14). The words of our Lord can hardly have been unknown to our Seer; πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν κλητοὶ, ἀλλ' ἔγειρε ἐκ ἐκλεκτοῖ (Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14). But κεκλημένοι has not this technical meaning here, but simply that of “invited.” Here, as in Matt. xxii. 2 sq., the guests and the Bride are one and the same. But, though the guests or the faithful might (as Israel in the O.T. in relation to Yahweh) be rightly designated the Bride, as, for example, in xxii. 9 (cf. Eph. v. 27), at the beginning of the Millennial Kingdom, since the words Bridegroom and Bride symbolize the close relation between Christ and the Church at all times, yet the realization of the things so symbolized is always partial and imperfect till the number of the saints is complete. Hence not till then has the time come for the Wedding Feast and for the Bride to become the Wife of the Lamb. It is to this feast, therefore, that the faithful are “invited”; and all such as are then invited naturally accept, for they are all saints. So the writer of 4 Ezra ii. 38-41 rightly connects the Marriage Supper and the completion of the roll of the saints: “Videte numerum signatorum in convivio Domini.
Qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt, splendidas tunicas a Domino acceperunt. Recipe, Sion, numerum tuum .•. Filiorum tuorum .•. plenus est numerus .•. populus tuus, qui vocatus est ab initio.” As Dalman (Words of Jesus, 118 sq.) points out, κεκλημένοι = εἰς ἑτέρα: cf. Babba Bathra, 75b: “those who are invited go up to the Jerusalem of the age to come”; Midr. Tehill. 14', where Jacob is “invited to the heavenly banquet” (ἔτιμον ἡμῖν). With the beatitude in our text cf. μακάριος ὅσις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke xiv. 15).

κεκλημένοι. καλεῖν always means “to name” in our author except here and in xvii. 14, where the meaning our author attaches to κλητοί is seen from its context: κλητοί καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ. These here are three epithets refer to the same persons.

οὕτως οἱ λόγοι οἱ ἀληθινοί τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσίν. See 1 in the note on 9b-10.

10. ἔπεσα ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ: cf. xxii. 8. πίπτειν followed immediately by such phrases as πρὸς τ. πόδας, i. 17, ἐνώπιον, iv. 10, v. 8, vii. 11, ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, xi. 16, is used of the divine worship of God or the Lamb. Hence in ἔπεσα ἐμπροσθεν τ. ποδῶν αὐτοῦ the same worship seems implied. It is strange that the phrase προσκυνέων ἐμπροσθεν is used simply of homage. See note on xxii. 8.

προσκυνήσαι αὐτῷ. On this usage (contrary to that of our author) see 5 in the note on 9b-10 and vii. 11 note.

ἄρα μὴ . . . ἀδελφῶν σου. See xxii. 9, where these words occur in their right context.

τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. This phrase is found already in xii. 17. It is certainly in the phraseology of our author. Cf. vi. 9, τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, and i. 2, 9, xx. 4, where we have the phrase ἡ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ. In τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ the question arises whether we have in Ἰησοῦ the subjective or objective genitive, i.e. the testimony borne by Jesus, or the testimony which men bear to Jesus. The former, according to i. 2, xii. 17, means the sum of the revelation made by him, and should naturally be the meaning of the phrase here. But the words that follow, ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ κτλ., require us to make them mean “the witness to Jesus.” Hence it follows that the γὰρ is here to be taken in an explanatory sense: “now the witness to Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.” Thus the angel declares that he is the fellow-servant of John, and of those who share with him the prophetic spirit. This is not the meaning of the parallel passage in xxii. 10.

There is, however, the possibility that ἡ γὰρ μαρτυρία . . . προφητείας may have been a marginal gloss on τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, which was subsequently incorporated in the text. It certainly comes in very awkwardly after τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον.
It should have preceded it. If this clause was a gloss, then the words συνδουλος σοι· ειμι καὶ των διδωλων... ιησου and xxii. 9ab would be practically equivalent in meaning. Even so, many of the objections to the originality of xix. 9b-10 still remain.

11-21. Cf. xiv. 14, 18-20, and xvi. 13-16 for proleptic accounts of this destruction of the kings and the nations by Christ and His angels. See note on 14. 11-21 deals with the victory of Christ and His angels over the Beast, the False Prophet, and the kings of the earth. With this victory of the Messiah cf. i Enoch lxii. 2; 2 Bar. xxxix.-xl., Ixxii.; 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 38. This destruction of the remaining active foes of the Messianic Kingdom comes in here of necessity after that judgment has been executed on Rome and before the inauguration of the Millennial reign. This corresponds to the judgment of the Sword at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom in i Enoch i. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcvi. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvii. 12. Though the destruction of the Parthian kings is foretold proleptically in xvii. 14, it is nowhere subsequently described.

11. ετθον των ουρανων ινεφιμενων: cf. Ezek. i. 1, καλανεφιθησαν οι ουρανοι; 2 Bar. xxii. 1; 3 Macc. vi. 18; Matt. iii. 16; John i. 51, οφεοθε των ουρανων ινεφιμοτα.

As we learn from what follows, it is only the nations that are hostile to Christ that are to be destroyed. For the attitude of Judaism to the Gentiles in the O.T. and Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature, see my Eschatology, 165, 246, 296, 297, 332, 361, also Sibyll. Or. iii. 740; Tob. xii. 11, xiv. 6 sq.; Test. XII. Patr. (see Index, p. 242, in my edition), and Volz, Judische Eschatologie, 322-325.

ιππος λευκως καὶ δακάθμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν: repeated from vi. 2, but the two riders are quite distinct. Here there is no question as to the personality of the present Rider. He is the Messiah—"the Word of God." The very epithets that are applied to Him have occurred before in the same connection: cf. iii. 14, ὁ μαρτυς ὁ πιστός καὶ ἀληθινός. See also i. 5, iii. 7. This same combination of epithets is used by Christ (the Logos) in xxii. 6, οὗτος οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ. For this combination of epithets cf. also 3 Macc. ii. 11. The Messiah as a man of war appears in Pss Sol. xvii. 23-27; Philo, De Praem. et Poena, 16, στραταρχαὶ καὶ πολεμῶν ἠθν... χειρότετα.

ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ. This description of the righteousness of the Messiah is brought forward very distinctively in Isa. xi. 3 sq.: "He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes... but with righteousness shall he judge (העון ושם) the poor, and reprove with equity the meek of the earth. 5. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins and faithfulness the girdle of his reins." In i Enoch he is designated as "the Righteous One."
(xviii. 2), "the Righteous and Elect One" (liii. 6), "the Elect One of righteousness and faith" (xxix. 6). Cf. also Pss. Sol. xvii. 31, ἐκεῖθεν . . . ἔθην ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ: also in 35 he is described as a βασιλεὺς δικαίως καὶ διδακτός ὑπὸ θεοῦ: cf. also 36, 41: Ps. xcvi. 13; Acts xvii. 31.

18. οἱ δὲ ἀφθαρμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φίλοι πυρὸς. Repeated from i. 14: cf. ii. 18.

ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ διαθήματα πολλά. Here as always, except in xii. 1, our author uses ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ and not ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. See note on Introd. to xii., vol. i. p. 300 sq. As King of kings (16) the Messiah wears many diadems. The Dragon (xiii. 3) and the Beast (xiii. 1) wear respectively seven and ten. According to i Macc. xi. 13, Ptolemy wore two diadems on entering Antioch—one for Egypt and one for Asia.

19. [ἐξων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον δ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτῶς.] Though the diction is Johannine (on ἐξών . . . γέγραμμένον cf. 16, and with δ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν cf. ii. 17) this clause appears to be interpolated. The objections are three. First, there is a break in the thought. We should not expect a reference to the name here in the midst of a description of the person and dress. Moreover, the statement that no one knows His name save Himself is flatly contradicted in the next verse (13b), where the words καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ cannot be explained away (see note in loc.). Finally, by the omission of this clause the parallelism is restored.

12. οἱ δὲ ἀφθαρμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φίλοι πυρός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ διαθήματα πολλά,

13. καὶ περιβεβλημένως ἰμάτιον βεβαμμένον ἀματε,

καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.

The interpolated line may have originated in a marginal gloss. We have now to inquire what meaning can be attached to this gloss. Some interpreters have thought the unknown designation to be δ κύριος, Phil. ii. 11; others (as Ewald and Volkmar) have taken it to be the tetragrammaton; others a really mysterious name known only to Christ Himself, comparing ii. 17, ὄνομα καὶ νόμον γεγραμμένον δ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ δ λαμβάνων, and iii. 12. As regards this last interpretation scholars are again divided. Swete is of opinion that all created beings are excluded from the knowledge of this name. Alford thinks that the knowledge of this name is withheld till the final and complete union of Christ and His Church. In favour of this view we might compare Asc. Isa. ix. 5: "This is . . . the Lord Christ, who will be called Jesus in the world, but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body." Others, as Bousset, that this knowledge is withheld because of the power that attaches to such knowledge. The Messiah alone has a name which carries
with it power over heaven and earth, and as no one knows this name but Him, so He is the sole possessor of the power bound up with the name. This last interpretation belongs undoubtedly to the reign of magic, and is found among the Gnostics. This idea underlies Gen. xxxii. 29 and Judg. xiii. 17 sq. It was a very widespread idea among many ancient nations that the man who knew the name of a god or a demon possessed certain powers over him. Hence the name was concealed: cf. Heitmüller, _Im Namen Jesu_, 162 sqq.; Giesebrecht, _Gottesname_, 23, 45, 100 (the last reference is from Gunkel’s _Genesis_9, p. 362; Jevons, _Introd. Hist. Religion_, p. 361).

_18. καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἰμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι._ This clause has created no little difficulty. But, if we hold fast to the following facts, the difficulty can be surmounted. The first is that in the leader of the heavenly hosts we have to do—not with the Slain One, but the Slayer. The Word of God has come to execute divine judgment. Hence the idea that the blood on His Vesture is His own (cf. i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14, xii. 11) cannot be entertained. When our author wishes to express a thought of this nature, he speaks of the ἑλπίς... ὡς ἐσφαγμένον (v. 6). Now this being so, how are we to explain the ἰμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι? In whose blood is the vesture of the Divine Warrior dipped? If it is not His Own, no more is it that of the kings of the earth and their armies (15, 18); for the judgment of the sword as regards these has not yet begun, and the garments of the heavenly armies are still white and pure (14). A comparison with Isa. lxiii. 1–3—which passage is in the mind of our author—confirms this conclusion: “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with red garments from Bozrah?... 2. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? 3. I have trodden the winepress alone... yea, I trod them in my anger... and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments.” Here the redness of the garments is due to the blood of those who have already been slain, exactly as in our text. Since, therefore, the redness of the vesture in 13 is not due to the warfare in 11–21, there remains only one other possible explanation, and this is that _the blood on His vesture is that of the Parthian kings and their armies, whom He had already destroyed, and whose destruction had already been prophetically prophesied in xvii. 14._ In this strife He was supported by the glorified martyrs (οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ κτλ.).

_ἵματον βεβαμμένον αἵματι._ These words are freely based on Isa. lxiii. 3, ἵνα τίνι ἐν αἷ̄μι (="and their blood is sprinkled on my garments"). Here βεβαμμένον (ΑQ, etc.) is to be accepted and not βεβαστισμένον, ἔφραμμένον, or the other variants from
and po. VTl(10; for, whereas both these latter verbs are used in the LXX to render "nu (the Hebrew verb in Isa. lxxiii. 3), and whereas Aquila and Symmachus do render it by βαντίζω in Isa. lxxiii. 3, but no translator ever renders it by βάπτυς, it follows that, though there were possible grounds for changing βασαμαμένων into ἐρραμμένων, there were none for changing βασαμαμένων from the standpoint of Isa. lxxiii. 3, whence the idea was derived. Our author thus deals freely with Isa. lxxiii. 3. That such a free reproduction was not unknown in Judaism we might infer from the late Palestinian Targum on Gen. xhx. 1,, which recounts the victory of the Messiah over His enemies: “How beauteous is the king Messiah, who is about to arise from the house of Judah. He hath bound his loins and gone forth to war against those that hate him: kings and princes shall be slain: he will make red the rivers with the blood of their slain ... his garments will be dipped in blood (הזכאש ממענך נבאסר).”

καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. This line has been taken by Volter, Spitta, Hilgenfeld, Bousset, and others to be the addition of a scribe or reviser. Now it is manifest that either 12° (ὅνομα ... δ οδεῖς οἶδεν κτλ.) or the present clause must be of this nature. But, whereas we found that 12° was open to serious objections on various contextual grounds, no objection of such a nature can be brought against the present clause, which accordingly comes from the hand of our author. We have here another of the numerous instances of community of diction between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, in many of which there is no community of meaning. For the Logos here is a Warrior, and our text reminds us of Wisd. xviii. 4-25, especially of xviii. 15, δ' παντόδυναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' ὀθρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλεῶν ἀπότομος πολεμιστής εἰς μέσον τῆς διαθήκης ἡλικτο γῆς ξίφος ἐξ ἐν τῆν ἀντικήρου ἐπιταγήν σου φέρων. We might compare also the later Jewish conception, ἔγν and δ' λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in Heb. iv. 12. Although the ideas underlying the words are different, in the latter passage this word is said to be “sharper than any two-edged sword.”

καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα κτλ. To 14° conjoined with 16° we have remarkable parallels in xvii. 14, but there the enemies of the Lamb are the Parthian kings, who are also referred to in xvi. 12. Here we have a conflict on a larger scale, as in xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 13-16. See notes on xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 12-16, xvii. 14. A study of the chief passages (ii. 26-27, xiv. 14, 18-20, xvi. 12-16, xvii. 14, xviii., xix. 11-21) dealing with the destruction of the world powers helps us to understand the expectations of the Seer as to (a) the order in which the world powers were to be destroyed before the Millennium, and (b) the nature of the heavenly armies which destroyed these powers.
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(a) The destruction of Rome was to come first, next that of the Parthians, and finally that of the remaining hostile powers. —In xiv. 8–11 the destruction of Rome is foretold, followed immediately (for xiv. 12–13 belongs after xiii. 15 or 18) by that of the hostile nations, xiv. 14, 18–20. The same sequence of events is found in xviii. (the destruction of Rome) and xix. 11–21 (that of the hostile nations). But the sequence of events can be determined more definitely. Thus in xvi. 12 the forces led by the Parthian kings are clearly distinguished from those of the remaining hostile nations in xvi. 13–16; and that these two divisions of the hostile heathen world, which survived the destruction of Rome, were to be separately destroyed, we infer from xvii. 14, according to which, immediately after the destruction of Rome, Christ and His armies would destroy its destroyers, i.e. the Parthians.

(b) The heavenly armies were to be composed of angels and (in certain cases if not in all) of the glorified martyrs.—The armies of the Word of God are described in xix. 14 (τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐν τῶν ὀρανσί... ἐφ᾽ ἵππων λευκών). In xiv. 14, 18–20 the presence of these heavenly horsemen is presupposed in xiv. 20 (ἀχοὶ τῶν καθὼν τ. ἱππων). So far as these passages go, we should conclude that the heavenly armies were composed of angels. But this is not so. Quite clearly in xvii. 14 it is stated that the armies of the Lamb will be “the called and elect and faithful,” a description which cannot be applied to angels. Now since this war of the Lamb on the Parthians is subsequent to the destruction of Rome, and therefore to the universal martyrdom of the faithful, it follows that this army is composed of the glorified martyrs, who had come down from heaven with Christ for that purpose. That they should share in this task we have already learnt from ii. 27, where of the individual martyr (ὁ νικῶν) it is stated πολεμᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰδίῳ στίχωρα, the very words, which in xix. 15 are used of Christ Himself. That the martyrs take part in the judgment of all the hostile nations cannot be affirmed in so many words, though the comparison of πολεμᾷ κτλ. in both ii. 27 and xix. 15 points probably to this conclusion. Moreover, the comparison of xvii. 14 (where Christ is called κύριος κυρίων καὶ βασιλεῖς βασιλέων, and His army is composed of glorified martyrs) and of xix. 14, where His followers are the armies of heaven and His name is βασιλεῖς βασιλεῶν κ. κύριος κυρίων (16'), may point in the same direction.

Some of the chief expectations of our Seer relative to the judgment of the hostile nations may be briefly summarized as follows.

The Parthian kings are referred to in xvi. 12, xvii. 12–13, 17, 16, and their destruction by the Lamb and the glorified martyrs
in xvii. 14 sq. The other hostile kings of the world are mentioned: their gathering to Armageddon in xvi. 13–16, and their destruction by One like a son of man, xiv. 14, 18–20, by the Word of God with the armies of heaven in xix. 11–21. In these last two passages the Divine Leader is said to tread the winepress of the wrath of God (xiv. 19, xix. 15). Finally, at the close of the Millennial Kingdom there is the destruction of the unrepentant nations by fire sent down from heaven, xx. 7–10.

For the idea of armies in heaven cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; 2 Enoch xvii.; 2 Esdr. xix. 6, soi προσκυνοῦσιν αἱ στρατεύεται τῶν συμμάχων (where the armies are the stars); Matt. xxvi. 53.

The heavenly armies, which are not definitely mentioned in the parallel account (xiv. 14, 18–20) but are implied in the words ἄξιοι τῶν χαλικών τῶν ἑπτάν, have descended with Christ from heaven. In ii. 27 (see note), xvii. 14 (see notes) they appear to be the faithful: in ii. 27 the foes they destroy are the hostile nations generally: in xvii. 14 the Parthian kings.

ἐνθεσμοί ὑπόσινον λευκῶν. For the phrase cf. i. 13, xv. 6.

16. In 15thc are combined thoughts and words which are drawn from Isa. xi. 4 and Ps. ii. 9. But this combination is already found in Pss. Sol.

xvii. 26. ἕκτρεψαι ὑπερθερμανόν ἄμαρτωλῶν ὡς σκέφθη κεραμέως, ἐν βαβδῷ σιδηρᾷ συντρίψαι πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῶν,

27. ὁλοθρεύσαι ἐθνον παράνομα ἐν λόγῳ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

39. πατάξει γὰρ γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευέται ρομφαία ἁζεία: cf. i. 16, ii. 12.

ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἐθνη. From Isa. xi. 4, καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι διὰ χειλῶν ἀνελεῖ ἄσεβῆ, cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 26–27, 39 (quoted above). Wisd. xviii. 22, ἐνίκησε τὸν ὄχλον οὐκ ἤφθασε τοῦ σώματος οὐχ ὅπλων ἐνεργεία ἀλλὰ λόγῳ τὸν κολάζοντα ὑπέταξεν: 1 Enoch lxxii. 2, “The word of his mouth slays all the sinners.” All these passages imply that the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of the Messiah is simply a figure for forensic or judicial condemnation.

καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν βαβδῷ σιδηρᾷ: cf. ii. 27 (see note), xii. 5. From Ps. ii. 9. The αὐτὸς in this and the next clause is emphatic. Neither here nor in ii. 27, xii. 5 has ποιμανεῖ a favourable meaning.

In these three passages it connotes punishment and destruction. Contrast, on the other hand, its meaning in vii. 17. See note on ii. 27. Hence render “break them with an iron rod.”

καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν λῆμνον κτλ. Here, though accompanied by hosts of angelic warriors, the action of the Messiah alone is dwelt upon, just as in xiv. 19 sq. and in similar words. Only here and in xiv. 19–20 is the λῆμνος of divine judgment spoken of in our
author. The two ideas of the winepress (xiv. 19) and the cup of wrath (xiv. 10) are here combined, and mean that from the winepress trodden by Christ flows the wine of the wrath of God, of which his enemies are to be made to drink. It is a case of mixed metaphors.

16. [ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ] ἐπὶ τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ κτλ. Of this text there is no satisfactory explanation. Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, and Holtzmann think that the title is inscribed on the girdle; Swete, that “it is displayed on His habit where it falls over the thigh”; Grotius imagines a sword on the hilt of which the name was inscribed. Wellhausen, recognizing the unintelligibleness of the text, proposes ἰππὸν instead of ἱμάτιον and makes the αὐτοῦ refer to the ἰππὸν. Horses were branded on the thigh amongst the Greeks: see Wetstein in loc. But the idea of such an inscription on a horse cannot be entertained. If, therefore, we are to gain any satisfactory meaning here, we can only do so by following our chief Uncial A, Cassiodorus, and some Ethiop. MSS, which omit the words I have bracketed above. If A is right, the chief Syriac Version (s1) would probably be the first stage in the interpolation of the text; for s1 here places the two phrases ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ and ἐπὶ τ. μηρὸν αὐτοῦ side by side without the connecting καὶ. Thus the first phrase would appear to have originated in a marginal gloss owing to 13* (περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον κτλ.). The final stage in the corruption of the text is that which all the remaining authorities attest. At this stage the first αὐτοῦ is omitted and the καὶ inserted.

Our text now runs ἐπὶ τ. μηρὸν αὐτοῦ. For the occasional appearance of names and inscriptions on the thighs of statues we have evidence in Greek and Roman authors (see Wetstein from whom these quotations are derived). Thus in Cicero, Verr. iv. 43, we find: “Signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femore literulis minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum.” Also in Pausanias, Eliae. extr., τὸ ἀνάθημα . . . ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν . . . ἐλεύθερων δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ: “Justinus (4 cent. A.D. ?), xiv. 4, 5: Figura anchorae, quae in femore Seleuci nata cum ipso parvulo fuit. 9. Originis ejus argumentum etiam in posteris mansit, siquidem filii nepotesque ejus anchoram in femore veluti notam generis naturalem habuere.”

The Seer sees in the vision the Divine Warrior and His heavenly horsemen—not halting but sweeping downward from heaven and onward against the serried armies of the Beast, False Prophet, and the kings of the earth, and, as they thunder along, their garments stream behind them, and so on the thigh of the Leader is disclosed the name: “King of kings and Lord of lords.”

βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κτλ. See note on xvii. 14.

17-91. An angelic summons to all the birds of prey to
hasten to the scene of slaughter of all the mighty of the earth. The overthrow and final doom of the Beast and the False Prophet.

17. ἔνα (cf. viii. 13) ἄγγελον ἐστώτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ. What was the original idea underlying this phrase is unknown. It is generally explained that the angel took this central position in mid heaven in order to deliver from thence his message of victory and his summons to the birds of prey.

καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note on xiv. 15.

This passage is clearly based on Ezek. xxxix. 17, where the LXX reads εἰπόν παντὶ ὅρνεός τοῖς πετείνοντες ὕψος χεῖρας καὶ σάρκας ἱερέων. This is our text with ἅλλα δρόμους. 20. καί . . . ἀπὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν with ἀπὶ τῶν καθημένων in Ezek. xxxix. 20.

Our author here borrows his imagery from the slaughter wrought by God in Ezek. xxxix., and yet the final overthrow of Gog and Magog in our author is adjourned to the close of the Millennial reign in our author.

to δεινόν τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ. See Gressmann, Ursprung der Israelit. jiid. Eschatologie, 136–141.

18. τῶν καθημένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. Here the reading αὐτῶν (PQ min. om. PQR) is to be followed. A with two cursive and Ν reads respectively αὐτοῖς and αὐτοῖς—which are both corrupt. Cf. 19, 21. ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων. See note on xiii. 16. μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων. See note on xiii. 16.

19–21. The Beast, the False Prophet, and the kings of the earth overthrown and cast into the lake of fire.

19. τὸ θηρίον—i.e. Nero-anticrist. See xi. 7 (note), xiii. 3 (note on various stages of the Neronic myth).

tοὺς βασιλείας τῆς γῆς: cf. xiv. 14, 18–20 (though not here specifically mentioned), xvi. 14 (note), xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3. These are to be carefully distinguished from the Parthian kings, xvi. 12, xvii. 12–13, 17, 16, who are destroyed by the Lamb (and the glorified martyrs). See also note on 14 above.

τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν. For αὐτῶν A and a few cursive read αὐτοῖς. This is perhaps right. Though they are the subjects of the kings, they are the armies of the Beast.

συνηγμένα ποιήσαι τὸν πόλεμον. For the diction cf. xvi. 14, 16, xx. 8.
τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτοῦ. Though the heavenly army is described in the plural as στρατεύματα, it is here very significantly described as a single host. While the opposing hosts of evil are moved by a variety of conflicting aims, the heavenly host is actuated by one only.

20. With the Beast and the False Prophet we might compare Ahriman and Azi-Dahâka in the Zend religion, which influenced Judaism from the East. Cf. De la Saussaye, Lehrb. d. Religionsgeschichte, ii. 206 (ii. 226 in 3rd ed.): "Zuletzt bleibt noch der Kampf zwischen himmlischen und hollischen Geistern übrig. Alle Ameshas Spentas ringen da mit ihren teuflischen Gegeneschöpfen und vernichten sie ganzlich: Ahriman selbst und die Schlange Azhi zu bandigen, wird die Sache Mazdas und Sraosha's sein. Als Priester erheben sich die beiden Gotter, mit Gebet und Gebetschnur überwaltigen sie die Bösen und stürzen sie und ihr Versteck in den glühenden Strom. Dann ist die Welt vollkommen rein, das Universum nur von Mazdas Wesen erfüllt, und alles, was lebt, geht in die Unsterblichkeit und himmlische Vollkommenheit ein (Bahman Yasht, 43; Bundehesh, 30)." See also Boklen, Die Verwandtschaft d. jud.-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie, 127 sqq.

ἐπιάδοθι. The Attic form of this verb is πίεξω, but in late Attic πιάξω is also found. The classical meaning was to press, weigh down, stifle, etc. But its later meaning, as here, is to seize, lay hold of. πιάξω, which occurs only here in our author, is a favourite word in the Fourth Gospel, being found there eight times and only four times throughout the rest of the N.T. (one of these being in Luke vi. 38, where it retains the ancient classical form and meaning).

ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης. See xiii. 11 sqq. notes, xvi. 13, xx. 10. The False Prophet represented the priesthood of the Imperial cult, which practised all kinds of magic and imposture to beguile men to worship the Beast.

ἐπιλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα κτλ. Only those who had received this mark were an easy prey to the False Prophet. On the τὸ χάραγμα see note on xiii. 16: cf. xiv. 9 sqq., xvi. 2 (note), xx. 4.

προσκυνοῦτας τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ. Though weakly attested Ν* 28, 39), this seems to be the right reading: see note on vii. 11. Possibly the dative is right. In that case the text would mean that divine worship was actually offered to the image.

τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς: cf. xx. 10, xxi. 8. On this final abode of punishment for Satan, the Beast, the False Prophet, and wicked men, see note on ix. 1.

τῆς κατοικίας ἐν θείῳ. The genitive here can only be explained as a slip on the part of the writer. Contrast xxi. 8—τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ
kai ὡμένην. On ἐν θείῳ in this conjunction cf. xiv. 10, xx. 10, xxi. 8.

§ 1. οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν κτλ., i.e. the kings of the earth and their armies. These kings and their armies had been affected by the Caesar-worship: cf. xiv. 9 sq. They were not, like the Beast and the False Prophet, cast forthwith into Gehenna. Their physical life was destroyed by the sword, i.e. by the sword of the Word of God (cf. ver. 15), and their spirits no doubt consigned to Hades. In the judgment all the dead are raised (xx. 12), and then death and Hades and all the wicked are cast into the lake of fire (xx. 14-15). In the Test. of Hezekiah—a work incorporated in the Ascension of Isaiah, i.e. iii. 13b–iv. 18, and written before 100 A.D.—a different sequence is anticipated: Asc. Isa. iv. 14, "The Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven . . . and He will drag Beliar (i.e. the Antichrist) into Gehenna and also his armies."

CHAPTER XX. 1–3.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Contents.—Now that Rome has fallen (xviii.), the hostile nations been destroyed, and the two Beasts cast into the lake of fire (xix. 19–20), there remains no obstacle to the manifestation of the kingdom save the presence of Satan still on earth. Hence to his activities an end is put by his being cast down into the abyss and chained there for 1000 years (xx. 1–3). The destinies of Satan are determined by the chief events in the life of Christ. In xii. Satan’s expulsion from heaven is connected with the birth and ascension of Christ. On the earth, as he had only a short time, he raged furiously against Christ’s followers, but on Christ’s Second Advent and His overthrow of Satan’s agents, Satan too is cast down from the earth into the abyss and the Millennial Kingdom established. At the close of this kingdom Satan is loosed from the abyss and finally conquered and cast into the lake of fire, and the new heaven and the new earth appear, wherein is the joint throne of God and the Lamb.

That xx. 1–3 comes from our author’s hand there can be no doubt, as the diction and idiom prove.

§ 2. Diction and idiom.

1. ἀπὸν ἄγγελον καταβιάντων ἐκ τοῦ ὀδρατοῦ. The whole clause has already occurred in x. 1, xviii. 1, and the last four words also in iii. 12, xvi 21, xxi. 2, 10.

thren κλέαν τῆς ἄβυσσου: cf. ix. 1.
2. τὸν δράκοντα ὁ ὀφίς ὁ ἄρχαιος. The same words in the same characteristic and anomalous construction have already occurred in xii. 9. ὁς ἄτινι Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Cf. xii. 9, ὁ καλοῖμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. ἔθησαν αὐτὸν. Cf. ix. 14, δεδεμένους.

3. ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. For this use of βάλλειν cf. ii. 10, viii. 5, 7, 8, xii. 9, xix. 20, etc. ἐκλεισεν: cf. iii. 7, 8, xi. 6, xxi. 25. ἐσφράγισεν—seven times elsewhere in our author. ἐπάνω: cf. vi. 8. ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑδάτη: cf. xiii. 14, xii. 9. ἀρχι σὺμ πολύ—a rare use: cf. 5, vii. 3, xv. 8. τελεσθῇ: cf. 5, 7, 7, 7, xv. 1, 8.

§ 3. Order of words.—Wholly Semitic.

1-3. The binding of the Dragon in the abyss for 1000 years.

1. καὶ εἶδον.—See note on iv. 1. τὴν κλείστην ἄβυσσον. See notes on i. 18, ix. 1. The abyss is regarded only as a temporary abode of punishment. Satan is finally cast into the lake of fire, xx 10.

ἄλοιπον μεγάλην. ἄλοιπος seems to be used here to denote a chain or bond by which the body is bound. In Mark v. 4 and frequently elsewhere it signifies hand fetters as opposed to ἱππ. See note of Lightfoot on Phil, p. 8. ἐπὶ τὴν χειρὰ. It is hard to explain the use of ἐπὶ here. The best parallel is to be found in v. 1, ἐπὶ τὴν δεξίαν . . . βιβλίον. But in this latter case the idea implied is that the book is lying on the palm of the hand. It is perhaps best to regard the present instance as a loose use of ἐπὶ, which does not admit of any exact explanation. It is practically here equivalent to ἐν (cf. i. 16 with i. 20), and indeed ἐν is read here by κ 38 syr. 1-2. Another difficult use of ἐπὶ, but with the dative, occurs in xxii. 16, where, however, the best authorities have ἐν.

2. τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὀφίς ὁ ἄρχαιος. For a like anacolouthon cf. i. 5. See note on xii. 9 on the identification of the old serpent and the devil. Gunkel on Gen. iii. i maintains that the text there implies that originally the serpent was an evil demon hostile to God and man and possessing a snakelike form. He further points out in support of this view that in 2 Kings xviii. 4 divine worship is offered to a snakelike form by the faithless Israelites, and that heathen gods and demons were frequently so conceived in the ancient world. ἔθησαν αὐτὸν χιλία ἑτη. This idea of binding the powers of evil in prison for an undefined period is already found in Isa. xxiv. 22, and of their final judgment in xxiv. 23. These powers consist of the host of heaven and the kings of the earth. This idea of the angels and the kings of the earth being judged together reappears in 1 Enoch liii. 4-1iv. 5, and the idea of the binding of the fallen angels in a place of temporary punishment
till the day of the final judgment is found in 1 Enoch xviii. 12-16, xix. 1-2, xx. 1-6, from which the final place of their punishment—an abyss of fire—is carefully distinguished, x. 13-15, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, liv. 6, xc. 24-25. Their leader Azazel is bound in a place by himself (x. 4-5) as a preliminary punishment, but at the final judgment is to be cast into a place of everlasting punishment (x. 6). In nearly all cases the evil spirits are spoken of in 1 Enoch as being “bound” in a preliminary place of punishment, just as in Isa. xxiv. 22 and in our text.

In the Zend religion the same idea is found. According to the Bundehesh iii. 26 (cf. xiii. 77) the evil serpent Azi-Dahâka was smitten by Thraëtaona and fettered in the mountain Damavand for 9000 years, S.B.E. iv. 9 (note), 226, 245 sq., v. 234, 397, xviii. 110, 201, etc. He was released by Ahriman, S.B.E. v. 233-235, and reigned for 1000 years, v. 150, xxiv. 103, but was slain by Sâm or Keresasp, v. 235. After the renovation of the world there would be no Azi-Dahâka, xviii. 118. But, since these Iranian myths belong to various periods before and after the Christian era, there is no ground for tracing any direct connection.

χλια ἤη. Before the year 100 B.C. it was generally believed in Judaism that the Messianic Kingdom would last for ever on the present earth. Sometimes the conception was universalistic in character, especially in the greater prophets of the O.T., as Jeremiah, the Second Isaiah, Jonah, Malachi; but in others, as in Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, it was particularistic. The idea of the everlastingness of this kingdom on earth persisted, as we have above said, till about 100 B.C. For such it appears to be in 1 Enoch lxxiii.-xc., vi.-xxxvi., but by the date just mentioned the earth had come to be regarded in Judaism as wholly unfit for the manifestation of this kingdom except in a temporary character. The dualism which had begun to affect the religious forecasts of religious thinkers in the 2nd cent. B.C. succeeded in leavening wholly their expectations in the 1st. As a consequence of this breach between the things of earth and the things of heaven, the writers of this century were forced to entertain new conceptions of the kingdom. Hence in 1 Enoch xci.-civ., Pss. Sol. i.-xvi., the Messianic Kingdom is declared to be of temporary duration on the present earth, and the goal of the risen righteous to be not this transitory kingdom, but heaven itself after the final judgment, which from this period forwards was conceived of as taking place not at the beginning, but at the close of the Messianic Kingdom. Thus it is that the Millenium in our text, as in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, is really a late and attenuated form of the old Jewish expectation of an eternal Messianic Kingdom on the present earth. For a fuller treat-

We have next to consider the duration of this kingdom. Apparently nowhere in earlier or contemporary literature is the duration of 1000 years assigned to the Messianic Kingdom save here. Its duration is not defined in 1 Enoch xci.–civ.; Pss. Sol. xi. 1 sq.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 1–62; Jubilees xxiii. 27–29; Assumption of Moses x. 7; 2 Bar. xxix. 4–xxx. 1, xxxix. 7, xl. 3, lxxii. 2–4; 4 Ezra xiii. 32, 36. In 4 Ezra vii. 28 it is definitely said to last 400 years.

8. ἐβάλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τῷ ἄβυσσον καὶ ἐκλείσεν. On the ἄβυσσος see ix. 1, note.

ἐκλείσεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, i.e. closed the abyss and sealed it over him. Our text recalls the Prayer of Manasseh, 2–4, and the two passages are distantly connected, though our Seer has no thought of this passage nor of the myth that it presupposes.

For, whereas it is a literal Satan overcome by an angel that is presupposed in our text, it is a mythological monster that is overcome by God in the Prayer of Manasseh. What was originally a mythological idea concerning the uprising of the Chaos monster (i.e. the sea) against God at the world’s beginning, had long ere our Seer’s time been transformed into an eschatological expectation, i.e. the rebellion of Satan against God at the world’s close, and his being cast into the abyss. The mythological idea is quite clearly set forth in the above-mentioned Prayer of Manasseh: οὐκ ἦν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ἐπιδέχομαι τὸν ἁλασσόν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ προστάγματος σου, ἐκλείσει τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ σφραγίσωμεν αὐτὴν τῷ φασιντῷ καὶ ἐνδοξῷ αὐτοῦ.

πλανήτης ἐν τῇ ζώνῃ. As he had done before: cf. xiii. 14, xvi. 13. See also xii. 9. As these words point to the future, they imply that there would still be heathen nations after the Messianic judgment executed in xix. 19–21. Now that Satan’s chief agents, the Beast and the False Prophet, were cast into the lake of fire and Satan himself bound in the abyss, the time for the Millennial reign has arrived and for the evangelization of the surviving heathen nations: see xiv. 7, xv. 4, xxii. 17. The astonishing part in our Seer’s forecast is that the preaching of the Gospel during the Millennium will only in part be successful, though the active impersonations of evil have been wholly removed from the earth for this period. The implication is that each man carries in his own bosom the possibilities of his own heaven and his own hell.

ὅτι: cf. i. 1, iv. 1.
XX. 4–XXII. THE TEXT INCOHERENT AND SELF-CONTRADICTORY AS IT STANDS.

XX. 4–XXII. These chapters have hitherto been a constant source of insurmountable difficulty to the exegete. They are full of confusion and contradiction if the text is honestly dealt with. And yet the Apocalypse exhibits, except in a few passages, and especially in chap. xviii., a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the first chapter to the close of xx. 3. Now this is just what we should expect in an Apocalypse which is designed to be a philosophy of history and religion from the standpoint of the author. It was a combination of vision and reflection. Though the book of a prophet did not necessarily show any structural unity or steady development of thought, it was far otherwise with the apocalyptist, in whose writings such characteristics were indispensable. While the ordinary man saw only the outside of things in all their incoherence and isolation, the apocalyptist sought 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—in fact, to lay bare their origin, course, and consummation. It was thus, in short, a Semitic philosophy of religion, and as such it was ever asking Whence? Wherefore? Whither? Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, 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 preached by the prophets.

I have emphasized these two points—structural unity and orderly development of thought to the final consummation of all things—as pre-eminently the characteristics of apocalyptic and not of prophecy or of any other form of writing in the Bible. This being so, we are all the more astonished that the three closing chapters of the Apocalypse are all but wholly wanting in these characteristics, and—so far from advancing steadily to the consummation that all the preceding chapters postulate—exhibit many incoherencies and self-contradictory elements.

To some of these I drew attention in my first edition of the Book of Enoch in 1893, where on p. 45 I wrote as follows: "We have here (i.e. Rev. xxi. 1, 2) a new heaven and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem coming down from heaven: yet in xxii. 15 all classes of sinners are said to be without the gates of the city. But if there were a new earth this would be impossible." This is only one of the many difficulties that confront the serious student of these chapters. Now to make the problem before us clear it will be best to deal shortly with a
few of the passages which make it impossible for us to accept the text as it stands.

1. In xx. 7-10, after the close of the Millennial Kingdom, Satan is loosed, and the heathen nations (Gog and Magog), which have refused to accept the Christian faith, march against Jerusalem and the camp of the saints, but are destroyed by fire from heaven. Satan also is cast finally into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented there for ever and ever. Thus the prime source of evil and his deluded followers (Gog and Magog) are removed finally from the world, and their power to influence the world for evil made impossible forever.

2. In xx. 11-15 the old earth and the old heaven are given over to annihilation. Then the final judgment takes place, and all the dead are judged according to their works, and death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire, together with all those whose names are not found written in the book of life. At this stage we have arrived at the final condemnation and destruction of all evil, together with the destruction of death itself.

3. Now that all evil and death itself are cast into the lake of fire, the new heaven and the new earth come into being, and the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and God Himself dwells with men (xxi. 1-4).

It is clear from this passage that we have arrived at the closing scene of the great world struggle between good and evil, and that henceforth there can be neither sin, nor crying, nor pain, nor death any more. In fact, there can be no place at all for these in the universe of God—the new heaven and the new earth, and the New Jerusalem that cometh down from God to the new earth.

The conclusion just arrived at is inevitable, if there is a steady development in the visions of the Seer. Now since such a development is manifest in chaps. i.-xx. 3, when certain verses and glosses are excised and a few disarrangements of the text set right—especially in xviii.—we naturally conclude that our author will not lightly fall into contradictions, even of a minor sort, in the last three chapters. But unhappily this is not our experience as we study them; and at last we stand aghast at the hopeless mental confusion which dominates the present structure of these chapters, and are compelled to ask if they can possibly come from his hand, and, in case they do, to ask further, if they have been preserved as they left his hand. But we must first justify the above statement, though we shall adduce here only the main contradictions in these chapters.

1. Inasmuch as according to our text the New Jerusalem does not come down from heaven till Satan is bound for ever in the lake of fire, and all sin and death itself are at an end, and the place of the old world has been taken by a new and glorious
world, wherein there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing, how is it that we are told that, outside the gates of the Holy City which has come down from God to the new earth, there are “the dogs and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie” (xxii. 15)? A greater contradiction in thought and statement is hardly conceivable. But, if this statement were made in connection with the Millennial Kingdom which was to be established before the Final Judgment, everything would be intelligible.

2. Again, since the new earth is inhabited only by the blessed, on whom the second death could have no effect, and since these are all righteous, and God Himself tabernacles among them, how is it that in xxii. 2 the leaves of the tree of life are said to be for the healing of the nations? This statement can have no meaning unless it applies to the period of the Millennial Kingdom. During Christ’s reign of 1000 years the surviving nations have still a further period of grace accorded to them. This evangelizing of the nations during this period has already been proclaimed in xiv. 6-7, xv. 4. It is thrice elsewhere referred to in the last two chapters, i.e. xxii. 14, 17.

3. Only on the supposition that the Millennial Kingdom is still in existence can we explain xxii. 24-27:

“And the nations shall walk by the light thereof:
And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.
And the gates thereof shall not be shut day or night.¹
And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it:
And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh an abomination or a lie;
But only they which are written in the book of life of the Lamb.”

Now from the above contradictions—the solution of which is in part already suggested—it follows either that (a) a considerable part of xx.—xxii. is not from the hand of our author, or that, (b) if it is from his hand, it is disarranged.

Now the first solution (a) is that adopted by most of the leading German scholars of the past thirty years. Thus while Volter (Die Offenbarung Johannis, 1904), Weyland (Omverkings-en Compilatie-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes, 1908), and J. Weiss (Die Offenb. des Johannes, 1908) assume that xx.—xxii. is derived from three different sources, and Spitta (Die Offenb. des Johannes, 1889) finds traces of four authors,

¹ A necessary emendation. The corruption in the text arose from the present disorder, and the influence of xxii. 5, “and there shall be no more night,” where this clause is wholly justifiable.
Erbes (Die Offenb. Johannis, 1891) and, on the whole, Bousset (1906), are content with two. Bousset, in fact, regards xx.-xxii. as the work of our author, with the exception of the fragment xxi. 9–xxii. 5.

But, even though for the time being we accepted as a working hypothesis any one of the theories of these scholars based on a plurality of authorship, we have still two insuperable difficulties to face. (a) The first of these is that the more closely we study i.–xx. 3, the more convinced we become of the structural unity of these chapters—a fact which does not exclude the occasional use and adaptation of sources—and the clear and masterly development in thought, working up steadily to a climax. This being so, how is it that xx.–xxii. shows no such orderly development, but rather a chaos of conflicting conceptions? (b) But the second difficulty is still greater. The hypotheses of the above scholars, with the partial exception of Bousset, break down hopelessly in the face of the general linguistic unity of xx.–xxii. In fact, these scholars had failed to make a thorough study of the style, vocabulary, and grammar of the Apocalypse. Bousset, it is true, has done much to compensate for the deficiencies of his predecessors in this field, but a deeper study of his materials would have precluded his assuming the existence of xxi. 9–xxii. 5 as an independent source, seeing that it is internally self-contradictory and that yet linguistically it is from the hand of our author. To the conclusion, in fact, that, with the exception of a few verses, chaps. xx.–xxii. are from the same hand to which we owe the bulk of the preceding chapters, a close and prolonged study has slowly but irresistibly brought me. If, then, this is so, we must conclude that the text in xx.–xxii. is disarranged in an astonishing degree and does not at present stand in the orderly sequence originally designed by our author.

To what cause, we must now ask, is this almost incredible disorder due? It cannot be accounted for by accidental transpositions of the text in the MSS—a phenomenon with which the students of MSS in every ancient language are familiar. For no accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in xx. 4–xxii., and apparently the only hypothesis that can account for it is that which a comprehensive study of the facts forced upon me in the beginning of 1914, and this is that John died either as a martyr or by a natural death, when he had completed i.–xx. 3 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.

This hypothesis we shall now proceed to establish by adequate proofs.
1. First of all it is a matter beyond dispute that xxii. 15, xxi. 27, which state that outside the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem evil in every form exists, but that it can in no wise pass within the gates of the Holy City, prove that the Heavenly Jerusalem here referred to was to descend before the disappearance of the first earth and the first heaven and the final judgment described in xx. 11-15. A kindred expectation is found in 4 Ezra vii. 26-28, where the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Messiah, and those who had been translated to heaven without seeing death, are to be manifested together on the earth for 400 years. The same view appears in the same work in xiii. 32-36. In this latter passage evil in every form exists outside the Heavenly City.

From later Jewish sources we are familiar with the connection of the rebuilt Jerusalem and the temporary reign of the Messiah. The advent of the Messiah determines the hour when the Temple and therefore Jerusalem should be rebuilt (Shemoth rab. c. 31). According to the Targum on Isa. liii. 5 (cf. Bammidbar rab. c. 13) the Messiah Himself was to build it.

From the above facts we conclude that in our author the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17) should have followed immediately on xx. 3 as the seat of the Messiah's Kingdom.

2. Verses xxi. 24-26, xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 assume that the nations are still upon earth, that the gospel is preached to them afresh from the Heavenly Jerusalem, that they are healed thereby of their spiritual evils, their sins washed away, that they can enter the Heavenly City and eat of the tree of life which was therein. And to this salvation they are bidden of the Spirit and the Heavenly Jerusalem (i.e. the bride, xxii. 17).

Now this expectation is derived from the Old Testament. In Zech. xiv. 16 sqq., when the blessed era sets in, the nations are to go up yearly to keep the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem. In Tob. xiv. 6 the conversion of the Gentiles is to synchronize with the rebuilding of Jerusalem in a fashion far transcending all that Seer or prophet had hitherto dreamt of—when its gates should be "built with sapphire and emerald," and all its walls "with precious stones," and its streets "paved with carbuncle and stones of Ophir" (xiii. 16-17). Similarly in 1 Enoch (161 B.C.) we find it prophesied that the conversion of the surviving Gentiles would follow on the setting up of the Holy City, which was to be done by none other than God Himself. Next, in the Test. XII Patriarchs the conversion of

1 Box, it is true, regards vii. 26, which tells of the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as an interpolation; but the evidence of our text and later Judaism supports the connection of the Messiah and the Holy City.
the Gentiles is associated with the advent of the Messiah, T. Levi xviii. 9, T. Jud. xxiv. 5, and that of the New Jerusalem in T. Dan v. 12. Like expectations are expressed in the Sibyll. Or. iii. 751–59, 767–95; 1 Enoch xlviii. 4 (where the Messiah is described as the light of the Gentiles); Pss. Sol. xvii. 27, 32.

Thus in many books in Judaism the hope is entertained, as in our text, that the Gentiles would turn to the worship of the true God, when either the earthly Jerusalem was rebuilt or a Heavenly Jerusalem set up on earth, or when the Messiah established His Kingdom upon the earth. It is true that Judaism associated this expectation with the First Advent of the Messiah; for it looked for no second. But in Christianity it was different. What had not been realized on the First Advent of Christ is, according to many a Christian prophet and Seer, as also to our author, to be realized in a far higher degree when Christ came the second time in glory.

That the conversion of the heathen nations in our text, therefore, was to be accomplished in connection with the Heavenly City, which as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom was to descend on the earth before the Final Judgment, needs no further demonstration.

3. The facts just stated in the preceding paragraph, that the Gentiles shall still be upon the earth on the advent of the Heavenly City, and have a right to enter therein, are already postulated in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse. Thus in xv. 4 we read in the song sung by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God—

"Who shall not fear, O Lord,
And glorify Thy name?
For Thou alone art holy;
For all the nations shall come
And worship before Thee;
For Thy righteous acts shall have been made manifest."

Again, in xiv. 6–7 the Seer recounts a vision in which he hears an angel proclaiming the coming evangelization of the nations of the world: 1 "And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people, saying with a great voice,

1 A somewhat analogous expectation is found in 1 Cor. xv. 23–28, where we have an account of the Messianic Kingdom. This kingdom is heralded by the resurrection of Christ: it is apparently established on Christ’s (second) Advent with the risen righteous (23). Then follows the reign of Christ, in the course of which every evil power is overthrown (24b–28). Then comes the end (the general resurrection, final judgment, the destruction of the old world and the creation of the new).
Fear God and give Him glory;
For the hour of His judgment is come:
And worship Him that made the heaven and the earth
And the sea and fountains of waters."

Now, according to the present form of the text of the last three chapters of our book, these prophecies, which definitely foretell the evangelization of the nations of the world and their acceptance of the Gospel preached, remain wholly unfulfilled. In fact, according to the present text, the nations are simply annihilated before the advent of the Heavenly City. On the other hand, if the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem as given in xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 is restored immediately after xx. 3, then these prophecies are fulfilled; for the nations, according to this account, walk by the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it, and yet outside its gates there is still evil of every kind.

4. Again, in xi. 15 we read—

"The Kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ,
And He shall reign for ever and ever."

These words quite clearly assume that the rule of God and Christ will be extended over the whole world of the nations. But, as the text at present stands, not a single nation is mentioned as being brought beneath its sway, while in the verses (xx. 9-10) that precede the description of the Final Judgment (xx. 11-15) we are led to infer that they are wholly destroyed by fire from heaven. That is one way of establishing authority over the neutral or hostile nations, but it is not God's way. We have only to read chaps. xx1.-xxii., which deal ostensibly with events occurring only after the absolute destruction of all the nations and of the first heaven and the first earth, when we discover the nations, that had presumably passed out of existence, going up in pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem, each under its own king, passing within its blessed portals, bringing their glory and honour into it, receiving spiritual healing in the Holy City, and assimilating the divine truths that make them heirs to immortality, that is, eating of the tree of life. That all the nations do not avail themselves of these privileges is plainly asserted in the text; for outside the gates are sorcerers and whore-mongers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

On this ground again we must transpose the description of the Holy City before the Final Judgment, and regard it as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

5. The city that is spiritually designated Sodom and Egypt (xi. 8) cannot be called "the beloved city" as in xx. 9, nor can
it become the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. Much less can the ruins of such a polluted city become the abode of Christ and of the risen martyrs come down from heaven to reign with Him for a thousand years.

6. Again, as we study xxi.-xxii. we discover that there are in reality two descriptions of the Heavenly City, and not one, as has hitherto been universally assumed. The Seer has two distinct visions, and they deal not with one and the same city, but with two quite distinct cities. The first (xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14-15, 17) presupposes the existence of the present earth. Thus the Seer tells how the angel, that had showed him the destruction of the great world-capital Rome in xvii., came again to him and carried him off to a great high mountain to show him the Heavenly City that was to take the place of Rome as the metropolis of the world. The very first words of the vision presuppose the co-existence of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the present earth. This city the Seer beheld coming down from heaven to earth (i.e. the first heaven and the first earth). It becomes the great spiritual centre of the world. The nations flock up to it from every side to share in its spiritual blessings, its gates are open day and night, and yet none of the evil individuals or nations that are without may enter into it (xxi. 24-27).

It is manifest that since sin, and therefore death, prevail outside the gates of the Heavenly City, the present order of things still prevails, the first heaven and the first earth are still in being.

But there is another Heavenly City (xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5) described by our author, quite distinct from that just dealt with. The angel in xxi. 9 has apparently had no direct part in mediating this new vision. The vision, just as those in xx. 1-3, 11-15, xxi. 1, seems to be independent of any angelic agency. With regard to this Heavenly City there can be no question as to the hour of its manifestation. The very first words of the text imply that the vision of the Seer has outleapt the bounds of time, when the former heaven and earth have vanished for ever. This second Heavenly City does not appear till the first heaven and the first earth have vanished and their place been taken by the new heaven and the new earth. Hence as distinguished from the first Heavenly City, it is designated "new," i.e. καγών, that is, of a new sort or quality as distinct from the first, just as the second heaven and the second earth are themselves described as "new" (καινός and καγών). This epithet is never applied to the Heavenly City described at such length in xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Sin, of course, no longer exists in this new world. Hence there is no more crying, nor mourning, nor pain, nor curse, nor death (xxi. 4-9b, xxii. 3*), though round about the first Heavenly City—close even to its very gates—sin in every form and death did
exist, and even within its stately walls sorrow for sin and repentance were never absent, for the nations of the earth flocked to it from every side to be healed of their spiritual ills and infirmities (xxi. 24-26, xxi. 2).

7. It is finally to be observed that, since the earthly Jerusalem was in ruins, and never in the opinion of the Seer to be rebuilt, a new city was of necessity to take its place as the seat of Christ's Kingdom and the abode of the blessed martyrs, who were to come down from heaven to reign for a thousand years with Him. Since this new city was to be the abode of Christ on His Second Advent from heaven, and of the martyrs coming down from heaven with Him in their glorified bodies, it follows that the new city must be from heaven also, if it was to be a fit abode for its inhabitants from heaven. Even as early as 161 B.C. (as we have already mentioned above), we have a like expectation in I Enoch xc. 28-38, where it is said in the vision that God Himself set up the New Jerusalem, to be the abode of the Messiah and the transformed and glorified Israel. A like expectation is attested in a work almost contemporary with our author, i.e. 4 Ezra, as we have already shown.

8. To the revision of John's literary executor we may probably ascribe the non-Johannine combinations τ. καθήμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν in xx. 11, where, though only A and some cursives attest this reading, they are to be followed; δ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον in xxi. 5, where, since every MS is wrong, the error must go back to the editor; τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ αἰτίας οὗ προσεκίνησαν in xx. 4, where the αἰτίας is thrust in against John's usage (see i. 5, note). Possibly the normal construction τ. λύμη τῇ καλοτρέχῃ πνεύμα καὶ θείῳ in xxi. 8 may be due to him: contrast that in xix. 20. Again in xxi. 6 instead of τῷ διψάντι δῶς ως the Johannine idiom is τῷ διψάντι δῶς αὖθις (see note in loc.).

From the above facts the conclusion is inevitable that after xx. 3 our author had intended to add a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to come down from heaven to earth and be the habitation of Christ and the martyrs that accompanied Him from heaven in their glorified bodies: and also that this very description has been preserved in certain sections of xxi.-xxii.

We have next to determine the extent of this description. Now even the cursory reader will observe that there are two accounts of the Heavenly Jerusalem in these chapters, which have been rudely thrust together by the Seer's literary executor.¹ A

¹ We might compare 2 Corinthians, which is now recognized by the learned world as consisting of two mutilated Epistles of St. Paul edited together as one, the last four chapters belonging to the earlier Epistle. In Cicero's letters Professor Purser shows that in several cases exactly the same phenomenon may be found.
close study of these chapters will show that the section xxi. 9–xxii. 2 constitutes a unity, though incomplete in itself, as we shall see presently, and gives a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to be the centre of the Millennial Kingdom. Two further fragments of this description are to be found in xxii. 14–15 and 17. This description fits in perfectly with the conditions of the Millennial reign of Christ and the martyrs for a thousand years. It is conceived of as a period of beneficent rule and evangelizing effort in regard to the surviving nations who visit the Heavenly Jerusalem and bring all their glory and honour into it. Wickedness, of course, still exists without it, but nothing that is unclean, nor any liar or abominable person, is permitted to enter into it (xxii. 15, xxi. 27).

So far the first description. But what are we to make of the second, which begins with xxi. 1? Only the disjecta membra of this description remain. Two fragments of it are recoverable in xxi. 1–4 and xxii. 3–5. These should be read together, as the first clause of xxii. 3 forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which are preserved in xxi. 4. In this second description the former heaven and earth have passed away for ever, with all the sin and sorrow and pain that prevailed on the former earth. Death itself shall be no more throughout the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 4). And whereas in the Heavenly Jerusalem that came down from God for the Millennial Kingdom the saints who had been martyred reigned only a thousand years, in the later New Jerusalem they are to reign for ever and ever (xxii. 5). It is noteworthy that even the very diction of xxi. 1–4 and of xxii. 3–5 testifies to the fact that they form part of one and the same poem. Thus ὁκ ἐσται ἐστι, which occurs three times in xxi. 1, 4, 5, recurs twice in xxii. 4 (contrast xxi. 26) and not elsewhere throughout our author. ὁκ . . . ἐστι occurs nine times in connection with other verbs. Thus while ὁκ ἐσται ἐστι is confined to xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5, it is to be observed that ὁκ . . . ἐστι is characteristic of our author in the N.T., since outside our author it occurs in the N.T. only six times and twice of these in quotations.

We have now dealt with the chief difficulties in xx.–xxii. There are, of course, many of a subordinate nature affecting the original order of the text in xxii., but they are treated shortly in the introductions to the various sections of the rearranged translation that follows. Chaps. xx.–xxii. should provisionally be read in the following order:

xx. 1–3. Vision of the chaining of Satan for a thousand years.

which comes down to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs, and the centre of a new evangelization of the nations for a thousand years.

xx. 4-6. Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.

xx. 7-10. Vision of the loosing of Satan, and the attack of Gog and Magog on the Beloved City; of the destruction of Gog and Magog, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

xx. 11-15. Vision of the great white throne; of the vanishing of the former heaven and earth; of the judgment of the dead, and of the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire.

xxi. 5a, 4d, 5b, 1-4abc, xxii. 3-5. The outworn world has vanished: God creates a new world. Vision of the new heaven and the new earth: of the New Jerusalem descending from God to the new earth, in which the saints are to reign for ever.

xxi. 5d 6b-8. Admonition of God conveyed through the Seer to his contemporaries.

xxii. 6-7, 18a, 16, 13, 12, 10. Declaration of Christ as to the truth of the words of the Seer; His assurance of His almighty power and His speedy advent; and His command to the Seer to publish the prophecy: for the time is at hand.

xxii. 8-9, 20. John’s testimony and closing words regarding Christ.¹

xxii. 21. The closing benediction.

VISION OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM.

xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17: Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and of the glorified martyrs, who are to reign with Him for 1000 years, and to be the centre of a new evangelization of the nations.

This vision forms (I.) an integral part of the Book, and (II.) is from the hand of the Seer. Since the question has already been discussed (see pp 144–154) we shall sum up shortly the evidence for the above statements.

I. The vision forms an integral part of the Book.

1. There must be a fitting seat on earth for the kingdom of Christ during the Millennial reign with the glorified martyrs in their heavenly bodies. This city while obviously supramundane, as befitting Christ and the glorified saints, must yet be accessible to the actual dwellers on the earth, as in fact it is: cf. xxi. 24–27, xxii. 14–15, 17.

2. Such a kingdom or centre of the evangelization of the heathen nations is clearly foretold in xv. 3–4, and implied in v. 10, xxii. 11, 18a-19 are most probably later additions.
xiv. 7. Without such a kingdom there would be a lacuna in the Book.

3. As one of the angels of the Seven Bowls showed the doomed city of the Antichrist to the Seer (xvii.–xviii.), so the same angel, or one of the same Seven, shows him the blessed city of the Christ (xxi. 9).

Thus so far as the subject-matter goes, the presence of this vision is indispensable.

II. It is from the hand of the Seer. Full evidence of this statement is given in the notes, but sufficient evidence will here be adduced to establish this point.

1. First, as to diction.

XXI. 9. καὶ ἡλθεν... δεῖξῃ σοι agrees exactly with xvii. 1. With φίλασ τῶν γεμώτων τῶν ἐπὶ πληγῶν cf. xv. 7. τ. νυμφήν τ. γυναικά τοῦ ἀρνίου is prepared for in xix. 7–8.

10. ἀπήγγειλεν... πνεῦματι. So also in xvii. 3. τὴν πόλιν τ. ἀγίαν Ἱερούσαλημ: cf. xxi. 2. καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τ. θεοῦ: cf. iii. 12, x. 1, xxi. 2, etc. ἔχουσαν τ. δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ (also in 23) cf. xv. 8.

11. ὃς λίθῳ ἱδοτί: cf. iv. 3, ὃμοιος... λίθῳ ἱδοτί. Now we know (see vol. i. p. 36) that our author several times uses ὃμοιος as the equivalent of ὡς. κρυσταλλίζοντα: cf. iv. 6, ὃμοια κρυστάλλῳ.


15. ὁ λαλῶν μετ’ ἀμφῳ: cf. xvii. 1.

18. οὕλῳ (ὕλος, 21): cf. οὐλόσ, iv. 6, xv. 2.

22. Observe the divine title so frequent in our Book.

23. οἱ χρείαν ἔχει: cf. iii. 17, xxi. 5. φίλοιν: cf. i. 16, viii. 12.

24. περιτατησοῦν: cf. ii. 1, iii. 4, xvi. 15.

26. τὴν δόξαν καὶ τ. τιμήν: cf. iv. 9, 11, ν. 12, 13.

27. γεγραμμένοι ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τῆς λογίας: cf. xx. 12, 15. τοῖς βεβλημέναι (cf. xxii. 8) καὶ ψεύδος: cf. xxii. 15.

XXII. 1. λαμπρόν: cf. xv. 6, xix. 8. ποταμὸν... ὃς κρύσταλλον: cf. iv. 6, ἄλασσα... ὃμοια κρύσταλλῳ, and see above on xxi. 10. ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τ. θρόνου: cf. iv. 5.


15. φαμακοὶ... εἰδωλολάτραι. For the same list of four see xxi. 8, though in a different order.


2. Technical use of idioms.

(a) Anomalous constructions: cf. xxi. 9, φίλασ τῶν γεμώτων. 14. τὸ τεῖχος... ἔχων. (b) Participle = finite verb, ἔχων = ἔχει, xxi. 12, 14: cf. iv. 1, etc. (c) Delicate distinction of our author preserved between ὃμω τῆς and ὃλων τῆς in xxii. 14,
17. This distinction is not made, so far as I am aware, in any other book before A.D. 100: cf. vii. 17, xxi. 6 on ὑπ' ἡμῶν, and ii. 7 (note) on ἡμῶν ἡμῖν. (a) Observe how the difficult phrase ὅ φαστήρ ἀδητής ἰδοιον ... λίθῳ ἴδοιοι (xxi. 11) is explained by the clause in iv. 3, ὅ καθήμενος ἰδοιον ... λίθῳ ἴδοιοι (see note on xxi. 11). (b) The use of ἰδοιον and ἰδοιον as equivalents: cf. xxi. 11, 18, where ἰδοιον is used in this sense, and xxi. 11, 21, xxi. 1, where ἰδοιον is so used. Observe also that whereas we have ὑπ' ἡμῶν δώρεαν in xxi. 17, we find ἐν ἰδοιον τῆς ἡμῶν δώρεαν in xxi. 6—a fact which points to xxi. 6 having been written subsequently to xxi. 17. (f) The order observed by our author as to numerals but nowhere else rigidly observed, is attested in every instance in this vision. Thus our author also places δώδεκα after its noun when the noun is otherwise unqualified: so also in xxi. 12 (δῆς), πυλῶνας δώδεκα, ἀγγέλους δώδεκα, and καρποὺς δώδεκα, xxi. 2; but before it when the noun has a dependent genitive: so also in xxi. 12, δωδεκα ὄνοματα τῶν δώδεκα ἄρτοις ἐστί·. Finally, when the subject of a clause consists of δώδεκα preceded by the article and followed by a noun, and the same numeral recurs in the predicate with a noun, the δώδεκα precedes the noun. So also in xxi. 21, ὅ δώδεκα πυλῶνας δώδεκα μαργαρίται. See note on viii. 2.

XXI. 9–21. An angel of the Seven Bowls shows to the Seer the Heavenly Jerusalem which is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

9. καὶ ἡλθεν ... φίλασ. Repeated from xvii. 1. φίλασ τῶν γεμόντων. This is certainly an extraordinary construction even in our author. It is best, perhaps, to explain it as an oversight. καὶ ἐλήσεν ... δεῖξον. Repeated from xvii. 1.

τὴν νύμφην [τὴν γυναῖκα] τοῦ ἀρνίου. The phrase in brackets is with Bousset to be excised. It can be explained as a marginal gloss on τ. νύμφην based on xix. 7. The great variation in the MSS points to this phrase being an intrusion.

10. καὶ ἐπήγαγεν μὲ ἐν πνεύματι. This clause has already occurred in xvii. 3, and the phrase that follows here, ἐπὶ ὅρος μέγα, suggests the present earth just as explicitly as does εἰς ἥμην in xvii. 3. The implication is that the present earth and the Heavenly Jerusalem would coexist. But there is no such implication in regard to the New Jerusalem. The former heaven and earth have already vanished (xxi. 1). Ezek. xl appears to have been in the mind of our author when he committed this vision to writing. 10a is practically an echo of Ezek. xl. 2, “In the visions of God brought he me ... and set me down upon a very high mountain.” Here, as the LXX renders ἤγαγεν μὲ ἐν ἄρασι θεοῦ ... καὶ ἔθηκεν μὲ ἐπὶ ὅρος ὑψηλῶν σφόνδρα, our author has thought of the Hebrew only. On this very high mountain
(cf. Ezek. xvii. 22; Isa. ii. 2) stood what appeared to be the structure of a city.

There he met a man with a measuring line (Ezek. xl. 3) whereby he measured the Temple.

ἐνὶ δρόμῳ μέγα καὶ ὑψιλόν. Paradise and a lofty mountain are associated together in i Enoch xxiv. sq., and again in lxxyxvii. 3, and probably in Jub. iv. 26. But this association may go back to primitive times, when the mountain of God (Ezek. xxviii. 14, Ps. xlviii. 2) was associated with the glorified Jerusalem (Isa. ii. 2); see Oesterley, Evolution of Mess. Idea, p. 129 sqq.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄγιαν ἱεροσαλήμ. If we compare this phrase with that in xxi. 2, which refers to the New Jerusalem which descends after the Judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth, we observe that it is word for word the same save that the latter adds the significant word καινὴν. This seems to imply that the Heavenly City is itself renewed or replaced by another.

But there are other questions which call for discussion in connection with this conception. We have four titles of this future abode of the blessed in our author: 1. ἓ τόλμη τοῦ θεοῦ μου (iii. 12). 2. ἓ τόλμη ἓ ἄγια ἱεροσαλήμ καινή (xxi. 2.), or ἓ καινή ἱεροσαλήμ (iii. 12). 3. ἓ τόλμη ἓ ἄγια ἱεροσαλήμ (xxi. 10). 4. δ ἐπαρδεύσος τοῦ θεοῦ μου (ii. 7). This list we can at once reduce to three by referring to iii. 12, where 1 and 2 are identified. Next, by comparing xxi. 10 and ii. 7, we are enabled to identify 3 and 4; for both these are the seat of the ζύλον ζωῆς (cf. xxii. 2).

We have now to consider in what relation does (α) ἓ τόλμη ἓ ἄγια ἱερ. ( [= δ ἐπαρδεύσος τοῦ θεοῦ μου] stand to (β) ἓ τόλμη ἓ ἄγια ἱερ. καινή ( [= ἓ τόλμη τοῦ θεοῦ μου]. Are they really different or are they identical? They are closely related in the mind of our author, but they are not identical.

(α) The first, i.e. ἓ τόλμη ἓ ἄγια ἱεροσαλήμ, is the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. It contains the tree of life (ii. 7, xxii. 2). At the close of the Millennial Kingdom and before the Final Judgment, when both the heaven and the earth vanish, its removal from the earth is presupposed together with Christ and the glorified martyrs. This removal from the earth is not expressly stated, but it is undoubtedly presupposed. There are analogous expectations in contemporary Judaism. Thus in 2 Bar. vi. 6-10 it is said that even the sacred vessels of the Holy of Holies were removed by angels before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. For an analogous account see 2 Macc. ii. 4-8. In 4 Ezra vi. 2-3, iii. 6, moreover, where the main source (= S: see Box) identifies the heavenly and earthly Paradises, Paradise, which had been prepared by God before the creation of the world, was placed afterwards on the earth as Adam's abode, iii. 6, but with-
drawn after Adam's fall (see Box on 4 Ezra, p. 197). Hence we might reasonably conclude that it is the same city—the Holy City, Jerusalem—that is spoken of in xxi. 10 sqq. and in xxi. 2, but *that it has been transformed* (καταταρσις) in order to adapt it to the new heaven and the new earth. Further, in this connection we might remark that just as the Heavenly Jerusalem is associated with the manifestation of Christ on earth in our text, so also we find the same association in 4 Ezra vii. 26, xiii. 36. It is true that Box rejects both these passages as interpolations. But if it was believed that the heavenly Paradise had come down to earth to be Adam's abode, there could be no objection to the hope that the Heavenly City should come down to be the abode of the Messiah.

(β) But, though the Holy City, Jerusalem, has been removed from the earth before the Final Judgment, when the former heaven and earth vanish into nothingness, this city is not to be absolutely identified with "the Holy City, New Jerusalem," which comes down from the new heaven to the new earth to be the everlasting abode of the blessed. This new city is either wholly new in every respect, or it is the former city transformed. It belongs to the new creation, xxi. 5b. As opposed to the former Holy City, this Holy City is "new" (καταταρσις); that is, it is here contemplated not under aspects of time but of quality: it is new as set over against that which is in some respects materialistic, or outworn, or marred, or unfit.

In β, as we have already remarked, there is an identification of ἡ καινὴ Ιερουσαλήμ (iii. 12) and ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ. It seems as if β is distinguished also in another respect from α. There is no mention of the presence of the tree of life in β, though this is a characteristic feature of α. But the tree of life is unnecessary in β, since death itself is wholly at an end, xxi. 4b, and the blessed live in the light of God's presence and reign for ever and ever, xxi. 5.

In the conception of the New Jerusalem our author has fused together 1 and 2 and discarded 4 (see above). But these ideas were originally very different, as the following notes will show.

1. The city of God.—The idea of the heavenly city or the city of the gods, found in many nations of the ancient world, was taken over by Judaism.

The city of the gods was originally suggested by the heaven with the sun and moon and the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the twelve gates through which they were conceived to pass, on the north three gates, on the east three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. There was also the great Milky Way, which was conceived as the great street of the heavenly city.

It has been said that our author had before him the descrip-
tion of Ezekiel's city (Ezek. xlviii. 31 sqq.) with its twelve gates, three in each of the four walls, and that this description with the enumeration of the twelve precious stones in the high priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., xxxix. 10 sqq.) was all that our author drew upon in the ideas and facts of the past for his own description of the Heavenly City. But our text itself refutes such a view. For the fact that in this city are twelve gates, which are respectively composed of the twelve precious stones, sh ws that some of the ideas in our text go back ultimately to the heavenly city itself. There is some hint of this connection in 1 Enoch lxxii. 2 sqq., lxxv. 6, lxxxii. 4 sqq., where there are said to be twelve portals in the heaven through which the sun, moon, and stars go forth at different seasons. The connection is here very slight, but the connection between these gates and the precious stones mentioned in our text recalls the fact that Philo (De Monarchia, ii. 5: cf. Vita Mos. iii. 14) and Josephus (Ant. iii. 7. 7) interpret the twelve precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest of the signs of the Zodiac; and Kircher (Oedipus Aegyptiacus, 1653, ii. ii. 177 sq.) has shown that according to Egyptian and Arabian monuments these stones correspond to these signs.

The peculiar shape of the city, that it is equally long, broad, and high, may possibly be explained from this standpoint; for to the human vision the heaven appears to be of this character. We might here compare the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple, which was a cube, being 20 cubits each way: cf. 1 Kings vi. zo.

But our author disassociates (see p. 167 sq.) the Heavenly Jerusalem from this ethnic conception of the city of the gods, which had impressed itself slowly, and perhaps for the most part imperceptibly, on the Judaism of the past. As the stars were naturally compared with precious stones, and as we have just seen that a clear association between the signs of the Zodiac and certain precious stones was established before the Christian era, it is not improbable that in Isa. liv. 11-12, where the earthly Zion is referred to, we have traces of the heavenly city:

"Behold I will set thy bases in rubies,
And thy foundations in sapphires.
And I will make of jasper thy pinnacles,
And thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy border of jewels"

(Box's translation); and also in Tob. xiii. 16-18,

"And the gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire and emerald,

1 The Babylonians were already familiar with the idea of heavenly gates; see Zimmern, KAT², p. 619.
And all thy walls with precious stones.
The towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
And their battlements with pure gold.
The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
With carbuncle and stones of Ophir,
And the gates of Jerusalem shall utter hymns of gladness,
And all her houses shall say, Hallelujah."

In a much later work, Sibyll. Or. v. 420 sq., we find

καὶ πόλιν ἧν ἐπόθησε θέας, ταῦτα ἐποίησεν
φανδροτέραν ἀστραν τε καὶ ἥλιον ἢδε σελήνης.

Now from the contents of these passages it appears clear that we have to do not with the heavenly city of God, but with the earthly Jerusalem, and yet the descriptions reflect the characteristics of the heavenly city. 1

2. Paradise.—Paradise 2 is very variously conceived at different times and in different writings. First of all the term is used of the Garden of Eden in Gen. ii.–iii. In the 2nd cent. B.C. it has become the abode of the righteous and elect after this life, and is called the Garden of Righteousness, or of the Righteous, or the Garden of Life, 1 Enoch ix. 8, 23, lxi. 12, and is situated at the ends of the earth, lxv. 2, cvi. 8 (lxxix. 52), or on the N.W., lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3, or to the east of the seven great mountains, xxxii. 1–2, xxiv. 1–4 sqq. In Test. Levi xviii. 10, 2 Bar. ii. 10–11, 2 Enoch ix. 1 sqq., xliii. 2–4, Paradise does not become the abode of the righteous till the Advent of the Messiah or the last judgment, l Enoch xxii. In nearly all these passages it is the heavenly and not the earthly Paradise that is meant, or rather the earthly Paradise has assumed a heavenly character. In 2 Enoch viii. 1–6 the heavenly and earthly Paradises are mentioned in succession. The earthly Paradise was created on the third day, Jub. ii. 7, 2 Enoch xxx. 1, whereas according to later Judaism the heavenly Paradise is described as existing before the world either actually or in the thought of God, Pesach. 54a; Ned. 39b.

In 4 Ezra (source S) the heavenly and the earthly Paradises are identified. This Paradise was prepared by God before the Creation as Adam's first abode, iii. 6 (cf. 2 Bar. iv. 3), but afterwards withdrawn from the earth and reserved for the righteous after the final Judgment. In this author Paradise has become identical with heaven and is set over against Gehenna, 4 Ezra 5

1 See Zimmern, KATIV, p. 619; Gunkel, Zum Verständniss des NT., p 48 sqq.; Bousset in loc.; Jeremias, Babylonisches im NT., p. 68.
2 The Talmudists are almost unanimous in maintaining that there was both a heavenly and an earthly Paradise. The Rabbis distinguish between Gan and Eden. Thus Samuel bar Nahman declares that Adam dwelt only in the Gan, whereas no mortal eye had ever seen Eden (Ber. 34b).
vii. 36-38, 123. See Box, 4 Ezra, 195 sqq. But in 2 Bar. iv. 3 the two Paradises are distinguished apparently; for Adam did not live in the heavenly Paradise, but only enjoyed the vision of it before his fall.

3. The New Jerusalem.—In the O.T. such passages as Isa. liv. 11 sq., ix. 10-14, Hag. ii. 7-9, Zech. ii. 1-5, refer only to the earthly Jerusalem, though in Isa. liv. this conception has been influenced by the conception of the city of God. In Tob. xiii. 16-18 this influence is still clearer, while in 2 Bar. iv. 2-4 the heavenly Jerusalem is definitely affirmed and distinguished from the earthly and likewise from Paradise. But it is an error to suppose, as some do, that it was only after the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem that the idea of the heavenly was evolved, for we find it clearly stated early in the second century B.C. in 1 Enoch xc. 29, where God Himself builds what is symbolically called “the New House” on the site of the earthly Jerusalem, which He had removed. In 2 Bar. iv. 3 the manifestation of this city is connected with the manifestation of God, just as in 4 Ezra vii. 26, xiii. 36 the heavenly Zion is to appear along with the Messiah, Jerusalem, with Christ and the glorified martyrs. If the heavenly Paradise could appear on earth for Adam, it was only natural that the heavenly Jerusalem should appear on earth for Christ—the Second and greater Adam. Finally, we should observe that the transference of the tree of life from Paradise to Jerusalem, 1 Enoch xxv. 4-5, implies the identification even at this early date of Paradise and Jerusalem: also in Test. Dan v. 12,

“And the saints shall rest in Eden (i.e. Paradise),
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice.”

καταβαίνοντας . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. For parallel phrases in our author see above, p. 155.

τήν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. See note on 23, xviii. 1.

11. δφωστήρ αὐτῆς = “the light thereof.” This phrase is practically equivalent to that which immediately precedes, i.e. ὁσοὐν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The city is lighted up by the glory of God Himself, and this light was “like a most precious stone as it were a jasper (δμοιος λίθῳ τιμωστάτῳ, δὲ λίθῳ ἱάστιδι).” δφωστήρ αὐτῆς does not mean “the luminary thereof” and is not equivalent to δ λύχνος αὐτῆς in 23, but is to be rendered as given above. This is clear when the words that follow δμοιος λίθῳ . . . δὲ λίθῳ ἱάστιδι are compared with iv. 3, where “He that sat on the throne” is described as being “to look upon like a jasper stone.” (δμοιος λίθῳ ἱάστιδι). Thus the light that pervades the Holy City is in colour like to that which flashes through the nimbus that surrounded the throne of God (iv. 3). Moreover, we are

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told that it is the glory of God that gives light to the city (xxi 23, ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν). This use of φωτήρ = light, is very rare. Cf. 1 Esdr. viii. 79. Thayer quotes Anthol. 11. 359 as another instance of this use.

12. ἤχοντα = ἤχει. See p. 155 ad fin. The second ἤχοντα is an ordinary participle.

τείχος. Cf. 2 Enoch lxv. 10, “And there shall be to them a great wall that cannot be broken down.”

πύλων δώδεκα. Twelve gates, as in the city of Ezekiel: cf. Ezek. xlvi. 30 sqq., corresponding to the Twelve Tribes. In 1 Enoch xxxiii.—xxxv. there is a similar distribution of the gates of heaven whence the stars issue. In Classical Greek πύλων meant a gatehouse, gatetower, or porch, and was, therefore, distinct from πύλη. It has this meaning in Acts xii. 13, τῇ βίραν τοῦ πύλων: cf. ibid. xii. 14; Matt. xxvi. 71. But it came in late Greek (see the LXX) to mean simply a large gate: cf. Luke xvi. 20; Acts x. 17, xiv. 13. It is in this sense that it appears to be used by our author—in all eleven times. This is clear from xxi. 21, τὶ δώδεκα πύλων δώδεκα μαργαρίται. He does not use πύλη. In the LXX πύλων is often used as a rendering of θύρα and sometimes of ἡρά, while πύλη very often renders ἡρά and sometimes θύρα. Hence it is no guide here.

It is noteworthy that whereas the Fourth Gospel does not use πύλων or πύλη, it employs βίρα many times in the same sense (x. 1, 2, 7, 9, xviii. 16, xx. 19), as does our author (iii. 8, 20, iv. 1).

ἀγγελοῦς δώδεκα. Cf. Isa. lxii. 6, “I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem.”

οὐδέποτε ἐπιγραμμένα κτλ. The twelve gates are entrusted respectively to the Twelve Tribes, and the names of the latter inscribed respectively on these gates, as in Ezek. xlvi. 31, “The gates of the city (LXX, πύλαι τῆς πόλεως) shall be after the names of the tribes of Israel.” If the gates bear the names of the Twelve Tribes, the names of the Twelve Apostles (14) are engraved on the foundations. Thereby the Seer maintains the continuity of the O.T. and the Christian Church.

13. The order of the points of the compass in this verse are E.N.S.W., whereas in Num. ii. 3 sqq. it is E.S.W.N. and in Ezek. lxvii. N.E.S.W. How the gates were respectively inscribed we have no means of determining.

14. τείχος ... ἤχον. See above, p. 155 ad fin.

θεμαλίους δώδεκα. Since there are twelve gates, the wall surrounding the City is divided into twelve sections, each section of which rests upon a single foundation stone. These twelve foundation stones consist of twelve precious stones, which are enumerated in xv sq., and form apparently an unbroken and continuous basement.
Elsewhere in the N.T. we have a similar combination of the Christian and Jewish Churches. In Matt. xix. 28, καθήσετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ δωδεκά θρόνοις κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, which may contain a reminiscence of T. Jud. xxv. 1. A remote parallel is to be found in Eph. ii. 20, ἐποικοδομθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεομέλῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, δύτων ἀρχοντικοῦ αὐτῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. In Eph. the whole spiritual Church is the theme of St. Paul: here it is only the foundations of the wall that encircles the Holy City. We have really a nearer parallel in Heb. xi. 10, τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. The Twelve are here referred to as a corporate body, and there is no hint as to its exact composition. “The absence of Paul’s name,” as Moffatt remarks, “is no more significant than the failure to emphasize that of Peter.”

15. This and some of the verses that follow have been suggested by Ezek. xl. 3 sqq. The measuring in each case has to do with the respective ideal cities of the O.T. prophet and the N.T. Seer, and not as in xi. 2, where the actual Jerusalem is referred to. The act of measuring here has none of the meanings given in the note on xi. 1. The measures are given to the Seer in order to elucidate the vision.

16. ἡ πόλις τετράγωνος. Babylon, according to Herodotus (i. 178), was a square (τετράγωνος), each side of the square being 120 stades. The Greeks regarded the square as a symbol for perfection: cf. Simonides in Plato’s Prot. 344 Α, άνδρ’ ἀγαθόν, χερσί τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ τετράγωνον, ἂνεν ψόγου τετραμένου, χαλεπῶν ἀλαβίων: Aristotle, Ret. iii. 11. 2, τὸν ἄγαθὸν άνδρα φάναι τετράγωνον: cf. Eth. Nic. i. 10, 11, ἀγαθὸς ἀληθῶς καὶ τετράγωνος ἂνεν ψόγου. Κεῖται = “stood.” Cf. iv. 2; Jer. xxiv. 1, δύο καλάδων . . . κείμενοι (ὅλως): John ii. 6, xix. 29.

ἐπὶ σταδίων δώδεκα χιλιάδων. This reading, which is that of AQ and most of the cursives, is very difficult. ἐπὶ σταδίων is in itself the usual classical construction, but the genitive (so MP) also is found: see Thuc. ii. 90; Xen. Cyr. ii. 4-2, ἡγίσατο τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων . . . τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ’ ἐκατον. But how, if we adopt the σταδίων, are we to explain δώδεκα χιλιάδων? Winer (p. 244 n.) describes it as a genitive of quality and compares πηχῶν (see Blass, p. 99, n. 1) in the next line. But the cases are not analogous. If it is original, it is perhaps to be rendered “to the length of furlongs of the amount of 12,000.” Possibly, however, σταδίων is a primitive error and MP have rightly emended the text: ἐπὶ σταδίων δ. χ. = “at 12,000 furlongs.” Cf. xiv. 20, ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλιῶν ἐξακοσίων.

δώδεκα χιλιάδων. 12,000 stades = nearly 1500 miles. This is either the length of one side of the square or of the four sides
combined, but the words that follow are in favour of the former view. These huge figures are not, of course, to be taken literally. Our Seer is using the language of symbolism. When dealing with the subject of Paradise later Jewish writers make statements of a kindred nature. Amongst the more moderate computations is that found in Sibyll. Or. v. 251 (88–130 a.d.):

"ачр дя кал Ίόπης τείχος μέγα κυκλώσαντες
υψός" διέρρονται αχρ καὶ τεφέων ἐρεβανῶν.

Here the circumference of the city would be about 280 miles.

A larger estimate (quoted from Wetstein) appears in the Shir R. vii. 5, where it is said that Jerusalem would be enlarged till it reached the gates of Damascus, and exalted till it reached the throne of God (ix. 1). In the Baba Bathra, 75b, its height is defined as twelve miles. But the imagination is wholly baffled by the amazing figures in Taanith, 10a, where the whole world is declared to be the sixtieth part of the Garden, and the Garden the sixtieth part of Eden.

17. έκατον τεσσέρακοντα τεσσάρων πηχών. This wall of 144 cubits is wholly out of proportion in view of the gigantic magnitude of the City. It cannot rightly be described as μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν in connection with the City, and so it may be either a fragmentary and now unintelligible survival of some archaic element, or else merely a poetical detail, and without symbolic significance. But if we might take the wall as an outer line of defence distinct from the City, then it could well serve as a defence against the entrance of the wicked and unclean (xxi. 27, xxii. 15).

μέτρων ἀνθρώπου ὢ ἐστιν ἄγγελον. The measures used by the angel are those in common use amongst mankind. This is not unreasonable, since both angels and men are fellow-servants of God (xix. 10, xxii. 9).

18–21. This section is in verse, and deals with the appearance and character of the City.

18. ἡ ἐνδόμησις . . . ἱεροπ. ἐνδόμησις found only here and in Joseph. Ant. xv. 9. 6 (ἡ δὲ ἐνδόμησις δοῦν ἵν ἐβάλλετο κατὰ τῆς θελάσσης διακοσίων πόδων), and in a pre-Christian inscription, τὴν ἐνδόμησιν τοῦ τεμένους (Dittenberger's Syloge Inscript. Graec. 583, 31, quoted from Moffatt), appears to mean materials or fabric. Thus not only was the radiance that came forth from Him that sat on the throne (iv. 3) of a jasper hue, and likewise of the whole atmosphere of the Holy City (xxi. 11), but the wall itself was constructed of jasper. This structure of jasper was based on twelve precious stones, each of which formed one-twelfth of the entire foundation (cf. 12, 19).
The city itself was composed of transparent gold.

19. The twelve precious stones which compose the twelve foundations of the wall correspond on the whole to those that were set in gold on the high priest’s breastplate in Ex. xxviii. 17-20, xxxix. 10-13 (cf. also Ezek. xxviii. 13 on the dress of the King of Tyre, where, however, in the Hebrew only nine stones are mentioned though twelve are given in the LXX).

Whereas, according to Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., the names of the Twelve Tribes were written on the twelve stones on the high priest’s breastplate, in our text the names of the Twelve Tribes are written, as in Ezek. xlvi. 31, on the twelve gates; but it is the names of the Twelve Apostles that are written on the twelve precious stones which form the foundations of the wall of the City. By means of xxii. 13, where the order in which the angel measured the four sides of the city (i.e. E.N.S.W.), and xxii. 19-20, where the twelve stones are enumerated, we are able to discover the probable order in which these foundations were laid. This order has nothing whatever to do with the order given in Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., as Myers, Encyc. Bib. iv. 4811, and Bousset, following the same principle in his commentary, assume; nor is it to be explained from any accidental inversion or misreading of the twelve stones arranged in four lines, each line containing three stones. Bousset’s explanation is as follows. Our author read the second three stones in Ex. xxviii. 17 sq. before the first three, and the fourth three before the third three, and thus arrived at the following order:

| I. ἀνθραξ | σάφευρος | ἱαστίς |
| II. σάρδιον | τοῦτιζον | σμάραγδος |
| III. χρυσόλιθος | βηρύλλιον | δύνιον |
| IV. λιγύριον | ἀχάτης | ἀμέθυστος |

Next, he or his source had read the stones in I. and II. from right to left, and in III. and IV. from left to right. Now, only in the last resort could such a complicated hypothesis—in itself a confession of failure—be accepted.

While rejecting such an hypothesis, it is advisable to state the actual relations between our text and Ex. xxviii. 17-20. 1. Our author has not followed the LXX of Ex. xxviii. 17 sqq., seeing that his list differs in the renderings of four of the Hebrew words. 2. Our author’s list presupposes a transposition of the sixth and twelfth stones, i.e. the ρηγή (=τοῦτιζον) and τοῦτιζον (=ἱαστίς). This was probably the original Hebrew order (see Encyc. Bib. iv. 4810). 3. It is not credible that, using as he did the Hebrew text first hand, he should accidentally invert the order of the first and second rows and of the third and fourth,
and in addition read the first pair of rows from right to left and
the second pair from left to right. In short, the order of the
stones in our text cannot be explained from the order in Ex.
xxviii. 17–20. We have now to discover the grounds which gave
rise to the difference in order between our text and Ex.
xxviii. 17–20. First of all let us arrange the list of stones in
19–20 in conjunction with the sides of the city as they were
measured by the angel.

Now whereas in Num. ii. the tribes are arranged in a square,
the sides of which look E.S.W.N., and the gates of the Holy City
in Ezek. xlviii which bear the names of the Tribes are enumer­
ated in the order N.E.S.W., we are tempted to ask why does the
angel adopt an apparently capricious order and measure the
sides of the Holy City E.N.S.W.? I know of no certain ex­
planation, but it is possible that we may discover some ground
for it, if we take the reconstructed list of the Tribes in vii. 5–8
and combine it with xxi. 13. As a result of this combination we
have the following result:

In this diagram we see that the six sons of Leah, i.e. Judah,
Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun (see vol. i. p. 208),
are arranged along the E. and N. Immediately adjoining the
children of Leah come the children of Rachel in our author's
list, Joseph and Benjamin (see i. 208), and since the S. was
preferred to the W. among the Jews, and the angel measures the
city in the order E.N.S.W. (xxi. 13), these two must be arranged
along the S. Next (see i. 208) come the sons of Leah's hand­
maid, i.e. Gad and Asher. These take the next position of
honour, i.e. S.W.S. and W.S.W.
This solution of the difficulties of vii. 5–8, xxi. 13, 19–20 has this recommendation, that it explains all three passages as part of one coherent conception. If it is rejected, some other explanation must be discovered, else the direction pursued by the angel in measuring the walls—E.N.S.W.—is highly capricious.

The angel measures the walls in the order E.N.S.W. Now, let us take the twelve stones enumerated in 19–20 and beginning with the S.E. corner place the first three on E., which the angel measured first, the second three on N., which the angel measured next, the third three on S., which the angel measured next, and the fourth three on W., as is done below. But it is not till we combine these data with the following fact that we arrive at the solution of the problem. This fact is that, according to Kircher's Oedipus Aegyptiacus, ii. ii. 177 sq. (1653), each of the twelve precious stones in our text is connected respectively with one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac on Egyptian and Arabian monuments. That this connection was already recognized by the Jews we learn from the express statements of Philo and Josephus (see references in note, p. 159). The following table (from Kircher) gives the connections between the signs and the precious stones:

1. The Ram—the amethyst.
2. The Bull—the hyacinth.
3. The Twins—the chrysoprase.
4. The Crab—the topaz.
5. The Lion—the beryl.
6. The Virgin—the chrysolite.
7. The Balance—the sardius.
8. The Scorpion—the sardonyx.
9. The Archer—the smaragdus.
10. The Goat—the chalcedon.
11. The Water-carrier—the sapphire.
12. The Fishes—the jasper.

In the diagram that follows I have placed the precious stones in the order suggested by our text in 13, 19–20 and added the signs of the Zodiac with which they were respectively connected. Now, if we read the signs of the Zodiac as there given in the order prescribed in 19–20 we arrive at the following result. The signs or constellations are given in a certain order, and that exactly the reverse order of the actual path of the sun through the signs. Thus we have the Fishes, Water-carrier, Goat, Archer, Scorpion, Balance, Virgin, Lion, Crab, Twins, Bull, Ram; for the order to be followed is that given in xxi. 13, i.e. E.N.S.W. But in the apparent movement of the sun, the sun is said when

1 In Pliny's H.N. xxxiii. the definite number twelve is connected with precious stones.
crossing the equator towards the north to be at the first point of the Ram, thirty days later it enters the Bull, and so on through the Twins, Crab, Lion, etc., till it reaches the Fishes. Now this cannot be an accident. The conclusion that our author is acquainted with these current beliefs as to the connection of the twelve precious stones with the signs of the Zodiac, and the sun's progress through the signs of the Zodiac cannot in the face of the above facts be questioned, while the further fact that he gives the stones in exactly the reverse order to that required by astronomical science, shows that he regards the Holy City which he describes as having nothing to do with the ethnic speculations of his own and past ages regarding the city of the gods. Thus he deliberately disconnects the Holy City with the city of the gods, in which the twelve gates were connected with the twelve precious stones and the signs of the Zodiac, (1) by connecting the gates of the Holy City with the names of the Twelve Tribes, and by representing each gate as composed of a single pearl, and (2) by using the twelve precious stones in an ornamental sense and describing them as engraved with the names of the Twelve Apostles.

Table giving the stones of the foundations in their probable order and their probable equivalents in Ex. xxviii. 17–20.

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In the above diagram it will be observed that our author has rendered the Hebrew words יָשָׁן, נָעָם, כָּל, and רָשׁ respectively by χαλκηδῶν, σαρδώνυξ, χρυσόπρασος, and τάκινθος, whereas the LXX in Ex. xxviii. 17-20 renders them respectively by ἀνθραξ, τοταξίων, λυγρον, ἄχατης. Of the twelve stones enumerated in our text three have already been mentioned, the ιασπίς, σμάραγδος, and σάρδιον in iv. 3, while τάκινθος is implied in ix. 17. Ιασπίς. This was probably of a green or emerald colour. See iv. 3.

σάρχειον. This stone “is identified (Theophr. 37; cf. 55, κύμος σκύθης, and Pliny, H.N. xxxvii. 120) with the opaque blue ‘lapis lazuli’ of Turkestan” (Encyc. Bib. iv. 4805). χαλκηδῶν. This word occurs only here in Biblical Greek. This gem is taken to be of a green colour (=a copper silicate), and as we have seen already is substituted for ἄνθραξ (a red garnet) in the LXX.

σμάραγδος. See note on iv. 3.

20. σαρδώνυξ (= the ναος). If we may identify this stone with the topaz, it was, according to Strabo (770), translucent and golden coloured (χρυσοπράσινον ἀποτιλβον φέγγος) or yellow green; according to Pliny (H.N. xxxvii. 8), yellow green (ε νερεντι γενερε). The LXX renders ησυξ by τοτάξιον in Ex. xxviii. 17-20. But the σαρδώνυξ was properly a variety of the ἄνθραξ in which the white background was variegated by layers of red or brown (Pliny, H.N. xxxvii. 23) But what is the Hebrew?

σάρδιον. See iv. 3 (n.).

χρυσόλιθος (= χύςλη). This gold stone is hard to identify: it may be golden yellow and opaque—i.e. yellow jasper or yellow serpentine: or it may be golden yellow and translucent (see Encyc. Bib. iv. 4807). These stones are described by Pliny, H.N. xxxvii. 42, as “aureo fulgore translucentes.”

βηρυλλος (= βηρος). This is thought to be the malachite by Myres in the Encyc. Bib. iv. 4808, “with its wavy . . . bands and cloudy patches of light vivid and dark green.” In Ex. xxvii. 20, xxxix. 13, ὅψις is rendered by ὄνυχαν.

1 The identification of the Greek with the Hebrew names for these precious stones is in several cases purely hypothetical. This is in part due to the confusion of the order in the Massoretic. Although the same order in the four rows on the high priest’s breastplate is given in Ex. xxviii. 17-20 and xxxix. 10-13 both in the Massoretic and the LXX respectively, yet the LXX implies a transposition of ἄργια and ἄργια. But the confusion is further aggravated by the two accounts in Josephus, Ant. iii. 7. 5 and Bell. v. 5. 7, which differ from each other as to the order of the stones in the third and fourth rows, and while the first account gives for the first stone in the first row σαρδώνυξ, the second gives σάρδιον. Since Josephus states (Ant. iii. 7. 5) that the names of the Twelve Tribes were engraved on the stones, each stone having the honour of a name in the order in which they were born, this confusion is all the more disturbing.
τοπάζιον. See under σαρδάνια above.

χρυσόπρασος. This word, which does not occur in the LXX, which has λιγύριον, is the Greek equivalent of שֵׁל. It was probably of a greenish yellow colour. According to Pliny, H.N. xxxvii. 20, it was like the beryl but paler: "vicinum genus huic (beryllo) est pallidius, et a quibusdam proprii generis existimatur vocaturque chrysoprasus."

δακτυλίς (i.e. דַּשֶׁשׁ, where LXX has דַּחרָשׁ). According to Pliny, H.N. xxxvii. 41, it was of a violet colour, resembling the amethyst but less bright: "ille emicans in amethysto fulgor violaeceus dilutus est in hyacintho."

δαμεθύς (i.e. דַּמלחנ) — a transparent purple quartz.

21. οἱ δακτεκα πύλαις ... μαργαρίτας. Cf. Sanh. 100": "Rabbi Jochanan sat one day and preached: One day will the Holy One—blessed be He—bring precious stones and pearls thirty cubits long by thirty cubits broad and excavate (openings) in them of ten cubits (in breadth and) twenty cubits in height, and they shall stand in the gates of Jerusalem"; cf. also Baba Bathra 75b. ἀνά εἰς ἐκαστὸς. This is a "barbaric" construction: cf. Matt. xxvi. 22, etc. For this distributive use of ἀνά cf. iv. 8, John ii. 6; but the ἀνά is here an adverb, not a preposition. In καθ' εἰς in Mark xiv. 19, Rom. xii. 5 the καθ' is an adverb also (Robertson, pp. 460, 555). A somewhat parallel construction is found in Eph. v. 33, καθ' ἐνά ἐκαστὸς (Blass, p. 179). η πλατεία. Probably to be taken generically "the streets," as ξύλον ζωής in xxii. 2. χρυσόν καθαρόν. The whole city is described as "pure gold" in ver. 18. ὡς δαλός διανύψ. This may be rendered either "transparent as glass" or "as it were transparent glass." The latter is decidedly weak, but either is admissible: cf. i. 14, iv. 6, ix. 9, xv. 2, xxii. 1. διανύψ is found only here in the N.T. and not at all in the LXX. It occurs in Philo, Lucian, Plutarch, Apollonius Rhodius.

22. In the Holy City there would be no temple (see note on vii. 15), nor ark of the covenant—the restoration of which was so eagerly looked for by the Jews; for that the Lord God would be the Temple thereof and the Lamb the Ark of the Covenant thereof. The absolute destruction of the earthly temple was foretold by our Lord, Mark xiii. 2; John iv. 21; but even the heavenly temple so often referred to in the earlier chapters would have no place as the Heavenly Jerusalem. This verse like those which precede and follow it was originally a tristich, but some words have been lost after καὶ τὸ ἄριστον. Not improbably the missing words are to be recovered from xi. 19, and thus the last two lines may have run

δ γὰρ κύριος, δ θεὸς δ παντοκράτωρ, ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἦ κιβωτὸς τῆς διανύψας αὐτῆς.
The temple that was in the first heaven will disappear (cf. vii. 15, xi. 19). God Himself is henceforth the only Temple, and Christ the Ark of the Covenant. By this restoration the complete parallelism between 22 and 23 is restored. In vii. 9–16 the vision is concerned with the martyr host before the throne of God in heaven, still incomplete and still growing with fresh accessions from the great tribulation on the earth. This host serve God day and night in the temple in heaven, but this temple has no part in the Heavenly Jerusalem: still less in the New; for it belongs to the former things that have passed away (xxi. 4a). See note on xxii. 3. In the Ep. Barn. xvi. the idea of anything but a spiritual temple is looked upon with disfavour. Man, when redeemed, forms the habitation of God—"a spiritual temple built up to the Lord" (πνευματικός ναός οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ).

Our restoration of the missing words ἡ κατωτάτης τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς is confirmed by Jer. iii. 16, where it is prophesied that on the advent of the kingdom of God "the ark of the covenant of the Lord" (τοῦ Κυρίου) should no longer be thought of nor needed nor restored. That the Jews of the century before the Christian era expected the restoration of the ark on the advent of the kingdom is clear from 2 Macc. ii. 4 sqq., where it is told that the ark had not been destroyed but had been hidden by Jeremiah on Mount Nebo with a view to its safe keeping. That this belief was current in the first century A.D. is to be inferred from 2 Bar. vi. 7–9, where the ark and certain other holy things belonging to the first temple are said to have been hidden by angels in the earth till the Messianic kingdom was established. That this expectation persisted long afterwards in Judaism we learn from Bammidbar rabba 15. For another kindred legend see Yoma, 54a. Against such materialistic expectations our author declares boldly that there will be no restoration of the ark of the covenant, for that its place was taken by the Lamb.1

22. With the whole verse cf. Isa. lx. 19 sqq., καὶ οὐκ ἦσται σοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ εἰς φῶς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ ἀνατολὴ σελήνης φωτεῖ σοι τὴν νύκτα ἀλλ' ἦσται σοι Κύριος φῶς αἰώνιον . . . οὐ γὰρ δύσται ὁ θεὸς σοι, καὶ σελήνη σοι οὐκ ἐκλείπει, ἦσται γὰρ Κύριος σοι φῶς αἰώνιον. As in Isaiah the sun and moon do not cease to exist: their splendour is simply put to shame by the glory of God Himself: cf. Isa. xxiv. 23. Our author does not seem to have used the LXX here.

οὐδ' ἔχει τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲ τῆς σελήνης . . . αὕτη: cf. xxii. 5; Isa. lx. 19 sq. Here the glory of God—see xi, ἤχουσαν τὴν δόξαν

1 The ark was at all events a symbol of the divine presence. To the popular mind, however, it was more; it was conceived as the actual abode of Jahveh: cf. Num. x. 35, 36; 2 Sam. xv. 25.


τοῦ θεοῦ (note)—lights up the Heavenly City, and not the sun and moon as we see from the next clause, though these still give light to the world outside the City. Cf. Midrash Tillin, xxxvi. 2, “Neque in mundo futuro necesse habeunt lumen solis interdiu, aut lunae noctu” (Wetstein).

ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφωτίσεν αὐτήν: cf. 11, xviii. 1. The "glory" of God manifests itself in light. This δόξα is probably the ω or brightness which went forth from the Shekinah or the glory (אֱלֹהִים) of God: cf. Targ. Jer. 1 on Ex. xxxiii. 11, תֵּא בָּנָא, and Jarg. Jon. on Ezek. xiii. 2, where we have “the brightness of His glory” (יִירָא אֱלֹהִים).

The brightness of Moses' face (אֱלֹהִים), according to Jarg. Jer. 1 on Ex. xxxiv. 29, was derived from the brightness of the glory of the Shekinah of Yahveh (יִירָא אֱלֹהִים). This last expression will explain xviii. 1, where it is said of an angel, ἡ γῆ ἐφωτισθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ: cf. xxi. 3, note.

cαι ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Here ὁ λύχνος αὐτῆς is the predicate and corresponds to ἐφωτίσεν αὐτήν in the preceding line, just as τὸ ἀρχαῖον is the parallel to ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ. There is no comparison here with the sun and moon as Bousset suggests.

24-27. The necessity of interpreting these verses with regard to the present earth and the nations surviving the advent of the Millennium has already been pointed out (see p. 146 sqq.). The evangelizing of the nations is already foretold in xiv. 7 by an angel flying in the midst of heaven, and the going up of the nations to worship God is proclaimed as an event of the future by the glorified martyrs in heaven (xv. 4). The Seer at last beholds in vision the fulfilment of these prophecies. Unless we explain xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 as the Heavenly City which was to come down from heaven to be the seat of the Millennial reign, then the prophecies in xiv. 7, xv. 3 remain unfulfilled.

The conversion of the Gentiles to Judaism was looked for by Zechariah, ii. 11, viii. 23, and the writer of Isa. lxv.-lxvi.; Dan. vii. 14; Tob. xiii. 11, xiv. 6; 1 Enoch x. 21, xc. 32 sqq.; Test. Levi xviii. 9; Test. Jud. xxv. 5; Test. Asher vii. 3; Test. Naph. viii. 4; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32; 4 Ezra xi. 46, amongst other Jewish writers. This expectation became a central truth of Christianity, but the conversion of the heathen nations is to be due, not to Judaism, but to Christianity.

24. This verse consists of a stanza of three lines, the second line of which is corrupt. The whole stanza is based on Isa. lx. 3, ἡ—on the LXX of these verses, which runs as follows:

3. καὶ πορεύονται βασιλεῖς τῷ φωτὶ σου,
καὶ ἔθνη τῷ λαμπρότητί σου.
The words in heavy type have their equivalents in our text, in 24-25, but our author has here rendered the Hebrew independently of the LXX. We might compare Pss. Sol. xvi. 34-35.

25. ἡμέρας † νυξ γὰρ οὐκ ἦσται ἡκε †. The obelized clause was probably a marginal gloss originally, based on xxii. 5, which subsequently displaced the true text, καὶ νυκτὸς. In xxii. 5 the definite statement is made that there shall be no longer any night at all. That is what we should expect in the New Jerusalem and the new heaven and the new earth. But there are the following objections to this clause in its present context. 1. We should expect ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς as in Isa. ix. 11, on which the text is confessedly based. 2. The parallelism is against it. 24-25 form a tristich occurring in the midst of a succession of tristichs, and the last line of this tristich is formed of 25. Hence instead of

καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας, νυξ γὰρ οὐκ ἦσται ἡκε

we should read

καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς.

3. We should then have the familiar phraseology of our author: cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, xx. 10.

It might, of course, be urged that the adverb ἡκε justifies the clause in the present context by limiting the statement to the city itself. But this emphatic use of ἡκε implies clearly that day and night alternate as usual outside the City. What meaning is then to be attached to ἡμέρας? Does this word denote the unbroken day that prevails within the City, or the usual period of light without it? The obelized clause introduces hopeless confusion into the context.

26. Based on Isa. ix. 11. See on 24: cf. also lx. 5, “the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee.” Here the LXX differs: ὅτι μεταβαλεὶ ἐσὶ σὲ πλοῦτος βαλάσσῃς καὶ ἠθνῶν καὶ λαῶν. καὶ ἥξουσιν σοι ἄγελαι.

27. The unclean and the abominable and the liars are still on the earth, but, though the gates are open day and night, they cannot enter.

οὐ μὴ εἰσιλθῇ ... πάν καὶ ὅπου: cf. LXX of Isa. lxi. 1, οὐκέτι προστεθησται διελθεῖν διὰ σοῦ ἀπερίτητος καὶ ἀκάθαρτος; xxxv. 8,
CHAPTER XXII.

1-2. The description of the Heavenly City that descends from heaven for the Millennial reign is continued in these verses. The καὶ εἰδεξέν μοι points back to xxi. 9, 10, where the same phrase occurs. In this vision the spirit of the Seer is actually translated (cf. xvii. 3) to the Heavenly City, which is shown to him by an angel (cf. xvii. 1). There is no such translation of the Seer's spirit in the vision of the New Jerusalem that is to descend from heaven after the Judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth (xxi. 5, 4d, 5b, 6a, 1-4abc, xxii. 3-5). This latter vision is part and parcel of the vision of the Judgment: cf. καὶ εἶδον in xxii. 1, 2 with the same phrase in xx. 11, 12. In this vision there is no angelic intermediary. The Seer sees the great white throne and Him that sat thereon (xx. 11, 12): he hears God proclaiming the end of the old world and the creation of the new (xxi. 5, 4d, 5b): he sees the new heaven and the new earth and the descent of the New Jerusalem, and hears a great voice from the throne declaring that God Himself will henceforth abide with men (xxi. 1-3).

1. καὶ εἰδεξέν μοι: cf. i. 1, iv. 1, and the preceding note.

ποταμὸν ὕδατος ἴωνη. Has "the river of the water of life" the same spiritual significance as "the fountains (or 'fountain')
of the waters (or ‘water’) of life” in vii. 17, xxi. 6 and “the water of life” in xxii. 17? It is probable, since the river goes forth from the throne of God, and “the fountains of the waters of life” may be conceived as forming the source of this river in the throne of God. But it is noteworthy that no spiritual significance is attached to this river here, whereas the tree of life (xxii. 2) is full of significance in this respect.

Whatever the relation of “the river of life” and “the fountains of the waters of life” may be in our author, their origin and meaning were originally different. The idea of the river in the Heavenly City springs ultimately from the river in the Garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 10). The object of the river in Eden was simply to supply the garden richly with water. When, however, we come down to Ezekiel, we find that the river which flowed forth from beneath the Temple in the coming Kingdom of God was possessed of healing powers as regards the natural products of the earth (Ezek. xlvii. 8–11). Zechariah (xiv. 8) speaks of these waters as issuing forth from Jerusalem eastward and westward, but attributes no transforming influence to them. Perhaps Ps. xlvi. 5 might be cited here, but both the text and its meaning are uncertain. Lastly, in 2 Enoch viii. 5 it is stated that the river in Paradise in the third heaven flows from beneath the tree of life and divides into four streams of honey and milk and oil and wine. Thus so far as the O.T. and Judaistic literature down to 100 A.D. are concerned, this river in Paradise was not associated with any powers of spiritual transformation such as we find frequently with the phrase “fountain of life” or “water of life.”

So far for “the river of the water of life.” Turning now to the phrase “fountain of life,” we find that this and analogous phrases had in Jewish literature a spiritual significance—cf. Jer. ii. 13; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; Ps. xxxvi. 10; 1 Enoch xcvi. 6—just as they have in our author.

λαμπρόν ὡς κρύσταλλον. For λαμπρός cf. xv. 6, xix. 8, xxii. 16, and with ὡς κρύσταλλον cf. iv. 6, ὡς...κρύσταλλον—the two phrases being exact equivalents (see vol. i. p. 36).

εἰκοσεκατετέρωνον: cf. Ezek. xlvii. 1, καὶ ἵδεν ἕθαι ἐξεπορεύτω ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ αἰθρίου κατ’ ἀνατολάς: also 8; Zech. xiv. 8.

τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄρνου. There is no difficulty in this conception nor is there any ground for regarding καὶ τοῦ ἄρνου with the most recent German critics as an addition. This idea with regard to the Messiah is pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch li. 3, “And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne.” Likewise the Elect One is described as sitting on “the throne of glory, xlv. 3, lv. 4, and as sitting on the throne of His (i.e. God’s) glory,” lxii. 3, 5 (cf. li. 3). Similarly the Lord of Spirits places the Elect One “on the throne of glory” (lxii. 8), “on the throne
of His glory," lxii. 2. This throne is called the Son of Man's throne, lxix. 27, 29. Finally, it is to be observed that though the Lord of Spirits places the Elect One on the throne of glory in lx. 8, and he judges all men, yet in lxi. 9, the praises of all are directed to the Lord of Spirits. On the other hand, in xxii. 3 of our text the phrase καὶ τῶν ἀρνίων may be an addition, though there is no conclusive evidence for so regarding it.

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς. This phrase can be taken either with what precedes or with what follows. 1. In the former case we are to translate as in the R.V. "he shewed me a river . . . in the midst of the street thereof." The next sentence then proceeds: "And on this side of the river and on that." Here ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν have a prepositional force as in Dan. xii. 5 (Theod.), ἐς ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ κείλους τοῦ ποταμοῦ (καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐστήθη): cf. ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς κυβωτοῦ, ἡ τῶν λιτών λῦν, in Jos. viii. 33. According to this view the river runs down the midst of the great heavenly way, and is flanked on either side by the trees of life.

2. But it is possible to take the passage differently and connect the words ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς with what follows, and treat ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν as genuine adverbs (cf. Ezek. xlvii. 7, δὲνδρα πολλὰ σφόδρα ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν (τὰς φυτάς), and John xix. 18, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκείθεν). The resulting construction is quite grammatical but the sense is unsatisfactory: "Between the street of the City and the river on either side of it was there the tree of life." These words presuppose that there was a space between the street and the river, and suggest that they ran side by side. There are two possible ways of conceiving the arrangement of the trees of life. Either these trees are arranged in two rows, one on either bank of the river (one row thus coming between the street and the river), or they are placed on either side of the space that lies between the street and the river. The unsymmetrical character of 2. is certainly against it.

Ἐδιόν ἔως. See note on xxii. 14. This expression is used here collectively. In Gen. i. 11 sq. γὰρ is used collectively. Hence our author departs here from the conception of a single tree of life as in Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22; 1 Enoch xxiv. 4, xxv. 4-6—perhaps under the influence of Ezek. xlvii. 7, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ κείλους τοῦ ποταμοῦ δένδρα πολλὰ (ὑπὸ γὰρ) σφόδρα ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, and 12, ἐπὶ τοῦ κείλους αὐτοῦ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν πάντα ἐδιόν βρώσιμον . . . καὶ ἔτοι ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν εἰς ὕδατα.

τοιοὺς καρποὺς δώδεκα. This is suggested by Ezek. xlvii. 12, which speaks of fresh fruit being produced every month.

κατὰ μήρα ἔκαστον ἀποδίδον τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ. This is a free rendering of Ezek. xlvii. 12, ἡ περίπλον, where the LXX (ΑQ,
other uncials omitting) has τῆς καυνότητος αὐτοῦ πρωτοβολήσει—a fact which proves our author's independent use of the Hebrew text. The greater part of this verse is based on Ezek. xlvii. 12.

τά φιλλα τοῦ ἡλιοῦ ἀλς θεραπείαν τῶν αἰθῶν. Here again our author draws directly from Ezek. xlvii. 12, ἠφαίρησεν ἑκάστην, which the LXX has rendered ἀνάβασις αὐτῶν (= ἀνάβασις (?) : cf. Ezek. xl. 6) ἀλς θεραπείαν. The nations here are those that have survived the visitations in chap. xix. and are evangelized by the inhabitants of the Heavenly City.

14--15. This is the next fragment of the description of the Heavenly City which is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. The persons referred to here are the nations who are contemporaries of this kingdom.


The phrase is the equivalent spiritually of οἱ νικῶντες. Each class alike has endured and overcome, and as access to the tree of life is here promised to those who have cleansed their robes, so in ii. 7 the right to eat of the tree of life is given to those who have overcome.

ἳνα ἔσται . . . καὶ . . . εἰσελθῶσιν. On this combination of the future and subjunctive cf. iii. 9. ἰνα is frequently followed by the future in our author: cf. vi. 4, 11, viii. 3, ix. 5, xii. 6, xiii. 12, xiv. 13.

The καὶ here = "and so"; for the faithful must first enter the City before they can eat of the tree of life: "that they may have the right to the tree of life and so may enter, etc." To ἰνα ἐσται ἡ ἐξοσεία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξολον τῆς ζωῆς we have a remarkable parallel in 1 Enoch xxv. 4, οὐδεμία σάρξ ἐξοσείαν ἔχει ἄφοσθαί αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως.

τὸ ἐξολον τῆς ζωῆς. See note on ii. 7.

15. ἔσο. There can be no question as to the meaning of this term here. Our author clearly states that outside the City or the gates of the City are all classes of sinners. We might compare Ps. ci. 7 1 "He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house." In the Pss. of Solomon xvii. 29 the writer declares of the Messiah:

"And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge in their midst,
Nor shall there dwell with them any that knoweth wickedness."

Nay, more, like Joel iii. 17 (ἀλλογενεῖς οὐ διελέυσονται δὶ αὐτῆς ὁκεῖν) the writer of this Psalm maintains the exclusion of the Gentiles in 31, "And the sojourner and the alien shall dwell with them no more." But in our author race distinctions are taken no
account of. Character alone is decisive of a man's fitness or unfitness.

οἱ κόσμοι. If we compare this verse with xxi. 8 we observe that they are practically doublets. Thus the οἱ φαρμακοί καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φωνεῖς καὶ οἱ εἴδωλολάτραι as well as πᾶς ποιῶν ψεῦδος are repeated almost verbally in xxi. 8. To τοῖς δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις in xxi. 8 there is no equivalent, but we may reasonably infer with Swete that the κόσμος of the verse before us denote the same persons as the ἐβελυμένως in xxi. 8. In other words, the persons referred to were either heathens or Jews stained with the abominable vice which excluded them from the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Spiritual Israel. Anciently the word was used to denounce the moral impurities of heathen worship: cf. Deut. xxiii. 18, "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore or the wages of a dog unto the house of the Lord thy God." Here "dog" is the technical term for a ἁρπαγή, or male prostitute, according to the inscription in the temple of Astarte at Larnaka. It was likewise employed by the Jews of the 1st century A.D. to designate the heathen: cf. Matt. xv. 22 sq. In Phil. iii. 2 St. Paul applies the term to the Judaizing faction in the Christian Church (βλάπτετε τοῖς κόσμοι). See Lightfoot, who well paraphrases iii. 2-3: "We are the children, for we banquet on the spiritual feast which God has spread before us: they are the dogs, for they greedily devour the garbage of carnal ordinances, the very refuse of God's table."

Οἱ φαρμακοί...καὶ εἴδωλολάτραι. If we attach to ποιῶν here the sense of doing with regard to a certain object or end, we should have an anticlimax in the phrase before us. The meaning then would be: "every one that loveth and maketh falsehood his systematic object." In this case ψεῦδος would differ from πράσσον ψ. The latter would mean simply "one who tells lies," "one who practises lying," whereas the former would mean rather "one who lies deliberately with an object" (see Plato, Charmides, 162d, on this meaning of ποιῶν as distinguished from πράσσον). The ψεῦδος denotes one who loves lying for its own sake. Here we might compare Rom. i. 32, οὗ μόνον αὕτη ποιῆσαι ἄλλη καὶ συνειδοκούντων τοῖς πράσσοσιν.

17. This is the last verse belonging to the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. It cannot belong to any other section of the work. It deals with the evangelization of the heathen nations as foretold in xiv. 7, xv. 4, and implied in xi. 15.

This expectation is in harmony with most O.T. prophecies—as in the Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Daniel, and also in
the Apocryphal literature—in Sirach, 1 Enoch, Testaments XII Patriarchs. See my *Eschatology*, and Wicks, *The Doctrine of God* (in the indexes of both).

τὸ πνεῦμα. πνεῦμα has many different meanings in our author. 1. Either alone, as in xiii. 15, or with ζωῆς appended, xii. 11, it simply means “life.” 2. It means personalized living beings either (a) as angels, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ, iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6: (b) as men, though in the passages that follow it is the spiritual element that is alone emphasized, ἐν πνεύματι, i. 10, iv. 2, xvii. 3, xxi. 10, δ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν, xxii. 6: (c) as un­
clean spirits or demons, πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, xvi. 13, xviii. 2, πν. δαιμονίων, xvi. 14. 3. It means the Spirit of Christ. Thus in τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει, ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13 (where ναὶ, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα—the utterance of the Seer—answers like an echo the voice from heaven in xiv. 13) it is the Spirit of Christ speaking through the Seer. For in all the Seven Letters the Speaker is Christ: cf. ii. 1, 8, 12, etc. Similarly in the present passage, xxii. 17, it is the Spirit of Christ that is speaking through John. Thus the entire phrase τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νῦμψη means con­
cretely “Christ and the Church in the Heavenly Jerusalem”—
that is the Church after the Second Advent, not before it: see next note. In such expressions of the prophet the human inter­mediary is wholly overlooked, and his utterance assigned directly to the Spirit, just as in the O.T. the prophet introduced his message with the words: “Thus saith the Lord.” We might compare 1 Tim. iv. 1, where τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει means in con­

ἡ νῦμψη. In xxi. 9 at the beginning of the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem this City is called ἡ νῦμψη: cf. xxi. 2. Thus the term has a double meaning: it can denote either the Heavenly Jerusalem or its inhabitants, i.e. the Spiritual Israel, which is to be the Bride of Christ, just as Israel in the O.T. was conceived of as the Bride of Yahweh. It is as the Spiritual Israel, as the Church triumphant in the Heavenly Jerusalem, that the Bride evangelizes the earth afresh—an evangelization which was promised in xiv. 7, xv. 4, and which, when it is accomplished, will make true in fact what was already declared as accomplished in the counsels of heaven in xi. 15, ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. England can mean either a certain geographical expanse of country or the people who live in it. See xix. 9*, p. 129.

ἐρχόμενοι. Cf. vi. 1. This word seems to be taken universally as the reply of the Church to the voice of Jesus in ver. 12. But, as we have seen above, the Bride is the Heavenly Jerusalem or its blessed inhabitants in the Millennial Kingdom and not the
The Revelation of St. John

§ 1. Church before the Advent. Thus Christ has already come in this vision. Further, in line 17, there can be no question that ἐρχέσθω refers to the coming of him that is athirst to Christ. It is, therefore, only natural, apart wholly from the force of the term ἡ ὑμηρὴ, to take ἐρχοῦ in 17ab in the same sense: i.e. as the invitation of the Spirit of Christ, of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and of those who accepted the message, to the world of men that were still thirsting for life and truth or were willing to accept them. Cf. John vi. 35, ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τινᾶς, καὶ ὁ πιστεῦων εἰς ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τίμησει πώποτε: vii. 37, εἶν τις δυσφ., ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Cf. the Didache, x. 6, in the post-Communion prayer of the Church.

"Let grace come (ἔθετο) And let this world go. Hosanna to the Son of David, If any one is holy, let him come (ἐρχόμενος): If any one is not, let him repent. Come, Lord (i.e. μαρανθάν)."

We have here a spiritual adaptation of certain parts of our text. Here, since the Second Advent of Christ is still in the distance, the prayer "Come, Lord" can be taken eschatologically as well as spiritually.

καὶ ὁ ἀκούων κτλ. The call was to be taken up by such as heard it and repented. The hearer is to be regarded as one who heard and accepted. ὁ δυσφ., ἐρχέσθω. Cf. Isa. lv. 1 (ὦ μιλήτης σὺς ἄνθρωπος); John vii. 37, εἶν τις δυσφ., ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Cf. also xxii. 6 of our text.

ὁ δώρῳ λειψίς δωρεάν. The phrase recurs in xxii. 6 where it rightly has the article τοῦ δώτας τῆς λειψίς δωρεάν—a fact which points to xxii. 6 as really coming later in the text.

CHAPTER XX. 4–15.

§ 1. Contents.

This section follows naturally on the elaborate description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which had come down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs. After this vision we have another vision of the glorified martyrs who alone had part in the first resurrection (xx. 4–6). Then, at the close of the Millennial Kingdom, Satan is loosed and leads Gog and Magog to the assault of the Beloved City, whereupon follows their destruction by fire from heaven, and Satan is cast into the lake of fire (7–10). This section closes with a vision of
the great white throne, before whose presence the former heaven
and earth had vanished, of the raising of the righteous and
wicked from the "treasuries" and from Sheol to be judged, and
the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire (11-15).

This section has suffered from a transposition of the text
in 4. Most probably 13 stood originally before 12. Glosses have
been added at the close of 12 and 14, and the text tampered
with in 13 on dogmatical grounds. 13 is meaningless as it
stands. 4-15 with the above exceptions comes from the hand of
John as we shall now show alike by its diction and idiom. That
it forms an organic and indispensable element of the Book is
obvious.

§ 2. Diction.

4. sis t. μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ σημαίνειν ἐν ὑποθέσει: cf. i. 2, 9,
vi. 9, xii. 22. ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον ὅθεν ἐν οὐκ αὐτοῦ: cf. xiv. 9.
τὸ χαράγμα ἐπὶ τ. μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χείρα: cf. xiii. 16. ἐβασίλευσαν κτλ.: cf. v. 10.
5. ἠρράζετο "came to life": cf. ii. 8 (xiii. 14). ἄρχει τελεσθῇ:
cf. xv. 8, xvii. 17, xx. 3.
6. δ' ἰδέας καὶ ἰδέας: cf. ii. 11, xxi. 8. ἰδείζει .. βασιλεύσουσιν: cf. i. 6, ν. 10.
7. ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς: cf. ii. 10 for phrase.
8. πλανᾶται τὰ ἐθνὶ: cf. xii. 9, xiii. 14 (xviii. 23), xix. 20,
xx. 3, 10. ἐν ταῖς πέτασμα γνωσίας τῆς γῆς: cf. vii. 11 for the
phrase. συναγαγέως αὐτοῦς εἰς τ. πόλεμον: cf. xvi. 14 for
the phrase.
10. δ' διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν: cf. xii. 9, ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πλανῶν.
ἐβλήθη εἰς τ. λίμνην τοῦ πυρός: cf. xix. 20, xx. 14, 15. ῶ του καὶ:
καί. βασανισθήσονται: cf. ix. 5, xiv. 10. ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτῶν: cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, etc. εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων: cf. i. 6, 18,
iv. 9, etc.
11. ἴσος . . . καὶ . . . ὅχι εὐρέθη: cf. xvi. 20, ἴσος καὶ
. . . ὅχι εὐρέθησαν. τόπος ὅχι εὐρέθῃ αὐτοῦς: cf. xii. 8.
12. ἵστοτε ἵστοτεν τ. θρόνου: cf. vii. 9, ἵστοτε ἵστοτεν τ.
θρόνον, viii. 2, etc. γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις: cf. i. 3. ἐν
αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα: xiii. 8, xx. 15, xxi. 27.
13. ἐκρίθησαν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. For ἐκαστὸς with
plural verb cf. v. 8 (cf. John xvi. 32), and for κατὰ τὰ ἔργα,
ii. 23.
16. εὐρέθη .. γεγραμμένος: cf. iii. 2 for construction. ἐν
τ. βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς: cf. iii. 5, xxi. 27.

§ 3. Idioms.

4. προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον: see note on vii. 11.
1. τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τ. χείρα: see note on xiii. 16, vii. 3.
2. ἀπειρομένων with subj.: cf. ii. 25, note, vii. 4, xv. 8, etc.
3. ἐπὶ τούτων ... ὡς ἔχει ἐξουσίαν: cf. ii. 26.
4. ἐν ... αὐτῶν: cf. iii. 8, vii. 2, 9, ix. 11, etc.
5. ὅπως = "gave up"—a Hebraism in this sense = πᾶς.

In two cases the text abandons our author's idiom owing to the ignorance of the editor.

4. Abandonment of the author's idiom by insertion of οἰνίνες by editor in τῶν ἐξουσιοδοτῶν ... καὶ οἰνίνες οὐ προσεκύνησαν. See note on i. 5.

11. τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ: see note on iv. 2. Our author wrote ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, but of our author's unique treatment of this phrase the editor of xxi. 4-xxii. was ignorant.

4-6. Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.

4. The construction of this verse is difficult. Thus we have two clauses, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, intervening between ἔδωκεν and its accusative τὰς ψυχὰς. But not only is the construction irregular, but the sense is hopelessly uncertain from the standpoint of our author. For if we ask who are those who seat themselves on the thrones, no satisfactory answer can be given. It is not the glorified martyrs; for they are first referred to in the words τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐξουσιοδοτῶν. And yet from iii. 21, where it is said that the martyrs are to share the throne of Christ, we should expect them to be referred to here and to sit on the thrones as Christ's assessors. Somewhat in favour of this view is Christ's promise to His Apostles in Matt. xix. 28, καθήσασθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ διώκεια θρόνους. Likewise in Dan. vii. 9 (LXX Theod.), ἐθεώρουν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ (ὁ θρόνος, Theod.) θρόνοιν ἐλευθήσατο, and vii. 26 (Theod.), τὸ κριτήριον ἐκάθισαν (LXX, ἡ κρίσις καθίσταται), and vii. 22 (Theod.), καὶ τὸ κρίμα (LXX, τὴν κρίσιν) ἔδωκεν (+ τοῖς, LXX) ἄγιοι (+ τοῖς, LXX), ὑψίστου, we have passages which not only speak of the function of judgment as assigned by the Most High to the saints, but appear to have suggested the clauses in our text. Cf. i Cor. vi. 2 sq., οὐκ ὁδηγεῖτε ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρίνονταίν ... ὅτι ἀγγέλων κρινοῦσιν.

Thus owing both to the ungrammatical structure of the text and its unintelligibleness it is not improbable that θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς καὶ was originally a marginal gloss based on Daniel, or rather that this passage has got displaced and should be restored after καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χείρα αὐτῶν. By adopting the latter alternative, as the present editor has done, we restore sanity to the text by making it at once grammatical and intelligible, and recovering the lost parallelism of the passage: i.e.
This signifies that authority is now vested in the hands of the righteous, and not in those of the oppressors of the Church as aforetime.

Τῶν πεπελεκισμένων, i.e. beheaded by the τελεκός—the instrument of capital punishment in republican Rome. Cf. Diod. Sic. xix. 101, βασίλειας ἐπελέκισε κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἠθος. Joseph. Ant. xiv. 7. 4, Ἠκτικών δὲ, ἐπιστεύτων αὐτῷ Πομπήιον ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν Ἀριστοβούλων, αἰτιασάμενος τῶν νεκρικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τό πρῶτον εἰς Ρωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένους τῷ τελέκει διεξήγατο. In vi. 9, xviii. 24 we find ἐσφαγμένων, the word used in connection with the Lamb that was sacrificed, v. 6, 9, 12, xiii. 8.

διὰ τὸ μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. These phrases are found in the opposite order in i. 2, 9, vi. 9. Cf. xii. 11.

[οἴτινες] οὗ προσεκύνησαν κτλ. These had all suffered martyrdom according to xiii. 15. The clause gives a further definition of those who had been faithful unto death. To regard these as forming a second class of the faithful, i.e. the surviving faithful, is against the actual statement in xiii. 15, and the presuppositions that underlie xiv.—xix. (see pp. 4, 26, 40, 96 ad fin.) and also against the immediate context; for in that case we should have to attach two conflicting meanings to ἐξησαν which immediately follows: i.e. "lived again" and "continued to live" according as we connect it with the first class, the actual martyrs, or the second class, the confessors. Moreover, the opening words of 5, οἱ λοιποί τῶν νεκρῶν, clearly imply that the persons referred to in 4 were among the νεκροί according to the usual phraseology.

[οἴτινες]. This is probably an addition made by the disciple who edited these last chapters. See note on i. 5b—6. By its omission we should recover our author's normal resolution of the participle into a finite verb, i.e. τὸ πεπελεκισμένων κτλ. καὶ οὗ προσεκύνησαν = "who had been beheaded and had not worshipped."

προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον κτλ. See vii. 11 π. ἐπὶ τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ χείρα. See xiii. 16 (π.), vii. 3 (π.).

ἐξησαν, i.e. "came to life" (cf. ii. 8, xiii. 14; Rom. xiv. 9) in human parlance, though in their life in heaven they had been
more truly alive than when they had been on earth. With this first resurrection or manifestation of the glorified martyrs in the Millennial Kingdom we should compare that of all the departed saints with Christ in 1 Thess. iv. 14-17, and that of certain saints who had been taken up alive into heaven in 4 Ezra vii. 28 (cf. vi. 26). This line resumes briefly the preceding eight lines.

εὐανευμαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ζητή. Cf. v. 10. The earliest authorities for the belief in a temporary kingdom of the Messiah are 1 Enoch xci.-civ. (xciii. 1-14, xci. 12-19), Pss. Sol. xi., xvii.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 1-62; Jub. xxiii. 27-29, 31, 11; 2 Bar. xxx., xl. 3, lxxiv. 2, xii. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 23-28. The limits assigned to its duration are various. In 4 Ezra vii. 28 sq. this kingdom is to endure for four hundred years, and to come to a close with the death of the Messiah and all His companions, and the world is to return to primeval silence—a statement apparently without parallel for its explicitness in Jewish literature. In 2 Bar. xxx., on the other hand, Christ returns in glory to heaven at the close of the Messianic reign. In 2 Enoch xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2 there is a reference to a period of Sabbatic rest of a thousand years after the close of six thousand years of the world’s history. Barnabas, Ep. xv. 2-8, accepts this view, and adds that the Son of God will appear at the close of the six thousand years to put an end to the reign of the Lawless one, to judge the wicked and to change the sun, moon, and stars. At the close of the Millennial period there will be the beginning of another world (ἀλλον κόσμον ἄρχην). See my Eschatology², pp. 248, 250 sq., 270 sq., 301 sq., 330, etc. Weber³, 373. The reckoning of a thousand years was based on a combination of Gen. i. 2 and Ps. xc. 4 = 2 Pet. iii. 8. From this it was concluded that as each day of creation stood for a world-day of a thousand years, so the history of the world would embrace a world-week of seven thousand years, six thousand years till the final judgment and a thousand years of blessedness and rest.

5. οἱ λαβόν τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἡσαν. Therefore not even the righteous, who had died a peaceful death, have part in this first resurrection. We should observe that John, who must have been well acquainted with the traditional and current belief, that the righteous survivors would be blessed on the advent of the kingdom, deliberately ignores it. This can only mean, as has been frequently shown in the preceding pages (see p. 183), that John held that there would be no righteous survivors on the advent of the kingdom. The traditional belief is attested in Dan. xii. 12; Pss. Sol. xvii. 50; Sibyll. Or. iii. 371; 1 Thess. iv. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 51-52; Asc. Isa. iv. 15.

ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνδροσίας ἐν ψυχῇ. This must not be construed in a purely spiritual sense and taken to mean a death to sin and a
new birth unto righteousness. 1. The earliest expounders of the
Apocalypse, such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenæus, Hippo-
lytus, and Victorinus, quite rightly take the words in a literal
sense of an actual reign of Christ with the glorified martyrs on
earth. The spiritualizing method which emanated from Alex-
andria put an end to all trustworthy exegesis of the Apocalypse,
when adopted in its entirety with reference to the Apocalypse.
The meaning assigned by the votaries of this method became
wholly arbitrary, and every student found in the Apocalypse what
he wished to find (see my Studies in the Apocalypse, 8, 9, 10,
12, 13, 14, 28, 30, 36, 38, 48, etc.). The earliest expounders
were right, as they were in close touch with the apostolic time.

2. Moreover, the Talmud, and other Jewish writings, and
specially the Jewish Apocalypses, attest a literal reign—and no
other—of the Messiah, so far as they deal with the question.

3. The context itself is wholly against taking the words in a
spiritual sense; for (a) this resurrection is obviously the guerdon
of martyrdom, and begins not with the beginning of the Christian
life but after its earthly close. (b) As Alford rightly urges: “no
legitimate treatment of it (i.e. the text itself) will extort what is
known as the spiritual interpretation now in fashion. If, in a
passage where two resurrections are mentioned, where certain
ψυχαι ζησαν at the first, and the rest of the νεκροι ζησαν only
at the end of a specified period after the first,—if in such a
passage the first resurrection may be understood to mean
spiritual rising with Christ, while the second means literal rising
from the grave;—then there is an end of all significance in
language, and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to
anything.” Hence attempts to revive the spiritualizing inter-
pretation of the Millennial Kingdom are to be deplored from
every standpoint.

But since the first resurrection embraces only the glorified
martyrs, who return to earth to share the Millennial Kingdom
with Christ in the Jerusalem which comes down from heaven, it
is different in character from the second. For only the faithful
who had undergone martyrdom have part in it, whereas at the
second resurrection the rest of the faithful and all the unfaithful
rise to judgment. As we shall see on xx. 12, these two classes
appear before the great white throne, the former, as we must
conclude, in their glorified spiritual bodies, and the latter simply
as disembodied souls—i.e. naked.

6. By meeting martyrdom on behalf of their faith the
martyrs are admitted to share in the Millennial Kingdom, are
not subject to the second death, and accordingly are exempt
from the Judgment that is to follow on the close of the kingdom.
Moreover, their priestly character in bringing the knowledge of
God and Christ to the nations during the Millennial Kingdom appears to be referred to in the expression ἱερεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (see below).

μακάριος καὶ ἄγιος. Μακάριος is used seven times—in each case in connection with a beatitude—cf. i. 3, xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14. ἄγιος though of frequent occurrence is not used in this connection elsewhere in our author. Hence it is possible, as Wetstein suggests, that ἄγιος refers to the blessed in their priestly capacity (ἱερεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ) and μακάριος in their kingly (βασιλεύσωσιν). The combination “blessed and holy” is found in Jub. ii. 23.

ὁ ἤκοις μέρος ἐν. Cf. John xiii. 8, ὁ δὲ ἤκοις μέρος μετ' ἐμοῦ: also in xxi. 8 in a different form, τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν, and xxii. 19.

ἐν τούτῳν. For ἐν in this sense with the genitive cf. ii. 26 [xi. 6], [xiv. 18].

ὁ διευθετος δόματος. This death is defined in xxi. 8 (cf. Matt. x. 28). It is mentioned already in ii. 11 as a punishment, from which those, who are faithful to the end, are exempt. In xx. 14 it is clearly an interpolation.

ὡς ἤξει ἤξουλαν. Cf. ii. 26, vi. 8, ix. 3, etc.

ἱερεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. i. 6, ἱερεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ. Now it is to be observed that in i. 6 (see note in loc.), v. 10, and here the priesthood and the kingship of those whom John addressed are conjoined (in 1 Pet. ii. 9 they are combined in one expression, βασιλεύων ἱεράτευμα). But it is further noteworthy that v. 10 (ἐκοίμησα αὐτοῦς ... βασιλεύς καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν τῇ γῆς γῆς) and the present passage connect the priesthood with a special period of kingship, i.e. that which they are to exercise in the Millennial Kingdom, and share with Christ (xx. 6) on the earth (v. 10). These facts suggest that the priestly offices of the blessed in the Millennial Kingdom have to do with the nations, who are to be evangelized during this period (xiv. 6–7, xv. 4), and this suggestion receives some support from xxii. 5 where, when the eternal reign of all the saints after the Judgment is mentioned (βασιλεύσωσιν εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων), there is not the remotest reference to any special or other priesthood of the faithful.

βασιλεύσωσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ. The scene of this reign is given in the proleptic vision, v. 10, as ἐν τῇ γῆς γῆς.

7–10. Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follow the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog—all the faithless upon the earth—against the Beloved City, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth with Christ and the glorified martyrs before the
Judgment is presupposed, while its return to the new earth in a renewed form is definitely stated in xxi. 2. Since "the Beloved City" in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse include the risen martyrs and the converts from among the nations.

The same order of events appears in Sibyll. Or. iii. 662–701, i.e. the advent of the Messiah, the establishment of His kingdom, the attack of the nations on Jerusalem, and the destruction of the invading hosts by God. In certain sections (A¹, A², A³) of Baruch (1st century A.D.; see my edition, pp. liii. sqq.) the writers look forward to a temporary Messianic kingdom preceded by the Messianic woes, a beneficent domination of the world by the Messiah preceded by the destruction of the antichristian powers, and of such heathen powers as had been in any way associated with them. In the Son of Man Vision in 4 Ezra xiii. the Messianic woes come first (xiii. 30–31), then the manifestation of the Messiah (xiii. 32), the assault of the heathen nations on the Messiah, and their destruction by Him, xiii. 33–34, and the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, xiii. 36. For yet another scheme of the last things see 4 Ezra iv. 56–v. 13a, vi. 11–28, vii. 26–44 (Box’s edition, p. 111). According to a contemporary of our author, R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos or R. Eliezer the Great, the woes of the Messiah were to come first, then the day of Gog and Magog, and then the Judgment. If we pass on to the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias (a Jewish work edited by a Christian, 2nd century A.D.) we find the order of events as follows: the destruction of Antichrist and his adherents, the advent of Christ with His saints, the creation of the new heaven and the new earth and the Millennial Kingdom! In the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah (3rd century A.D.) Gog and Magog appear after a Messianic reign of forty years. On their annihilation follow the Judgment and the descent of Jerusalem from heaven.

It will be observed that, though each of the works above cited differs in some respect from our text, in some respects they all agree with it.

It is obvious at a glance that our author here forsakes the apocalyptic style and adopts the prophetic. But he has already done so in 6co, and in 9–10 he reverts to his apocalyptic style. Further, there are no grounds in this section itself for assuming a source, since there is not a single construction at variance with our author’s style, though there are new phrases as might be expected in describing new events.

7. λυθὼντα. Cf. λυθήκας in 3 and the same verb in ix. 14 used in the same sense. ἐκ τ. φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ. Cf. ii. 10 [xviii. 2] for the word φυλακῆ.
8. ἔβελενται (cf. iii. 12, vi. 2, 4, ix. 3, etc.) πλανήσει τὰ ἔθνη.
In 3 Satan was cast into the abyss, ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἐν τὰ ἔθνη.

In this phrase has already occurred.

τὸν Γαγ καὶ Μαγγά. Three matters call for consideration here:
1. The names.
2. The duplication of the invasion by and the judgment of the heathen nations, i.e. before and after the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom.
3. The comprehension of these terms in our text.

1. Magog first appears in Gen. x. 2 as a son of Japheth, but in the Mass. of Ezek. xxxviii. 2 Magog is represented as the land from which Gog came: i.e. "Gog of the land of Magog." The LXX (ἐπὶ Γαγ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Μαγγά) and Peshitto, however, have "toward Gog and (+‘toward,’ Pesh.) the land of Magog," a reading which prepares the way for the later view current in Judaism, which conceived Gog and Magog to be two different leaders. In Ezek. xxxix. 6 Magog seems to be the name of a people. Gog is the foe whose invasion from the north had been prophesied by Jeremiah (iii.-vi.) and by Zephaniah (i. 7), but whose coming had hitherto been looked for in vain. The name Gog is undoubtedly ancient; for it is found in the Tel Amarna letters (1400 b.c.) in the form Gagaja as a designation of the northern nations. In Jubilees viii. 25 the land of Gog is mentioned. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (Ant. i. 6. 1) and by the Chronicles of Jerachmeel (xxxi. 4). In Jub. vii. 19, ix. 8, Magog appears as a son of Japheth, as in Gen. x. 2. The same idea that underlies the LXX of Ezek. xxxviii. 2 is definitely set forth in Sibyll. Or. iii. 512, 519:

αἰαὶ σοι, Γαγ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς ἡμὰ Μαγγά . . .
"Ὑπότοις δείνῃ ἐπισώπημεν ἐθνοὶ πληγήν."

and 319 sq.:

αἰαὶ σοι, χώρα Γαγ ἰδὲ Μαγγά μίσου ὄθων
Ἀλβιόπον πτομὰμων, πόσου αἰματος ἐκχυμα δέξῃ.

By the second century b.c. this invasion of Palestine by the two peoples Gog and Magog was clearly expected.

2. The duplication of the attack on Jerusalem (see p. 46), i.e. before and after the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom and of the judgment on the heathen nations. The first attestation of this conception is, of course, in Ezek. xxxvii. 21-xxxix. In xxxvii. 21-28 the kingdom with the Messiah, the son of David, is established after the Captivity. Thereupon follows the final attack of the heathen nations upon it in xxxviii.-ix. In the fragment, 1 Enoch liv. 5-8, we have a description of such an attack. In 4 Ezra xiii. 5, 8-9, 28-35 there is another account.
of this final assault of the heathen nations on the Messiah and on Mount Zion, or the Heavenly City, xiii. 35-36 (cf. 6), just as in our text.

In many of the authorities it is only the hostile heathen hosts that are destroyed: cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 32; 2 Bar. lxxii. 4; Tobit xiii. 11, xiv. 6 sq.; Sanh. 105a; but in most Jewish writings after 100 A.D. a harsher view prevails as to the future destiny of all the Gentiles.

Gog and Magog are frequently mentioned in Rabbinic works. These nations march against God and the Messiah, Aboda-zara, 3b. This war and the last judgment were to last twelve months according to the Rabbi Aqiba, Edujoth, ii. 10. Other references to Gog and Magog will be found in Ber. 7b and also in the Targ. Jer. on Num. xi. 26, where it is recorded that Medad prophesied: "In fine extremitatis dierum Gog et Magog et exercitus ejus ascendent contra Jerusalem, et per manus regis Messiae cadent, et septem annis integris ignem accendent filii Israel ex eorum instrumentis bellicos" (cf. also Targ. Jon. in loc.). In the Targ. Jon. on Ex. xi. 11, Num. xxiv. 17, Gog's armies are mentioned, and in the Targ. Jer. on Deut. xxxii. 39 and on Isa. xxxiii. 22. See Weber, Bousset, and Volz in loc.

3. The terms "Gog and Magog" comprehend all the faithless upon the earth. These are all destroyed by fire from heaven in 9. Hence the earth is left without inhabitant at the close of the Millennial Kingdom. Since the faithful at the close of the thousand years withdraw from the earth along with the Heavenly Jerusalem, there is no longer upon the earth any in whom is the breath of human life. At this point our Apocalypse agrees with 4 Ezra vii. 29-30, which declares that the world will revert "into the primeval silence . . . like as in the first beginnings, so that no man is left": cf. 2 Bar. iii. 7, "Shall the world return to its nature (of aforetime) and the age revert to primeval silence?"

συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. This phrase has already occurred in xvi. 14.

δὲ δὲ ἄριστος αὐτῶν ὡς κτλ. On the Hebraism iii. 8, xiii. 8, 12, etc. On the metaphor ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, cf. Gen. xxii. 17; Jos. xi. 4; Judg. vii. 12, etc. The phrase ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης has already occurred in a literal sense in xii. 18.

9. ἀνάβησαν. Cf. 1 Enoch lvi. 6 sq. where the Parthians and Medes are mentioned:

"And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones . . .

But the city of My righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses."

Also Zech. xii. 3. ἀρβαλήνω is the word always used in connec-
tion with the pilgrims going up to Jerusalem. We might compare the “Songs of the Ascents” — the title of certain of the later Psalms sung by the pilgrims as they approached the Holy City. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 9, 11, 16 of the going up of Gog to Jerusalem. Bousset and Gunkel explain the ἀνεβησαν of the march of Gog and Magog from the outlying periphery of the earth to the mountain of God lying in the centre of the earth.

οὐ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς. There are two ways of rendering these words. 1. “Through the breadth of the earth.” This phrase is found in the LXX of Hab. i. 6 (in connection with the march of the Chaldean army against Jerusalem) where it is a translation of ותלע. 2. It is suggested that this phrase describes the goal, towards which Gog and Magog were marching, i.e. Jerusalem, which in Ezek. xxxviii. 12 is called the centre or navel of the earth. Wellhausen suggests that the Greek phrase before us = τὸ ἱπτὼν Ἰερουσαλήμ (Ezek. xxxviii. 11) and is actually identical with συνέβη = συνέβη τῆς γῆς (xxxviii. 12).

διάκλεισαν. Here and in John x. 24 only in the N.T.

τὴν παρεσβάλλη τῶν ἁγίων. i.e. the same as the Heavenly City. If the heathen nations had the daring to attack the supernatural Messiah and His elect (xvii. 14) it is not surprising that they should assault His city.

τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαστήρα. The “Holy City” is rightly here designated “the beloved.” For a thousand years it has been the seat of Christ’s Kingdom and the centre of the evangelizing efforts of the Church. Thus its record stands out in strong contrast with that of the earthly Jerusalem, which according to our author “is called spiritually Sodom and Egypt” (xi. 8). As such it rightly perished at the hands of the antichristian power of Rome. But far other is the destiny of “the beloved city.” When Gog and Magog have been destroyed by fire and Satan cast down into the lake of fire, the Holy City, which had come down from heaven, is presupposed to be withdrawn from the sphere of the former heaven and the former earth, and after that it has itself been renewed (observe xxi. 2, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καθηρὰ) to return from heaven from God to the new earth.

That an assault on Christ and the Holy City should be deemed an inconceivable event by a few scholars can only be due to their want of acquaintance not only with Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic but even with the text of our author. For in our author we find the Parthian kings making war upon the Lamb and the elect (xvii. 14), while in xix. 19 the kings of the earth and their armies levy war on Christ and His hosts from heaven (xix. 14). These passages refer to events at the initiation of the Millennial Kingdom. In 4 Ezra xiii., as in our text, the heathen nations (xiii. 5, 33, 34) assail the Messiah, who came
flying with the clouds of heaven (xiii. 3) and brought with Him the Heavenly Jerusalem (xiii. 6, 35, 36), but with a flaming breath from His lips He burnt them all up so that there was nothing more to be seen of them “save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke” (xiii. 10–11, 38). We have here almost a perfect parallel to the account in our text from what was practically a contemporary Jewish source. For we have a supernatural Messiah, a Heavenly Jerusalem established on Mount Zion, an assault of the heathen nations, and their destruction by fire. There is, of course, one outstanding difference between the two accounts, i.e. that whereas these events are connected with the first advent of the Messiah in the Jewish document, they are incidents belonging to the second advent of Christ in the Christian Apocalypse.

Likewise in 4 Ezra xii. 32–34 we have a description of the Messiah destroying the heathen nations — especially Rome. Similarly in 2 Bar. xl. 1 sq., lxxii. 2 sqq. That He is a supernatural Messiah whom the nations have attacked is to be inferred from the description in 4 Ezra xiii. 3b, 26, xiv. 9, and 2 Bar. xxx. 1. We have already become familiar with this conception of the Messiah in 1 Enoch xxxvii.–lxxii.

catēβη πυρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐδρανοῦ. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22, πῦρ καὶ θείον βρέξω ἐπὶ αὐτόν (τὸν Γάιον) καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ: xxxix. 6, ἀποστελῶ πῦρ ἐπὶ Γάιον, and the references given in the preceding note from 4 Ezra in exactly analogous circumstances: 2 Thess. i. 8, ii. 8; Asc. Is. iv. 18. So far as words go, a perfect parallel to catēβη . . . αὑτοὺς is found in 2 Kings i. 10.

catέφαγεν αὐτοὺς. All the hosts of Gog and Magog are burnt up—that is all the faithless upon the earth (see note 3 on 8 above). At the close of 10 we are left to infer that the Holy City has withdrawn with all the faithful from the earth. Thereupon follows the Judgment of the risen dead by God Himself, from whose presence the former outworn heaven and earth vanish into nothingness.

10. ὁ διαβόλος ὁ πλανῶν. Cf. xii. 9, ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁ πλανῶν: [xiii. 14] xix. 20. ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην κτλ. Cf. xix. 20. ἐπὶ καὶ. Cf. xi. 8: also (for στόχον without καὶ) ii. 13, στόχον . . . ἐκεῖ, xii. 6, 14. Cf. xvi. 9. βασανοθησονται (cf. ix. 5, xiv. 10). ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός (cf. iv. 8, vii. 15, xii. 10, xiv. 11). εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων (i. 6, 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, vii. 12, x. 6, xi. 15, etc.).

11–15. Vision of the great white throne and of Him who sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire. This vision consists of four stanzas of three lines each. This vision has suffered at the hands of interpolators.

11. ἐδειν τρόλου μέγαν. As distinct from those mentioned in
iv. 4, xx. 4, this throne is designated μεγάλον. Moreover, whereas God has assessors seated on adjoining thrones in Dan. vii. 9, here He judges alone. With this line and the text which refers to God we might compare Isa. vi. 1, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne . . . and His train filled the temple." In our text there is not the same explicitness. God is referred to indeed under the unmistakable designation ὁ καθήμενος ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ θρόνον, but the place of the judgment is not specified. The latter is only natural; for before the judgment has taken place (12-15) the former heaven and earth have vanished into nothingness (xi 14b). Hence the great white throne is conceived as the only thing (save the Heavenly Jerusalem which was to be renewed) that survives the annihilation of all that belongs to the first heaven and the first earth, and as situated somewhere in illimitable space. It is before this great white throne that the risen souls clothed in spiritual bodies and unclothed, i.e. those of the righteous and of the wicked, appear. Since this throne was created before the world (Berisheth rab. i.), as the eternal place of God, it could well be conceived as surviving the world's annihilation. According to 4 Ezra vii. 33 also, "the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment" after the first world has disappeared (vii. 31; see p. 198). It was different, however, in earlier Apocalypses, where the Messianic Kingdom was everlasting on the present earth and was of necessity preceded by the Final Judgment. In such cases the Final Judgment took place upon the earth, and the throne of judgment was set up in Palestine, 1 Enoch xc. 20. In Joel iii. 2, 12, 14-16 and 1 Enoch liii. 1 the valley of Jehoshaphat is the scene of this judgment and the agents are the angels (Joel iii. 13).

The Final Judgment is reserved in our text for God Himself; but this Judgment has to do only with the dead, or rather those risen from the dead, both good and bad, whereas the judgment of the living in xiv. 14, 18-20, xvii. 14, xix. 11-21, xx. 7-10 is committed wholly to Christ. In assigning the Final Judgment exclusively to the Father even in this limited form (see, however, xxii. 13, 12) our author stands apart from the doctrine presented in John v. 22, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν κρίσιν πάσαν δι’ ὑμᾶς, and Matt. vii. 22, 23, xvi. 27, xxv. 31-46; Acts xvii. 31; 2 Cor. v. 10. Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 3, lxix. 27; 2 Bar. lxxii. 2-6. On the other hand, God alone is mentioned in this relation in Matt. vi. 4, 6, 14, 15, 18, xviii. 35, while St. Paul sometimes ascribes the Final Judgment to God, Rom. xiv. 10, and sometimes to Christ, 2 Cor. v. 10.

λευκὸν. This epithet may point to the absolute equity of the Judgment. Or since according to our text and 4 Ezra vii. 31 the first world and all that belongs to it have vanished, and
according to 4 Ezra vii. 41–42, "there is neither sun nor moon nor stars ... neither shining nor brightness nor light, but only the splendour of the glory of the Most High" (~אשuv הלל, the throne of God is lighted up with the splendour of the Shekinah, and hence it is the centre of light in the illimitable vastness of space. Whether this is so or not, it is the glory of God alone that lights up the universe. See note on τ. δύσκολον τοῦ θεοῦ, xxi. 10; also xxi. 23, note.

οὐ διδού τοῦ προσώπου ἄνωθεν ἢ γῆ καὶ δ ὑποίας. Cf. xvi. 20.

When we take this line in connection with that which follows, it is clear that there is here taught the literal vanishing of the former heaven and earth into nothingness. As I have shown in my Eschatology, 127–128, the older doctrine in the O.T. was the eternity of the present order of things. This was the received view down to the 2nd century B.C. From the 1st century B.C. onward in Judaism and Christianity, the transitoriness of the present heaven and earth was universally accepted. Cf. Mark xiii. 31, δ οὐρανός καὶ ἡ γῆ παρέλευσον.

From the words before us we must conclude that before the Judgment began both heaven and earth had vanished into nothingness. This conclusion is of great importance when we come to deal with 13. That this was a contemporary Jewish doctrine we find from 2 Enoch lxv. 6, "when all creation visible and invisible ... shall end, then every man goes to the great judgment." See also 4 Ezra vii. 31–36 (in the note on 13 below) where the same view is taught.

καὶ τότος οὐχ ἐστὶν ἄνατος. See xii. 8 n.

12. Since the verses that precede and follow 12 consist each of three lines, we naturally expect that 12 originally consisted of three lines also. When we examine the text we discover one or two disturbing glosses. When these are excised this verse is parallel in structure to that which precedes and that which follows it. But this verse should be transposed after 13, since it presupposes it.

τοῖς υπέρκειται, i.e. the rest of the dead who had no share in the first resurrection. Only the dead appear before the great white throne. As Christ had judged the quick in a series of judgments (see note on 11), so God Himself judges all the dead save those who had part in the first resurrection. From 11 taken in conjunction with 13 it is to be concluded that our author has no thought here of a bodily resurrection—save in the case of the righteous dead, who would naturally as in 1 Cor. xv. appear in their spiritual bodies. As regards the wicked, however, the case is different. These would appear simply as disembodied souls—"naked"—in a spiritual environment without a body—without the capacity for communication with or means of expres...
sion in that environment. Every wicked soul, therefore, would be thus shut up within itself and form its own hell even before it was cast into the lake of fire.

Elsewhere our author writes τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους: cf. xi. 18, xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18 (the usual order in the O.T.). But he may have here deliberately changed the order to emphasize the judgment which awaits the great ones of the earth, and which they so often escaped on earth. In the O.T. the order τ. μεγ. καὶ τ. μικροὺς is found in Jonah iii. 5, but in 1 Sam. v. 9; Jer. vi. 13, xxxi. 34; Ps. cxv. 13 we have the usual order τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους.

καὶ βιβλία ἐνοίχθησαν. These books contain a record of all that men have done: cf. Dan. vii. 10, βιβλοὶ ἐνοίχθησαν: i Enoch xc. 20, “The other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the Sheep”; 4 Ezra vi. 20, “The books shall be opened before the face of the firmament”; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1, “Behold the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all who have sinned”; Asc. Isa. ix. 22. On these books see my note on i Enoch, xvii. 3, which deals with three distinct classes of heavenly books, two of which are mentioned in our text.

καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἐνοίχθη δέ ἐτιν τῆς ζωῆς. This book is the register of the righteous. Cf. i Enoch xlvi. 3, “The books of the living were opened before Him” (see note in loc.; also on iii. 5 of the present text). The explanatory clause looks like a gloss. Seeing that this book has already been mentioned with the article in iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, such a clause is needless at all events. The relation of the book of life and the books is well stated by Alford. These “books and the book of life bore independent witness to the fact of men being or not being among the saved: the one by inference from the works recorded: the other by inscription or non-inscription of the name in the list. So the books could be as the ‘vouchers’ for the book of life.”

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν]. This phrase is a mere tautology here. It is interpolated from 13, where it rightly occurs. If the dead are judged, ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις, that is the same thing as saying ἐκρίθησαν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν (13).

18. This verse should be transferred before 12.

καὶ ἔθηκεν ἤ τὰ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν ἄντη, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐν οἷς ἔδωκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν ἄντη, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

This stanza betrays in its present form a hopeless confusion of thought, which can only be due to deliberate change of the text. The context cannot admit of a resurrection of the physical body from the sea—seeing that the sea and everything pertaining to it
had vanished. And yet this is the only natural meaning of 13\(^a\). Hence, if 13\(^a\) is original and we hold fast to the natural sense, 11\(^b\) cannot be original. But the originality of 11\(^b\) cannot be questioned, for xxi. 4\(^d\), 5 presuppose it. Accordingly we must either interpret 13\(^a\) in a wholly non-natural sense as defining not the place of departed souls but the means by which certain men perished, \(i.e.\) the sea, and 13\(^b\) as giving the intermediate abode of all souls, which had died on sea or land, save only those of the martyrs. The general sense then would be: all souls together with their bodies—even those lost at sea (13\(^a\))—are given up by Hades for judgment before the great white throne.

But it is only by a quite illegitimate tour de force that such a meaning can be wrested from the words. 13\(^a\) clearly presupposes the sea at once as existing and delivering up the bodies that had been engulfed in it, at the same time that Hades is represented as delivering up the souls that were in it. Body and soul would thus be reunited. The only natural meaning, then, of 13\(^ab\) is in conflict with the unmistakable statement in 11\(^b\) that sea is now non-existent, and with the presupposition that underlies the entire book, \(i.e.\) that the wicked rise as disembodied souls (see additional note on vi. 11).\(^1\) Only the righteous are to possess

The doctrine of a bodily resurrection is consistently taught in 1 Enoch xxxvii.—lxvi. There the general resurrection takes place before the Judgment, while the former heaven and the former earth still subsist. In lxvi. 5 we find an account of the resurrection of

"Those who had been destroyed by the desert,
And those who had been devoured by the beasts,
And those who had been devoured by the fish of the sea."

Here quite distinctly a physical resurrection is described. Further in the same work in li. 1 the body and soul are raised separately and reunited at the Final Judgment. In the case of the righteous a transformation of the physical body into a spiritual is presupposed in the rest of this section (lxii. 15, 16).

"And in those days shall the earth also give back that which was entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell (=Abaddon) shall give back that which it owes."

Cf. also Ps.-Philo, de Bibli. Antiquitatis, iii. 10:

"Reddet infemus (=Hades) debitum suum,
Et perditio (=Abaddon) restituet paratemon suam,
Ut reddam unicuique secundum opera sua."

There is a remarkable parallelism here with our text (13). The doctrine of a physical resurrection is enforced dogmatically in 2 Bar. xlix.—li. and Sanh. 91\(^a\). This was the orthodox Rabbinic belief, and it is expressed in the ancient Benediction (Ber. 66\(^b\)) still recited by the pious Jew every morning:

"O my God, the soul which Thou gavest me is pure: Thou didst create it . . . and Thou wilt take it from me, but wilt restore it unto me hereafter . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest souls to dead bodies" (see Singer, Authorised Daily Prayer Book—Hebrew and English, p. 5).

But this crass materialistic doctrine does not belong to the N.T. Such a
bodies, _i.e._ spiritual bodies. Finally, Sheol in our author is the abode, not of righteous but of wicked or indifferent souls. As we shall see presently, righteous souls (save those of the martyrs) were preserved in "the treasuries."

Hence we conclude that in ἡ θάλασσα τῶν νεκρῶν τῶν ἐν αἰῶνι there is a deliberate change of τὰ ταμεῖα into ἡ θάλασσα in order to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection. These ταμεῖα (or "treasuries") contained the souls of the righteous (with the exception of the martyrs who were already in heaven), whereas εἰδης was the abode of the wicked souls. Thus we should have:

"And the treasuries gave up the dead that were in them, And death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, And they were judged every man according to their works."

Our text thus, like the Pauline Epistles, teaches a resurrection of persons ("the dead" so called), not a resurrection of dead bodies even though in company with souls. The personality of the righteous is complete—the soul clothed with a spiritual body: the personality of the unrighteous is incomplete—the soul is without a body—without the power of expressing itself or receiving impressions from without. Sin is ultimately self-destructive.

That such deliberate perversions of the text took place early—probably in the 2nd century A.D.—I shall show presently. In the meantime it is our task to prove that in apocalyptic circles, to which our author belonged, it was the accepted belief that the souls of the righteous were preserved in certain "treasuries." The word "treasuries" (in the Latin of 4 Ezra promptuaria, and in the Syriac of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch [ܐܬܘܪܐ]) clearly goes back to the Hebrew דְּמַעֲנָה, which is used also in the Talmud occasionally in this sense, and which in the Midr. raba on Ecclesiastes iii. 21 (Weber, 338) is said to be placed in the heavenly height. These treasuries are first referred to in 1 Enoch c. 5, though not by name:

"And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from among the holy angels, To guard them as the apple of an eye,

doctrine has no part in the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, or in the Fourth Evangelist, nor does it find any countenance in our author, though it was enforced by many of the Fathers in the Christian Church from the 3rd century onward in opposition to Gnosticism, and other more legitimate doctrines within the Church on this question.
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear."

To these treasuries only the souls of the righteous were admitted. From this passage in 1 Enoch (early in the 1st century B.C.) we come down to two Jewish works practically contemporary with our author, i.e. 2 Bar. and 4 Ezra. In 2 Bar. xxii. 23, we have a remarkable confirmation of the above emendation of 13a; for in xxii. 23 the angel of death is mentioned, then Sheol as the intermediate abode of wicked souls, and then the treasuries of the souls of the righteous. These treasuries are to be opened after the close of the Messianic Kingdom, 2 Bar. xxx. 2, and the souls of the righteous to come forth at the Final Judgment. In 4 Ezra iv. 41-42 we find a second confirmation of the above restoration of 13a.

"And he said unto me: Sheol and the treasuries of souls are like the womb: 42. For just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning." Here as Sheol (cf. viii. 53) is the abode of unrighteous souls, so the treasuries are the abode of righteous souls (cf. iv. 35, vii. 80). These treasuries were to restore the souls of the righteous at the Final Judgment, vii. 32, 95. These treasuries are likewise designated "habitations" (habitacla: cf. "mansions" or "abiding places," μνατα, John xiv. 2) in vii. 85, 101, 121.

We have thus proved that towards the close of the 1st century A.D. as well as earlier and later the souls of the righteous were conceived of as being guarded and at rest (cf. 1 Enoch c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95) in certain places called "treasuries," and that from these the souls of the righteous came forth at the Final Judgment.

Such a conception as the above would suit our text perfectly; for the Final Judgment has come, and since it is a judgment both of the righteous and the wicked, we expect some reference to the former in our text. By the proposed restoration we recover this reference. But the evidence in favour of this restoration is not yet complete. For an examination of our author's use of the word ἀδήμωμεθα shows that he uses it in a bad sense as the temporary abode of wicked souls. This is evident from the next verse (xx. 14), where it is said that death and Hades are cast down into the lake of fire. Hence ἀδήμωμεθα bears no neutral complexion in our author. Had it done so, it would simply have vanished into nothingness like the earth (11b), but it is hurled into the abyss where Satan and his servants are tormented for ever and ever.

Thus, unless the text is restored as above suggested, there
would only be a judgment of wicked souls, but by the above restoration we have a General Judgment of the righteous and the wicked.

It is significant that in 4 Ezra vii. 31–36 we find an analogous deprivation of the text with a like object, that is, to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection. As might be expected, the thought of the text is thereby hopelessly confused. In vii. 31–36 we have a description in couplets of the new heaven and the new earth taking the place of the old which as corruptible had passed away.

31. "And it shall be that after seven days the Age, which is not yet awake, shall be aroused,
And that which is corruptible shall perish." 1

32a. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
32b. And the treasuries shall restore those that were committed unto them.
33. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment.
And compassion shall pass away
And longsuffering shall disappear.
34. But judgment alone shall remain,
Truth shall stand and faithfulness flourish.
35. And recompense shall follow,
And the reward be made manifest."

Box, following Kabisch, has through a strange misconception obelized 32b as an interpolation. But manifestly 32ab is the intruder.

δένεισ . . δεκαν. Here δεκαν is used absolutely like γεν =

1 Here a couplet has been displaced and another interpolated to introduce the idea of a physical resurrection.

32a. "And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
b. And the dust those that are at rest therein."

Seeing that the new world has already displaced the old in 31 this couplet is wholly at variance with the context. Its aim is to assert the resurrection of the body, to rejoin the souls which come forth from the treasuries, 32b. But since the treasuries are prepared for righteous souls only (cf iv. 35, vii. 80, 95; 2 Bar. xxii. 23, xxx. 2; 1 Enoch c. 5) the text would then teach only a resurrection of the righteous. But every couplet that follows proves that we have here a general resurrection. The lost couplet clearly spoke of Sheol giving up the souls of the wicked for judgment, as the treasuries in 32a yield up the souls of the righteous.

2 The Syriac here interpolates "And then cometh the end" against all the other versions.

8 The Syriac adds "And pity shall be afar off" against the Latin and the first Arabic versions. The Syr. is supported by the Eth. and Arab. The line appears to be a doublet.
“to give up.” It is not a classical use, nor so far as I am aware a Hellenistic one.

ο θάνατος καὶ ο θάνατος. As pointed out in the preceding note, θάνατος can be here only the abode of unrighteous souls (as in 1 Enoch lxiii. 10 xcix. 11, ciili. 7; Pss. Sol. xiv. 6, xv. 11), seeing that in the next verse it is cast into the lake of fire. Death and Hades have already been found together in i. 18 (n.), vi. 8: also in Ps.-Philo, De Bibl. Antiquitatibus. In the latter work the destruction of death and Hades are followed as in our text by the creation of a new heaven and a new earth.

“Et extinguetur mors,
Et infernus (= Hades) claudit os suum . . .
Et erit terra alia et caelum aliud.”

The alia and aliuq here obviously go back to ἐτερος which as distinguished from ἄλλος involves a distinction in kind. While ἄλλος simply asserts the negation of identity, ἐτερος asserts the negation of likeness in kind. In 2 Bar. xxi. 23, when Sheol and the treasuries have yielded up the souls in them, the new world promised by God was to be manifested, xxi. 25. This accords with the order of events in our text, xx. 13, xxi. 1. In 2 Enoch lxv. 10 it is said that “all corruptible things shall pass away, and there shall be eternal life.”

ἐκρίθησαν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. Cf. ii. 23; Ps. xxviii. 4, lxiii. 13; Jer. xvii. 10, Matt. x. 32, 33.

14–15. These two verses originally formed the concluding stanza of this section. The text as it stands is impossible. The statement oυτος ο θάνατος δεύτερος ἐστιν, ἡ λίμνη τού πυρός can only be made in reference to human beings, who have undergone the first death, i.e. the physical one. Hence, if it belongs to the text, it does not do so in its present position. Here, though a number of cursives, the Sahidic Version and Primasius omit this line, the grounds for its rejection in its present position are not to be sought in textual evidence, since its intrusion is anterior to all such evidence. The real grounds for its rejection are that the statement is absolutely devoid of meaning. Even if death and Hades be regarded as persons, we cannot conceive (cf. Haussleiter, Die Lateinische Apocalypse, 213) how the words ο θάνατος ο δεύτερος can be applied to them. Moffatt suggests that this line was displaced from its original position after 15. There are, in fact, only these two alternatives. Either (1) the line is to be rejected as a gloss, and we must read as follows:

καὶ ο θάνατος καὶ ο θάνατος
ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τού πυρός,
καὶ εἰ τις οὐχ εὕρεθ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος
ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τού πυρός.
Or (a) what appears here as the first and second lines must be read as the first, and what appears here as the third and fourth lines must be read as the second, and oũtos  δ θάνατος  δ δεύτερος ἔτων, ὥ λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς be read as the third. This latter arrangement is not free from serious objections. These are two. First, there does not appear any reasonable ground for the misplacement of the clause. In the next place, the clause in itself is an unmeaning mis-statement. The lake of fire is not the second death, but the second death is the lot of those who are cast into the lake of fire. The right definition of the second death is given in xxi. 8. The present writer, therefore, regards the clause as originally a marginal gloss drawn from xxi. 8 and subsequently incorporated into the text.

14. ἰδιλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς. Cf. 10, xix. 20; Petr. Aproc. 8, λίμνη τής ἴν μεγάλη πεταλωμένη βορβόρου φλεγομένων ἐν ὃ ἦσαν ἀνθρώποι τινες ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

[οὖτος δ θάνατος κτλ.] See note above and cf. xxi. 8.

15. ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς κτλ. Cf. xxi. 27, iii. 5, note. τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς. See note on ix. i on the significance of this phrase.

CHAPTER XXI. § 1. 5°, 4°, 5°, 6°, 1-4°, XXII. 3-5.

INTRODUCTION.

The New Heaven, the New Earth, and the New Jerusalem, with its blest inhabitants.

§ 1. Now that all evil has been destroyed for ever, and all evil agents have been cast into the lake of fire, that the former heaven and earth have vanished, the final judgment brought to a close, and death and Hades destroyed, God creates a new heaven and a new earth, and summons into being the New Jerusalem. In this city, which would never know tears, nor grief, nor crying, nor any pain nor curse, God will dwell with men, and His throne, which is also that of the Lamb, will be in it, and His servants, whose character, as God's own possession, shall henceforth be blazoned on their brows, shall serve Him and they shall see His Face. And God will cause the light of His Face to shine upon them in perpetual benediction, and they shall reign for ever and ever.

That this section was written by our author is undeniable. It forms the natural climax and the fitting close to all that has gone before, and the nature of the blessedness of the new heaven and the new earth and the new city is in keeping with all that is foreshadowed in the earlier visions of the Seer. The diction and the idiom are our author's.
§ 2. Diction.

XXI. 4d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθον: for this use of ἀπῆλθον cf. ix. 12, xi. 14, xxi. 1. παρελθεῖν is used in this connection in Synoptics and St. Paul: cf. Mark xiii. 31 = Matt. xxiv. 35 = Luke xxi. 33; 2 Cor. v. 17, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθον.

5b. καὶ οὐδὲ πάντα. These words summarize the action of God on the world. The faithful receive a new name, ii. 17, iii. 12; they sing a new song, v. 9, xiv. 3; and a new heaven, earth, and a new city are created to be their habitation, xxi. 1, 2.

6a. γέγονεν. Cf. xvi. 17, φωνῇ . . . λέγουσα Γέγονεν.

1. ὁ πρῶτος ὁδρανός. For this position of πρῶτος cf. ii. 5. ἀπῆλθον. See note on xxi. 4d above.


Idiom.

Johannine: XXII. 4. τὸ ἄγαμον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων: see notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16.

5. οὐκ ἴχουσιν χρείαιν . . . φῶς ἡλίου: cf. iii. 17 for this extraordinary construction. Ψηφίσει ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ: a pure Hebraism: see note in loc. Contrast construction in xviii. 1, xxi. 23.

Non-Johannine: XXI. 5. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ: see note on iv. 2.

God will Create the World afresh—Heaven, Earth, and the Holy City. This New Jerusalem—which is not created till after the Millennial Kingdom—is always spoken of as belonging to the future (i.e. every verb is in the future): whereas the Jerusalem described in xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17 is described as already existing, though as yet in heaven.

XXI. 5v, 4v, 5v. God's Declaration at the close of the Final Judgment.

"The former things have passed away:

Behold I make all things new."

We have already (see pp. 151–153) shown that xxi. 1–4v and
xxii. 3–5 belong together and form a description by the Seer of the New Jerusalem which is to be the eternal abode of the blessed. This poem consists of six stanzas, the first two of three lines each and the remaining four of four lines each. Next, since it is obvious that xxii. 4 d, 5 ab do not really belong to what follows nor yet to what precedes in the present text, these dislocated lines, as representing the words of Him, from whose presence the former heaven and earth had vanished into nothingness, who has just judged the world (xx. 11–15), and who has cast all wickedness into the lake of fire, at once claim their rightful position as forming the close of the first creation and the beginning of the new.

5a. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †
4d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν,
5b. ἴδοῦ καὶ νῦν ποιῶ πάντα.

This restoration of the order of the text is supported by the remarkable parallel in 2 Cor. v. 17, εἰ τίς ἐν Χριστῷ, καυχὴ κτίσις: τὰ ἀρχαία παρῆλθεν, ἴδοὺ γέγονεν καυχά. St. Paul here, it is true, refers to the new or spiritual creation of the individual. But in this respect man is a microcosm—an epitome of the universe or the macrocosm.

5a. καὶ εἶπεν. The Speaker here as in i. 8, xvi. 1, 17, is God Himself, and He speaks, not to the Seer—hence no μου is added as generally elsewhere in our author: cf. vii. 14, xvii. 7, xxii. 6, xxii. 6—but to the entire world of the blessed. The words are most probably conceived as pronounced from the great white throne at the close of the Final Judgment.

† ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †. We have an error here traceable probably to the disciple of the Seer who edited xx. 4–xxii. When he makes an addition, he generally makes a mistake. Cf. xix. 10, προσκυνήσωμεν αὐτῷ, which should be αὐτῶν. We should, of course, have ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον: see iv. 2, note.

The words ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον go back to xx. 11, where God is so described at the beginning of the Final Judgment. Now that character has attained finality and all men have entered on the issues of their conduct, and death and Hades have come to an end, He that sitteth on the throne makes the solemn pronouncement with regard to all that the past: τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν. The first world and all that essentially belongs to it as distinct from the second and spiritual world have vanished for ever.

4d. τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν. With τὰ πρῶτα cf. xxi. 1, ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανός καί ἡ πρώτη γῆ ἀπῆλθαν. With ἀπῆλθαν cf. ix. 12, xi. 14, xxi. 1. That τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν is to be taken immediately in connection with ἴδοῦ καὶ νῦν ποιῶ πάντα is obvious
in itself. But there is some external evidence that confirms the combination of 4th and 5th; for, while it is recognized on all hands that Isa. xliii. 18, 19 was in the mind of our author here, we find on turning to this passage that the two main ideas in 4th and 5th are already brought together (though in a more primitive and limited form), and set forth as a divine utterance as here:

18. μὴ μνημονεύετε τὰ πρώτα
cαι τὰ ἀρχαία μὴ συλλογίζεσθε
19. Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ καὶνά.

The two ideas are also brought together in 2 Cor. v. 17, τὰ ἀρχαία παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καὶνά.

6th. 'Ἰδοὺ καὶνά ποιῶ πάντα. On the idea of a new heaven and a new earth cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; Ps. cii. 25–26: see note on xxii. 1 of our text. But in the current Apocalypses this idea was a familiar one. Thus in 1 Enoch xci. 16 (before 170 B.C.) we find:

"The first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear";
in lxxii. 1 (before 110 B.C.): "Till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity"; in xliv. 4 (94–64 B.C.):

"And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,
And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing";
Jub. i. 29 (before 107 A.D.): "From the day of the creation till the heavens and the earth are renewed"; also in 2 Bar. lvii. 2 (before 70 A.D.):

"And belief in the coming judgment was then generated,
And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up,
And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted";

xliv. 12 (after 70 A.D.): "And the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness"; xxxii. 6: "When the Mighty One will renew His creation"; 4 Ezra vii. 75: "Until those times come in which Thou shalt renew Thy creation." In the N.T. cf. Matt. xix. 28; Acts iii. 21; 2 Pet. iii. 13. The passage in Barnabas vi. 13 (λέγει δὲ κύριος Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἐσχάτα ὡς τὰ πρώτα) has nothing in common with our text.

6th. [καὶ λέγει· γράψον δὴ οὕτω οἱ λόγοι τοιοῦ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ ἔστων]. As these words cannot be assigned to God, they are assigned to an angel. But if we accept this explanation we should here have an instance of bathos—an error in style of
which our author is never guilty. When God Himself declares in the hearing of the Seer that He recreates the world, His words do not require to be confirmed either directly or indirectly by any angel or archangel. The clause ὃπο τοῦ λόγου... ἀληθεύω is repeated from xxii. 6, where it is full of significance in the mouth of Christ. τί may (1) introduce a statement or (2) give a reason. But it is not used in the first sense elsewhere in our author after γράψων, cf. ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 7, 14, xiv. 13. Even if we take it in the second sense (“because”) the bathos of the statement still remains unrelieved. Hence 5c appears to be an interpolation. That Christ should solemnly authenticate the truth of these visions in xxii. 6 is wholly fitting.

[Θεός καὶ πάντα μια γέγοναν.] Cf. xvi. 17. See note on xxi. 5b (English translation: see vol. ii. 443, note 3). An interpolation? If original, the words come from God or from the angelus interpres. The Seer hears God’s first declaration: “Behold I make all things new,” and following immediately thereupon the words: “They have become (new).” After this the Seer sees the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1–4abcd, xxii. 3–5).

On the form γέγοναν see Blass, Gram. p. 46.

XXI. 1–4abcd, XXII. 3–5. The vision of the new heaven and the new earth and the descent of the New Jerusalem adorned as a bride for her husband. God is to tabernacle with men, and never more is there to be grief or pain or tears or death, and all the faithful are to reign for ever and ever.

1. εἶδον οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ γῆν καὶ γῆν. On the meaning of καὶ γῆν καὶ γῆν see iii. 12, note. On the new heaven and the new earth see the note on xxi. 4d above, p. 203. In Isa. lxv. 17 the actual phrase used by our author is found: “For behold I create a new heaven and a new earth” (כיבר יבוני בון כן וסימן עד לירש (נום), where the LXX has ἐσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ γῆ καὶ γῆ. Wetstein quotes the Debarim rab. S. xi.: “Cum Moses ante obitum oraret, coelem et terrâ et omnis ordo creaturarum commotus est. Tunc dixerunt: Fortas aestet tempus ad praestitutum, quo renovandus est orbis universus (הכר אֲבִי בָּהָמ). Exivit autem vox dicens illud tempus nondum advenisse.” See Volz, 296 sqq.; Bousset, Rel. d. Judenth. 268 sq.

δ ἐὰν πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ. This disappearance of the first heaven and the first earth has already been referred to: cf. xx. 11b.

καὶ γῆ ἔδαπφα ὁκ ἔστιν ἐστι. The earliest parallel to this statement is found in Test. Levi (100–106 B.C.), iv. 1: “Now know that the Lord shall execute judgment upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent... and the waters dried up.” Next in the Assumption of Moses, x. 6:
"And the sea shall retire into its abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up."

Also in Sibyll. Or. v. 159, 160, 447, ἐσται δ’ ὑστατίῳ καὶ πόσο νουτώς ποτε πόσος: viii. 236, πᾶσα βάλασα συκετή πλῶν ἔτη. All these passages point not wholly to any Semitic horror of the sea in itself, but in some degree perhaps unconsciously to its mythological connection with the Babylonian myth of the Creation, in which the sea is the water monster Tiamat, the special opponent of the gods. The omission of the sea by John may thus be owing to its evil associations, many traces of which survive in the O.T. See articles Dragon, Leviathan, Rahab, Serpent, in the Encyc. Biblica. A remarkable parallel in Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride 7 should be observed. There the sea is regarded as an alien element in nature, fraught with destruction and disease: δῶς ἐὰν καὶ τὴν βάλασαν ἐκ τυφός ἥγονται καὶ παρωρμοῦνται, οὐδὲ μέρος οὐδὲ σταθεῖσιν ὁλι' ἁλλοῖον περιττῶμα διεφθορᾶς καὶ νοσοῦσ. 9. τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄγιαν ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ την. This city is either wholly distinct from that described in xxii. 9–xxii. 2—the seat of the Millennial Kingdom—or it is that city wholly transformed and hence described καὶ τῆς: see xxii. 10, note. Since God re-creates all things, xxii. 5b, the Holy City is either transformed or created afresh as are the heaven and the earth. This city is clearly distinguished from that in xxii. 9–xxii. 2. In the latter the saints reign for a thousand years, and the tree of life stands in the street thereof in order that all who were worthy might eat thereof, that is, attain to immortality. But in this city there is no mention of the tree of life: it is not needed; for all its inhabitants are immortal (xxi. 4b) and reign with God for ever and ever (xxii. 5). With this New Jerusalem we might compare Heb. xii. 22, Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐποιηθή: Gal. iv. 26, ἢ δὲ ἀνω Ἰερουσαλήμ: and Phil. iii. 20, ἤμων γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει.

καταβαλέσας ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. iii. 12, xxii. 10. ἢτοιμασμένην ἄν χάμφην. Cf. xxii. 9; Isa. xlix. 18, lixi. 10. τῇ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 23.

8. φωνής μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. The throne is that in xii. 11. The speaker is probably one of the Cherubim.

'ἴδοι ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν, καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν.

The word σκηνή here has nothing to do with the Tabernacle (黪שא). For in Jewish writings there is no expectation of the restoration of the Tabernacle in the Heavenly Jerusalem. Its
place is always taken by the Temple (cf. Weber, 375-77). But, since our author expressly states (xxi. 22) that there will be no Temple in the Holy City, that is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom, it follows that he could not have looked for a restored Tabernacle in the New Jerusalem which was to be the everlasting abode of the blessed. The word σκηνή has already occurred twice. In xiii. 6 it means God’s dwelling, i.e. heaven, or rather (?) “His Shekinah” (see note in loc.). In xv. 5, where it is found a second time, we have seen that the text is either corrupt or interpolated; for δ νάος τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ is an intolerable, because an unintelligible, expression.

What, then, is the meaning of σκηνή here? The context appears certainly to favour the interpretation suggested by Dr. Taylor (Pirke Aboth, p. 44). “The two (‘Shekinah’ and ‘Memra’) are brought together by St. John . . . ὁ Δόγος σάρξ τε χριστείως, καὶ ἐγκάλεσεν εἰς ἑαυτόν (John i. 14). The word σκηνή and its derivatives are chosen on account of their assonance with the Hebrew to express the Shekinah and its dwelling with men—compare especially Rev. xxi. 3: Ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνή τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ σκηνώσει μετὰ αὐτῶν.” Even in xiii. 6, where our author is adapting to a new situation an earlier source, the probability is that he gives a new meaning to the phrase τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῶν, i.e. “His Shekinah.”

Moreover, in Lev. xxvi. 11 we have a confirmation of the above view. Here the Targum regards the Tabernacle simply as the manifestation of the divine presence. The Hebrew (נַחַת נְתַנָּה) “I will set my tabernacle among them”—LXX καὶ θόρυβος τὴν διάβολον (F, σκηνὴν) μου ἐν ἑαυτῷ—is paraphrased by the Targ. Jon. אֶתֶנְתֵנֶנֶנֶנְתֵנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶנֶн

In the Mishnah and Talmud the Shekinah is the mediator of God’s presence and activity in the world. Wherever ten persons pray together, the Shekinah is in the midst of them (Pirke Aboth iii. 9 (150-200 A.D.); Berach. 6b): also where three are gathered together to administer justice or where two
meet to study the Law (Pirke Aboth iii. 9). Where a man and his wife lead a pious life the Shekinah is present. Before Israel sinned the Shekinah dwelt in each individual (Sota, 3b): and this relation was possible afterwards: cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 9.

From the Shekinah proceeded a brilliancy or splendour (i.e. וְיִת). In this the blessed were to share in the next word: cf. Berach. 17a, “They delighted themselves in the brightness of the Shekinah (הֵמָּה יִשְׁבִּיהוּ). On this “brightness,” which is apparently rendered by our author by דָּאָה, see note on xxi. 23.

As our author thought in Hebrew, this line and the next would probably have run in his mind as

הנה אלוהים עם בני人类

שוכן ענוה

σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν κτλ. On σκηνοῦν used of the inhabitants of heaven, cf. xii. 12, xiii. 6: see also vii. 15. With the thought compare Lev. xxvi. 11, καὶ θέσω τὴν διαθήκην (F, σκηνὴν: so Mass. הָעֵבְרִין) μον ἐν ὑμίν ... 12 ... καὶ ἐσομαί ὑμῖν θεός καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσοσθέ μοι λαός. Ezek. xxxvii. 27, καὶ ἦσται ἡ κατασκηνώσις μον ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσομαί αὐτοῖς θεός καὶ αὐτοὶ μον ἐσονται λαός: xliii. 7; Zech. ii. 14 (10), viii. 3, κατασκηνώσω ἐν μέσῳ Ιερουσαλήμ.

λαοὶ αὐτῶν. If this reading is original the idea appears to be the same as that underlying John x. 16, where though there is but one flock (τοίμην) and one Shepherd, there are many folds (αὐλαί). Each λαός forms a fold in the flock, of which God is the Shepherd. Possibly, however, λαοὶ may simply mean as in the vernacular “people.” But John does not so use λαοί, and λαός seems to be the original reading. See crit. note on Greek text in loc.

καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσται αὐτῶν θεός.

The above text appears in three forms in the MSS, and none of them is satisfactory. 1. That which is preserved in Ν and many cursives and omits αὐτῶν θεός can hardly be original, independently of its weak attestation; for not only is the parallelism against it (cf. also xxi. 7), but without αὐτῶν θεός the line becomes an otiose repetition of the idea in the first two lines. The preceding line, καὶ αὐτοὶ λαοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐσονται, requires some such parallelism as θεοὶ αὐτῶν.

2. Since, then, the shortened form of the text in Ν cannot be accepted, we have next to consider that attested by L, vg, 51-2 —καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσται αὐτῶν θεός. Although the line is rather full, the sense is not unsatisfactory —“And He—God with them—shall be their God,” or “God Himself shall be with them—their God.” But this unemphatic position of αὐτῶν before θεός (i.e. the vernacular use of the possessive pronoun—see
Abbott, *Gram.* p. 419 sqq.) is against our author’s usage and is not what we expect here. Since in the preceding line the *aorov* in *laoi aorov* has its normal possessive force in this position, we should expect *theos aorov* in the present line. As “they shall be His peoples,” so He shall be “their God.”

3. Instead of *aorov theos,* which is against our author’s usage and also against the context, which here requires a real possessive, P and some cursives read *theos aorov.* This is the reading the context leads us to expect, but its attestation is of the poorest character. It can only, therefore, be regarded in the light of a scribal emendation.

From the above examination of the MSS it follows that the original text has not been preserved in any MS. The corrupt readings appear to be due to the incorporation of what was really a marginal gloss on xxi. 3, *i.e.* *δ θεος μετ’ αυτῶν.* The original may have been (a) *καὶ αὐτός αὐτῶν θεὸς ἔσται,* where the *aorov* would be emphatic owing to its proximity to *aoros* (see Abbott, *Gram.* p. 421, note 1), or (b) *καὶ αὐτός ἡστα θεός αὐτῶν.* In any case the sense would be: “And He will be their God.” The usage of our author would certainly be in favour of (b): cf. xxi. 7.

4. *καὶ ἔξελείφη* κτλ. See note on vii. 17. *καὶ δ θανάτος οὐκ ἔσται ἑτέ.* The idea of this line—but not the diction—is suggested by Isa. xxv. 8, “He hath annihilated death for ever” (יְהוָה הַיְשָׁב הָאָרֶץ), which section of Isaiah possibly belongs to the 2nd century B.C. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 54, *κατεκόπτη δ θανάτος εἰς νίκος.* It will be observed that, whereas Aquila and Theodotion incorrectly render *נדי* as an Aramaic phrase by *εἰς νίκος* and the LXX by *ἰνχύσας,* our author gives the right sense in a paraphrastic form. For first century A.D. testimonies to the belief in the coming destruction of death, cf. 2 Enoch lxv. 10, “All corruptible things shall vanish and there shall be eternal life,” and 4 Ezra viii. 53; 2 Bar. xxi. 23. See also Moed Qaton, iii. 9, where it cites Isa. xxv. 8.

Since death is destroyed (cf. xx. 14), there is no longer any need of the tree of life. All the faithful have won everlasting life. There can be no more death, there can be only “more life and fuller.”

ους πάνθος οὐτε κραυγή οὐτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἑτέ. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10, li. 11, “and sorrow and sighing (הָעַזְתָּנָה הָנִּי) shall flee

1 *aorov* though occurring very frequently in our author is never elsewhere found in this unemphatic position in our text; nor is *aoros.* *aoros* is found once in xviii. 5, but there in a source used by our author. *sou* is found several times in this position: see ii. 2, 19, notes. This unemphatic use of the genitive of *aoros,* though very frequent in the Fourth Gospel, does not belong to our author.
away." In our text the subject consists of three elements, and so also does the LXX of Isa. xxxv. 10 and li. 11, but the words of the LXX differ from those in our text, ἀνέθεσα δεῦνη καὶ λύση καὶ στεναγμός. See also Isa. lxv. 19; 1 Enoch x. 22, xxv. 6; 2 Enoch lxv. 8–9 (A), "They will live eternally, and then, too, there will be amongst them neither labour nor sickness nor humiliation nor anxiety nor need."

**XXII. 8.** καὶ πᾶς κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἐτι. This verse forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which—xxi. 4—have we just dealt with. That this verse belongs to that stanza, not only the subject matter, but the very diction is evidence. Thus οὐκ ἔσται ἐτι, which is not found in our author outside the description of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1–4; xxii. 3–5), has already occurred twice in this stanza, i.e. xxii. 4. The words themselves are based on Zech. xiv. 11 (Kοινωνία τοῦ θεοῦ) but not on the LXX. The word κατάθεμα (syncopated from κατανάθεμα) means here, as the context shows, a curse, i.e. an accursed thing, and not an accursed person. In itself κατάθεμα could mean the latter, as ἀνέθεμα (= ἀνέθεμα) can: cf. Gal. i. 8; 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Rom. ix. 3.

καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δρυὸν κτλ. On this conception of "the throne of God and of the Lamb," see note on xxii. 1. Owing to the fact that in the next line only God the Father is spoken of, critics have inferred that καὶ τοῦ δρυὸν is here an intrusion. But, as I have shown in the note on xxii. 1, we find in 1 Enoch lx. 8, 9 an excellent parallel; for, though the Elect One (i.e. the Messiah) is seated on God's throne as Judge in lx. 8, in lx. 9 the praises of all present are addressed to God and not to the Elect One. Moreover, in our text, xx. 6, the αὐτοῦ refers to only one of the two Divine Beings in 6. Cf. iii. 21, which speaks of Christ as seated on God's throne, while in iii. 19 the O.T. words of Yahweh are used by Christ as His own. Cf. δοῦλος αὐτοῦ λατρεύοντι κτλ. Cf. vii. 15, note.

4. ἀφεστήκε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. Cf. Matt. v. 8; Heb. xii. 14. This vision of God, which was withheld from Moses (Ex. xxxiii. 20, 23), is promised to the faithful in Messianic times in Jerusalem in T. Zeb. ix. 8, ἀφεστήκε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ—a promise which appears also in Ps. lxxxiv. 7 (LXX and Vulg.) ἀφεστήκε δὲ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐν Σιών. But this is not the vision face to face that is designed in our text and also in 4 Ezra vii. 98. In the latter passage the vision of God constitutes the seventh and supreme bliss of the righteous.

"They shall rejoice with boldness,
Be confident without confusion,
Be glad without fear;"
For they are hastening to behold the face of Him whom in life they served,
And from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory."

The capacity for such vision involves likeness of character: cf. 1 John iii. 2. Moffatt aptly compares Plutarch (De Iside, 79), who writes that the souls of men after death "migrate to the unseen" and "hang as it were upon Him (God), and gaze without ever wearying, and yearn for that unspeakable, indescribable beauty."

καὶ τὸ δάσος αὐτοῦ ἔτει τῶν μετάπτων αὐτοῦ. See notes on vii. 3, xiii. 16, xiv. 1. Cf. also iii. 12.

5. καὶ υἱὲ ὁδὸς ἔσται ἔπτ. Darkness is at an end for ever. This clause appears to be the source of the corruption in xxii. 25. The expectation here expressed is not found in the O.T. but as regards heaven at all events is definitely taught in Philo, De Josepho, 24: εἰ γὰρ βουλήθη τακίττειν εἰσὶν τις τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰρήκει τῶν σουρανόν ἡμέραν αἰώνιον, νυκτὸς καὶ τάσης σκιάς ἀμέτοχον, ἀτε περιματόμενον ἀσβεστούς καὶ ἀκρίβειας ἀδιαιρετός φέγγεσιν. Cf. also 2 Bar. xlviii. 50. But the conception in our text is infinitely finer. The light of the New Jerusalem is not due as in Philo to a multitude of unextinguishable and unadulterated lights, but to the light of God's own presence—always and everywhere present. The conception could be deduced from Isa. ix. 19, "The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light."

καὶ ὁδὸς ἔσουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου. Cf. xxii. 23. The future έσουσιν (A vg. s. l. 2; Tic.) is to be preferred to ἔσουσιν. All the verbs in this description of the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4ab, xxii. 3-5) are futures. As contra-distinshed from the heavenly Jerusalem, that was already in being and was to come down from heaven for the Millennial Kingdom, the New Jerusalem, which is not created till after its close, is not yet in being. As regards the former, observe the occasional present and past verbs in xxii. 9-xxii. 2. The phrase φῶς ἡλίου (AP: φωτὸς τῆς ἡλίου) had best be regarded as dependent on χρεῖαν. Such an irregularity is not unfamiliar in our author. In fact we have χρεῖα σὲ χεῖν with an acc. in iii. 17 and with a genitive in xxii. 23.

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἔπτ. αὐτοῦς. The construction here (φωτίσει ἔπτ., ν. A, etc.) differs from that in xxii. 23, ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ φωτίσεων αὐτή, and in xviii. 1, and the sense differs likewise. In xxii. 23 the meaning is clear: not the physical luminaries, the sun and moon, but "the glory of God did lighten" the Heavenly Jerusalem (cf. also xviii. 1). But here the Greek φωτίσει ἔπτ.
XXII. 5. ]  EPILOGUE OF THE APOCALYPSE 211

\(\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\) differs from that in xviii. 1, xxi. 23 alike in construction and meaning. First, as regards the construction, it must at once be conceded that it is peculiar. If our author had wished to express the thought "shall shine upon them," "give them light," he would have said \(\varphi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\): cf. xxi. 23. Hence later MSS omitted the \(\varepsilon\tau\omicron\), and herein they are followed by WH, Bousset and others. Other editors, such as Alford, Swete, and Moffatt, rightly follow \(\text{NA}\) here, but do not explain the anomaly. We can get a good sense, if we explain it as a Hebraism. When regarded from this standpoint we next recognize that \(\Kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\ \sigma\theta\iota\ \phi\omega\tau\iota\omicron\upsigma\epsiloni\ \varepsilon\tau\omicron\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\) is a rendering of Ps. cxviii. 27, where for \(\varphi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\) our author found \(\rho\iota\varsigma\nu\) or \(\iota\xi\nu\), which latter he changed into \(\rho\iota\varsigma\nu\). Here the Aramaic Targum and the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic Versions similarly transform the two clauses into one and presuppose the text to have been \(\rho\iota\varsigma\nu\) and not \(\varphi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\). Here, therefore, the \(\varepsilon\tau\omicron\) reproduces \(\text{1}\). Having discovered the source of our author's words the discovery of their meaning ceases to be difficult. In Ps. cxviii. 27 the words are a shortened form of the priest's blessing in Num. vi. 25 by the omission of \(\text{Yn}^\prime\) (see Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, p. 21b), which in its fuller form recurs several times as the footnote shows. Hence we should here render "The Lord God shall cause His face to shine upon them." Here there is a personal relation indicated between God and the blessed individually. In xxi. 23, on the other hand, no such personal relation is indicated. The Holy City is lighted up as a whole by the glory of God instead of by the sun and moon. Thus the Face which the saints will see in xxii. 4 will shine upon them in eternal benediction (xxii. 5).

\(\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omicron\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon\varepsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsigma\ \alpha\iota\pi\omega\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsigma\ \alpha\iota\pi\omega\nu\). This everlasting reign of the saints in the New Jerusalem stands out in strong contrast with the Millennial reign in the City which came down from heaven before the Final Judgment, xx. 4.

The Epilogue.

\[\text{xxi. 6b-8, xxii. 6-7, 18a, 16, 13, 12, 10, 8-9, 20-21.}\]

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. On this epilogue, which contains the declarations of God, of Jesus, and of John, see p. 154. That they come from our author cannot be contested, though they have been transmitted

1 In Num. vi. 25 we have \(\beta\gamma\) (LXX \(\varepsilon\tau\omicron\)), in Ps. xxxi. 17; Dan. ix. 17 \(\beta\gamma\), and \(\beta\) in Ps. cxix. 135, and \(\gamma\pi\) in Ps. lxvii. 2. In all cases the LXX renders by \(\varepsilon\tau\omicron\). But the LXX does not use \(\varphi\omega\tau\iota\omicron\upsigma\epsiloni\) in these passages but \(\varepsilon\tau\omicron\varphi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\).
in the utmost disorder, and no doubt defectively. The reconstruction here given is, of course, tentative. First of all, xxii. 6b-8, as containing a declaration of God, singles itself out for consideration. It cannot possibly belong to the period after the Final Judgment; for hope is still held out to the repentant, and the doom of the second death has not yet been pronounced against the finally impenitent. It must, therefore, belong either to the period of the Millennial Kingdom or to that of our author. The thought and language are in favour of the latter hypothesis. Thus δικαιών in xxii. 7 brings vividly before us the experiences—actual and apprehended—of the faithful in the years 90-96 A.D.: he is the warrior faithful unto death, to whom promise after promise is held out, as in ii. 7, 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21, xii. 11, xv. 2. Again, xxii. 6d, ἕως τῆς διψώσης δάφνω ἀν γῆς πιστικῶν τὸν ἔθαντα τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν, clearly presupposes xxii. 17 as having preceded it; for there we have the divine gift described without the article: δ θῶν λαβέω ἐορ ζωῆς δωρεάν. But for the recurrence of the δωρεάν here we might have explained the articles in xxii. 6d from vii. 17. As regards the sorcerers, fornicators, murderers, and idolaters we are told (xxi. 8) that in the Millennial Kingdom they will be excluded from the Heavenly Jerusalem: here they are adjudged to be cast into the lake of fire (xxi. 8).

Hence xxii. 6b-8 is to be taken as the divine authentication of the Apocalypse as a whole, which God had given to Jesus Christ to make known to His servants (as stated in i. 1). This declaration of God is then followed by the declaration of Jesus that He had sent His angels to testify these things to the Churches in xxii. 8-9, 20-21 (see note on i. 1-3). In xxii. 6-21 more than anywhere else in chapters xx.-xxii. we have the disjecta membra of the Poet-Seer. We have already assigned xxii. 14-15, 17 to the section dealing with the Heavenly Jerusalem which comes down to earth during the Millennial Kingdom. The re-arrangement of xxii. 6-22 just given is suggested by the text itself and confirmed by i. 1-2 (see note in vol. i. p. 5 sq.), and is therefore not improbably the order intended by the Seer. It is, of course, fragmentary. With a view to its arrangement, we observe first of all that Jesus is the speaker in 12-13, 16, and likewise in 6-7; for in these last two verses the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things which must shortly come to pass, and the words “behold I come quickly” in 7 are naturally spoken by Christ. Moreover, as Könnecke and Moffatt have recognized, 12-13, 16 can be restored to their original order by reading them as follows: 16, 13, 12. Thus this section is to be read as follows:
6-7, 16, 13, 12. Verse 10—still the words of Christ—comes next, "And He saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand."

I have bracketed 11 as conflicting with xxi. 6b-8, which apparently refer to evangelistic appeals during the Seer's lifetime. xxi. 18, as coming from Christ, gives His imprimatur to the book. xxi. 8-9 as describing the action of the Seer in relation to the angel at its close, and xxi. 20-21 as giving the Seer's final testimony form the natural close of the Apocalypse.

Traces of the hand of the editor are to be found in two passages: see § 3 ad fin. Cf. § 3 in Introduction to xx. 4-15 (p. 182).

§ 2. Diction.


7. ὁ παῦν: see under § 1. ἠθομαὶ αὐτῷ θεός: cf. xxi. 3.

8. τοῖς . . . φωνεῖν καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοίς καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις: cf. xxi. 15. τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ: cf. xix. 20, xx. 10, etc.

δ θάνατος δ δευτερος: cf. ii. 11.

XXII. 6. ἀποστέλλειν τὸ ἀγγελον αὐτοῦ: cf. i. 1, ἀποστέλλεις διὰ τ. ἀγγ. αὐτοῦ.

ὡς ἦν τ. θυσίας αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τάχει: a verbal repetition from i. 1.

7. ἵδοι ἡρῴμαι ταχύ: cf. ii. 16, iii. 11, xvi. 15, xxi. 12. μακάριος δ τηρῶν τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου: a summary of i. 3 (and the last of the seven beatitudes in this Book), xxi. 10, 18.

18o. μαρτυρῶ: cf. i. 2. τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας κτλ.: see on 7 above.

16. εἰς . . . ἐπαφῆς κτλ.: cf. i. 1. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἡ ἰδία . . . Δαυίδ: repeated from v. 5. δ ἀστὴρ . . . δ πρωτός: already in ii. 28.

18. εἰς τὸ Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ω: cf. i. 8, xxi. 6. δ πρῶτος καὶ δ ὑσχατος: cf. i. 17, ii. 8. ἢ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος: cf. xxi. 6.


10. λέγει μοι: cf. v. 5, vii. 13, x. 9. μὴ σφαγήσης: cf. x. 4. τ. λόγους τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου: see on 7 above.

ὁ καίρεις γὰρ ἐγγύς: cf. i. 3.

8. καὶ ἱλασμῆς: cf. i. 1, 4, 9. ἐπέσα προσκυνήσας ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν: cf. xix. 10, which, however, is a doublet of this passage. Elsewhere John uses προσκυνῶν ἑμπροσθεν: cf. iii. 9, xv. 4 where this phrase expresses simply homage. τὸ δεικνύοντος: cf. i. 1, iv. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxi. 1, 6.
8. τῶν τηρουμένων τ. λόγους τ. βιβλ. τουτοῦ: cf. i. 3, iii. 8, 10, xii. 17, xiv. 12. τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσου: see note on vii. 11.
20. μαρτυρῶν: see 18\(^b\) above. ναὶ: see i. 7 (note). ἔρχομαι ταύτα: see on 7 above.

Ἀμήν: see i. 7 (note).

§ 3. Idioms.—The constructions are almost wholly normal. Here as elsewhere in xx. 4–xxii. the text has apparently been normalized by the editor of this section.


8. τοὺς δὲ διαλογίς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν: a pure Hebraism: see note in loc..

XXII. 8. ὁ ἄκουὼν: used here as an aorist or perfect as elsewhere the participle is used in our author: cf. δεικνύοντός, similarly used at the close of this verse.

Non-Johannine xxii. 6. τῷ διψοῦντι δῶσον. According to our author’s universal usage elsewhere we should expect αὐτῷ after δῶσον in this connection: cf. ii. 7, 17, 26, iii. 21. Here apparently the editor has omitted it and so normalized the text.

XXI. 8. τῇ λήμνῃ τῇ καμομένῃ may be another such instance: cf. xix. 20.

The Epilogue of the Apocalypse consisting of (1) the declaration of God, xxii. 6\(^b\)–8: (2) the testimony of Jesus, xxii. 6–7, 18\(^a\), 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], [18\(^a\)-19]: (3) and that of John, xxii. 8–9, 20–21.

Here more than anywhere else in chapters xx.–xxii. have we the disjecta membra of the Poet-Seer. These fragments clearly form the Epilogue of the Book, and a study of these fragments leads us to recognize them as coming from three distinct speakers—God, Jesus, and John. In xxii. 6\(^b\)–8 God is clearly the speaker. In xxii. 12–13, 16, and likewise 6–7, 10, 18\(^a\), Jesus is the speaker, for in 6–7 the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things that must shortly come to pass, and the words “behold I come quickly” in 7 are most naturally spoken by Christ, and likewise 10, 18\(^a\). Moreover, as Könnecke (followed by Moffatt) has recognized, 12–13, 16 should be read as follows: 16, 13, 12. Thus the original order of the testimony and declaration of Christ was most probably: 6–7, 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], 18\(^a\)[18\(^b\)-19]. The book then closes with the testimony of John xxii. 8–9, 20–21. xxii. 11, 18\(^b\)-19 appear to be interpolations.

This order, which is suggested by a study of xxii. 6–22, in itself harmonizes with that given in the first two verses of the Apocalypse, where we are told that (1) God has given to Christ this revelation to show unto His servants: (2) that Christ has sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John: (3) that
John has borne witness of the word of God and of the testimony of Christ.

**XXI. 6b-8.** The declaration of God as to His own Being, His willingness to be gracious to the repentant, His promise of being a Father to him that overcometh, and His denunciation of the craven-hearted, the unbelieving and impure as destined to be cast into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone—the second death.

6b. Ἐγὼ εἰμί τὸ Ἁλφά καὶ τὸ Ω. Here as in i. 8 (where see note) these epithets belong to the Eternal Father, whereas in xxii. 13 they are used by Christ of Himself.

ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. Cf. xxii. 13, see note on i. 8.

ἐγὼ τῷ διψώτατῳ δῶμεν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς κτλ. Based on Isa. lv. 1. See note on vii. 17.

τὸν Ἰσαάκ τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. Observe the articles. We have ὄνομα ζωῆς δωρεάν in xxii. 17—which is explicable if xxii. 17 precedes, but not so if the MSS order of the text were correct. On the distinction between ὄνομα ζωῆς and ἐβίον ζωῆς see ii. 7, note.

7. ὁ μικρὸν κληρονομήσει ταύτα. The victor is here contrasted with the cravenhearted in 8. The ταύτα here refers to the Millennial blessedness, the new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1-4ab, xx. 3-5). Of these “he who conquers” is “the heir” (κληρονόμος). The collocation of κληρονομήσει in this line and αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι νίκης in the next but one shows, as Swete remarks, the close affinity in this respect between our author and St. Paul: cf. Rom. viii. 17, ἐὰν δὲ τακνᾶ, καὶ κληρονόμοι; Gal. iv. 7, ἐὰν δὲ νίκης, καὶ κληρονόμοι διὰ θεοῦ.

καὶ ἐξομαι αὐτῷ θέος. This promise was made frequently in the O.T.: first to the founder of the nation, Gen. xvii. 7, 8, while that in the next line, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι νίκης, is first made in reference to Solomon as a representative of the nation, 2 Sam. vii. 14, and in Ps. lxxix. 26, 27 in reference to David. Nowhere in the O.T. can the individual as such claim God as Father. This claim is first found in Sir. xxiii. 1: later in Wisdom ii. 16 (see note on Jub. i. 24 of my edition). But in the N.T. the normal attitude of the faithful individual to God is that of a son to his heavenly Father. Here only in our author is this conception brought forward. This sonship is realized in some true degree in the present life just as surely as the thirst for righteousness (τῷ διψώτατι) is in some true measure satisfied here.

8. We have here the list of those who have disfranchised themselves from the Kingdom of God and gone over into the Kingdom of outer darkness. Of these there are mentioned eight classes, which fall into three divisions, the first division comprising three classes, the second three, and the third two.
First division—τοίς δὲ δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπιστοῖς καὶ ἰδομενίμους.
The δειλοὶ are not “the fearful” as in the A.V. and R.V. but “the cowardly” or “the cravenhearted,” who in the struggle with the Beast have played the coward, denied the faith, and rendered worship to Cæsar. δειλία has always a bad meaning, and St. Paul declares, 2 Tim. i. 7: οὗ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν ἡμῖν ἐὰν θέσῃ πνεύμα δειλίας. A man may fear and yet not be δειλός. In fact the most courageous man is he who, notwithstanding his fear of the real dangers that beset his advance, goes sturdily onwards. But this fear in the N.T. is either a middle term capable of a good or of a bad interpretation according to the context—or κλαίειν. Cf. Phil. ii. 12, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἀναπώς σωτηρίαν καταργάζετε.

τοῖς ... ἀπιστοῖς. In our author ἀπιστοῖς means primarily “faithless,” “untrustworthy.” This is to be inferred from the use of πιστός: cf. i. 5, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός; ii. 10, γίνον πιστὸς ἅμα ταύτων; ii. 13, iii. 14, xvii. 14. Thus the ἀπιστοῖς is closely allied to the δειλοὶ that precedes. As such the ἀπιστοῖ are not coextensive with the δειλοὶ, for there are other grounds than cowardice for such disloyalty. But the ἀπιστοῖ owing to the ἰδομενίμονα that follows immediately may suggest the idea of immorality: cf. Tit. i. 15, τοῖς δὲ μεμαμένοις καὶ ἀπιστοῖς ... 16. ... ἰδομενίμοις ὑπὲρ καὶ ἐπεισεῖς. Furthermore, the ἀπιστοῖ appear to embrace not only the Christian who denies his faith, but also the pagan who rejects it.

τοῖς ... ἰδομενίμοις. These are those who are defiled with the abominations referred to in xvii. 4, 5, connected with the worship of the Beast and generally with the impurities of the pagan cults, including unnatural vice. Cf. Hos. ix. 10; 2 Enoch x. 4, 5, “This place is prepared for ... those who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child corruption after the Sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments, and devilish witchcraft ... lies ... fornication, murder”: Apoc. Pet. 17, ὅταν δὲ ἦσαν οἱ μάνταις τὰ σώματα ἀντων ὡς γυναῖκες ἀναστρέφομεν αἱ δὲ μετὰ αὐτῶν γυναῖκες ... αἱ συγκομισθεῖσαι ἄλλασσις ὡς

1 In τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς ... τῷ μέρος αὐτῶν we have a Hebraism where 5 is used in introducing a new subject: see Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, p. 514b = νηπίοι ... ὡς γητ. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 1, ἀπόδοτος τριῶν ὡς = “And as for the sons of Aaron their courses were”; also vil. i, xxxi. 1, 31 (where the LXX reproduces by the dat.); 2 Chron. vii. 21; Eccles. ix. 4. In Ezra x. 14 the LXX has this construction, though it is not found in the Hebrew, where possibly the 5 has been lost: πᾶσα τοῖς ἐν πάλιν ἡμῶν ... ἐξετάζουσιν, ἢσὶ ... ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς. The more usual construction in Hebrew would be a nominativas pendens resumed by ὡς.

2 This meaning of πιστός, i.e. “faithful,” “loyal,” is also found in 2 Bar. liv. 21 (where see my note), though elsewhere (except possibly in liv. 16) in that book it means “believing”: cf. xli. 2, liv. 5, lvii. 2, lix. 2, lxxiii. 8. On 4 Ezra in this respect see Box, pp. 67, 143.
This class must obviously comprise all the pagan world that is so defiled. We thus observe that, whereas the first three classes are closely associated in point of character, their comprehensiveness steadily widens from faithless Christians to the whole body of the impure whether Christian or pagan.

καὶ φονεύοι καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς. In xxii. 15 these words are found in the reverse order. These sins have already been referred to in ix. 21, ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν ὁτὲ ἐκ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐτῶν ὁτὲ ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν (see note). See also Gal. v. 19–21, where πορνεία, φαρμακία and φόνοι (in some MSS) appear amongst many other vices. In I Tim. i. 9 we have ἀνθρωφόνοι, πόρνοις, and in Jas. ii. 1 φόνος and μοιχεία are combined. The φαρμακοί are “sorcerers,” as their association with the εἰδωλολάτραις in the next line shows: cf. ix. 20, 21, where they are similarly associated.

εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ πάσιν τούς ψευδήσιν. Cf. ix. 20, xxii. 15. Idolatry is the cardinal sin against which our author warns his readers. Hence the primary reference is here to Christians. As the idols are lies so all the idolaters are liars. The insincerities of heathenism, the frauds of its priests as well as all the falsities of Christians are here referred to (cf. xiv. 5). Lying and duplicity are denounced in the O.T. but in far stronger terms in the N.T.

da µέρος αὐτῶν. The αὐτῶν resumes the eight classes mentioned in the preceding datives. On these datives see footnote, p. 216. τῇ λάρυγγὶ τῇ καυμένῃ κτλ.: cf. xix. 20, xx. 10, 14, 15 and note on ix. 1: 2 Enoch x. 2, “And there were all manner of tortures in this place . . . 4. This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, etc.” δ θάνατος δ δεύτερος. See note on ii. 11.

The Testimony of Jesus, xxii. 6–7, 16, 13, 12, 10 [11], 18a [18b–19].

xxii. 6–7. That these are the words of Christ is to be concluded from the declaration in 7, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχὺ. Moreover, there is a special fitness that He, who is designated πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός in iii. 14, xix. 11, should authenticate the words of the prophecy of this book as πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ (6).

6. οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί. Christ here authenticates the words of the prophecy of this book and as δ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός there is a special appropriateness in His so doing. Besides He is therein fulfilling the very task given to Him by God in i. 1, where we are told that God gave Him this revelation in order that He might make it known—ἡν (i.e. τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν) ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ (i.e. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) ὃ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δύοις αὐτοῦ. Cf. 4 Ezra xv. 1, 2, “Ecce loquere in aures plebis meae sermones
prophetiae, quos immisero in os tuum, dicit Dominus. 2. Et fac ut in charta scribantur, quoniam fideles et veri sunt."

ο κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν. This is certainly a strange expression. Some scholars (Bousset, Moffatt) regard the plural as an archaistic detail (cf. i. 4), according to which there are a variety of angelic spirits that inspire the prophets. If we take this in the sense that various angels were sent at various times to instruct the prophets, it is quite unobjectionable. πνεύματα is used of the archangels in our author: cf. iii. 1, iv. 5, etc. But though the sense is unobjectionable, the words themselves can hardly bear this meaning. The πνεύματα are best taken with Swete to be the prophets’ own spirits filled by the One Spirit mentioned in ii. 7, xiv. 13, xxii. 17. When the prophet spake as a prophet, it was his spirit that was active (i. 10, xvii. 3, xxi. 10).

Hence it seems that the text should here be interpreted as a similar expression in i Cor. xiv. 32, πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήται ὑποστάσεως, where it is the prophets’ own spirits that are referred to. The divine title in our text has no connection of any kind with the very frequent designation of God in i Enoch xxxvii.–lxxi.; 2 Macc. iii. 24, i.e. “Lord of Spirits.” In Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16 the divine title “the God of the spirits of all flesh” (יוֹהָנָה לָכְבֵדשֵּׁה) has only a general reference to mankind as a whole and not as in our text to the special class of men. τῶν προφητῶν. As in x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 9, John associates himself here with the Christian prophets.

τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. Here Christ speaks of the angel of xvii. 1, xxi. 9 as God’s angel, and yet in i. 1, xxi. 16 he is described as Christ’s angel. The statements are not incompatible. δεῖξαι τοὺς δουλοὺς . . . ἐν τάχει. This clause is repeated from i. 1. In fact the words ἀπεστείλην τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δείξαι τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει combine δεῖξαι τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ, ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει and ἀποστείλῃς διὰ τοῦ ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ in i. 1.

7. καὶ οὐκ ἔρχομαι ταύτη. Cf. xxii. 12, where as here it is from the lips of Christ; also ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, and xvi. 15, which as we have already seen should be restored after iii. 3.

μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους κτλ. This is the last of the seven beatitudes of the book (see note on i. 3). It is a short summary of i. 3, and thus the Book ends as it began in declaring the blessedness of those who have kept the words of the prophecy; but, whereas it is John that pronounces the first beatitude (i. 3), it is Christ that pronounces the last.

18a. μαρτυρῶν ἡμᾶς πάντι τῷ ἀκοὸντι τοὺς λόγους κτλ. Here the speaker is, as Swete urges, still Christ, who gives His solemn imprimatur to the Book. Moreover, as in 16—μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταύτα—the τοὺς λόγους is to be taken as the accusative after μαρτυρῆσαι and not after ἀκοὸντι, as is usually done: “to every-
one that heareth I bear witness to the words of the prophecy of this book.” As in 7, 10, Christ uses the same phraseology, τ. λόγοις τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τούτου.

18. Εγώ ἴησούς ἐπεμψα τὸν ἄγγελον μου. These words recall i. 1, καὶ τούτων ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου αὐτοῦ, and xxii. 6, ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ. According to Westcott (Add. Note on John xx. 21) ἀποστέλλω “conveys the accessory notions of a special commission and so far of a delegated authority in the person sent.” It is strange that Abbott (Johannine Vocabulary, p. 227) ascribes to these verbs almost the contrary meaning: “We are perhaps justified in thinking that ἀποστέλλω means ‘sending away into the world at large,’ but πέμπω ‘sending on a special errand.’” Our author, at any rate, appears to use them as synonyms.

ὁμιλ.: cf. also xxii. 6. The angel of Christ attests the contents of this book (ταῦτα) to the members of the Asian Churches. Others think the ὁμιλ. refers to the body of prophets in the Johannine school.

Εγώ εἰμί ἡ βία καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυείδ: cf. v. 5, ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδα, ἡ βία Δαυείδ: Isa. xi. 1, And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit; xi. 10; Test. Jud. xxiv. 5.

"Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth,
And from your root shall arise a stem."

In His own person Christ is at once the root, and the stem and branches that spring from the root, and thus combines all the Messianic claims of the Davidic family. Thus He forms the climax of Jewish Messianic expectation. Our author lays more stress on the Davidic descent than Christ did Himself: cf. Matt. xxii. 42-45.

ὁ δότηρ δ. λαμπρός, δ. πρωνός. Here Christ is Himself the morning star, which in ii. 28 is promised to the faithful. The idea is ultimately derived from Num. xxiv. 17, “There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,” but in the Test. Lev. xviii. 3, and probably in Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, this passage has been definitely associated with the hope of a Messiah from Levi—an expectation that was abandoned early in the first century B.C. As Christ is the realization of all that Israel hoped for in the past (ἡ βία κτλ.), He contains in Himself the promise (cf. Luke i. 78) of all that is to come (ὁ δότηρ . . . ὁ πρωνός) as “the Light of the world,” John viii. 12.

18. In this verse the Son claims all the attributes of the Father. In the next verse (i.e. 12) it follows naturally that He designates Himself as the Judge of all the world.

Εγώ τὸ Ἀλφα κτλ.: cf. i. 8 (note), xxi. 6, where it is the title used by God of Himself.
δ πρῶτος καὶ δ ἐσχάτος. See note on i. 17, ii. 8—in both cases of Christ.

ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. This title is used by God of Himself in xx. 6.

The phrase ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος is an abbreviated form of an ancient Orphic saying, which is first recorded in Plato, Leg. iv. 7, δ ὡς δηθεὸς (ὁσπερ καὶ δι παλαιός λόγος) ἀρχὴ τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν δυνατῶν ἔχων. Thus Plato in the 4th century B.C. speaks of this saying as even then an ancient one. A scholion on this passage gives the original form of it and an explanation: θεόν μεν τὸν δημουργὸν σαφώς, παλαιὸν δὲ λόγον λέγει τὸν Ὄρφικον, δὲ ἐστιν οὗτος: Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσα, Διὸς δὲ ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται, Ζεὺς πυθαίρετος τε καὶ συρανός ἀστερόεντος καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν οὗτος δὲ τοιητικὸν αἷτων, τελευτὴ δὲ ὡς τελικόν, μέσα δὲ ὡς ἑξίου πάσι παρών. We might compare the Pauline statement, Rom. xi. 36, ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, i.e. God is the initial cause, the sustaining cause, and the final cause of all things.

This Orphic logion was well known in the ancient world. In the first century A.D. it was familiar to the Palestinian Jews, as we know from Josephus who quotes it in c. Ap. ii. 22, ὥς θεὸς . . . αὐτὸς διανυφῆ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων. In his Ant. viii. 1. 11. 2 it appears in almost the same abbreviated form as in our text: καὶ τὸν ἵδιον θεὸν . . . δὲ . . . ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων. In later times it was adopted by the Talmudists and given a Jewish turn in the third century A.D. by Simon ben Lakish, who strove to derive this ancient Greek Orphic saying from the Hebrew word ים (Jer. Jer. xxii. 13; Gen. R. lxxxi.); "for . . . י is the first, ב the middle, and מ the last letter of the alphabet—this being the name of God according to Isa. xlv. 6, explained Jer. Sanh. i. 18, 'I am the first <having had none from whom to receive the kingdom>; I am the middle, there being none who shares the kingdom with me; <and I am the last>there being none to whom I shall hand the kingdom of the world'" (quoted from Jewish Ency. i. 439).

It is hardly needful to draw attention to the forced nature of this explanation or to point out that ב is not the middle letter of the Hebrew alphabet—being the 13th from the beginning and the roth from the end.

Turning now from Jewish to Christian writings, we find that the early Christian writers were well acquainted with this ancient Greek saying. This phrase lies behind the text of the Κύριε ἡ σοφία Πέτρου: ἐς θεός ἐστιν, δὲ ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν καὶ τέλος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. Justin Martyr (Cohort. ad Gent. xxv.) quotes the saying from Plato but ascribes it to the Law of Moses. Irenaeus (Haer. iii. 25. 5, "Et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et vetus sermo
XXII. 19, 10-11.] CHRIST'S COMMAND 221

est, initium et finem et medietates omnium quae sunt habens*; Hippolytus, Refut. omn. Haer. i. 19; Clem. Alex. Protrep. vi. 69, Strom. ii. 22. § 132; Origen, c. Cels. vi. 13; Eusebius, Praepar. Evang. xi. 13, ἄρχην αὐτοῦ ἔχων καὶ μάστατον ὓπερ τελευτήν.1

18. ἵδον ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Cf. iii. ii., xxii. 7, 20. καὶ δ' μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. xi. 18d. δ' μισθός μου is here “the reward which I give.” Cf. Isa. xi. 10, ἵδον δ' μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ: lxii. 11; Wisd. v. 15, καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ δ' μισθὸς αὐτῶν.

ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ δ' τῷ ἔργῳ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. Cf. ii. 23, xx. 13; Rom. ii. 6; Prov. xxiv. 12b (LXX, δ' ἀποδίδωσιν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ); Jer. xvii. 10; Ps. lxix. 13, ὅτι σὺ ἀποδώσῃς ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Our text seems to have been before 1 Clem. xxxiv. 3.

10. Here also Christ appears to speak, as Bousset recognizes. There is force in His command to issue the Book immediately; “for the time is at hand.” As contrasted with Jewish Apocalypses, such as Daniel (cf. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9); 1 Enoch i. 2, xcvii. 10, civ. 12; 2 Enoch xxxiii. 9-11, xxxv. 3, etc., which were not to be divulged till distant generations, our Apocalypse is to be made known by the Seer to his contemporaries. The older Apocalypses were referred to as sealed (cf. Dan. viii. 26, in order to explain the withholding of their publication till the actual time of their author.

1 Cf. the Egyptian prayer quoted by Reitzenstein (Poimandres, p. 277): χαίρε, ἄρχη καὶ τέλος τῆς ἀκινητοῦ φύσεως.
evangelized on the Second Advent when the Millennial Kingdom is established: cf. xiv. 6-7, xv. 4, xxi. 2, 17, xxi. 24-26. In the face of such an expectation it is an impossibility.

δ δικαίων δικαίωσάτω επί,
kai δ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρίσθητω επί.
kai δ δίκαιος δικαιούντων ποιησάτω επί,
kai δ ἁγιος ἁγιασθήτω επί.

We have already on the ground of their contents rejected these lines. As regards their form and diction there are further objections, though these are not unanswerable in themselves. First, as regards their form, it will be observed that, whereas universally in our author the second line is parallel with, i.e. reproduces the first not in identical but in similar terms, or more rarely the second and third lines (as in xxii. 13, 12) reproduce the first, in xxii, however, it is the third line that is parallel antithetically to the first and the fourth that is similarly parallel to the second. This form of parallelism is not found in our author, though there are approaches to it. It is, however, possible to regard the first and second lines, and the third and fourth as respectively instances of synonymous parallelism. But the antitheses between the δ δικαίων and the δ δίκαιος and between the δ ῥυπαρὸς and the δ ἁγιος and between δικαιούσατω and δικαιούντων ποιησάτω are in favour of our taking the stanza as we have done above. Next the diction is remarkable. Thus δικαίων, which occurs twice in this stanza, means here “to act unjustly,” “to sin,” whereas in the nine cases where it occurs previously in our author it means “to hurt,” “to damage.” Next ῥυπαρὸς (cf. ἀποθέμενον πάσαν ῥυπαρίαν in Jas. i. 21 in like sense) occurs only here in the N.T. in the sense of internal defilement (cf. Job xiv. 4, τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ῥύπου; once of external defilement in Jas. ii. 2), ῥυπαρίσθησα here only in N.T., and ἁγιασθῆναι, “to purify oneself internally” here only in our author.

[18b-19. As Porter (Messages of the Books, p. 293) remarks, these words form “an unfortunate ending of a book whose value consists in the spirit that breathes in it, the bold faith and confident hope which it inspires, rather than in the literalness and finality of its disclosures.” But these clauses, to which there are abundant parallels in other books, as we shall see presently, are not in the opinion of the present editor from the hand of John. For (1) these words presuppose that John looked forward to a long period elapsing before the Second Advent, during which the Book would be exposed not to the errors incidental to transmission but to the deliberate perversion of his message both in the way of additions and omissions.

But we know that John looked for the speedy Advent of
Christ and the Millennial Kingdom—an expectation which is expressed repeatedly in the words ξρομαί ταχύ, iii. ii, xxii. 7, 12, 20. 2. The style is unlike that of John. Thus we have τον λόγων του βιβλίου της προφητείας ταύτης in 19, whereas, as in xxii. 7, 10, 18, we should expect τ. λόγων τ. προφητείας τ. βιβλίου τουτου. Next after τους λόγους in 18 we shall expect, not ἐπ' αὐτά, but ἐπ' αὑτούς. Again, instead of ἀφελεί . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς we should expect ἀφελεί . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς: cf. xx. 6, xxii. 8, or τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς: cf. xxii. 14. 3. The nature of the penalty is not what we should expect. The extreme penalty that can befall the evildoer in this Book is not the plagues singly or collectively, but the being cast into the lake of fire. The plagues are concerned with temporal punishments, not with eternal. Exclusion from the tree of life is mentioned, it is true, in 19. 4. 18b–19 introduce a wrong note in these last verses.

On the above grounds I have bracketed these clauses as an interpolation.

Next, the custom of appending such warnings claims our attention. We first find them in Deut. iv. 2, οὕτω προσβῆσον πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὑτοῦ: xii. 32: i Enoch civ. 10, “And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words.” As opposed to this, Enoch requires that they should “not change or minish aught from my words” (civ. 11). In the Letter of Aristeas (33–41 A.D.?) 310–311, it is said that, when the Greek translation of the O.T. was completed, “they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making an omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.” A terrible judgment is foretold (2 Enoch xlviii. 7–8) for those who tamper with the words of this book. In Josephus (c. Αφ. 1. 8) the writer claims a most faithful transmission of the ancient books of the O.T. δὴν δ' ἐστίν ἔργον, πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσωπεν τοὺς ἱδίους γράμματας τοσοῦτον γάρ αἰώνας ἧδη παραφηκότος οὕτε προσθείαι τις οὐδέν οὔδε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οἴτε μεταθείαι τετύληκεν. It was not unusual for writers, Christian and Jewish, to attempt to secure a faithful transmission of their works by appending solemn adjurations that the scribes should in no wise change or tamper with the text. Cf. Irenaeus in Eusebius, Ε.Ε. v. 20. 2: ὁρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τούτο. . . . ινα ἀντιβάλῃς δ' μετεγράψω καὶ καταρθώσῃς αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τούτο. . . . καὶ τὸν ὄρκον ὑμοίως μεταγράψαις: and Rabbi
Meir in Sota 20*, "My son, be careful; for it is a divine work: if thou writest, were it but a letter more or less, it is as if thou wert destroying a world."

νῦ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδολου κτλ. The Holy City mentioned here is that which is associated with the Millennial Kingdom. The tree of life was in this city (xxii. 2).


8. Of these verses we have already found a doublet in xix. 9-10 (see notes), which was probably from the hand of the disciple that edited the Book after John's death.

8. καὶ ἦν ἡμέρα τὸ ἀδικέων καὶ βλάτων. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4, ἡκοιμεν ἄρρητα, Dan. xii. 5, "And I Daniel saw." At the close of his words the author gives his name as at the beginning (i. 1). Observe the participles are in our author's usage equal to aorists or perfects.

ἔπειτα προσκυνήσας ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου. See note on xix. 10. Worship in the sense of prostration is here involved, though not divine worship: cf. προσκυνεῖν ἐνώπιον in iii. 9, xv. 4 of simple homage. Yet even such homage is refused by the angel. The phrase may be equivalent to προσκυνήσας αὐτόν (see notes on xix. 9-10 (5°), vii. 11).

τοῦ δεικνύοντος μοι ταῦτα. Cf. i. 1, iv. 1, xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6. Here the participle = δεικνύων.

9. δρα μη' σύνδοιλος σου εἰμι κτλ. Our text appears to be the source of Asc. Isa. vii. 21, "And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me (or rather 'showed to me' i.e. δείχνει μοι: for the Ethiopic is capable of this meaning and the Latin and Slavonic Versions = 'instructed me') did not permit me but said unto me: 'Worship neither throne nor angel': and viii. 4-5, 'What is this which I see, my lord?' 5. And he said: 'I am not thy lord but thy fellowservant.'" The Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew iii. 3 (Tischendorf, p. 59) seems also to show signs of the influence of our text: "Benedic me servum tuum. Et dixit ei angelus: Noli te dicere servum, sed conservum meum; uni us enim domini servi sumus." Our text is a strong prohibition of angel worship (θησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων, Col. ii. 18). That this was practised by the Jews before the Christian era is to be inferred from Tob. xii. 15, "I am Raphael, one of the seven angels: 12. When thou didst pray ... I brought the memorial of your prayer before the glory of the Lord:"

Jub. xx. 20: Test. Dan vi. 2, "Draw near to God and to the angel that intercedeth for you; for he is a mediator between God and man." Test. Lev. v. 5, where Levi prays to the angel who conducts him to make known to him his name that he might

1 This idea of an angelic mediator is found already in Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23 sq.; Zech. i. 12.
call upon him in the day of tribulation, and the angel replies:

"I (i.e. Michael) am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel": 1 i Enoch lxxxix. 76. The fact that frequent admonitions against the worship of angels are to be found in Jewish writings confirms the view that this cult did prevail in Judaism. Cf. Mechilta Sect. נ פתח, Parash. 10, where R. Ismael ben Elisha (flor. 100 A.D.) forbids the worship of any kind of angels (quoted from Lueken, p. 6): Jer. Berach. ix. 13, where men in necessity are bidden to pray to God and not to Michael or Gabriel: Aboda Zara, 42, where offerings to Michael are denounced as offerings to the dead. In Shabbath 12 men are commanded by R. Jehuda (4th century A.D.) not to pray in Aramaic since the angels did not understand Aramaic. On the other hand, in the Jer. Qiddushim at its close (Lueken) permission is given to ask the angels for their intercession. For other proofs that, notwithstanding strong prohibitions against the cult of angels, this cult did survive in Judaism, see Lueken, Michael, 6–12.

From Christian sources we know of the prevalence of angelolatry among the Jews: cf. Preaching of Peter (Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 5), μηδε κατα 'Ιουδαιους σεβεσθε, και γαρ εκεινοι ... ουκ επιταγεται λατρευται αγγελους: Celsus in Origen, c. Cels. v. 6, πρωτον σοι των 'Ιουδαιων θαυμαζειν αξιων, ει ... των ... αγγελους σεβουσι.

That this superstition passed from the Jews to the Christians our text is sufficient evidence: cf. also Col. ii. 18; Asc. Isa. vii. 21, viii. 4, 5; Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 6, άλλ' εκεινόν τε, και των παρ' αυτων ιδων ελθόντα ... και των των άλλων επομένων και εξοριουμένων άγαθων αγγελων στρατον, ντεψιμά τε το προφητικόν σεβόμεθα και προσκυνούμεν: Athenagoras, Suppl. x., xxiv.: Clem. Hom. iii. 36.

tων προφητῶν και τῶν προφέτου τῶν λόγων κτλ. Here, as we have shown in the notes on xix. 9–10, the prophets and the ordinary Christians are practically placed on the same level, whereas in xix. 9–10 the prophets are exalted far above the ordinary Christians, no mention of whom is made.

tῶν προφέτων τῶν λόγων. Cf. i. 3, iii. 8, 10, xii. 17, xiv. 12, xxii. 7.

tοῦ βιβλίου τούτου. Cf. xxii. 7, 10 [18, 19]. το θεό προσκύνησον. See note on vii. 11.

20. λέγει δ' μαρτυρῶν ταύτα. Christ is again the Speaker. The δ μαρτυρῶν goes back to xxii. 18, where Christ solemnly attests the truth of the words of the prophecy of this book.

1 Cf. Asc. Isa. ix. 23, "Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate."

2 The four chief angels are spoken of as intercessors in i Enoch ix. 1, 3, the Watchers in xv. 2.

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Here for the third time in this chapter (see 7, 12) our Lord declares that He is coming speedily. On 
φανερώθη, see note on i. 7.

"Αμήν ἔρχον, κύριε Ἰησοῦ. On this, the initial and primitive use
of ἀμήν, which solemnly assents to the utterance of a preceding
speaker, cf. v. 14, note, vii. 12, xix. 4. ἔρχον κύριε is the Greek
equivalent of the Aramaic נָדָדָא (= “our Lord, come”).

See Encyc. Bib. and Hastings’ B.D. on “Maranatha.” The
Aramaic is actually found transliterated in 1 Cor. xvi. 22,
and in the Didache, x. 6:

εἰ τις ἀγών ιστιν, ἔρχεσθω
εἰ τις οὐκ ἦστι, μετανοεῖτω.
μαραναθά. Ἀμήν.

κύριε Ἰησοῦ. This designation is found only here and in the
next verse in our author.

καὶ ἡ καρέα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἄγιων. This
benediction, which is unusual in Apocalypses, is an indication
that the Book was intended to be read in the Church services.
In the Pauline Epistles οἱ ἄγιοι includes the whole body of the
baptized. But in our author it appears to embrace only the
faithful members of the Church. Cf. v. 8, viii. 3, 4, xi. 18, xiii.
7, 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xvii. 6, xviii. 20, xix. 8, xx. 6, 9. It is not
used at all in the Johannine Epistles.

1 This explanation of Dalman, Wellhausen, etc., is preferable to that
which is generally accepted in the Church Fathers, i.e. μαραναθά = καὶ ἡ ἡμ.,
“our Lord has come.”
I. THE TEXT.

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Uncial MSS containing the Greek Text of the Apocalypse or part of it. The enumeration is that of Gregory, except in the case of ΒΑΔ.

N (iv). Petrograd. Sd. 8 2. Ν* signifies the original text, where the original scribe or a later one has introduced an emendation. Ν* Ν'a Ν'b etc. are various correctors of the MS.¹

A (v). London. Sd. 8 4. A* signifies as Ν* above. A** corrector.²


046 (x). Rome. Formerly Q or Bp. Sd. 8 1070.

051 (ix-x). Athens, Pantokrator 44. Contains 1116-131, 133-227, 2215-21 with a commentary of Andreas in cursive. Photographed for Prof. Swete.


GREEK CURSIVES OF THE APOCALYPSE.³

1 (xii-xiii cent.). Mainingen. Formerly 1 r 1. Sd. 8 309.


60 (x). Cambridge. Formerly r 10. Sd. 8 1321.

61 (xvi). Dublin. Formerly r 92. Sd. 8 603.


¹ The photographic facsimile edited by Professor Lake for the Clarendon Press has been used for this edition.

² The photographic facsimile edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon (1909) has been used for this edition.

³ Gregory's enumeration of the MSS is adopted in this edition, but for the convenience of those who use Von Soden's text I have added the latter's enumeration.
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<td>Formerly r 90.</td>
<td>Sd. a 1271.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2040</td>
<td>(xi-xii).</td>
<td>Parham (Curzon).</td>
<td>Formerly r 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2041</td>
<td>(xiv). Parham (Curzon).</td>
<td>Formerly r 96.</td>
<td>Sd. a 1475.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2042</td>
<td>(xv-xv). Naples.</td>
<td>Formerly r 100.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{600}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2043</td>
<td>(xv). Petrograd.</td>
<td>Formerly r 101.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{57}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2044</td>
<td>(1507 A.D.). Vienna.</td>
<td>Formerly r 136.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{601}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2045</td>
<td>(xv). Vienna.</td>
<td>Formerly r 137.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{66}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2046</td>
<td>(xv). Vienna.</td>
<td>Formerly r 138.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{58}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2047</td>
<td>(1543 A.D.). Paris.</td>
<td>Formerly r 139.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{67}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2050</td>
<td>(1107 A.D.).</td>
<td>Escurial.</td>
<td>Formerly r 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2051</td>
<td>(xvi). Madrid.</td>
<td>Formerly r 144.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{68}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2052</td>
<td>(xvi). Florence.</td>
<td>Formerly r 145.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{64}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2053</td>
<td>(xiii). Messina.</td>
<td>Formerly r 146.</td>
<td>Sd. O\textsuperscript{61}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2054</td>
<td>(xv-xvi). Modena.</td>
<td>Formerly r 147.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{500}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2055</td>
<td>(xv). Modena.</td>
<td>Formerly r 148.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{58}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2056</td>
<td>(xiv-xv). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 149.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{49}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2057</td>
<td>(xv). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 150.</td>
<td>Sd. a 1576.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2058</td>
<td>(xiv). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 151.</td>
<td>Sd. O\textsuperscript{40}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2059</td>
<td>(xi). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 152.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{10}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2060</td>
<td>(1331 A.D.). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 153.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{48}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2062</td>
<td>(xiii). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 155.</td>
<td>Sd. O\textsuperscript{30}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2063</td>
<td>(xvi). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 157.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{61}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2064</td>
<td>(xvi). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 158.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{62}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2065</td>
<td>(xv). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 159.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{503}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2066</td>
<td>(1574 A.D.). Rome.</td>
<td>Formerly r 160.</td>
<td>Sd. A\textsuperscript{68}.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are thus 223 Cursives according to the above enumeration, which is based on Gregory's list, *Griechischen Handschriften des NT.* (pp. 48–122).\(^1\)

\(^1\) In his list of MSS of the Apocalypse on pp. 360–361 there are six omissions and two or more wrong insertions. Von Soden (*Schriften des NT.* 1, 1. 289) reckons the number of Cursives as 222. Thus with the seven Uncials there are altogether 230 (or 229) Greek MSS of the Apocalypse.
II. THE TEXT.

THE MSS AND VERSIONS COLLATED FOR THIS EDITION:
ABBREVIATIONS: SYMBOLS: ITACISMS.

UNCIALS.—Of the Uncials A and n have been collated afresh from photographs of these MSS published by Kenyon and Lake respectively. For the readings of C, 025, 046 the editor is dependent on Tischendorf, and for 051 on the readings given in Swete’s edition under the number 186.

CURSIVES.—The following 22 Cursives have been specially photographed for this edition: 18, 35, 149, 175, 205, 325, 337, 386, 456, 468, 617, 620, 632, 866, 919, 920, 1849, 1934, 2004, 2020, 2040, 2050. Of these the following are defective: 205, 337, 468, 866, 919, 920, 2040, 2050.

205. Defective: xvii. 14 ἄφηλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ... xx. 9 τὴν παρεμβολὴν τ. ἀγών, i.e. one page lost through carelessness of the photographer.

337. Defective: x. 4–xi. 1 and xxii. 17 λέγουσα to end wanting.

468. Defective: xix. 18 καὶ σάρκως ἱσχυρῶν ... xxii. 17 εἰπάτω ἤρχον wanting.

866. Defective: contains only vi. 17 ἡμέρα τ. δραμ.”... xiii. 12 τοῦ θηρίου πάσαν.

919. Ends with xix. 6 ὀδάτων πολλῶν καὶ ὄσ.

920. Ends with xxii. 1 καὶ ἐπεξέφ.

2040. Ends with the words καὶ τόπος, xx. 11. Photographs incomplete.

2050. Defective. Omits vi. 1 καὶ ἠδων ... xix. 21 ἐκ τῶν σάρκων αὐτῶν.

These 22 Cursives are generally quoted as 22, or 21, 20, 19, accordingly as one or more are defective. See under “Abbreviations” below.

For the readings of most of the remaining Cursives cited in this edition the author is indebted to Tischendorf’s NT. Graece (ed. oct. 1872) and to Hoskier’s Concerning the Date of the Bohairic Version (1911) for select readings from the following 26 Cursives: 180, 181, 256, 337, 367, 368, 467, 582, 664, 680, 743, 1075, 1948, 2014, 2025, 2026, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2037, 2038, 2043. Where readings from the Cursives cited by Tischendorf are not to be found in Tischendorf, they are derived from Hoskier.
CORRECTIONS ON THE MSS—

A* = original text. A** = correction and similarly in the
cursives.

n* = original text. The lead of Tischendorf has been
followed in distinguishing the different hands
engaged in correcting n. On these different correctors
(as many as fifteen ranging from the iv to the
xii century) and their dates see Lake, Codex
Sinaiticus, pp. xvii–xxiv. Lake differs from
Tischendorf in differentiating certain of the correctors.
Into this vexed question it is not necessary
to enter here.

VERSIONS.—For a short description of these Versions see the
Introduction to vol. i.

Latin.

Ty = “Tyconius’ Text of the Apocalypse, a partial
restoration,” published by Prof. Souter in the
J.T.S., April 1913.

Pr = Text of Primasius in Die Latinische Apocalypse, edited
by Haussleiter, 1891.

fl = Palimpsestus floriacensis in Haussleiter’s volume
just mentioned.

gig = Codex Gigas. A fresh collation made by Dr.
Karlsson in 1891 for Bp. John Wordsworth of
Salisbury, and put at my service by his collaborator—Professor White.

vg = Vulgate (editio minor), edited by H. J. White,
1911.

Syriac.

s1 = Philoxenian Version, edited by John Gwynn, 1897.

s2 = Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.

s sometimes is used to indicate the consensus of s1
and s2.

Armenian.

arm1 2 3 4 = Old Armenian MSS edited by F. C.
Conybeare, 1907.

arm = Armenian Vulgate.

Egyptian.

edited by G. Horner, 1905.

sa = Sahidic Version. Partial collation furnished to
the editor by G. Horner.

Ethiopic.

eth = Ethiopic Version, edited by J. P. Platt (new edition),
1899.
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS—

Or* = the Greek text, which accompanies the recently discovered Scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse, i.e. in Harnack's edition, Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes sur Apokalypse Johannis, 1911. This text is not Origen's, though the Scholia probably are. It should be numbered as Cursive 2293 (x cent.).


† Words so enclosed are taken by the Editor to have greater claims to be the original than the alternative printed in the margin.

†† Words so enclosed are corrupt. The Editor's restoration is occasionally given in the margin.

< > Words so enclosed are restored by the Editor.

[ ] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

+ = add

> = omit.

? = transpose.

pr = prefix.

22 (-18, 35) = the 22 Cursive MSS collated for this edition less by the two MSS 18, 35. Where certain of these MSS are defective the symbol may be 21 or 20 or 19 or 18 or even 17.

Words in heavy type in the text are restorations of the original text as in 31 7. 14.

ITACISMS.—Itacisms are not recorded in the case of the Cursives nor yet of the Uncials excepting A and Ω, and not even the itacisms of these in such common instances as ι for αι (ίδον for ιδον). Such itacisms as ε for ιαί or vice versa in these two MSS are recorded, since this itacism has in one case led to a corruption of the text. Thus Gwynn and Swete have rightly recognized that πας γενε in 7. 16 is corrupt for πας γενε, the corruption being due originally to the mis-writing of πας γενε as πες γε. In 9. 6 ΑΙ write πες γε for πας γε—a fact unrecorded by Tischendorf. In fact Α writes πες twice for πας—out of the five times where it occurs in the N.T. and Ω three times. Other common unrecorded itacisms are ι for η and ο for ω, or vice versa.
III. THE TEXT AND APPARATUS CRITICUS.

CHAPTER I.

APOKALYPSEΣ IOANNON.

1. Ἀποκαλύψεις Ἰωάννου Χριστοῦ ὃς έδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δείξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ, ἀν δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάξει, καὶ εἰσήμανεν ἀποστέλλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ, 2. ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰωάννου Χριστοῦ, ὡς εἶδεν.

Title.

αποκαλύψεις Ἰωάννου (Ἰωάννου ¹) ΝC>Α 205. 2004 | Ἰωάννου αποκαλύψεις 175. 337. 920. 2040 | η αποκ. του αγίου Ἰωάννου ² | Ἰωάννου του θεολογου (+ην εν Πατρω τη νυσσ εθεαιατο 620) 325. 620 : αποκ. του αγίου. Ἰωάννου του θεολογου 18. 35. 386. 456. 468. 2020 Ωn | Ἰωάννου του θεολ. καὶ ἑγαπημένου αποκ. 1934 | αποκ. (+του αγίου 919) Ιωάννου του θεολ. καὶ εὐαγγελιστου 046. 919 | αποκ. η εγενετο εις τον (+αγίου 81) Ἰωάννου του ευαγγ. (+υπο του θεου 82) εν Πατρω τη νυσσ εις την εβληθη υπο Νυμωνος Καισαρος 81.2 | η αποκ. του αποστολου Ἰωάννου (+και εὐαγγελιστου 025) 025 ηg | αποκ. του αγ. αποστ. Ἰωάννου του θεολ. 632 | αποκ. του αγ. Ἰωάννου του αποστ. κ. ευαγγ. του θεολ. ην ιδεν εις πατμω τη νυσσ κυρι ευλογ. 2050.


3. Μακάριος ὁ ἀναγνώστων
καὶ ὁ ἀκούστης τῶν λόγων τῆς προφητείας
καὶ τηροῦτε τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα,
ὁ γὰρ καραίως ἀγιος.

4. Ἡσάνης ταῖς ἑκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἅση.
Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ἄν καὶ ὁ ἤν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος,(a)
5. καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός,
ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἀρχων τῶν βασιλεῶν τῆς γῆς.

Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἡμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν
τῷ αἰώνι αὐτῶν,

(a) The MSS add here an early interpolation: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκτὸν πρευ-
μάτων τῶν ἐνώπιων τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῶν. See vol. i. 11-13.

καὶ > arm : οἱ ἀναγνωσταὶ bo | ὁ ἀκούςν γιγ arm1.2.3 | τ. λογ.
t. προφ. κ. ὁ ἀκούς ἄριστον arm2 | τ. λογ. τ. προφ. > arm | του τ. λογ.]
+ tontos C : τὸν λόγον κ. 046. 2042 | προφητείας NC 93, 104.
314 : + ταύτης 104. 336. 468***. 620 gig vg s1.3 arm2 | bo : +
tontos t. βιβλίου eth | κατ2 + οἰ 2010 | τηροῦται | ποιοῦται arm4
+ τιρων γιγ arm1.2.3 | εν αὐτῷ γίνεται : επ αὐτοῦ 2050 | ο γὰρ
κ. εὐ. > arm1.2 | καρ. εὐ. > 2050 |

4. Ἡσάνης] Ἡσάνης Ν : pr a γραφεῖ eth : + scribens haec Tyc
[ταιο] + οὐσαίος 2050 | εἰρήνη] + multiplicetur Tyc | απὸ . . .
ερχομ.] a deo patre Tyc | ato o νῦν NC 025. 1. 60. 82. 88. 104.
1934 : ab eo qui est θείον vg s1.2 bo : ato θεῖον o νῦν 046. 21
(−432. 620. 628. 632**. 2020. 2050) alm Or* : ato κυρίου νῦ
ν 2016 | οὔ > 2050 | ερχομ.] + omnipotens Pr | κατ4 > s3 | των
AN 88. 241. 2036 : a C 046. 21 (−205. 620. 2020) alm Or
s1.3 arm3 : a εἰσιν 025. 1. 205. 620. 2020. 2023 al arm2 : a
εἰσιν 2019 arm4 | αὐτοῦ > 2018 bo : του θεοῦ 88. 2015. 2036
Pr fl : Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ eth |

5. καὶ ato i. X.] et a filio hominis Tyc : > eth | οὐ μάρτυς
πιστοῦ εἰσιν 172. 2018 Pr gig vg arm6 eth | o πρωτότοκον [“who
is eldest” arm6.7 | + ex i. 1957. 2041 al | τῶν νεκρῶν] “among
the dead” arm1.2.3 | ἐρχομ.] μάρτυς 2050 : + πάντων bo | βασιλ.
εῶν Ν* (corr. by scribe himself to βασιλεῶν) arm1.2.3 | Or* | των
 (>Ν*) ἀγαπητοί AN 046. 21 (−205) alm Or arm4 : τῷ ἀγαπητῶν
628 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2050 Or* Pr fl s1.3 arm6 : λογοντι
025. 046. 21 (−620. 2020. 2050) alm gig vg eth : ελευθερ 172.
6. καὶ ἔποιησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλεύαν, ἰερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί αὐτοῦ, 
αὐτῷ ἄδοξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων· 
ἀμήν.

7. Ἡδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν, 
καὶ δύστα αὐτὸν τὰς ὀφθαλμός καὶ ὡρίνει αὐτὸν ἐξεκτύησαν, 
καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πᾶσα αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. 
ναὶ, ἀμήν. (α)

(a) The MSS add here an early interpolation. 8. Ἐγὼ εἶμι τῷ Ἀλφα 
καὶ τῷ Ω, λέγει Κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὅν καὶ ὁ καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 

2018 bo: λυσαντί κ. των της ἀμαρτίας κληρῶν λυσαντί τη 
ἐκκυσε τοῦ καθορισμοῦ αιματος κ. ιδατος κ. ποιησαντι ημας 
βασιλευον ἱερευμακα. λυσαντί ημας απο των ἀμαρτιων εν 
τ. αιματι αυτων. καὶ εποιησεν ημας βασιλειαν ἱερειων κτλ. 
2020. 2050) 250 al* Pr | σιλευ 
θο βο? τ. αμαρτ.] peccato 
αυτ. > arm 1. 8*].

6. εποιησεν ΑΕΓC 025. 21 (−386. 456. 468. 866) 250. 2037. 
2038. 2067 Or* σιλ. 2 bo eth: ποιησαντι 046. 42. 69. 
046 al* Pr | σιλευ 
θο | ρι νεφελων | κατευθυνων 
ημας A 42. 325* | 367. 456. 
2019. 2036. 2038. 2067 al arm 2. 5* | ΕΑΓC. 1. 61. 69. (325). 367. 
456. 468. 517. (620). 1854 Or* bo| 
και >arm 1. 8 bo | αυτων >fl arm 1 | αυτω ... αμην > Pr arm 1 
κ. το κρατος ... αμην > arm 1 | τ. αιματας] τον αιμα 
των αιμων ΚΝ 046 al* Or* fl | σιλευ 

35: + coeli gig arm 1. 8. 3a | oreuvi AC 025. 046 al* Or* Mt. 31. 
Pr | σιλευ 
θο | ρι νεφελων | κατευθυνων | ΕΑΓC. 1. 61. 88. 2018. 2038. 2067 Orig σιλ. 2 arm bo 
| αυτων > 1. 205. 209 arm 1. 3 | πασ] παντες σιλ. 2 arm: + o 172 
: παντες, πασ bo | οφθαλμος και >arm 1 | οφθαλμοι σιλ. 2 arm 2. 8. 4 | 
| αυτων > Ν* | κοπονταi ] oreuvi (etαι Pr) Pr | σιλευ 
θο | εν των 2050 Orig Pr | σιλ εν των ... γης omnis terra Pr | ναι+] + και σι 
| ναι αμην >fl arm 1 | ναι > bo | αμην] + και λεγει arm 1 |.

8. το άλφα ΑΕΓC 025. 046. 21 (−620. 632. 2020) al
9. Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἄδειφος ὑμῶν καὶ συνκοινωνῶς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νίσιῳ τῇ καλούμενῃ Πάτρῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνευματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσα τῷ φωνῇ μεγάλην ἐνσίθεν μου ὡς σάλτιγγος λεγοῦσθαι:

11. ὁ βλέπεις γράφων εἰς βιβλίον, καὶ πέμψον ταῖς ἑκάστια ψεφησίας,


11. λεγομενα] λεγουσαι No. c Pr fl sl.2 arm4: λαλουσα 920.
12. Καὶ ἐπέστρεψα βλέπειν τὴν φωνὴν ἦτε ἐδάλευε μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ.

13. καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνίων ὁμοίων ὅν τὸ άνθρώπον,

ἐνδεδυμένον τοιῆς και περιεβασμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς
ζώνων τρυπανον.
I. 14-15.]

14. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχαι λευκαὶ ὡς ἐριον λευκῶν, (a) καὶ οἱ φθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλοξ πυρός,  
15. καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ δμοιοι χαλκολιβάνυς ὡς ἐν καμάνῃ † πεπτυμένης †,  
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν.  

(a) MSS add a gloss ὡς χιὼν. See vol. i. 28.


vol. ii.—16
16. καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἐπὶ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δίστομος δεξιὰ ἐκπο-
ρευμοῦν, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἡλιός φαίνεται ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.

17. Καὶ δὲ οἱ διδόν αὐτῶν, ἔπεσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρὸς, καὶ ἐθηκεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμὲ λέγων
Μὴ φοβοῦ: ἔγω εἰμὶ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἐσχατος,
καὶ ιδοῦ ὡς εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων,
καὶ ἔχω τὰς κλεῖδος τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ άθιου.

τῇ δεξιᾷ 046 | ἄστερεσ Α 1934. 2021 | ρομφ. διστ. | πνευμα s1 | οὔσια > 205. 209. 242. 2050 arm 1.2.8 | (bo) | εκπορευμ. | pendentem
Τυς | φαίνεται ὡς ὁ ἡλιός Ν Pr Κυρ fl arm 4 | bo : "live the sun
forgetting appeared" arm 1.2.8 | εν τῇ δυν. αυτ. > arm. |

ANÇ 025. 046. 81 ( - 35. 205) alp Pr fl gig vg arm eth + χειρὰ Ν* o i. 35. 61. 205. 1957. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 
τῇ δεξιᾷ 046 | λέγων | μοι i alp arm 1.2.8 | μῇ φοβή > Ν* : + ἦλιος Pr | 
ο πρωτοτοκος A : "beginning" arm 1.2 | εν ε'χ.] εν > 2050 | 

18. κ. o [Νον > Pr gig : "I am life" arm 1.2.8 | καὶ 1 > Ν* bo 
arm | εἰχεν. νεκρ.] : "I am (+ same 8) who died" arm 1.2.8a : + καὶ 
εἰτεν μοι eth | ιδοῦ > arm 8 | τον αἰωνίον > 2020 | αἰωνίον ANÇ 025. 2019. 2050 2067 Pr Κυρ fl gig vg bo arm 1.2.a : + αἰμη 
ΝοC 046. 81 ( - 2020. 2050) 250. 2037. 2038 al Οτ* s1.2 arm 8 : > 2020 
19. γράψον οὖν ἡ εἰδείς
καὶ ἡ εἰσίν
καὶ ἡ μέλλεις γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

20. τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστερῶν οὖς εἰδεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου
καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας τὰς χρυσᾶς, οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστερεῖς ἀγγελοί τῶν ἑπτὰ
ἐκκλησίων εἰσίν, καὶ αἱ λυχνῖαι αἱ ἑπτὰ [ἕπτα] ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν.

468. 620. 632. 2020) al<sup>1</sup> Or<sup>8</sup> | τοῦ βαθ. κ. τ. αθ. ΑΝC 025. 046.
21 al<sup>1</sup> Tyc Pr fl gig vg s<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> (bo) arm eth : τοῦ αθ. κ. τ. βαθ. 1.
2015. 2036. 2037. 2038 al |.

19. οὖν > ι. 498. 620. 2020. 2050 arm<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup>.<sup>4</sup> | α) o s<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> |
eidei| ofei bo : oras arm<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> | καὶ α ἐστὶν >arm<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> bo | καὶ 1 >
arm<sup>3</sup>.<sup>3</sup> | a<sup>2</sup> > 2050 | καὶ a < sup>2</sup> > 2050 | γίνεσθαι AN<sup>2</sup> (1 - 35 - 386.
468. 617. 632. 2050). 250 al<sup>1</sup> Or<sup>8</sup> | γίνεσθαι N<sup>1</sup> C 025. 046. 35.
2037. 2038. 2041. 2042. 2050. 2067 |.

20. οὖν AN<sup>1</sup> C 025. 1. 110. 181. 205. 209. 2037**. 2038.
2050 : ow 046. 21 ( - 205. 2050). 250. 2037*. 2067 al<sup>1</sup> Or<sup>8</sup> | eidei]
ora<sup>2</sup> arm<sup>2</sup> | eti της δεξ. ΑΝ<sup>1</sup> 025. 046. 250. 2037. 2067 min
omn<sup>1</sup> Or<sup>8</sup> s<sup>1</sup> arm<sup>4</sup> bo : en τη δεξια A 2038 Pr fl gig vg s<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup>
arm<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> arm<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> eth : en τη χειρι arm<sup>1</sup> | κ. των επτα λυχνιων 498 Pr fl
2039. 2040. 2042 | τασ χρυσασ > 498 s<sup>1</sup> : των χρυσων Pr arm<sup>2</sup> :
+ ταυτα ετην 201 : + ταυτα ετην 93. 386 | αστερει | etta
bo | αγγ. εισιν | αγγ. εισιν των επτ. εκκλ. 498 Pr fl gig vg :
των επτ. εκκλησιων εισιν οι αγγελοι arm<sup>2</sup> | εισιν<sup>1</sup> > N<sup>1</sup> | καὶ αι
λυχν. αι επτα. . . εισιν > 632<sup>2</sup> | αι λυχν. αι επτα AC 025. 046
al<sup>1</sup> gig vg s<sup>1</sup>.<sup>2</sup> eth : αι λυχν. επτα 218. 429 2018. 2019 : επτα
λυχν. N<sup>1</sup> 1. 61.<sup>mg</sup> 367. 2038 : αι επτα λυχν. N<sup>1</sup> 35. 205. 250.
632**. 1854. 1957. 2020. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Or<sup>8</sup> | α επτα | + στ
2038. 2067 bo : + αι χρυσαι 2050 : + αι χρυσαι ασ ειδος s<sup>1</sup> : + αι
172. 241. 250. 424. 2020 arm | επτα<sup>8</sup> > 104. 498 Pr fl (arm<sup>4</sup>?).
Only these authorities attest the original text (see vol. i. 34-35; vol. ii., Eng. trans., footnote, in loc.). The α ἑπτα belongs to
ἐκκλησιαι.
CHAPTER II.

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφεσῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον
   Τάδε λέγει ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀστέρας ἐν τῷ δεξίῳ αὐτοῦ,
   ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνίων τῶν χρυσῶν,

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφεσῳ ἐκκλησίας] Since John’s usage elsewhere attests the originality of this unique grammatical construction (see Gram. in vol. i.), I add here a summary of the documentary evidence for it in 21 and in the six other passages where it originally occurred, 26.12.18 31.7.14. This evidence is sufficient to establish the originality of τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ in all seven passages: when reinforced by the evidence of John’s usage elsewhere, it is irresistible. I have accordingly restored the original reading in 31.7.14 where the Greek MSS fail us.

21 τ. ἀγγ. τῷ] AC (2019) s1 arm6 Pr (though he reads: angelo ecclesiae Ephesi). In the note Pr. refers to the peculiar construction in the text: Dativo hic casu ecclesiae posuit, non genetivo; ac si diceret Scribe angelo, huic ecclesiae, ut non tam angelum et ecclesiam separatim videatur dixisse, quam qui sit angelus exponere voluisse, unam videlicet faciens angeli ecclesiæque personam. 26 t. ἀγγ. τῷ] A (2040 t. ἀγγ. της o) arm6. 21 t. ἀγγ. τῷ] 2050 s1 arm6 sa. 218 t. ἀγγ. τῷ] A Epiph. Pr s1.2 arm6 (ʾα. γ.).

The difficulty of the reading led to the occasional omission of ἐκκλησίας in 218 (A), 314 (919. 920. 2040), 31 (s3), 37 (arm5). It is interesting to observe how the evidence for the original reading grows weaker as the text advances. The assurance of the scribes grows as they write. On the individual passages the chief variants are given below.

2. Οιδα τα ἐργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου, καὶ ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἦσαν κακοί τούς λέγοντας ἐντὸς ἀπουσίας καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ εἴρητα αὐτοὺς ἴδετε·
3. καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἤχει καὶ ἐβάστασαι διὰ τὸ δομά μου καὶ οὗ κεκοπίακες.
4. ἀλλ` ἤχι κατά σοῦ ὅτι τὴν ἀγάπην σου τῇ πρὸ τῆς ἀφήκας.
5. μημόνευε οὖν πόθεν πέπτωκας, καὶ μετανόησον καὶ τὰ πρότα ἐργα ποίησον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄρχομαι σοι καὶ κηνῆσω τὴν λυκνίαν σου ἐκ του τόπου αὐτῆς.(α)
(a) MSS add gloss ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃ.
6. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ ἔχεις ὅτι μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαίτων, ἡ κἀγὼ μισᾶς. 7. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκούσατο τί τὸ πνεύμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἦτο νυκτὶ δύος ἀπὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδίπος τοῦθεν.

8. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφειν
Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἑσπεριός,
δὲ ἐγένετο νεκρός καὶ ἐζησεν.

9. Οἶδα σου τὴν θλύσιν καὶ τὴν πτωχεύον,
ἀλλὰ πλοῦσιον εἶ,
καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι λαυτοῦ,
καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ συναγωγῆ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

eth | ἔργα] σοι gig arm | σοι ἈΚΣ 025. 2050 gig vg s\(^1\) bo sa > 181. 2041 arm\(^1\).\(2.4\) a : + ταυ υ 046. 21 (− 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\(^1\) Or\(^a\) Pr s\(^2\) arm\(^a\) : + ταυ ἰ | κινησω] + κατα σου 325. 456 [ἐκ τ. τοῦτ. αὐτ. > s\(^1\) | εἰ] ei 35 | μετανοησεις (σω 1) 35. 104. 498. 620. 2050 : μετανοησι τυς |

6. eϰεια] + ἀγαθὸν Pr | ὅτι μισώ | ὅτι μισώ 2040 | a > A arm\(^2\) : sicut Pr | καγω] ευω s\(^1\) arm\(^1\).\(2.8\) a eth |

7. οὐσ] ωτα s\(^1\).\(2\) : + ἀκοινὸν bo eth : aures audiendi Pr arm\(^1\).\(2.4\) | ἀκοινῷ 617 | πνευμα] + αἰγον arm\(^1\).\(2.4\) eth | ταυσ] + ἐπτα A | ekkl.] + ταυ θτα C : + καὶ s\(^1\) | αὐτω ἈΚΣ 025. 046. 21 (− 35. 205) Or\(^a\) Pr Cyp vg s\(^2\) arm eth : > N 35. 60. 205. 209. 1957. 2023. 2041. Tyς gig vg\(^4.7\) s\(^1\) | ἐν τῷ παραδ. ἈΚΣ 046. 21 (− 35. 205) al\(^ma\) Tyς Pr Cyr vg s\(^1\).\(2\) arm\(^1\).\(2.3.4\) : en μεσω το παραδειγματο ν\(^a\).\(6\) 025 : en μεσω του παραδειγματου 1. 35. 61.\(mg\) 205. (ἐμεσω 205). 250. 1957. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 gig arm\(^a\) bo | του θεου ἈΚΣ 025. 1. 61.\(mg\) 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 s\(^1\) arm\(^a\) : + µου 046. 21 (− 205) al\(^ma\) Or\(^kk\) ix \(\beta\) Or\(^a\) Tyς Pr gig Cyp vg s\(^2\) arm\(^1\).\(2.3.4\) bo eth |

8. τῳ εὐ] See note on 21. τῳ A arm\(^4\) : τῆς ἍΚΣ 025. 046. 21 min\(^r\) Or\(^e\) eth : τῆς + o 2040 | en Σμύρνης εκκλησιας A : Smirnaias gig (vg) bo : ecclesiae Smirnae Pr s\(^1\) : en Σμύρνη εκκλησιας N : en Σμύρνη εκκλ. C 025. 046. 21. 250. 2038. 2067 al\(^ma\) s\(^2\) arm\(^4\) (Zm.) : τῆς εκκλ. του Σμυρναίου arm\(^1\).\(2.8\) a : εκκλησιας μιρυναιν ι : Σμυρναιων εκκλησιας 2015. 2036. 2037 : Σμυρ. ἈΚΣ 025. 046 min\(^om\) min\(^rm\) vid gig s\(^2\) arm\(^1\).\(2.3.4\) a bo : Σμυρ. N vg s\(^1\) arm\(^4\) | πρωτοσ] πρωτοτοκος A | o\(^2\) > 2016. 2020. 2041 | εκχ] "without end" arm\(^1\) : + o πρωτος των νεκρων 69 | σο ἍΚΣ 025. 046. 35. 205. 468\(^{*}\). 620. 632. 2020. 2050 Pr gig vg s\(^1\).\(2\) arm\(^1\).\(2.4\) a bo : > 18. 175. 325. 337. 386. 456. 468\(^{**}\). 617. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2040 al\(^ma\) | εζησεν] vivit gig vg : revixit Pr |

9. σου ἉΚΣ 025. 93. 241. 250\(^om\) Pr gig vg s\(^1\) bo sa eth : + τα ἔργα και N 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or\(^a\) Tyς s\(^2\)
10. μὴ φοβοῦ ἡ μελλεῖς πάσχειν.

идοῦ μελλεῖ βάλλειν ὁ διὰβολος ἐξ ψυχῶν ἐς φυλακῆν,

ἔναι περαισθῆτε καὶ ἐχθρὶς ἢμερῶν ἡμερῶν δέκα.

γίνον πιστὸς ἄρτι θανάτου,

καὶ δώσω σοί τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.

11. Ὁ ἕχων οὖς ἀκοινούσατι τῷ τὸ πνεύμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Ὅ

νικῶν οὖ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.

12. Καὶ τῇ ἐγγέλει τῷ ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐκκλησίας γράφον.

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὴν ρομφαίαν τὴν διότιομον τὴν δέκαν

arm : +τα εργα κ. την υπομονην arm4 | πτωχειαν o25. o46. 21

(- 620) Or* : πτωχειαν ἈΝC 1. 498. 620 : +σου γιγ vg s1 bo

eth | την βλασφ.] +την ν s1.2 : τασ βλασφημασ arm1.2.3* : blasp

phemaris Pr gig vg : “I found not one” bo | ek ἈΝC o46. 21

(- 35. 205) alma Pr gig vg s1.2 bo : >o25. 1. 35. 205. 1957.


Ἰουλ. 2015. 2036 (s1) | Ἰουλίαν ν*-*C 2050 arm1 | εαυτους ειαι


2016. 2019 | κ. ουκ ειαιν > arm1 | σατανα]+ειαιν ν*.*. Pr gig

vg arm1.2.3*.


21 (- 2020. 2050) Or* Pr gig vg s1.2 eth | α] wν 35 | μελεισ]

βελεις arm* | πτωχειαν ἈΝC o25. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 468*


o46. 21 (- 35. 205. 468* 620). 2067 alma Or* | δου ἈΝC o25.


alma Pr gig vg s1 bo : +δη o46. 21 (- 18. 205. 620. 2020.

2050). 2067 Or* s2 : +γαρ 2050 eth : +και 205 | o διαβ. βαλ.

920. 2020. 2040 s1.2 eth | βαλλειν ἈΝC o25. 18. 35. 205. 250.


456. 468. 617. 620. 632. 1934. 2037. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Or:

βαλλειν βαλλειν ν* [ε] uμ. o διαβ. βαλ. 1854 | ινα περασηθ.] ινα περασηθη i : ινα περασηθη 920 | κ. ex. θλιψ.


2050 : εφτετε i10 : εφτετε ν o46. 21 (- 2050) Or* Τυς vg s1.2 |

θλιψ.]+ μεγαλην 2050 | δεκ. ημ. Τυς gig | ημερων ἈΝC o25. 1. 35.

104. 172. 205. 250. 620. 1957. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al:

dierum Pr : ημερας o46. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2050) alma Or* Τυς

s1.2 : diebus gig vg | γινου > ν* | γινεσθε . . . πιστοι . . .

νμν s1 : αχρει 2050 | μεχρι 632. 2020 |

11. ου] ουτα s1.3 arm1.4 : +αιουν bo eth : +αιουν Pr

arm1.4* : to)+αιουν arm1.2 eth | τ. εκκλ. >arm1 | o νικην

o γαρ νικων bo |

12. τω αγγ.] τους αγγελους arm1.2.3 | τω εν Π. εκκλ. 2050

(save that it reads Περγάμω): see note on 21 : τω εν εκκλησια
13. Όλα τού κατοικεῖς,
ὅπων ο θόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ,
καὶ κρατεῖς τὸ ονόμα μου,
καὶ οὐκ ἤριντω τὴν πίστιν μου
καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τ' Ἀντίπας, τ' ὁ μάρτυς μου,
ὁ πιστός μου, δε ἀπεκτάνθη ταρ' ὁμίαν
ὅπων ο Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ.

14. ἀλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα,
ὅτι ἔχεις εκεί κρατοῦται τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαὰμ,
δε ἐπιδεικνύει τῷ Βαλαὰμ βαλείν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν νιῶν
Ἰσραήλ,
φαγεῖν εἰδωλοθυτα καὶ πορνεύσαι.

Περγαμοῦ s1 : τῷ εἰς τῇ Περγαμῷ εκκλησία ? arm4 : τῷ εἰς τ. εκκλ. 
Π. sa : τῷ εἰς Περγαμῷ εκκλησίαν all Greek MSS (— 2050) Or*: τῷ Περγαμῶν (Περγαμών) εκκλησίασ arm1. 2 : Pergami ecclesias 


διστ. s1. 2 eth |

18. οἶδα ἈΝCc 025. 2020. 2050 Τυς Pr gig vg s1 arm1. 2. 4 
bo sa eth : + τα εργα σου καὶ o46. 81 (— 2020. 2050 [σου τα εργα 
καὶ 325. 456]) arm1 Or* s8 arm3a | που] καὶ στις arm6 | κρατεῖσι
εκρατησασ bo : κρατουσιν arm1. 2 Close : μου] σου N* | ἡμεραίων + 
nomen meum et gig | τὴν πιστ.] τον πιστον arm5 | καὶ AC 
1957. 2050 gig vg s1 bo eth : > N 025. o46. 81 (— 2050) arm1 
Pr arm5. 3. 4a | εν ταῖσ] αυτοις 325* : in illis Pr | ἡμεραίων AC 
vg s1 : + ταυταιον arm1. 2 : + εν ταῖσ N*: + αυσ o46. 81 (— 35. 
205. 620. 2040. 2050) al Or* (arm greeks) : + εν αυσ No 025. 1. 35. 
2067 (s8) (arm4) : + in quibus fuit gig : + εμας 1. 61. ms : + μου 
(εν) αυσ 2040. (2050) | Ἀντίτασ N*C 025. 046. 81 (— 325. 337. 
456. 2050) aluna vg : Antiphas Pr : Antiphas arm greeks : Antipax 
gig : Ἀντίτασ ἈΝC 42. 82. 93. 325. 337. 367. 452. 456. 
498. 2021. 2024*. 2050 Or*: Ἀντίτασ s1. 2 arm4: bo : > eth | 
ο μαρτρ.] καὶ ο μαρτυρ 172. 2032 s1 : πας μαρτυρι συμm3(b) | μου > 181. 
2019 arm1 bo : + καὶ Pr | ο πιστου] + στις πας μαρτυρι (+ μου s1) 
πιστου 2059 s1 : στις μαρτυρι μου πιστου (> γ) πας ο πιστειν arm6. γ: 
μου AC 61. 69. 2050 Or* s2 : > N 025. 046. 81 (— 2050) Pr 
gig vg (arm) bo | os en ektauθη 2050 : ο απεκταννθ 205 : ον 
apeteiναι bo eth | σο > 172. 314. 2016 | παρ υμων] παρ υμων 
920. 2040 s1 arm greeks : ει υμων arm4 : + εκα 632 | σου ο Ιερ. 
κατωκ. > 2020 s1 |

14. αλλ. ἈΝCc 025. 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050 al Or*: αλλα 
o46. 81 (— 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050) 250. 2038. 2067 al | κατα 
σου > N* : + λεγειν Pr arm greeks : ολιγα > arm1. 2. 4. eth | στις . . . 
kratev] ονοματα κρατουντα bo | στις > C Pr vg s1 | εκει] εχεi
15. οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν Νικολαίτων ὁμοίως.

16. μετανόησον οὖν
   εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαι σοι ταχύ,
   καὶ πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ βομβαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου.

17. ὁ ἔγον οὕς ἀκούστω τῇ το πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
   Τῷ νεκώντι δόσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου,
   καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκήν,
   καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καὶνόν γεγραμμένον
   ὃ οἴδατε οἴδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων.

A | διδαχὴν + τοῦ 42. 468. 2019. 2020 | εἰδίδασκεν ΑΜC 025. 1. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Pr gig vg : εἰδίδασκεν 046. 21 (−2050) alαμα Or* s1.2 arm1.2.3* bo : διδασκαί arm4 | τῷ 


"of Nicolaus" arm1.2.3 | ομοιωσ ΑΜC 046. 21 (−35. 468. 2020) Or* Pr gig vg s1.2 (arm4) : o μισω 1. 61.μεγ : ην μισω 2037 arm4* : ομοιωσ ο (ω 468 : ην 2067) μισω 025. 35∗. 42. 181. 186. 2038. 2067 : >2050 arm1.2.3* bo sa eth | .

19. οὕν AC 046. 21 (−35) alαμα arm1.2 bo eth : μονον arm4 : 


αυτων] σου 2050 Pr : αυτων arm2.3 | en >Τυς | του στομ, μου >arm1 : + και en τη ατελη η φιλανθρωπια 104. 336. 459. 620. 628 (from the Comm. of Andreas)].

17. οὕν] οτα s1.2 : +ακουειν bo eth : aures audiendi Pr 

arm1.2.4 | πνευμα] +αγιον arm1.8 eth | εκκλησ.] + οτι bo | τω
18. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Θυατείρωι ἐκκλησίας γράφον
Τάδε λέγει ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὁ ἐχὼν τοὺς όφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός,
καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὄμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ,

19. Οἴδας εὖ τὰ ἔργα,
καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν
ὑπομονὴν σου,
καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἐσχατὰ πλείονα τῶν πρῶτων.

νικώντι Ν 025. 046. 21 (- 620. 2050) alpl : τῷ νικοῦντι ΑC :
+ τοῦ φαγεῖν 42. 69 : + "food" arm1.2.3 | τοῦ μαννα ΑC 21 (- 35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2050) al Or* : μαννα 69 : το μαννα 046 gig vg arm1.3 : εκ τοῦ μαννα Ν 468*. 1957. 2019. (2050) 
Τυχ Pr sl.2 arm*4 bo : απο τον μαννα 1. 35. 61.mg 104. 205. 468**. 620. 632. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041. 2067 : 
Pr : + εκ αὐτῆν bo : το οὐδεις .. . λαμβ > 1 | o > Ν* | οιδεν] ειδεν 205. 209 bo : + αὐτω 2050 |

Α : εἰ Θυατ. εκκλησίας C : τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ Θυατ. Epiph495 : 
ecclesiaς qui est Tyatirae Pr : τῷ εἰ εκκλησία της εἰ Θυατ. s1 : τῷ 
tης εκκλησίας της εἰ Θυατ. s3 : qui in Theatrea ecclesia arm1.2,3 : τῆς εἰ Θυατ. εκκλησίας. Ν 025. 046 min omn* Or* : Tyatirae 
ecclesia gig : Thyatirae ecclesiae vg : ecclesiaς Thyaterae bo : 
tῶν Θυατερίων arm1.2 : τῆς Θυατερίων εκκλησίας. 2020 (arm8) | 
Θυατεριως Ν 1. 18. 35. 175. 205. 250. 386. 468. 617. 919. 920. 
149. 201. 632. 1849. 1955. 2036. 2050 : Θυατερως 2020 : Θυατηρη 
046. 620 : Θυατηρη 69. 93. 104. 110. 177. 325. 337. 456. 498. 
2021 : Thyatirae vg : Tyatire gig | εκκλησίας > A arm1 | του 
φραδιμ. Α 2019. 2020 Pr gig vg (arm2.3.4) : του φραδιμον s1 : 
+ αὐτον ΝC 025. 046. 21 (-2020). 250. 2037. 2038 alpl Or* s3 
(arm1.8) | φλογα] φλοξ κ Pr : λαμπαδας 1854 | χαλκ λιβαν 
025. 104. 175. 620. 2050 : auricalco Pr : eramentothurino gig : 
orichalco vg : "unto brass of Libanan" s8 arm1.2.8.4 : "unto brass 
smelted" arm5•8• : "burnished brass" (χαλκολιβανος) bo eth |

διακ. 18 242. 2040 : τὴν αγαθ. κ. τ. διακ. κ. τ. πιστ. 1 | κ. τ. 
αγαθ.] + σοῦ s1 bo eth | την2 > C 2020 | πιστ.]+ σοῦ s1 bo eth | 
τὴν διακονίαν καὶ > N* | την3 > 2020 | διακονίαν]+ σοῦ s1 bo
20. ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναίκα Ἰεζαβέλ, ἥ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφητήν, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεύοις καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα.

21. καὶ ζωκα αὐτὴς χρόνον ἡν μετανοήσῃ, καὶ νῦν ἡ ἑθελήσεις μετανοήσῃ ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

22. ἢδον βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλῖνην, καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντες μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην,

(a) Interpolation follows here: ἡν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτῆς. See E. g., trans. vol. ii. footnote, in loc. ἡν μὴ is not followed by the indicative in our author.

eth | την > A 2019 | σου > N 2023 Pr | σου + καὶ I | πλεώνα]

χειρον 175. 617* 1934 |


21. ν. 21 > 205 | καὶ > Pr arm1. 4 | αυτη] αυτην 2040 | μεταν.] μετανοησει 620. 2050 | κ. ου θελ. μεταν. > N* (arm8) : k e μεν θελεi μεταν. 2020. 2050. κ. ου μετανοησεi (post αυτης) I arm1. 2. 3. 8 | θελησει A Pr Cyp eth : θελησεi N*C 025. 046 minorm Or* gig vg s1. 2 | πορνειας C 025. 046. 21 : πορνειας AN | αυτης] ταυτης N : αυτους κ. ου μετανοησεις arm1 |

23. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτένων ἐν θανάτῳ.

καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι ἀι ἐκκλησίαι

ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμί ὁ ἐραυνὸς νεφροῦς καὶ καρδίας

καὶ δόσω ἐμὲ ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἑργα ἐμῶν.

24. ἦμιν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν θυατερίως,

δοσι οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν διαδήλῳ ταύτην,

οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὃς λέγουσιν,

οὗ βάλλω ἕφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐλλα βέρος·

25. πλὴν δὲ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἐν ἡξεω.


vg arm : βαλὼ Νο 025. 046. 325. 456. 468*. 632. 2020. 2050 Or

gig bo eth : καλὼ Νο | κλίνῃν | φιλακην Ἀ : καμινον arm1.2.8 a :

luctum cod. ap. Pr : "pains of a couch" arm4 | μοιχευοντας 61.

69 Pr Cyp | μετανοια] αὐτην 2050 | μεγαλ. > arm5 : maximam Pr

Cyp vg arm* | μετανοησον αὐτον ΑΚ : μετανοησον C 025. 046. 21

(- 2050) α1 Π Or*: μετανοησε 2050 | μετανοησης 469 Pr Cyp bo

sa eth | έκ τ. εργ. αυτ]. > bo sa | αυτης ΝΕ 025. 046. 21 (- 35*).

205. 468. 632) α1 mU Or* Pr Cyp gig vg s* arm4 eth : αυτων Α 1.


2067 vg α1 s1 arm1.2.8 a |

23. καλ1 > Α 620 arm1 bo sa | αυτης] αυτων 205. 209

arm5.8 e | ev] εως 468* | θαν.] θυμω 2019 | εραυνων ΑC : εραυνων


μεφ. arm1.2.9 | bo eth : rens et cordis Pr | καρδιαν s1 (arm2) |

αποδουσ 2050 | υμων > arm1.2.8 bo | κατα > arm1.2.8 | τα εργα |

εργα C : την καρδιαν 2050 | υμων ΑΝ C 025. 21 (- 2020. 2050)

Pr gig vg s1.3 arm eth : αυτων 046. 2020. 2050 vg α1 arm1.2 3 bo

sa : αυτων arm*: > N* |

24. διε > 468 s1 | τους λοιπ.] τους ev τους ΝΕ | τους1 >

82 94. 2041 | τους ev τους θυατ. λοιπους 2050 | τους ev θυατ.

tou φυταιρων arm1.2.8 | tou2 > 205 arm4 | θυατεροιος N* et u. |

21 (- 149. 620. 632. 2050) : θυατεροιος ΑC : θυατεροιος 025.

620. 632. 2050 : θυατεροιος 149 : θυατεροιος 046 : θυατεραιο

61. 69 : θυατηρη ΝΟ : θυατηραις vg : θυατηραις Pr : θυατηρε

gig | οσοι] οτι 205 : οσιωσ gig | σωκ1 > K* | έχουσιν] σωκι gig : emathete

arm1.2.8 | οσιωσ σωκ] σωκ Tyc | σωκ1 > arm1 | εγνωσαν] εγνωσ

tyc arm5a | βαθεια ΑC 046. 21 (- 205. 2050). 250. 2067

α1 N σ: βαθη Ν 025. 1. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050 |

(70) βαθιος bo : altitudinem Tyce Pr : altitudines gig vg | ως

λεγε. > arm5 | ωσ] a arm1.2.8a | βαλω ΑC 025. 21 (- 337. 632.

2050) α1 mU Tyce gig arm4 : βαλω Ν 046. 1. 61. 69. 177. 337. 632.

1957. 2023. 2050 Or1 Pr vg arm1.2.8a bo eth |

25. πλην o ο ouv s1 : "more than what" arm1.2.8 | κρατησατε |

"and is with you" arm1.2.8 | αξιω ΝΕ 69. 177. 2087 : αξιω
26. Καὶ ὦ νῖκὼν καὶ ὦ τῆρων ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου, 
δώσω αὐτῷ ἔξωναιν ἐκ τῶν ἱδνῶν,
27. καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾶ 
ὡς τὰ σκέπη τὰ κεραμίκα συντρίβεται, 
ὡς κάγω εἴλφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου,
28. καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα τῶν πρωίων.
29. Ο ζέων οὗ ἀκουσάτω 
τι τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

CHAPTER III.

1. Καὶ τὸ ἄγγελῳ τῷ ἐν Σάρδεων ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφων
    Τάδε λέγει ὦ ἔχων τὰ ἔπτα πνεῦματα τοῦ θεοῦ
    καὶ τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας,
    Οἶδα σου τὰ ἔργα,
    ὅτι δόνομαι ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ.

1. καὶ > Pr | τῷ ἄγγ. τὸς αγγέλους arm1.2.8 | τῷ εἰν Σ. 


ekk. arm1.2.8.4 : τῷ εἰν Σαρδ. εκκλησίαις C | εἶτα > 181.
2. γίνου γρηγορῶν, καὶ στήριξον τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ μελλόν ἀποδανεῖν, νῦ γὰρ εὐρήκα σου ἡγέα 
πεπληρομέναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου.

3a. b. μνημόνευε ἵνα τοῖς εἰληφας καὶ ἤκουσας, 
καὶ τῆρει καὶ μετανόησον.

xvi. 15. Ἰδοὺ ἐρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης.

μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, 
ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ, 
καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.

2015 | τοῦ θεοῦ > 386 | ἐργα] + καὶ Pr s1 | ὀνόμα] + “of the health” bo | οτι ζησι ΑNC 025. 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al\textsuperscript{a} Or\textsuperscript{a} Ty\textsuperscript{c} Pr gig vg s\textsuperscript{a} arm\textsuperscript{1,2,3,4} bo | χαὶ ζησι οδι. 21 (−35. 205. 620. 632. 2020. 2050) al\textsuperscript{p} | καὶ οτι ζησι θ52 s1 : ἄνωνσιν arm\textsuperscript{a, b} | \textsuperscript{a} + οτι s1 .

2. γίνου | καὶ γίνου s1 : γενον 1854 | γρηγορ.] εγρήγορων Ν* : 
vigilans et stabilis Pr | στηρίζων ΑNC 025. 35. 175. 337. 468**. 617. 919. 920. 1849. 1934. 2004. 2020. 2040 al Or\textsuperscript{a} : στήριζον Ν 046. 1. 18. 205. 205. 632. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Ty\textsuperscript{c} Pr gig vg s\textsuperscript{1} bo eth : στηρίζων 620 : τηρησιν 42. 141. 201. 325. 385. 386. 429. 456. 468*. 522. 2015. 2019. 2036 s\textsuperscript{2} : πληρωσον arm\textsuperscript{1,2,8} | τὰ λοιπὰ >Τυς eth : τουσ λοιπούσ (ου) s\textsuperscript{2} | α] \textsuperscript{a} s\textsuperscript{2} : οτι arm\textsuperscript{a} : εἰ δὲ μὴ βο | ἐκ μελλόν ΑNC 025. 172. 181. 250 424. 468. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Or\textsuperscript{a} Ty\textsuperscript{c} Pr gig vg s\textsuperscript{a} arm\textsuperscript{a} : ε(οτ)θ)μελεν i.\textsuperscript{ms} 104. 336. 620 : η(οτ ε)μελευσ ο46. 21 (−468. 620. 2020. 2050). 93. 201. 498 al s\textsuperscript{1} : μελέειν arm\textsuperscript{a} bo | ἀποδανεῖν ΑNC 025. 1.\textsuperscript{ms} 620. 6919\textsuperscript{a}. 2020. 2050 al\textsuperscript{a} Or\textsuperscript{a} (ἀπαθηνακει 468. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037) Ty\textsuperscript{c} Pr gig vg s\textsuperscript{1,2} arm\textsuperscript{4} bo : ἀπαβαλλεχ ὀ46. 21 (−35. 468. 620. 2050). 919\textsuperscript{a}. 2020. 2050) : ἀποβαλλεχ 35. 1957. 2023 | εὐρήκα κυρηναν ο46 : invenio vg : + σε σι. s\textsuperscript{1} : πεπληρ. τ. εὐρ. ου 141 s\textsuperscript{1} | εὐρά ΑNC i.\textsuperscript{ms} : τα εὐρα Ν 025. 046. 21 al\textsuperscript{p} Or\textsuperscript{a} | πεπληρωμενα >201. 386 | σωπιον] + κυριον 35. 205 | μου >1. 205. 2050. 2067 al\textsuperscript{p} Pr s\textsuperscript{1} arm\textsuperscript{1,8} .

3a. b. μνημονευ] pr καὶ eth | ουν > Ν 69 Pr gig s\textsuperscript{1} arm\textsuperscript{1,2,3,4} eth | ηκ. κ. εἰληφασ 2050 s\textsuperscript{1} | κ. ηκουσ. κ. τηρει ΑNC 025. 1. 35. 104. 172. 250. 468. 620. 1957. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 gig vg s\textsuperscript{2} arm\textsuperscript{4} bo : κ. ηκουσα τηρει s\textsuperscript{1} : ηκουσα τηρει arm\textsuperscript{a} : et audita custodi Pr : >046. 21 (−35. 468. 620. 2020. 2050) al\textsuperscript{p} | καὶ τηρει >arm\textsuperscript{a} eth .

xvi. 15. οὐν Pr arm\textsuperscript{a} | ερχομαι] ερχεται Ν* (sed corr. prim. man.) 241. 2020 Pr s\textsuperscript{1} arm\textsuperscript{2} : + εξισφης eth | κλεπτης]+ 
ταυρ 2019 : + καὶ 205 | o] α) \textsuperscript{a} α) \textsuperscript{a} α) \textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{a} α) \textsuperscript{a} α) \textsuperscript{a} . οτι Ν* | τηρων] τιμων 1849 | περι-
αυτ.] “their shame appear” arm\textsuperscript{1,2,8} .
3. έαν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς
ήξω ὡς κλέπτης,
καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς
ποιάν ὠραν ἦξο ἐπὶ σε.

4. ἀλλὰ ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὄνομα ἐν Σάρδεσιν
καὶ εἰς ἔμολυναν τὰ ἤματα αὐτῶν,
καὶ περιπατήσωσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς,
ὅτι δέξοι εἰσίν.

5. ὁ νικῶν αὐτῶς περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἤματιοι λευκοῖς,
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ἥμης,
καὶ ὀμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου
καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.

6. οὖν > 620 | γρηγορ. Ἀν. 620 : μετανοήσῃς ἂν ἂν

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3. εάν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς
ήξω ὡς κλέπτης,
καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς
ποιάν ὠραν ἦξεν ἐπὶ σε.

4. ἀλλὰ ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὄνομα ἐν Σάρδεσιν
καὶ εἰς ἔμολυναν τὰ ἤματα αὐτῶν,
καὶ περιπατήσωσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς,
ὅτι δέξοι εἰσίν.

5. ὁ νικῶν αὐτῶς περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἤματιοι λευκοῖς,
καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ἥμης,
καὶ ὀμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου
καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.

6. οὖν > 620 | γρηγορ. Ἀν. etc. : γρηγορήσῃς 104. 620 : μετανοήσῃς ἂν ἂν

3. εάν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς
ήξω ὡς κλέπτης,
καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς
ποιάν ὠραν ἦξεν ἐπὶ σε.

4. ἀλλὰ ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὄνομα ἐν Σάρδεσιν
καὶ εἰς ἔμολυναν τὰ ἤματα αὐτῶν,
καὶ περιπατήσωσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς,
ὅτι δέξοι εἰσίν.
6. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκούσάτω
ti τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἑκκλησίαις.

7. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Φιλαδέλφῃ ἑκκλησίᾳ γράφων
Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἄγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός,
ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλίνη Δανείδ,
ὁ ἄνωθεν καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει
cαὶ κλείσων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.

6. v. 6 > Πρ [οὖν] ὑστα s1.2 : +ἀκούσων bo eth : aures audiendi arm1,8,4 | πνεῦμα] +ἀγιον arm1.2 eth |
8. Οίδα σου τα ἐργα
—Ωθοῦ δεδωκα ἐντονὸν σου θύραν ἀνεψυχήν, ἢν οὔδεις δύναται κλέψαι αὐτὴν—
ὅτι μικρὸν ἔχεις δύναμιν,
και ἐπίθεσάς μου τὸν λόγον,
και οὐκ ἠριθήσω τὸ ὅνομά μου.

9. Ωθοῦ διδᾶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ,
τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοῦ 'Οσιάνου εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλα ψεύδονται—
Ωθοῦ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἴδουν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου,
καὶ γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγώ θεός ἀληθής σε.

10. ὅτι ἐπήρθας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου,
καγώ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὀρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ
tῆς μελλούσης ἐρχεθαί ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκομένης ὅλης,
πειράζαι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.


10. ότι] καὶ A arm²] τὸν λόγον μου καὶ τὴν ὑπομ. bo eth | VOL. II.—17
11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ· κράτει τ έχεις·
ίνα μεθίς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου.

12. ὁ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στῦλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ ἐς οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἐπὶ,
καὶ γράψω ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
tῆς καὶ ἡ καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου,
καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου τὸ κυνὸν.

13. ὁ ἔχων οὐς ἀκουσάτω
τῇ το πνεύμα λέγει ταῖς ἔκκλησίαις.

14. Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Λαοδίκης ἔκκλησίας γράφων
Τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἀρμήν,
do μάρτυς ὁ πιστός καὶ ἀληθεύω,
ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ,

καγώ] καὶ διὰ τούτου καγὼ eth | τηρησον > Ν : ετηρησα arm2 eth |
tηρο ωρασ τ. πειρασμ. της > 2050 : της ωρασ > s1 bo | πειρασαι +
pantos arm1-2.8a bo | κατοικουντας > bo |

11. ερχόμενοι καμμαίμοι 468**, 2015. 2019. 2036 al vd l' arm1 :
καὶ έρχομεν ερχον ερχον ερχον [μεθίς λαβη] μη λαβη του ταχον τονα 104. 336. 459. 620 [-μεθίς] (ne) quis alius Pr : (ne) alius Cyp [λαβή] λαβη 1050 (arm1-2.8.4) | ου | και s1 arm1 eth |

12. ο νικός του νικώντα armt | αυτον] αυτω N* 920 Or* | en
> N* arm | t. ναω] τω νουματι 920. 2040 | μου1 > 385. 2019
Or* s1 | και εξω .. .. τηρο ωρας του θεου μου > 2050 | ετη > N arm2 | επ αυτων > C 2015 : επ αυτων 61*. 2019. 2036. 2037 :
super illud Tyse : + το νουμα μου και 2020 | τ. θ. μ. κ. το νουμ.
> 046 | κ. τ. ουν τηρο πολ. τ. θεου μου > 1. 181 s2 : και δωσω
αυτου τον οικον μου arm1 | του θεου μου3 > s1 eth : τον πατρος
μου bo | την καινης παλεως τον πατρος μου bo | η καταβαινουσα
AN*C 025. 1. 141. 181. 205. 432. 459. 1854. 2015. 2050. 2057 :
η καταβαινουσα 025 : τηρο καταβαινουσα N* : η καταβαινει 046. 21
(-2051 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or* | ek του τουρ. > s1
arm1 sa | ek AN*C 025. 046. 1. 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 468. 2020.
> 632 | ato > 386. 620 arm2.8.4a | μου5 AN*C 025. 35. 205.
468. 632. 2050 al Or* Tyse Pr gig vg sl.3 arm5.2 bo : > 046
21 (-35. 205. 468. 620. 632. 2050) al του arm3 : αυτου arm3aw
| καινου + και s1 |

18. v. 13 > Pr | ouv] ως s1-2 : + ακουειν bo eth : aurem
audiendi armt-1-2.8.4 | τι το πν ... εκκλησιας > arm4 | πνυμα
+ αγιου armt-1.2 eth |

14. τω αγγελωι arm1-2 | τω en Λαοδ. εκκ.] See
note on 21. τω en Λαοδ. en ekk. arm4 : της en Λαοδ. ekk. ANC

15. οτι > s1 | ζεστος . . . ψυχρος 205. 209 arm1. 2. 8 | e1 > κκ* | οφελον ψυχρ νη η ζεστος > A 1. 241 arm1. 2. 8 | οφελον| ωφελον 025. 046. 205. 522 : + η s1 | ησ] εισ 046. 336. 620. 2017 |

16. ουτω . . . . ψυχρος > arm2 | ουτωσ οτι | οτι ουτωs Ν bo : oti 1854. 2019 : sed quia (quoniam Pr) Pr gig vs : και s1 | ψυχρ νουτε ζεστ. Α o25. 205. (2050) al vs s1 : ζεστος ουτε ψυχρος (Ν)C 046. 21 (-205. 2050). i almu s2 arm3 bo: κ. ουτε ζεστος ουτε ψυχρ > 60 Pr gig arm1. 2. 4 | και ουτε . . . στοματος μου > eth | ουτε arm1 AνC 025. 046. 205. 522 : + η s1 | ησ] εισ 046. 336. 620. 2017 |

18. συμβουλεύω σοι ἄγορασαι παρ’ ἐμοί χρυσίον τευτυρομένων
ἐκ τυρός ἵνα πλουτήσης,
καὶ ἰματιά λευκὰ ἵνα περιβάλῃ
καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητος σου,
καὶ κολλούριον ἐχάρισαι τοὺς ὕβδαλμον σου ἵνα βλέπῃ.
19. ἐγὼ δοσὺς ἕαν φίλῳ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω
ζηλευε ὁμοί καὶ μετανοήσον.

ο’ > κ’ 2019. 2050 | ταλ. ε’ κ’ 2050 | ε’ ταλ. . . . ελευσο] “weak and miserable” bo : ελευσο > eth | α’ Α 046. θ1 (- 18
2038. 2039. 2040. 2050 | ελευσο AC 104. 620 : ελευσο Κ 025.
046. θ1 (- 620) al1 : αλθῆνυς 1854 | κ. γυμνος κ. τυφλος 104.
110. 336. 620. 632. 2050 gig arm* - a eth | κ. τυφλ. > s1 |
18. συμβ.] συμβουλεύω 2015 arm* (1. 8) a : consule Tyc | σοι|
+ συν 2020 arm* bo eth : + λαβει arm* - 2. 8 a | ἄγορασαι] ἄγο-
ρασον 2020 (Tyc) arm* - 2. 8 a : λαβειν eth | παρ’ εμον > 172. 250.
205. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2050. 2067 al Or Tyc
Cyp gig vg s1-2 arm : χρυσ. παρ’ εμ. 046. θ1 (- 35. 205. 2050)
al bo sa : + εμον eth | εκ τυρον εν τυρι bo eth : εκ τυρον
046 | πλουτῆσαι 620. 2050 | ματιον λευκον Pr Cyp | λευκα
λαμπρα bo : τιμια arm* | να περιβαλα] περιβαλεσθαι s1-2 | να∗
> Pr gig vg bo eth | περιβαλλη 046. 61. 69. 172. 205. 617.
1934. 2015. 2036* 2037 : περιβαλει 104. 2050 | φανερωθῃ
φανη 69 Or* : + εν σοι Pr | αἰσχυνὴ] αἰσχυμασθην 025. 35*.
104. 205. 620. 2019 | κολλουριον Α 025. 35. 61.εργ ο 55. 522. 632. 920.
ουριον 1. 18. 919. 2037 : κολλουριον 385. 2015. 2036 : κολλουριον
2067 al : κολλουριον 046 : collirio Pr gig : collirio Tyc Cyp vg |
2067 eth : ἵμην Tyc gig vg : ἤγειρε Pr Cyp : “give to” bo :
“lay” arm* - a : εγχρισι 2020 : να εγχρισαι ο46 : να εγχριση
θ1 (- 35. 205. 468*). 620. 2020. 2050) Or* : να εγχρισαι 2050 :
εν 60. 432. 1957. 2041 arm | t. οφθ. σου > 2 | βλεπειν 104.
2050 : βλεψειν 620 arm* |
19. εγώ | οτι εγώ arm* bo sa | καν] ον Ν 2019. 2050 | ζηλευ
AC 046. θ1 (- 35. 205. 468**. 617. 620. 2015). 250 alma :
18. 336. 620. 2015 arm* - 2. 8 | καν* > arm* | κ. μετανοήσον] εν
μετανοιαν eth |
III. 20-IV. 1.]

20. ἰδοὺ ἄστηκα ἐν τῷ θύραν καὶ κρούων·
διὸν τὸς ἀκούσῃ ἰδίᾳ φωνὴ μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὸν θύραν, καὶ εἰσελθοῦμαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δειπνήσω μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ’ ἐμοῦ.

21. ὅ νῦκαν ἰδοὺς αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ’ ἐμοί ἐν τῷ θύρων μου, ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετά τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θύρων αὐτοῦ.

22. ὁ ἄγιον ὁς ἀκούσατο τῷ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.


21. ο νῦκας] Πρ καὶ s1. 2 eth | καγω] εγὼ s1 bo εθ |.

22. v. 22 > gig | ovν] ξυτα Pr s1. 2: + ἀκουσάν bo εθ: aures audiendi arm1. 1. 2. 3. 4 | πνεῦμα] + αγίον arm1 eth |.

Chapter IV.

1. Μετά ταῦτα ἰδοὺ, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἑνεφυμένη ἐν τῷ οἰρανῷ, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτῃ ἐν ἠκουσά ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσας μετ’ ἐμοῖ, λέγων ‘Αναβα ὅδε καὶ δείξω σοι ἡ δει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

2. εἰδέως ἤγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι:
καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἐκαίνε τῷ σβανῷ,
καὶ ἔπι τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος,
3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος δύοις δράσει λέγω λάσπει καὶ σαρδίῳ,
καὶ ἤμει κυκλοθεῖ τοῦ θρόνου δύοις δράσει σμαραγδίνης.

4. καὶ κυκλοθεῖ τοῦ θρόνου θρόνου εἰκοσι τέσσαρες,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς "θρόνους εἰκοσι τέσσαρας" πρεσβυτέρους καθη-

2. εὐθεὺς Ἀν* 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 632. 2020) al Or
Pr gig vg S* : εὐθεὺς ἦν ὁ θρόνος
καὶ ἦν ὁ θρόνος ἐκ τοῦ σβανῷ.
καὶ ἔπι τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος,
3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος δύοις δράσει λέγω λάσπει καὶ σαρδίῳ,
καὶ ἤμει κυκλοθεῖ τοῦ θρόνου δύοις δράσει σμαραγδίνης.

8. κ. ο καθήμενος Ἀν 025. 046. 42. 61. 93. 104. 337. 452.
468. 506. 2019. 2021. 2050 Or* Tyx gig vg S*: et his qui
sedebat Pr : > 21 (- 337. 468. 2050) almm arm1.2. 3
bo eth : ορασι 205 : ορασι 2050 : λίθῳ
λίθων 2020 arm3. 4 : λίθῳ
Tyc vg s1. 2 : >arm1 bo : ιασπ. κ. σαρδ. λίθῳ Pr : λαςπ.
καὶ λεγω
τον 920 : ησπιδι 2050 : + σμαραγδῶν 337 : + καὶ σμαραγδῶν
046. 42. 180. 452. 468. 506. 1854. 2021 | καὶ 2 > 1854
arm1 | σαρδῶν Αν 046. 21 (- 325. 337. 456. 468). 250. 2037. 2067
almm Or* : sardi Tyc : sardo Pr : σαρδινω 025. 1. 632*.
2019. 2038 al gig bo sa eth : sardinis vg: d : sardini
vg : sardion s2
arm2. 4. 5 : sardon s1 : > 1854 : ιφρο 025. 21 alm Or*
Pr gig vg bo eth : ιφρο Ν* 046 : ιφρο Αν* 2015. 2036 arm1. 2. 3
κυκλοθεῖ 920 : κυκλοθεῖ 18. 104. 201* 205. 336. 620.
2038 Pr vg s1. 2 : ομοίω 2015 arm1. 2. 3 : ομοίων 205 : ομοια
35** 241**. 468*** 620. 632** 1957. 2016. 2023. 2037**.
2041. 2050. 2067 : ομοιοφ Ν* 046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468**.
620. 632. 2050) al Or* | υμ. ὄρ. σμ. κ. κυκ. τ. θρ. > Ν* | ορασεί
σμαραγδίνων Αν* 025. 35. 205. 250. 468*. 620. 2037. 2067 al
Pr gig vg : ορασεί μαγιάνω 2050 : ορασεί σμαραγδῶν (σμαραγδῶν
arm) s1. 2 arm1. 2. 3 : ορασείς σμαραγδίνων 69 : ορασείς σμαραγδί
046. 21 (- 35. 205. 468** 620. 632. 2020. 2050) al Or* : ως
(> 632) ορασείς σμαραγδών 241. 632** 2020 : ορασείς σμαραγδών
(arm) bo |
περιβεβλημένου ίματιος λευκοίς,
kαὶ εἰς τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοὺς.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἄστρατα καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ,
kαὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καὶ ὲμνίαν τοῦ θρόνου,(a)
6. καὶ ἑνώτιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς βάλασσα ναυή ὦμοια κρυστάλλως,
kαὶ (b) κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν
ἐξηρεθῶν καὶ ἐπισκέπτων.

(a) A gloss is added here: ἐ ἐστῳ τὰ ἐπί τε πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ. See vol. i. 117.
(b) A gloss added here: ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ. See vol. i. 118.

468. 620. 632. 2020. 2050) s<sup>8</sup> arm<sup>9</sup> [κυκλοθε 920 : κυκλω 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 : κυκλωθεν 18. 104. 205. 336. 620. 2017. 2039. 2050 | θρόνου] + εἰδον Τυς arm<sup>4</sup> | θρόνου<sup>1</sup> ΑΝ 250. 424. 2018 Τυς : θρόνοι 025. 046. 21 al<sup>pl</sup> Or<sup>s</sup> s.<sup>1</sup> bo | εἰκοσι'] + καὶ 104 α | τεσσαρες Α 025 min pl : τεσσαρας 2020. 2050 | καὶ<sup>8</sup> > 2017 arm<sup>1</sup> | εἰπ τ. εἰκ. τ. θρόν >Ν 2017 Τυς arm<sup>1</sup> | εἰπ τ. θρόν. εἰκ. τεσσ. 025. 35. 632<sup>s</sup> s.<sup>1</sup> bo : εἰπ τ. θρόν. τους εἰκ. τεσσ. 046 min pl Or<sup>s</sup> : super thronos viginti quattuor vg (gig) : in quibus seniores sedentes erant xxiii. Pr :

5. τοῦ θρονοῦ s<sup>1</sup> | εκπορευονται] εκπορευονται 104. 620 vg<sup>d</sup> arm bo eth (?) | αστρ. κ. φων. κ. βροντ. ΑΝ 025. 046. 21 ( - 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al<sup>pl</sup> Or<sup>s</sup> Pr gig vg s<sup>2</sup> arm<sup>2</sup> s.<sup>1</sup> bo : αστρ. κ. βροντ. κ. αστρ. κ. φων. s.<sup>1</sup> | καιομ. πυρος 920. 2040 | πυρος > vg s<sup>1</sup> arm<sup>4</sup> | καιομεναι > bo | βρονου<sup>2</sup> ΑΝ 025. 1. 632<sup>s</sup>. 2019. 2020. 2038. 2050. 2067 Pr gig vg arm bo eth : +αυτου 046. 21 ( - 456. 632<sup>s</sup>. 2020. 2050) al<sup>mu</sup> Or<sup>s</sup> s<sup>2</sup> | α εστιν . . . τον θρονον >Ν<sup>s</sup> 456 | α εστιν και 61<sup>s</sup>. 69 Or<sup>s</sup> | a ΑΝ<sup>0</sup> 025. 1. 201. 386. 2019. 2038. 2050 vg<sup>d</sup> s<sup>2</sup> : αι 046. 21 ( - 386. 456. 2050). 250. 2037. 2067 al Pr gig vg s<sup>1</sup> | εστιν Α : εισιν Ν<sup>s</sup> 025. 046 all<sup>ere</sup> omn | ια ΑΝ<sup>6</sup> 025. 1. 61. 69. 468. 632. 1957. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 arm<sup>2</sup> s.<sup>1</sup> bo : >046. 21 ( - 456. 468. 632. 2020. 2050). 250 al<sup>mu</sup> (s.<sup>1</sup> 2) arm<sup>1</sup> s.<sup>2</sup> : ια ετα πνευματα το αγιον πνευμα εθ | πνευματα] "powers (parts 4) of the spirit holy (> 3<sup>s</sup>)" arm<sup>1</sup> s.<sup>2</sup> s.<sup>4</sup> |

6. θρονου | +αυτου 104. 141. 205. 209. 620 | ως ΑΝ o25. 046. 21 ( - 386. 632<sup>s</sup>). 250. 2038 al<sup>pl</sup> Or<sup>s</sup> s.<sup>2</sup> bo : > 1. 201. 386.
7. καὶ τὸ ξόνων τὸ πρῶτον ὄμοιον λόγον,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ξόνων ὄμοιον μόσχος,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ξόνων ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ξόνων ὄμοιον αἰτός πτωμάτων.
8. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζώα, ἐν καθ ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἔξ.(α)
καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγουσι
"Ἀγίος Ἀγίος Ἁγίος Κύριος, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὅτι καὶ ὦ καὶ ὦ ἐρχόμενος.

(a) The following clause is interpolated here: κυκλόθεν καὶ τὼνθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν.

632* Τυκ Πτ άρμ s1 | θαλασσαν 620. 2050 : + ὅσ ἐθ | υδηνή ΑΝ 025. 046. 21 (- 205. 325. 456. 468. 632. 2020. 2040. 2050)
498. 632. 2018. 2022. 2023 | ὀμα 205 : ὀμοιαν 2050 | κρυ-
σταλλῶν] κρυσταλλ 632. 2020 : βῆρυβηλλ ἀρμ4 : "the whiteness of
crystal" ἀρμ1.2.3.4 | ἐμμεσος Α 1854 : "at the side of" (?) ἐθ | θρόνου2) + μού 2020 | κ. κυκλ. τ. θρόν. > 385. 429. 522. 2015.
2050 Τυκ ἀρμ1.2.3 | bo sa eth | κυκλωθήν 110 | τεσσερα Ν 025. 046. 21 : τεσσερα Α | ὀφθαλμουσ 336. 620. 2015. 2019 |
ἐμπροσθεν Α minere omn : ἐμπροσθε 920 : ὑπερσθεν Ν 025. 046 |
ante se Πτ | στισθε 920 |
7. καὶ1 >2050 Πτ s1 | τὸ πρῶτον τὸ ξων 386 | ξων2 >
ἀρμ1 | καὶ3 > Πτ | εχων ... ἀνθρο pix gig ἀρμ4 : ὀμοιαν ἀνθρωπω gig ἀρμ4 : ὀμοιαν προσωπω (ὡς προσωπον ἐθ) νυ προσωπου bo eth | εχων ἐθ προσ |
... ἀνθρο | τετ. ἀρμ > 325. 456 | εχων Α 046. 104. 620. 919.
2050) al mon | ὃσ ἀνθρωπου Α 42. 2019 vg s1 : quasi humanam
ἀρμ1.2.3.4 : ὀμοιαν ἀνθρωπου 2018 : ὃσ ὀμοιαν ἀνθρωπω Ν | καὶ4
> Πτ | το6 > 205 | ξων4 ΑΝ 025. 35. 468**. 620. 632. 1849.
2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 al Οτ Pr gig vg s1.2 : > 046. 21
(- 35. 468**. 620. 632. 1849. 2020. 2050). 250 al eth (which
om. ἀρμ θροικ τρίτης before).

8. τα τεσσ. ζώα > bo | τα ΑΝ 025. 18. 35. 205. 620. 632.
337. 386. 456. 468. 617. 1934. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 al | εν
2036. 2038. 2067 al : singula eorum Tyc gig vg : εν εκατον
αὐτων Ν 2020 s1 bo eth : εν καθ ευτοι 1. 61.6g : καθ ευτων 2050 : εν
καθ εν ο46. 21 (- 35. 205. 620. 2020. 2050) al Οτ : singula
9. Καὶ ὅταν δύσουσιν τὰ ἐξ ὑμ. δόξαν καὶ τιμήν καὶ εὐχαριστίαις
τῷ καθήμενῷ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ,
tῷ ἔωςτε εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,

10. πεσοῦται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθή-

μένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου,
καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ἔωςτε εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
καὶ βαλοῦντοι τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, λέγοντες

Pr : + εστώσ 250. 424. 2018 s1 | ἔχων Α. 1. 42. 61*. 82. 104.
: ἐχεν 205 : ἐχον Ν 61.mg Tyce Pr gig vg arm4 | ἀνα πτερ. εξ
... οὐφαλμῶν] κυκλοβεν ἀπο τῶν οὐνχῶν εσωθεν, γεμοντα οὐφαλμῶν
bo : + απο τῶν οὐνχῶν και επανω, πτερ. εξ κυκλοβεν και εσωθεν
γεμονοι οὐφαλμῶν s1 | πτερυγῶν 046 | κυκλοβεν] + και εσωθεν
046 alp: + εσωθεν 61*. 69 | κ. εσωθεν] εσωθεν και εσωθεν Or*: >
ante se et retro Pr | γεμοντα 1. 2020 : ἐχοντα 2037 | οὐφαλμουσ
620. 2036. 2037 | και8] quae Pr | σωκ ἐχοισουν] σωκ ἐσωθαν Ν*
: non habebant Tyce Pr gig vg* η. arm4 | ημ. κ. νυκτ. | αλλα παντοτε
2050 | ημερα] + τε 632 | λέγοντας ΑΝ 025. 046. 21 albi Or*: di-
vg : + το 2050 | αγιος τερ ANc 025. 205. 386. 617. 620.
632. 920 2004. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Pr gig vg
s1.2 arm1.4 bo eth : σεμελ Or*: | bis 18. 181 : sexies 141. 2020 :
octies N**: noveltys 046. 35. 175. 250. 325. 337. 456. 468. 919.
1849. 1934 alλιμ. arm3 a | κυνιος] σαβαβοθ 205 | o1 > Ν* | o ὥσο
> 2050 Or* arm1.2 | o ὥσο ο παντ. σαβαβοθ o παντο. 35*. 104.
620. 1918. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037 | o παντ. | των θεων eth | o1 >
2023*. 2067 (arm) bo sa | κ. o ων > 620 | και o ερχ. > eth |
II. "Aelios el, o kúrios kai o òdòs òmwn,
laβeiv tìn dòsavn kai tìn tìmìn kai tìn dýnamìn,
obh òn òktoûsas tò pànta,
平安 dia tì òpïleì ñav kai ektoûsìnas.


ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΝΑΝΝΟΥ

CHAPTER V.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου βασιλέων
γεγραμμένον ἑσυχεν καὶ ἑσποδην', κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγίσειν ἑξωθεν
ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁγίων. 2. καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἱσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
Τῆς ἤξιος ἀνοιξάς τὸ βασιλέων καὶ λύσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ; 3. καὶ
οὗτος ἔδυνατο ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕξωθεν
ἄνοιξάς τὸ βασιλέων αὐτοῦ βλέπνειν αὐτό. 4. καὶ ἐκλάτων οὖ ἄνοιξας τῇ γῇς
οὗτος ἄνοιξάς τὸ βασιλέων ὅτε βλέπνειν αὐτόν.

1. καὶ ἔδυνατο οὖ ἄνοιξάς τὸ βασιλέων 

2. καὶ ἐκλάτων οὖ ἄνοιξάς τὸ βασιλέων ὅτε βλέπνειν αὐτόν.

3. εἶδον ἦκονα παραγόντα 

4. εἶδον ἦκονα παραγόντα.
5. καὶ ἐὰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι Μὴ κλαίε· ἵδιον ἐνίκησαν ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδα, ἡ μῆτα Δαυΐδ, ἀνοίξα τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. 6. Καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ βρόντος καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζωῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄρνιον ὡς 'ἔστιν' ὦς ὑφαγμένον, ἥξων κέρατα ἑπτὰ καὶ ὕφθαλμοι ἑπτά, ἀλ· ὦ εἶσαι ὑπ' ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πάσαν τὴν

2038 gig s¹,² arm²,₄ = : + ευω 046. 21 (- 2050). 250. 2037. (2067) Or¹好似 xiv ἐκ (>Ps xi 37v) Or² Τυς Pr Cyp vg arm¹,₄·₃ εκλασαν N*: εκλεον N* | πολυν] πολυν 046 : πολλοι 1 arm* eth : πολλα 205 : πανσο bo : > Or¹Phil xiv ζ | ευρεθ] ευρεθν 2020 : ευρεθνται N*] ανοιξαί + και αναγνωμαι 1. 35. 205. 1957. 2019 2023 2037. 2038. 2067 arm* | το βιβλιον την σφραγίδα arm¹ : και λυσι arm²,₄ | βλεπεν αυτω] λυσι τας σφραγιδας αυτου Pr s¹ |

γῆ. 7. καὶ ἲλθεν καὶ ἐλθάνει ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. 8. Καὶ ἦσαν ἐξανά το βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα καὶ οἱ ἁλκοοὶ τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐπέσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἄρην, ἔχοντες ἐκαστὸς κιβάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσὰς γεμούσας θυμαμάτων (a) χρυσάς καὶ γλυκίσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ θανοῦ,

(a) MSS add gloss: αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχὰ τῶν ἄγιων.


10. καὶ ἐποίησες αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ιερεῖς,
καὶ βασιλείαν̄ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
11. καὶ εἶδον ἡκουσά φωνὴν ἄγγελων πολλῶν κύκλω τοῦ θρόνου,(a)
καὶ ἂν ἄριστος αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες
χιλιάδων, 12. λέγουσεν φωνῇ μεγάλῇ
"Αξίων ἐστιν τὸ αἵρεμον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβέω τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ λόγχιν
καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.
13. καὶ πάν τισιμ δ ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω
(a) ΜSS add a gloss here: καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,
Τὸ καθημένον ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ αὐράρῳ
ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα
καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

14. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζῷα ἔλεγον Ἀμὴν, καὶ οἱ προσβεβερός ἔσεθαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν.
CHAPTER VI.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνυξεν τὸ ἄρνιον μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων, καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς Ἐρχον.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἐδοὺ ἐπτὸς λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθῆμενος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον, καὶ ἔδοθη αὐτῷ στέφανος, καὶ ἔξηλθεν νικῶν καὶ ίνα νικήσῃ.


3. Καὶ ὅτε ἦνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἦκουσα τοῦ
dευτέρου ὑψου λέγοντος Ἐρχου.
4. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός,
kai tó kathýmen ἐπ' τ' αὐτῶν τ' ἐβόθη αὐτῷ λαβέων τὴν εἰρήνην ἐβόθη
[ἐκ] τῆς γῆς,
kai ἵνα ἄλληκτος σφάξουσιν,
καὶ ἐβόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα μεγάλη.
5. Καὶ ὅτε ἦνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην, ἦκουσα τοῦ τρίτου
ὕψου λέγοντος Ἐρχου.
καὶ ἐδούν, καὶ ἐδού ἵππος μέλας,
καὶ οὐ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξών ὑψὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

3. ἦνοιξεν ὦν ὄνοιξιν ἐπὶ τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν ἈΝΚ 025. 1.
τὴν δευτέραν σφραγίδαν 046. 20 (−205). 2037. 2067 ἅλπ Ὀτα
ἐρχου ἈΝΚ 025. 046. 20 (−205. 386. 468). 1. 61. 69. 82. 104.
2023. 2037. 2041 ἅλμυ Ὀτα γιγ κγ ς bo sa : εἴρημαὶ ἀρμ :
ἐρχου καὶ ἰδι ὄν 141. 172. 201. 205. 250. 386. 424. 468. 1918.
2018 2022. 2067 Τύκ Πρ γιγ κγ ἀδ. ἅλπ ἐθ.
4. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἐδού καὶ ἐδού (κ. ἐδοῦ > bo sa) ἐξῆλθεν ὄν
250. 424. 2018. 2067 bo sa | ἀλλος > Τύκ ς ἅρμ bo sa |
ἀλμυ Τύκ Πρ γιγ κγ ς ἅρμ ² : πυρρος ὈΝΚ 025. 046. 1. 18. 61.
πρ en A | επ αὐτον ἈΝΚ 025. 046. 20 (−18). 250. 2037**.
2038 ἅλμυ Ὀτα : επ αὐτὸν 1. 18. 172. 2015. 2037*. 2067 ἅλπ :
21 Ὀτα γιγ κγ ς ἀρμ bo sa εθ. The αὐτὸ should stand in the
text : cf. 27. 17. 26. 31. 21. It should be restored (?) in 216 : >
Ἀν 2016 Τύκ Πρ γιγ | λαβέω > ἅρμ ² | εκ της γης ὈΝΚ 025.
046. 20 (−205. 620). 250. 2037. 2067 ἅλμυ Ὀτα Τύκ Πρ γιγ κγ
ς εθ : > [ἐκ > Α] 104. 205. 209. 336. 620. 1918. 2038 : ἀπο
της γης 1. 2019 αἐπ | καὶ αὐτα ἈΝΚ 025. 1. 35*. 172. 205. 250.
20 (−35. 205. 200). 2037. 2067 ἅλμυ ς bo | σφάξων ΑΚ
2038. 2067 ἅλμυ Ὀτα | μαχαίρα μεγάλη | Ἀ bo sa εθ |
5. ἦνοιξεν ὦν ὄνοιξιν ἐπὶ τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην τὴν
tρεὶ της σφραγ. 1. 2019. 2020 αἐπ | η σφραγίς η τρίτης ὄν | ἦκουσα
bo | ἐρχου ἈΝΚ 025. 1. 35. 60. 91. 104. 241. 336. 432. 620.
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6. καὶ ἡκουσα ως φωνη ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζων λέγουσαν ἔπειτα τιτου διναρίουν, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κρυβῶν διναρίουν, καὶ τὸ ἐλαίον καὶ τὸν ὀβόν μὴ διδυμῆς.

7. Καὶ ὅτε ἤσοψα τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τετάρτην, ἡκουσα φωνῆ τοῦ τετάρτου ζώου λέγουσαν ἔρρχον.

8. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἴδοι ἵππον χλωριός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος επάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνωμ αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος.(α) καὶ ἴδοθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τετάρτον τῆς γῆς.(δ)

(a) Here follows an interpolation : καὶ ὁ ἐδήμη ἠκαλοθέει μετα αὐτοῦ.

(δ) Here follows an interpolation : ἀπακείμεν ἐν ἰαμφαλί καὶ ἐν λυμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς.
9. Καὶ ὅτε ἥνεκεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, ἐδον ὑποκάτω τῷ
θυσιαστηρίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
dιὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἦν εἰχὼν.
10. καὶ ἔκραξαν φωνὴ μεγάλη λέγοντες
*Εσω πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἄγιος καὶ ἀληθινός,
σον κρίνει καὶ ἐδυκεῖ τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν
ἐκ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

2067 al¹ Or² Mt¹ ; ὦ Ὕ κ. > NC 35. 336*; 432. 920. 2023. 2040.
2041; ὁ ἄβαντας Α; ὁ ἄδης] infernus Tyc Pr vg 5. 1*; 5 infernus
vg*; ε: "all Amenti" bo | ηκολουθεὶ NC 025. 046. 30 (− 35).
250. 2067 al¹ pm Or² Tyc Pr gig vg arm¹ 2. 8*; α: ηκολουθεὶ 1. 35.
1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041 s | μετ αυτοῦ AC
025. 1. 35. 104. 498*; 620. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038: 
μετ αυτοῦ s² | αὐτῷ NC 046. 30 (− 35. 620) al¹ pm Or² Tyc Pr gig
vg s¹: αὐτοῦ (also τισων) Or¹ Mt¹ ἡ: | εὐθύνῃ αὐτῷ 046. 30 (− 35.
468*). 250 al¹ pm Or² Pr gig vg s¹ 2 arm bo sa eth: εὐθύνῃ αὐτοῦ
ANC 025. 1. 35. 468*. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 al¹
| το τεταρτὸν | μεροῦς 452. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037: quattuor
partes vg | εν ἄβανατον εν > 325: εν τῇ θλυπεὶ bo | νπο τῶν θρηνῶν
το τεταρτὸν τῶν θρηνῶν Α ];

NC Tyc vg: τὴν e. σφραγ. NS 35: τὴν σφραγ. τ. πέμπτην 61. 69
s¹ 2 arm¹ 4. a | τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου] τοῦ θεοῦ Tyc Pr Cyp | τῶν
ἐσφαγμένων AC 046. 30 (− 35. 205. 920). 250. 2037 al¹ Tyc Pr
gig Cyp vg s² eth: pr τῶν αὐθρωπῶν NC 025. 1. 35. 60. 181.
ἐσφαγμέναι s¹: τῶν ἐσφαγμένων 104. 218. 336*. 920 Or*: διὰ τὸν
λόγον] pr διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ arm¹ | διὰ > A Pr gig Cyp
2037. 2038 το οὐ Cyp vg bo: εκκλησιαν 2020: + τοῦ ἀρινοῦ
046. 30 (− 632**. 2020). 2067 al¹ pm Or² s²: + Ἰησοῦ s¹: + Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ 172. 250. 424. 2018: + αὐτῷ Pr Cyp arm¹ 2. 8 eth | ἦν
εἰχὼν Ν*] τὴν εἰσχύν Ν* [.

10. ἔκραξαν ANC 046. 30 (− 35*. 205. 632**. 2020). 250
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Or¹ gig vg s: εἰτὼν arm¹ 2. 8. a | φωνῆ
2037. 2038. 2067 al¹ pm Or¹ Tyc Pr gig vg s (arm) bo: φωνῆ
μεγάλη 046. 30 (− 35. 205. 620. 632**. 2020). 250 al¹ pm
edikais] ek dikaiosu NC | ek τῶν ANC 046. 30 (− 35*. 205. 468. 620.
γῆς] in terris Pr Cyp [.]
11. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολὴ λευκήν, καὶ ἐφέβη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναμαύσουσιν ἐτὶ χρὸνον μικρὸν, ἐὼς πληθυσμὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδέλφοι αὐτῶν οἱ μελλόντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι ὑδὼ καὶ αὐτοί.  

12. Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἐκτην', καὶ σεισμός μέγις ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ Ἰλιοὶ ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχηνο, καὶ η ἑτέρη δὴ ἐγένετο ὡς ἀλμα'.

13. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς στυγή βάλλει τοὺς ἀλάτθους αὐτὰς ὧντο ἄνεμου μεγάλου σεισμοῦ.

14. καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλιόν τρισδέκατον τρίτο, καὶ τῶν ἐρευνόντων καὶ τῶν τοπῶν αὐτῶν ἐκκυθήσασαν.

15. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνεις καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ πλανήτες καὶ οἱ ἀιχυροὶ καὶ τὰς δύσλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἐκρυφάν ἐαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων.


20. και 3 > A | χιλιαρχοι ... πλουσιοι | ι 1. 2019. 2020. 2038
16. καὶ λέγουσιν τοὺς ὄρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραις
Πέσαι ἢμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἢμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθη-
μένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου,
17. ἵνα ἤλθην ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;


17. οἱ > Or*: η ἡμέρα η μεγαλὴ της ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ] η μεγαλὴ

CHAPTER VII.

1. 'Μετὰ1 τοῦτο ἐδῶ τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἱστώτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσ-
σαρας γυνιάς τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς,
ἶνα μὴ πνέῃ ἀνεμοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μὴτε ἐπὶ τῆς βαλάντιος μὴτε ἐπὶ

τι δεδήντων. 2. καὶ εἴδον ἄλλων ἁγγελῶν ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῆς ἤλιου, ἤντον ἁρπαγμὸς θεοῦ ζωντος, καὶ ἐκραζέων ἀνατολῶν φωτὸς μεγάλης τοῖς τέσσαρεσ ἁγγελοῖς οἱ ἐδόθη αὐτῶς ἀδικήσα τὴν ἐκραξίν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ θάλασσαν. 3. λέγων Μὴ ἀδικήση τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ καὶ θάλασσαι μητρὶ τοῦ δενδρά, ἄχρι σφαγισμένων τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶς ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

4. Καὶ ἤκουα τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἐσφαγισμένων ἐκατον τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρεσ χιλιάδες ἐσφαγισμένων ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς ἱππῶν Ἰσραηλίστου.

(Or*): τεσσάρεσ ἁγγελῶνος καὶ ἀλλοι ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῆς ἤλιου, ἤντον ἁρπαγμὸς θεοῦ ζωντος, καὶ ἐκραζέων ἀνατολῶν φωτὸς μεγάλης τοῖς τέσσαρεσ ἁγγελοῖς οἱ ἐδόθη αὐτῶς ἀδικήσα τὴν ἐκραξίν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ θάλασσαν. 3. λέγων Μὴ ἀδικήση τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ καὶ θάλασσαι μητρὶ τοῦ δενδρά, ἄχρι σφαγισμένων τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶς ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

4. Καὶ ἠκουα τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἐσφαγισμένων ἐκατον τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρεσ χιλιάδες ἐσφαγισμένων ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς ἱππῶν Ἰσραηλίστου.
(a) On the restoration of the original order of the text, see vol. i. 207 sqq.
9. Μετὰ ταύτα εἶδον,
καὶ ἵδον δῶχος πολύς, διὸ ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οἴδεις εὕνατο,
εἴ παντὸς ἐθνοὺς καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν,
ἐστώσε ἐνώπιον τοῦ βρόντου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου,
† περιβεβλήματις † στολᾶς λευκᾶς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς
χεράξιν αὐτῶν

10. καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῇ λέγοντες
 Ἥ σωτήρια τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν
 τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ βρόντῳ
 καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

2067 almu Or* ek φιλ. Μαν. δωδ. χρ. > 620*. 866 | Μανασσή
 Milo. 21 (− 175. 205. 620*. 866). 1. 250. 2067 alpl Or* Pr gig
vg arm: Μανασσή C: Μανασσή A: Μανασσή 046. 175. 205.
2037. 2038 38: Dan bo |

9. meta] pr καὶ 1 arm1 bo eth | καὶ ἵδον Ν 025. 046. 21.
250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl Or* Tyc gig s2: > A Pr Cyp vg
s1 bo sa: ἵδον > C | οὐχον πολὺν Ν C 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 alpl Tyc gig s2: πολὺν > Or*: οὐχον πολὺν A Pr
Cyp vg s1 bo | οὐν ετ Ν*: οὐ: καὶ A | αὐτῶν ΑΝC 025. 1. 61.
69. 205. 2019 alp Or* s bo: > 046. 21 (− 205). 104. 172. 201.
Pr gig Cyp vg | εὕνατο ΑΝC 046. 21 (− 205. 2040) alpl:
2040. 2067 almu Or*: δύναται 2038 arm3 | εἴ παντὸς ἐθνος] εἴ
παντὸν ἐθνῶν Tyc gig vg arm3.4: | φυλῶν] φυλὴς s1 Pr Cyp |
καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλώσσων > eth | εστώτες ΑΝ 025. 1. 35. 205. 1957.
εστώτα 93. 1955: stantes Pr gig Cyp vg | ενυπητον] επὶ A |
περιβεβλημένου ΑΝ*C 046. 21 (− 35. 205. 2040). 250 almu
gig: περιβεβλημένου 242. 2040: περιβεβλημένον Ν 025. 1. 35.
καὶ περιβεβλημένου s1: εἴ erant amicti Pr Cyp | φωικας ΑΝ*C
2067 alpl gig vg arm: palmae fuerunt Pr Cyp: φωικας Ν*
Or*: κιθαραί bo | εν ταῖς χερέσιν] pr ησαν Pr gig Cyp |

10. καὶ > 1. 2067 bo. κραζούσιν κραζότσι 1. 2067 bo s1:
κραζόν Pr gig Cyp vg arm | λεγοντες] pr καὶ 2067 s1: ελεγών
arm1: καὶ ελεγών arm3.4: | τῷ θεῷ | του θεου A (in marg.) bo:
θεω 1. 2037 (post των καθ. επὶ τω βρον.) | τω καθήμενω > Ν*
11. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἵστηκεσαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν προσβύτερων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ἥλιων, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου· εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. 12. λέγοντες· Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία
καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμή καὶ ἡ δύναμις
καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς τῷ θεῷ· ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων {[ἀμήν].}
13. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς τὸν προσβύτερον λέγων· Οὕτωι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὸς στόλος τῶν λευκῶς τίνες εἰσὶν καὶ πέθεν ἦλθον;
14. καὶ εἰρήκα αὐτῷ· Κύριε μου, σὺ οἶδας· καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὕτωι εἰσίν εἰς ἑαυτούς τὶς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπιλαν τὰς στολάς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἑλέκαναι αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἰματί τοῦ ἄρνιον.


καν 1. 205 | stabant Tyc Pr gig vg arm bo | κύκλῳ | εὐστηκαν
bo | επεσαν ΑΝ*C 025. 42. 181. 325*. 337. 468. 517. 620. 866
aI*μ | επεσαν 046. 21 (− 325*. 337. 468. 620. 866). 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 aI*μ | εὐστηκαν . . . προσκυνησαν αὐτῶν | επὶ τ. προσ.
αὐτῶν εὐστηκαν τ. θρόνον. bo sa eth | τον θρόνον ΑΝ*C 025. 35. 205.
920. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Ο*ρ | προσκυ
νησαν τ. θεόν > s¹ | καὶ επεσαν . . . λεγότας
προσκυνησαν επὶ τ. προσωπα αὐτῶν εὐστηκαν τ. θρόνον τ. θεοῦ
λεγότας eth |

19. αἰματί | pr αἰματί | αἰματί αἰματί 205 | εὐστηκαν . . . δοξά | s¹ eth | καὶ τ. θεόν > A arm*: ante τ. δοξά
πον 506 | post τ. τιμή
t. θεοῦ | τ. εὐστηκα | τ. εὐστηκα | τ. θεοῦ
| τ. μισθὸν > eth | καὶ τ. θεοῦ > bo | καὶ τ. χριστόν arm*: s¹ | καὶ
t. εὐστηκαν arm*: τῷ θεῷ | τοῦ θεοῦ | τῷ κυρίῳ arm*: κυρίῳ
t. θεοῦ arm*: αἰματί > C 2015. 2019 Pr |

13. αἰματί | + μοι Tyc gig: λεγεῖ μοι arm*: s¹ | εκ > N 1957 | λεγεῖ μοι > gig arm*: s¹ | eth | μοι > Tyc arm* | ταῖς στολάς ταῖς λευκαίς | ταῖς λευκαίς στολάς 2015. 2036 | tais |
> C | τίνες εἰσιν καὶ > eth: εἰσιν > 1. 181. 2038 | ηλθόν veniunt
gig*: s¹ arm*: s¹ |

2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 aI*μ | εἰρήκει 046. 21 (− 205). 250.
aI*μ | dixi Pr gig Cyp vg: λεγεῖ arm*: κυρίε μοι NC 025. 046.
15. διὰ τούτο εἰσιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λατρεύοντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σημεύει ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς.

16. οὕτω πεινάσοντες ἤτοι οὐδὲ διψάσοντες ἤτοι, οὐδὲ μὴ παίσῃ ἤτοι αὐτοῖς ὁ ἔλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καύμα, καὶ ὁ ἄρνιν τὸ ἄνα μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατον καὶ ἔξαλευσεῖ ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

21 (-205). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\footnote{pm} Or\footnote{r} vg s arm\footnote{a} 8 4 bo : 

\[\text{μον > Α} \]

1. 205 Pr gig Cyp arm\footnote{1} 8 4 bo : 

\[\text{εἰσεὶν} \]

λεγεῖ γιγ κυρῖ].

18. διὰ τούτῳ πρὶ καὶ 046\footnote{e}. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2067 εἰσὶν ηλθὼν εθ ἐν τῇ θρᾴσσειν ἦτοι καθήμενοι] ὁ και ἑκ τοῦ θρόνου ΑΝ\footnote{1} 1. 61. 172. 205. 250. 385. 2015. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2023\footnote{e}. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\footnote{m} Or\footnote{s} s\footnote{1} : 

\[\text{εἰ} \]

τῷ θρόνῳ Ο25. 046. 21 (-205. 2020) al\footnote{m}: 

\[\text{ὑπὲρ} \]

s\footnote{2} arm\footnote{a} : supra sedem gig : in throno Tyc Pr vg Cyp : 

\[\text{εἰσε} \]

στηρεῖν επὶ αὐτοῦ] ην\footnote{e} : 

\[\text{γινωφεῖ} \]

αὐτοῦ καὶ ην\footnote{e} : 

\[\text{γινωσκεῖ} \]

επὶ αὐτοῦ ην\footnote{e} : habitavit supra illos gig : inhabitavit super eos Cyp : habitat super eos Tyc : 

\[\text{inhabitavit} \]

εἰς εἰς Pr : "dwelleth in them" arm\footnote{2} (8)\footnote{e} : 

16. ετ\footnote{1} Α 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\footnote{p} Or\footnote{r} gig : 

\[\text{> κ} \]

2019 Pr vg Cyp s arm\footnote{3} 4 8 4 bo sa | οὐδὲ | μη Α 61. 69 Or\footnote{s} διψάσσουν διψάσσουν ην\footnote{3} : 

\[\text{διψήσασιν 025. 69. 2038} \]

ετ\footnote{2} \[\text{ΑΝ} 046. 21 (-205. 2020) 2067 al\footnote{p} Or\footnote{r} vg s\footnote{2} arm\footnote{a} bo : umquam Pr Cyp : >025. 1. 141. 172. 205. 250. 424. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2037. 2038 gig s\footnote{3} arm\footnote{1} 8 4 8 8 8 : 

\[\text{"neither shall they toil"} \]

bo | μη η παύσῃ \[\text{ετ} \]

\[\text{εἰ} \]

στηρεῖν επὶ αὐτοῦ ην\footnote{e} : 

\[\text{εἰσε} \]

μετὰ αὐτοῦ ην\footnote{e} : an emendation of Gwynn and Swete of μη παύσῃ \[\text{ετ} \]

\[\text{ΑΝ} 025. 1. 35. 69. 2015. 2019. 2036 al\footnote{p} : οὐ μη παύσῃ ετ ΑΝ 046. 21 (-35. 2020). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\footnote{m} Or\footnote{s} : οὐ μη παύσαι ετ 025. 046. 21 (0 η ναύσον \[\text{o} \]

\[\text{o} \]

>2020 2037 : "cold" arm\footnote{1} 2 8 : "shadow" bo | παν > Tyc arm : το 314. 2016 | καυμα] + patientur Pr Cyp .

17. ἀνα μέσον εὕρησεν bo εθ | ποιμανεῖ ΑΝ\footnote{2} 025. 046. 1. 35. 01. 69. 104. 205. 314. 429. 468\footnote{e} 620. 866. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2023\footnote{e}. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041* 2067. 8 arm sa : reget gig vg Cyp : ποιμανεῖ 21 (-35. 205. 468\footnote{e} 620. 866. 2020) 42. 82.
Chapter VIII.

1. Καὶ δὲν ἤνεξεν τὴν σφαγίδα τὴν ἑβδομήν, ἐγένετο σιγή ἐν τῷ ὀφανέι ὁ ἡμῖνος.(a) 3. καὶ † ἄλλος † (δ) ἀγγέλος ἔλθεν καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἐξὼν λιβανώνθν χρυσόν, καὶ ἔδόθη αὐτῷ θυμίαμα πολλά, ἵνα δώσῃ ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσόν τὸ ἐκώπτων τοῦ θρόνου. 4. καὶ ἀνέβη

(a) Verse 2 is restored in what appears to have been its original form after 8°. See vol. i. 218–222, 224.

(b) Read els.
(a) Read τρεῖς in the first two cases after the noun but without change of order in the next two. See vol. i. 218--223.

(6) The interpolator of vii. 7-12, to whom the changes in the text are due, added here ot i•c/ir10,, Toil lleoil irrf/Ka.tr,,. This termination-Gtr&l'-of the perfect does not occur elsewhere in our author, who uses •D.P,

orationum Pr s arm\textsuperscript{4} bo : de orationibus gig vg : σων τ. προσευχασιν εθή | χειρον arm\textsuperscript{1} 2 8 a | του αγγέλου] του > 498. 2020 : των αγγέλων 69\textdagger. 205 arm\textsuperscript{2} a : του αρχαγγέλου arm\textsuperscript{1} | εννοιον > arm\textsuperscript{1} : pr του bo | του θεού > arm\textsuperscript{4} 4 .

6. εἰληφεν] εγευμένην arm\textsuperscript{1} 2 8 a | του λιβανωτον] το λιβανωτον 104. 141. 205. 218. 424. 2019. 2024 | και εγευμ. αυτον εθή | αυτον] αυτο 104. 205. 218. 424 | του θυσιαστήρου] + του θεον Pr : pr του ετι: sl : "of Gehenna" arm\textsuperscript{3} | εβαλεν N 046. 81 Or\textsuperscript{a} Pr gig vg s. arm bo εθή | εβαλεν 025 : ελαβον A | βροντη κ. αστρηται κ. φωνη A 336. 2020 s\textsuperscript{d.1} p : βροντη κ. φωνη κ. αστρηται N 046. 81 (−35. 2020). 69. 110. 172. 250. 314. 385. 2016. 2018 al\textsuperscript{p} Or\textsuperscript{a} Pr gig vg s bo εθή | φωνη κ. βροντη κ. αστρηται 025. 1. 35. 2037. 2067 al\textsuperscript{nu} Tyc arm\textsuperscript{4} : φωνη κ. αστρηται κ. βροντη 104. 2038 : The order of all the MSS is corrupt. We should expect αστρηται first, since not only in point of fact the lightning is seen before the thunder is heard, but also because this order is preserved always elsewhere in our author: cf. 4\textsuperscript{b} 11 19 16\textsuperscript{a}. St. John is an observer of nature, and was not guilty of this blunder. It is due to the interpolator of 8\textsuperscript{f}-19. The original order was αστρ. και φωνη και βροντη as in 4\textsuperscript{b} 11 19 16\textsuperscript{a}. The hopeless order of A—βροντη κ. αστρ. κ. φων.—is most probably due to the interpolator. The readings of N 046 Pr vg s\textdagger. of 025 Tyc, are obvious attempts at correction. | και σεισμος > 242. 617. 1934 : σεισμοι 209 Or\textsuperscript{a} arm\textsuperscript{2} 8 : + μεγας vg\textsuperscript{r} arm\textsuperscript{1} : + εγευμενο μεγας vg\textsuperscript{2} .


[7. Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος σάλπιγγες]
καὶ ἐγένετο χάλαξα καὶ τὸρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἰματι,
καὶ ἔβληθε εἰς τὴν γῆν.
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάθη,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάθη,
καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάθη.

8. Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος σάλπιγγες

2067 al\(^1\) s arm\(^1.2.3.a\) bo eth : oi > \(\kappa\) 468*, 620. 866. 2019.
2038 Or\(^*\) arm\(^a\) tao > arm\(^a\) autou An\(^*\) : eautou \(\kappa\) 025.
046. Μ. 250 2037. 2038. 2067 al\(^1\) Or\(^*\) sl.\(^2.3\) bo : ev autou 69
| σαλπιγγες | + τους σαλπιγγας arm\(^1.8\) : + τους επτα σάλπιγγας arm\(^2\) |

13. καὶ εἶδον > s\(^3\) eth | ηκουσα | + φωνη Tyc vg arm\(^1.2\) : |
\(\varepsilon\upsilon\nu\) > \(\kappa\) 025 arm bo sa | aetou An 046. Μ. (− 205. 468. 620. 632. 866). 250 al\(^a\) Or\(^*\) Tyc gig fl s arm\(^1.2.4.3\) bo eth : ut aquilam Pr : αγγελου 025. 1. 104. 205. 241. 468. 620. 632. 866. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm\(^a\) πεταμενου > bo | ev μεσονυμηματι | ev μεσονυμηματι 1 : in medio caeli et terrae eth | λεγοντος | et dicentem Tyc eth | φωνη μεγαλη | + τρισ 104. 432. 2015. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2041 : φωνη τρισ 35. 2019 : φων. μεγ. before λεγοντος gig fl : > Tyc s\(^1\) oua] twice only 1. 2038 eth | τοις κατακοψιν A 025. 1. 35. 104. 205. 2037. 2038. 2067 al\(^a\) : τοις κατακοψιν \(\kappa\) 046. Μ. (− 35. 205). 61. 69. 110. 172. 242. 250. 314. 385. 2016. 2018 al\(^a\) Or\(^*\) | ek των λατινσ φωνων της σαλπιγγος] ek της φωνης των σαλπιγγων s\(^1\) : ek τ. φωνης της λατινσ σαλπιγγων s\(^2\) : φωνων της σαλπιγγος > Pr |

7. o πρωτος An 025. 046. Μ. (− 2020) al\(^a\) Or\(^*\) s arm\(^a\) : +
αγγελωs 1. 250. 522. 2015. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr gig vg arm\(^1.2.3.4\) bo eth | kaι\(^3\) > Tyc | μεμιγμενα A 046. Μ. (− 205. 2020). 250. 2037 al\(^1\) Or\(^*\) Pr gig vg s : μεμιγ-
μενου \(\kappa\) 025. 181. 205. 209. 432. 2020. 2038. 2067 Tyc | ev αιματι] \(\varepsilon\upsilon\nu\) > 1. 2038 al\(^a\) : iada 205 s\(^1.2\) : iaw aima Pr gig | εβληθη\ν | εβληθη\νan 172. 250. 424. 2018 s\(^1.2\) | και το τριτον της
gης κατεκαθ > 1. 2018 arm\(^1.4\) | τριτον\(^1\) δευτερου arm\(^2.8\) | κατε-
καθ\(^1.2.8\) κατεκαθαιν \(\tau\) : κατεκαθαιν αρμ\(^1.2.3.4\) και το τριτον των
dενδρων κατεκαθ > 046*. 175. 456 al\(^1\) gig arm\(^2.8\) : και κατεκα-
καθαιν την δενδρων eth | τριτον\(^2\) δευτερου arm\(^2\) | κατεκαθ\(^2\) > Tyc arm\(^2.8\) bo | και τασ χορτος χλωρου κατεκαθ > arm\(^a\) χορτος
χλωρου] o χορτo, o χλωρου 104. 201. 386 : παντa χορτον χλωρου
arm\(^1.2.3\) bo | χλωρου της γης s\(^1\) | κατεκαθ\(^3\) > eth |

8. αγγελος > \(\kappa\) s\(^2\) | wo] pr eγενετο 920. 2040 s\(^1\) | πυρι An
καὶ ὃς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καίμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, 
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἰμα, 
9. καὶ ἀπέθανεν τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ ἔξοντα ψυχὰς, 
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλωῖν διεφθάρμασαν. 
10. Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἀγγέλος ἔσαλπτεν· 
καὶ ἐπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ ὄραμον ἀστήρ μέγας καίμενος ὃς λαμπός, 
καὶ ἐπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ † ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς † 
τῶν ὦδατων, 
11. [καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος λέγεται τὸ Ἀὐρινθος] 
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὦδατων ὡς Ἀὐρινθος, 
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὦδατων ὑπὲρ 
ἐπικράτησαν.
12. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλησεν
καὶ ἐλήγη τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἥλιουν
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστερῶν,

into wormwood” arm⁴ | ek tôn uδατων oui epikranthèsan] (ab)
amaritudine aquarum (Pr) fl arm¹-⁸ = eth : oui epikranthèsan ta
uδατα s¹ | ek tôn] eti tôn A |.

19. ἄγγελος | s¹ | ἐπιηγη] ἐπιηγης arm¹. 9. 8. 8 ; καὶ εὐκρατισθῇ
erth | τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἥλιουν καὶ > 1934 | τριτον] + μερος (thrice in this
verse) Pr fl gig vg bo sa eth | καὶ τὸ τρίτον την σελήνην > fl | ινα
εὐκρατισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν + καὶ εὐκρατισθῆσαι s² | καὶ εὐκρατισθῇ
(− θραυν s¹) τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν 172. 250. 2018 s¹ arm¹. 8. 8. 8. 8 ; καὶ εὐκρατισθῇ
arm² ; ινα σκοτισθώσι βο : ut minus lucerent Pr : ινα σκοτ. τ.
τριτον αὐτῶν καὶ > eth | η ἡμερα . . . νυξ text corrupt : bo alone (καὶ
to τρ. αὐτῶν μὴ φανε ἡμερας καὶ ομωσο νυκτος) either preserves
or recovers original sense. Pr fl and eth attempt to recover it.
See below. Evidence as follows. η ἡμερα μὴ φανε το τριτον
(τεταρτον Α) αυτος Αν 2. 125. 35. 2037. 2038. 2067 alma Or⁴ : καὶ
to τριτον αὐτος μὴ φανε η (> 046. 522) ἡμερα 046. 175. 325. 337.
456. 468. 617. 620. 866. 1934 alµ ; (αὐτων for αὐτος 18. 69.
αὐτως for αὐτος 386 : αὐτος > 920. 2040 : το τριτον αὐτος
> 2020) : et dies eandem partem amitteret Pr fl : et dies non
luceat terciam partem gig : et diei non luceret pars tertia vg : καὶ
η ἡμερα ουκ εφανε το τριτον αὐτος s¹ : καὶ η ἡμερα
ουκ εφανε καὶ το τριτον arm¹ : “and the third part of them had
not light and day” arm³ : μὴ φαινοσι καὶ το τριτον ἡμερας καὶ
νυκτος eth | η νυξ] nocte vg⁷ : noctis vg⁸ bo eth |.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος τῶν ἔσαλησεν

καὶ ἔδωκαν ἄστερα εκ τοῦ σφαιροῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἡ κλης τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου

1. καὶ . . . εσάλησεν > 1849 | καὶ εἰδον > eth | αστερα . . .
pεπτωκότα] Nº : αστέρας . . . πεπτωκότας Ν* | αστέρα εκ τοῦ
σφαιροῦ πεπτωκότα] αστέρα πεπτ. εκ τοῦ σφ. 920. 2040 arm⁴ :
εκ τοῦ σφ. αστ. πεπ. gig | εἰς τὴν γῆν] επὶ τῆς γῆς 498. 2020 si
bo sa : πρὸς τὴν γην 385 | εἴδοθη] εἴδωκαν bo | η κλης] τοσ κλαίς
bo eth | τον φρέατος] τοιον φρεατων s¹ | τῆς ἀβυσσου > gig |.
2. καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ ἀνέβη κατάς ἐκ τοῦ φρεάτος ὡς κατοικοῦντος γενέσθη, καὶ ἐσκοτώθη δ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκ τοῦ κατευθεὶς τοῦ φρεάτος.

3. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κατευθείας ἐξῆλθον ἄκριδες εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἐξουσίαν οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς.

4. καὶ ἐρέθη αὐταῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τῶν χρόνων τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρόν οὐδὲ πᾶν δενδρόν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἰτίνες οὐκ ἐξουσίαν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταπτών.


3. κατευθυνθης τον φρεατον Τυγ vg̃.v : φρεατος arm1.5 | ειρ] επι arm bo | αυταιρ Α 025. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alp Or* : αυτος Ν 046. 104 | εξουσία | και τα κεντρα αυτων arm1 | ως εξουσιαν εξουσιαν] similes eam quae habent fl : την εξουσιαν s1 : ως κεντρα σκορπιον arm1.2 a : ως γενομαι εις eth | της γης] pr επι s2 arm8 bo eth : >arm1.2 a |.


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5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῶι ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθοῦνται μῆνας πέντε.(a)
6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ζητῆσοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν θανάτων
ci rolzaw
καὶ οὗ μὴ εὑρωσὶν αὐτόν,
καὶ ἐπιθυμήσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν,
καὶ φαίησί τι θάνατος αὐτῶι.

7. καὶ τὰ δρομόματα τῶν ἀκρίδων 'δομοί' ἵπποις ἵππομασσαίνοις
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶι ὡς στέφανοι δομοί, κρυστάλλι
καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶι ὡς πρόσωπα ἀνθρώπων.

(a) Text adds gloss: καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς αὐτῶι ὡς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου δια
tαίς ἀνθρώπων.

5. καὶ ἐδοθη] et dictum est Pr eth : dictum est fl | αὐτοὶ
025. 046. 21 (− 2004). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al¹ Or² : αὐτοὶ
Ἀν 1. 104. 181. 2004 | ἀποκτείνωσιν] ἀδικησώσων ἡ 2040 | ὡς
> s¹ | βασανισθοῦνται Ἀν 025. 1. 35. 181. 2019. 2020. 2038 :
βασανισθοῦσιν 046. 21 (− 35. 2020). 250. 2037. 2067 al¹ Or² :
crucia rentur Pr (μιγ) vg fl : crucia rent Tyc arm bo eth | αὐτῶι
ὡς βασανισμὸς > 149 | πιθη 21 (− 149. 468°. 620. 866 920.
2020) Or² Tyc gig fl vg s² arm : πιθη Ἀν 025. 046. 104. 149.
eth |.

6. en ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις > Tyc : ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ arm¹ |
ζητούσιν] ζητοῦσιν 60. 82. 93. 110. 175. 325. 452. 456. 468.
517. 1957. 2024. 2041 | αὐτοὶ ἀνθρώπους > Pr | εὑρωσιν Ἀ 025. 35.
εὑρωσιν N 046. 21 (− 35. 205. 325. 337. 456. 468. 620. 866.
61. 69. 82. 325. 337. 456. 468. 517. 620. 866. 1849 | εὑρωσιν 2038 :
inveniunt Pr | ἀποθανεῖν] τον θανατον 104 | φαίης Ἀν 025. 1. 35.
250. 2037. 2067 al²ν Or² gig fl vg s arm bo eth | o θανατος
2037. 2067 al²νν Pr gig fl vg s arm⁴ : απ αὐτῶι o θανατος ο 046.
21 (− 35. 205. 2020). 250. 2038 al²νν Or² arm¹. 2. 8. e : o θανατος
> 104 |.

7. τὰ ὁμοιωματα] το ὁμοιωμα gig s arm¹. 2. 8. e bo | ομοιοι 025.
046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al¹ Pr vg : ομοιοι N (s) : ομοιω-
ματα A : ὁμοιωμα Or² arm¹. 2. 8. e : ομοιοι arm³ : similes erant fl
arm⁴ | αὐτῶι) + ὁμοιωμα Or² | ομοιοι χρυσω Ἀν 025. 1. 35. 172.
8. καὶ ἔχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν, καὶ οἱ ὀδοντες αὐτῶν ὡς λεοντῶν ὦσιν,
9. καὶ ἤχαν θώρακας ὡς θώρακας σιδηροῦ, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ ἀρμάτων.
10. καὶ ἔχουσιν ὀφρας δμαίας σκορπίως καὶ κέντρα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀφραίς αὐτῶν ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἀδικήσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μήνας πέντε.
11. ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν βασιλεὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς αἰετίας, ὅνομα αὐτῶ 'Ἐξερειστὴ Ἀμωβδών.'

(a) Text adds gloss: καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Ελληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλών.
Observe below how Pr fl vg add et Latine habet nomen Exterminans—a fact which shows how glosses arise.

Or* Tyc Pr gig fl vg s (arm) : "of colour of gold" bo : χρυσοὶ 046. 21 (-35, 205) alpm | καὶ τα προσώπα . . . ἀνθρώπουν θρακασ < arm² |
9. εἰσαγ. AN : εἰχον 025 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2067 alpl Or* : εὐντεσ 2038 Pr fl : >arm¹ 2. 8. 8 a | τριχασ¹ καὶ αι τριχας αυτων (>arm²) arm¹ 2. 8. 8 a | τριχασ² > 2020 fl : τριχασ arm¹ 2. 8. 8 a | γυναίκων] γυναίκος arm¹ 2. 8. 8 a : ut mulieres fl | ων² + ὀδοντες fl vg d | λεοντων] λεοντος arm¹ 2. 8 a | ησαν > fl s¹ arm |
12. 'H obai ἦ μία ἀπήλθεν ἵδου ἔρχεται ἤτοι οὐκ ὑπάρχει. καὶ ταῦτα.


13. Καὶ ὁ ἵκτος ἄγγελος ἐσολπθεὶς

καὶ Ἰκολού θανὼν μιᾶν ἐκ τῶν κερατῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἁνότος τοῦ θεοῦ.

14. Ἀγένα τῷ ἵκτῳ ἄγγελῳ, ὁ ἐκαθὼν τὴν σάλπιγγα

Δίδυμος τῶν τέσσαρας ἄγγελων τοὺς διδημένους ἕπι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἐδρασατῇ.

15. καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι

οἱ ἤτοι μασμένοι εἰς τήν ὥραν καὶ ἠμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἕνατον,

ἐνα ἀποκτείνον τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

16. καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἑπτίκου δὲς μυριάδες μυριάδων.

13. καὶ > Ν (see above) | φωνὴν μιᾶν | ~ 69 Or* : φωνὴς μιᾶς


17. ἡκουσα τὸν ἄρθρων αὐτῶν. καὶ αὐτῶς εἶδον τοὺς ἱστούς ἐν τῇ ὁράσει (a)
 καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐν † αὐτῶν † ἔχοντας θάρακας πυρίνους
 καὶ οὐκινθίους καὶ θεώδεις,
 καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἱστον ὡς κεφαλαὶ λεόντων,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορεύεται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ 
θείον.

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἐκπορευμένου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν.

19. ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἱστον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστίν (b) καὶ

(a) The text is corrupt and defective: ἡκουσα τ. ἄρθρων αὐτῶν may be an
intrusion. After ὁράσει we should restore καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐν αὐτῶν, 
which has been lost through hmt. Next, for καὶ τ. καθημένους ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχοντας
above read καὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοντες.

(b) Text adds an interpolation here: καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπαίτιας αὐτῶν, αἱ γὰρ ὑπαίτια 
αὐτῶν δύοσαι δρέσει, ἔχοντες κεφαλάς. See vol. i. p. 253 sq.

occidenter tertiam partem hominum Pr | ἡκουσα ... αὐτῶν >

eth. After μεριδῶν two lines appear to have been lost.

17. καὶ ὁμωκ. ... ὁμης > s² | ὁμωκ. > 2020 Τυχ Πρ
 arm¹.².₃.ᵃ | ἑπτάου | ὑπηκοον 046. 69 Or ἐν | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάου | ἑπτάο
20. καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὗ ὄψιν ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις,
[οὐδέν] μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν,
ινὰ μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ ἐδώλα
tὰ χρυσά καὶ τὰ ἀργυρὰ καὶ τὰ χαλκά καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ἑγιάνα,
δὲ ὡστε βλέπειν διόνυσται ὡστε ἀκούειν ὡστε περιστατεῖν,
21. καὶ ὃς μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν ὡστε ἐκ τῶν φαρμακῶν αὐτῶν
ὡστε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν ὡστε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.
"divination" arm* | porneias] porneias ΑΚ* : porneias Ν* 025. 866 | oυτε εκ των κλεμματων αυτων > Pr s1 sa | κλεμματων] factorum Cyp |

1. και εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἵσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην, καὶ ἡ ἱρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ πάδες αὐτοῦ ως στύλοι πυρός, 2. καὶ ἔχουν ἐν τῇ χερι αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον ἤνεγγυμένον. καὶ ἐθηκεν τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάσση, τὸν δὲ εὐωδομὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, 3. καὶ ἔκραζεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὦσπερ λέων μυκάται. καὶ ὅτε ἔκραζεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν φωναὶ.

CHAPTER X.

1. Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἵσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην, καὶ ἡ ἱρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ πάδες αὐτοῦ ως στύλοι πυρός, 2. καὶ ἔχουν ἐν τῇ χερι αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδιον ἤνεγγυμένον. καὶ ἐθηκεν τὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάσση, τὸν δὲ εὐωδομὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, 3. καὶ ἔκραζεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὦσπερ λέων μυκάται. καὶ ὅτε ἔκραζεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν φωναὶ.
ε. 4-7.] ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ

4. καὶ οὗτοι ἠλάθησαν αἱ ἑστὰ βρονταὶ, ἡμέλλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγονταν Σφραγίσου ἡ ἠλάθησαν αἱ ἑστὰ βρονταὶ, καὶ μὴ αὕτη γράψῃ.

5. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἦν ἐνδον ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

6. καὶ ἀμοσέαν ἐν τῇ ᾿Ζωτὶ ἐς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων,

καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὦτο χρόνος οὐκέτι ἐσταί.

7. ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἔβδομον ἀγγέλου, ὅταν <τρίτω> μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἑτέλεσθος τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὦσ εὑρεθέλεσθε

arm¹.² | ταῦτα εὐαντὸν φωναῖ. . . (ver. 4) βρονταὶ > 386. 620. 866 |
9. καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡν ἡκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οἴρου πάλιν ἔμοι καὶ λέγουσαν τῷ ὑπαγε λάβε ἐκ τοῦ βυβλίου τὸ Ἱνεργεμένον τὸ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐστώτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 10. καὶ ἀπήθα πρὸς τὸν ἀγγέλου λέγων αὐτῷ δούναι μοι τὸ βυβλαρίδιον. καὶ λέγει μοι Λαβε καὶ καταφαγε αὐτῷ καὶ πικρανεῖ σου τὴν κοιλιάν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ στόματι σου ἄστατα γλυκὺ ως μέλι.


X. 10–XI. 1. [ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ]

10. καὶ ἐλάβον τὸ βιβλαριδίον ἑκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτὸ, καὶ ἤν ἐν τῷ στόματι μου γλυκὸ ὡς μέλι· καὶ ὅτε ἐφαγον αὐτὸ, ἐπικράνθη ἡ κοιλία μου. 11. καὶ λέγουσιν μοι Δεδι σε πάλιν προφητεύσαι ἐπι λαοῖς καὶ θεωσιν καὶ γλώσσαι καὶ βασιλεύσαι παλαιοίς.

arm*: accipe librum et devora illum vg: λαβε αυτο σοι bo | sou] σοι s² [την κοιλιαν] την καρδιαν A Or*: + σου s¹: εν τη κοιλια arm¹ ². ².a: [εσται γλυκιν] ~ Pt: γλυκυ > s¹ |.


CHAPTER XI.

1. Καὶ εἴδοθη μοι κάλαμος ὁμοιος ῥαβδῷ λέγων Ἐγειρε καὶ μετρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσ-

κυνούντας εν αὐτῷ. 2. καὶ τὴν αὐλήν τὴν ἐξώθην τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκβαλε ἐξώθην καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσας, ὅτι ἔδοθε τοῖς ἔθνοις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν πατήσαντος μήνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.
3. καὶ δώσω τοῖς δύσιν μάρτυσιν μου, καὶ προφητεύσωσιν ἡμέρας χιλιάς διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ περιβεβλημένους ἀπὸ σάκκους. 4. Οὕτω εἰσὶν αἱ δύο ἐλαίαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς

Or¹ : εγερον 60. 94. 205. 2038 : εγεραι 30 (-175. 325. 456. 620 866. 920. 1849. 2004). 1. 250. 2067 al | και₂ > 104 Tyc bo | μετρήσων 104. 920. 2040 | τον θεον > arm¹, ² | το ὕσσιαστήριον | τον θεον Tyc Pr : εαυτον εθ | εν αὐτῳ] illud gig arm⁴ |


3. καὶ προφητεύσωσιν] ut profetent Pr eth : προφητεύσαι s¹ : και > bo | διακοσία > 69 | ἐξήκοντα] + πεπεῖ Nc, 6 69 arm¹, ², ³ | περιβεβλημένου An¹ 025. 046. 35. 91. 104. 242. 920. 1934. 2015. 2036. 2041 : -μενοι Nc C 21 (-35, 920. 1934). 1. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl Or Tyc Pr vg : amictis gig | σακκους] saccis Tyc Pr gig vg塌 |


\( \text{XI. 5-6.} \)  

**ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ**

1. Τις αὐτοὺς δέλει ἀδικήσαι, ὑπὸ ἐκπορευόμενα 
   ἕκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθείει τοὺς ἐξήρουσ ἀυτῶν. 

2. Οὗτοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἔξοσιαν κλεῖσα τὸν ὀφρανόν, ἵνα μὴ στενὸς βρέχῃ 
   τάς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔχουσιν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδάφων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα καὶ πατάξια τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ 
   δοῦσιν ἐὰν θελήσωσιν.

(a) Text adds a gloss here: καὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσῃ, οὕτως δὲ 
   αὐτῶν ἀποκαλυφθήσαι.

> bo | ἐστωτεο ΑΚ*Σ 046. 21 ( - 35. 205. 337. 468. 617. 632** 866. 920. 2020. 2040). 250 alim Or* s : ἐστωτεο 866 : 

5. και ει τις αυτους δελει αδικησαι] και ει τι θελουσι αυτο 
   πουσουσι βο; "and they (he arm1.8.4) shall desire (desire 
   arm4) to hurt them" arm | αυτους δελει AC 025. 046. 81 ( - 468*). 2037. 2067 alim Or* Tyc Pr vg s3 : ~ Ν 172. 250. 468*. 2018 gig : θελει (αδικησαι) αυτουν 69 s1 | θελει θελη 104. 

6. αυτου] Pr και s1 : or bo eth | την εξουσιαν AC 025 Or* : την 
   > Ν 046. 98. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl : εξουσιαν κλεισαι τον 
   οφρανον ΑΚΠ 025. 1. 35. 205. 2015. 2019. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 alim Tyc Pr gig (vg) s : + και after εξουσιαν Or* : τον 
   οφρανον εξουσιαν κλεισαι 046. 81 ( - 35. 205. 2020). 250 alim : 
   εξουσιαν τον οφρανον κλεισαι 69. 498. 2020 [κλεισαι] μετρησαι 
   arm4 | υποσ βρεχη ~ 1. 2037. 2067 alpl : υποσ βρεχη 498 : υποσ 
   καταβαυνυ συν s1 arm4 : pluat Tyc vg : imbre pluat Pr : 
   pluat pluvia gig : “they rain” arm1 : + επι την γην bo eth | τα τη̣ 
   γερασιν εν τας γερασιν 1. 2037 Tyc Pr (vg) s1 arm4 : pr πασο 
   bo | της προφητειας αυτων 025. 81 ( - 617. 920. 2040). 250. 2038. 2067 alim Or* Tyc Pr gig vg s1.2 arm : της προφητειας αυτων 
   AC 046 : αυτων της προφητειας 1. 617. 920. 2037. 2040 alpl |
7. Ἐπὶ τῶν υδάτων ὁστρεφέων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν υδάτων
omnium aquarum Pr | in sanguine gig | καὶ N° > N°*

8. τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας
tis plōwos tis megálhy, ἢτις καλεῖται πνευματικός Σῶδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἑσταυρώθη. 9. καὶ βλέπονσιν
ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλώσσων καὶ ἐθίων τὸ πτῶμα αὐτῶν
epi ton uddatow ostr EOF] ostr EOF τα udata 1 | epo ton uddatow]
Τύχρις τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίόμοιν τεθήναι εἰς μνήμα. 10. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίροντων ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εὑραίονται καὶ δύρα τέμψουσιν ἀλλήλους, ὅτι οὐκ οἱ δύο προφηταὶ ἔβασάν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

11. Καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμισὺ πτεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσήλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος

mēgas ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτούς. 12. καὶ ἦκοσαν ἃ φωνὴν μεγαλὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν ἀυτοῖς Ἀνάβατε ὑδε καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ θεωρησαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν. 13. Καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῇ ὁρᾷ ἔγενετο σεμισμὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ δικατον τῆς πόλεως ἐπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεμισμῷ δύνατα ἀνθρώπων χιλιάδες ἐπτά, καὶ οἱ λαοὶ ζῆμοι οἱ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 14. Ἡ οὖς ἡ δευτέρα ἀπῆλθεν ὁδὸν ἡ οὖς ἡ τρίτη ἐρχεται ταχὺ. 2067 alp eth : εὐευνοεῖν στὸν θεωρούντας τῶν θεωροῦντων C 025. 35* |


13. καὶ εἰς ΑΝC 025. 1. 35. 205. 250. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 alm Or Pr gig vg s arm1.2.a bo eth : Kai | > 046. ΜΙ (−35. 205. 2040) almu Tyc arm3.4 | ωρα ΑΝC 025. 1. 205. 2019. 2037. 2040 alp Or Tyc Pr vg s arm1.2.a | bo eth : ημερα 046. ΜΙ (−205. 2040). 250. 2038. 2067 alpm gig arm4 | εὐευνοεῖν ettae arm2 bo | καὶ τὸ ωςτε τὸ C | δικατον | γ' 046 bo : διδικατον η75. 2017 : + μεροῦ bo eth | εὐευνοεῖν | εὐευνοεῖν s1 : “was swallowed up” arm1.2.a.s.a | οὐνοματα ἀνθρωπων χιλιαδεω επτα] numero LXX milia hominum Pr : pr καὶ s1 | οὐνοματα ἀνθρωπων | > arm1 : οὐνοματα ανθρωπωι s1 : ἀνθρωπωια arm | | αι λοιπαι + ἀνθρωπων arm4 : “after that” arm1.2.a.s.a | εμφοβοι εγεννοτο] εμφοβοι εγεν C : εν φοβω εγεν. Ν 69 Or* Pr (sunt missi) s1 : in timorem sunt missi vg : “fear (+great arm1.a) was (shall be arm3) in all” arm1.2.a.s.a : “were astounded” arm4 | εγεννοτο καὶ] γενομενοι 2015. 2036. 2037 | τον οὐρανον | > Tyc s3 : + et terrae Pr : των εν τω οὐρανω s1 : “heavenly” arm1.2.a.s.a |

15. Καὶ δὲ ἐβδομος ἐγγελος ἐσάλτητεν καὶ ἐγένετο φωναὶ <τρίτων> μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγοντες

Εἰκότε τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,

βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων.

16. καὶ οἱ εἰκοσὶ τεσσάρες προσβήτηροι οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι εἰς τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπά αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ λέγοντες

2040 : ἡ οὐαὶ τῇ τριτῇ (ταχὺ) εἰρθεῖται 205 : οἱ οὐκ εἰρθεῖται ἡ οὐαὶ τῇ τριτῇ 2019 γίγ : ἡ οὐαὶ τῇ τριτῇ οἴῳ εἰρθεῖται 046. 211 (− 35. 205. 2020. 2040). 250. 2067 αἵματι εἰρθεῖται venien vg (arm1.3.8.9.): εἰρθεῖθαν 81 : τρ. ater ταχὺ 205 |

17. Eὐχαριστουμένοι σοι, Κύριε ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ, 

σὲ ἐν καὶ σὲ ἡμῖν,

ὅτι εἰληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην

καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.

18a. καὶ τὰ ἔννοι ὁργίσθησαν,

ὅτι καὶ ἤλθεν ἡ ὁργὴ σου,

καὶ ἐκατέρωθαν τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν,

καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους,

καὶ δόθησαν τοῖς μισθοῖς τοῖς δύολοις σου,

εἰς τὸ προφήταις καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους.

καὶ τοὺς φοβομένους τὸ ὄνομά σου.

046. 21 (− 337. 620. 866). 250. 2037. 2038. (2040) al[[mu : pr καὶ

N 2040 | τὸ προσωπά | τὸ προσωπόν ἂν | καὶ | > do sa | τῷ θεῷ]

> gig : "the Lord God" arm1.2 a | λέγοντες | εἶλεγον arm1 : καὶ

εἴλεγον arm2. a | .


2037. 2040. 2041 alp (bo) | ort] pr καὶ N*C : καὶ arm2 : σος

arm1.2 | εἴληφασ] εἴληφεν C | σοῦ τὴν μεγάλην > arm1 bo | .


2017 alp | καὶ | ort bo | σου] + ετ αὐτοῦ 2020 | καὶ διαφθείραι] καὶ

> A arm3 : quique exterminandi sunt Pr : et conrumpantur fl : 

diaφθειρεω bo | διαφθειροντας AN 046. 21 (− 35 468**). 2037 alpl

Or4 arm bo eth : διαφθειροντας C 35. 60. 104. 172. 241. 242.


μεγαλους AN*C Or4 : τουs (pr καὶ 2020 gig) μικρους και τους 

μεγαλους Nc.e 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al[p Pr gig fl 

vg Cypr s arm : τους μικρους μετα των μεγαλων s1. It is possible 

to explain the variation of tenses as due to the dislocation 

of lines a and g. Thus AN*C preserve the acc. (τους μικρους in 

apposition to the subject of κρίθηναι) even after the transposition 

of the line after και τους φοβ. σου. Next comes the corrector’s 

stage: the acc. is changed into a dat. to agree with τους φοβ. 

Possibly the original order was a, b, h, g, e, d, e, f. The τους 

μικρους κτλ. would then qualify τον διαφθειροντας κτλ. In any 

case the order in the MSS is wrong. | δοσαι] + αὐτως bo | καὶ 

τους αγιους > Pr gig | τους αγιους και τους (> N) φοβουμενον] 

tους αγιους και τους φοβουμενους A a correction] : τους αγιους 

και > 051 : και > 35* 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038 alp 

arm1.2 a | αγιους] + σου 617. 920. 2020 |.
19. καὶ ἤνοιγή ἡ νάς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὄφθη ἡ κυβιστὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐγένετο ἀντραπαί καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη.


Chapter XII.

1. Καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὄφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τῶν ἥλιων, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔτ' τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα.

2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, ἔχουσα


καὶ κράζει ὀδύνουσα καὶ βασανιζομένη τεκεῖν. 3. καὶ ὁφθη ἄλλο
σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἴδον δράκων [μέγας πυρρός], ἵκων κεφαλῶν
ἐπὶ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἔτες κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ διαδήματα.
4. καὶ ἄν οὐρά αὐτῶν σύμει τὸ τρίτον τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ
ζήλωσι τούτων εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐστήκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς
γυναικὸς τῆς μελλοντικῆς τεκείν, ιδαν ὅταν τέκνον αὐτής
catafægh.

5. καὶ ἔτεκεν οἶον, ἀρσεν, δῆς μελείς πομαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἐθνη ἐν
ῥάβδῳ σιδηρῷ· καὶ ἤποτῆτο τῷ τέκνῳ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς
τὸν θεόν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ.

3. μεγάς πυρ(ρ)ος Λ 025. 051. 1. 35. 172. 205. 1957. 2015.
2019. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2041 alp Τυκ vg s¹ sa eth :
阒NC 046. 31 (− 35. 205. 2019). 250. 2067 αλμα Or¹ Pr gig fl s²
arm¹. 2. 8. = (bo) | μεγας] + “exceedingly” arm¹ : “it is very
great” bo | πυρρὸς Αἰ 025. 051. 31 (− 18. 205. 337. 386. 617.
Τυκ Pr gig fl vg eth : πυρρὸς Ζ 046. 1. 18. 205. 250. 337. 386. 617.
919. 920. 1849. 2040 s : “fiery” arm¹. 2. 8. = : “of colour of
fire” bo : > arm¹ : + ομοίως τυρι εθ | ἐπὶ τασ κεφαλᾶς | ἐπὶ της
κεφαλῆς 205 (arm¹. 3. ) : ἐπὶ τασ ἐπτα κεφαλᾶς arm⁴ | αυτοῦ] αὐτῶν
Λ 172 | ἐπτα² > 1. 181. 2038 |

4. η οὐρα αὐτοῦ] > gig : αὐτοῦ > 1 | συρεῖ] trahebat Τυκ Pr
fl vg | τῶν αὐτερῶν] Νο : + το τριτὼν Χ* | τον οὐρανοῦ] > 1. 2067 :

των εν τοι οὐρανω s¹ | αὐτοῦ] + εκ του οὐρανου arm², 8 | εἰς την γην
> arm¹ | εστηκει] εστηκει Ζ s : εστη 61. 69 | της μελλοντικῆς
tekείν] > bo eth : “who wished to bear” arm¹. 2. 8 sa | τεκείν] τικτεῖ
οι 051. 35. 3432. 1957. 2023. 2041 | τεκὴ] + η γυνη arm¹. 2. 8. =
to τεκνὸν αὐτοῦ > arm⁴ | τεκνὸν] pαιδίων 2020 : filium gig vg bo :

натον Pr fl | αὐτοῦ > bo | καταφαγῆ | αυτο(ν) arm³ : + αυτο(ν)
ο δρακῶν arm¹. 2. 8. = | ινα . . . καταφαγῆ] ινα έαν το τεκνὸν o
δρακον καταφαγῆ αυτο bo : ινα οταν τεκὴ καταφαγῆ το τεκνὸν αὐτοῦ
eθ.] |
6. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἐρμον, ὅπου ἦκει ἐκεί τόπον ἡγουμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεί 'τρέφοντιν' αὐτὴν ἡμέρας χιλιάς τρεῖς διακοσίας ἡξίωσαν.

7. Καὶ ἔγενετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, ὁ Μιχαήλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμησαν μετὰ τοῦ δράκωντος, καὶ οἱ δράκων ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ οὐκ ἤγινεν ὁ ἔχθρας αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.


9. καὶ ἔβληθη ὁ ἀσάκως ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, δὲ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην δόλων— ἔβληθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἔβληθησαν.

10. καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγουσαν "Ἀρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δυνάμεις καὶ η βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ η ἕξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἔβληθη δικαίωσιν τῶν δικηθέντων ημῶν, ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν ἐνίσχυσεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς.

11. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου, καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἤγαπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἀχρὶ θανάτου.


Θ. ο μεγας ὁ ὄφις | ο μεγασ ὁφισιν i. 2067 : ὁ ὄφις ὁ μεγας 617. 920. 2040 Pr bo : μεγασ ὁφισι2038 | o ὄφις) pr και arm2 | o Διαβ. και >eth | και o Σατανας AC 025. i. 35* 2035. 2038. 2040. 2067 alp Ors : και > N bo : o > 046. 21 (−35*. 2040). 250. 2037 apr | o πλανὼν ... γην >Τύς | o πλανὼν πτερὑες) qui seducebat Pr (bo) eth : qui seducet fi | εβληθη pr και gig fi s1.(9) : και ετεσεν arm4 : "the lion fell" arm1.2 | μετ αυτου εβληθησαν > 506. 2015. 2036. 2037 : μετ αυτου > 051. i. 35*. 2038 : εβληθησαν >Τύς arm3 | εβληθησαν ετεσεν arm3 a : ετεσεν arm2 |.

10. ἤκουσα] ἤκουσαν 2037. 2040 | φωνὴν μεγάλην ... λεγοῦσαν] φωνὴ μεγάλης ... λεγοὺσης 2067 | μεγάλην >arm4 | εν τῷ οὐρανῷ] εκ τον οὐρανου 205. 2040 Τύς Pr gig s1 arm1.4.4 : after λεγουσαν 2037 alp : > 452. 2021. 2021 | ἄρτι > Pr : ἰδεω s1 | και η βασιλεια >fl | και η ἕξουσια του Χριστου αυτου > Τύς s1 | Χριστου] κυριου C | εβληθη] κατεβληθη i. 35. 2023. 2038. 2067 alp : exclusus est Tyc : "hath fallen" arm | κατηγορος NC 025. 046. 21. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alp Ors : "the betrayer" arm4 | τους αδελφους ημων > s1 | o κατηγορουν] qui accusabat Pr vg s3 : "who was betraying" arm4 | αυτουν A 025. i. 205. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 : αυτων NC 046. 21 (−05). 250. alp Ors : > bo | θεου | + και του κυριου (ληστου Χριστου) arm1.(2) | ημων > i. 61. 69. 522. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2039. 2067 arm1.2 . a bo eth |.

11. και1] or1 bo : >arm3 | αυτου] αυτου Ν : >Pr | ενικησαν] superatus est Pr | αυτων] ab ipsis Pr : > s1 | dia το αἷμα] dia του αἰματος 69. 2019 arm1.2.3. a : εν τῳ αἷματι s1 : dia το ονομα 2015. 2036. 2037 | του αρνιου] + του θεου arm1.2 | του λογου] > C arm1:
12. διὰ τοῦτο εὐφραίνεσθε οἱ ὄφρανοι καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦσθε:
οὐάι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν,
ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔχων θυμὸν μεγάν,
eἰδὼς ὅτι ὅλιγον καιρόν ἔχει.

13. Καὶ δὲ ἦν ὁ δράκων ὁ ἐβληθής εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδίωξεν τὴν
γυναίκα ὧν ἦτε κεκαθεν τὸν ἄρσενα. 14. καὶ ἐδόθησαν τῷ
γυναίκει αὐτῷ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἄετου τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἐρμον
εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅπου τρέφεται ἐκεί καιρόν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ
tου λογου arm1.2.8. το αἷμα bo | τησ μαρτυριας] την μαρτυριαν
C : των μαρτυριων arm4 | αὐτων] αὐτον 172. 205. 241. 632. 2022
620. 632*. 866 |.

19. δια] pr καὶ 205 eth | οἱ οὐρανοὶ A 051. i. 35. 241. 429**,
Or* arm1.8 bo eth : οἱ ἄνω 0. NC 025. 046. 01 (- 35. 632. 2040).
250 arm au : οἱ οὐρανος arm1.8 : οὐρανος arm4 | εν αὐτωσ σκηνουστε
A 025. 046. 01 (- 920) Or* s : εν αὐτωσ κατασκηνουστε C :
κατακουστε εν αὐτωσ N (Pr fl vg bo sa eth) : "all (>arm8:
'ye' arm4) who are dwelling ('the dwellers' arm8) in them
('it' arm5.4.5)" arm : εν αὐτωσ κατακουστε 385. 429. 506. 522.
920. 2016. 2037 (gig) | την γην καὶ την θαλασσαν C 025. 35*.
2015. 2036. 2038. 2040 : pr εισ Ν : pr τουσ κατουσκουσ1. 2037 :
την αγαθην καὶ την θαλασσαν A : τη γη καὶ τηθαλασσα 046.
01 (- 35*. 2040). 250. 2067 albm Or : vae terrae et mari gig fl vg s
arm bo eth : vae vobis (tibi Tyc) terra et mare Tyc Pr | κατεβη]
kata8aive s1.4.0 "is fallen" arm1.2.8. | διαβολος] "dragon"
arm1.2.3.4 : "adversary" arm9. N1 | νιαυσ] αὐτων s1 | εχων] pr o
1. 2037 arm8. s1 | εχων θυμον μεγαν] μεγαν > N arm1 : μεγαν εχων
θυμον 2067 : εχων θυμον μεγα 2020 : cum ira ingenti Pr |.

18. δρακων οτι εβληθη] N* : στι εβληθη ο δρακων Nc | εβληθη|
"fell" arm1.2.8. s1 eth but both = εβληθη | εδωξεν] εδωξεν N* :
exedoxens Nc : εδωξεν gig | αρεσα NC 025. 35. 61. 69. 2040 Or*
αρεσαν A : αρεσα NC 025. 35. (35. 2040). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alp
arena 046. 2015 : νυν s3 : "child" arm1 : "male" arm4 : "male
child" arm9.2.8. s1 : τον νυν (του) αρεσα 506. 680 bo sa eth |.

14. εδοθησαν] εδοθη Nc 205 s4 arm | τη γυναικι] αυτη bo | αι
δυο πτερυγες] πτερυγες δυο 468* | αι δυο AC 025. 35*. 104. 181.
517*. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2067 (s2) : > arm1.2.8. αι :> N
046. 01 (- 35*. 2040). 2037 alp Or1 s1 arm4 : bo eth | πτερυγες
+ (αι) μεγαλαι bo | του αετου] του > N arm bo : pr wo Pr bo | του
2016 : πτερυγα 386 : + η υμη bo | εις την ερμον > 1. 181. 2037 |
iei9 > Tyc arm1.2.8. s1 | αυτης > bo eth | οπου τρεφεται ANC 025.
i. 35*. 201. 314. 386. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 alp
16. καὶ ἐβαλεν ὁ ὄψις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὡς τῆς γυναίκος ὅπως ὡς τομαμόν, ἵνα αὐτήν τοταμοφόρησεν ποιησή. 17. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἤνωξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατενάχτη τὸν τομαμόν διὸ ἐβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. 18. καὶ ᾠρύσθη ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ ἀνήλθεν ποιησά τοκεμόν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ στέμματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηροῦντων τὰς ἑντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

18. καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Kai eidox ek tou thelastos tou throniou anabainov, eixov kepata deka kai kefalas eptai, (a) kai eti tas kefalas autou 'onoma1 blasaqphiadas. 

2. Kai to thronion o eidox ou oimous paradalei, kai oi todes autou as arkon, kai to stoima autou as stoima leontos.


(a) MSS add a gloss to prepare the way for xvii. 12: kai eit ton keratoi autou deka diadhma. See vol. ii. English transl., footnote in loc.

1. kai eidox ek tou thelastos >205 | ek tou thelastos . . . anabainov | ek tou thelastos after anabainov (Tyc) Pr s2 arm eth | thronov anabainov) ~ Tyc : + megal arm1 | eixov i. 104. 110. 429. 522. 2016. 2017 | kepata deka kai kefalas epta | kepata deka kai >1 : kepata deka . . . kefalas epta ~ vg arm1.2 * : kepata deka ~ 468 | tas kefalas] tou kefalhn arm | autov] autov (025) | ommata A 046. 21 (- 2040) a1 pm Or* vg s2 : ommata NC 025. 1. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig s1 arm bo eth | blasaqphiadas] agyramenov bo |.


AIIOKAA.filJ

5°. καὶ ἐδοθή αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ ἀλασφημάς, (a)

(a) On the restoration of 5th to its original place before 7, see vol. ii., English transl., footnote in loc.

(εφαγμένην] εφαγμησμένην 386. 1957. 2037. 2067 : εφαγμένη (?)

arm1 : εφαγνο bo : occisum fuerit Pr | auton2) > oaf. 205 : του
thavaton κ* (corr. first hand) | εβαμασθη Α 051. i. 181. 2015.
2019. 2036. 2037. 2067 gig (s) : εβαμαστηθη Κ : εβαμασθη Κ
025. 046. 201 alp Or* bo : admiratae sunt Pr | ολη η γη]
ev ολη τη γη 051. i. 181. 2015. 2019. 2036. 2067 : in terra
giṣe habitantes terram Pr : + και ηκολουθησεν eth | οπισω του
θηριου] οπισθε του θηριου 2020 : post bestiam illam gig : ad bestiam
Pr | οπισω του θηριου=την ῥανκα, corrupt for την

See vol. i. 337, 351.

4. τω δρακοντι ... προσκυνησαν2 > i. 385. arm2 bo |

[δρακοντι] θηριω arm1 | oti edoke . . . | θηριω1 > bo | oti edoke
2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 Or* Tyc Pr vg s arm4 : + o
dracan arm1 : τω δεδωκοι 046. 201 (− 205. 2040) alp: τω
δοτε
61. 69 : qui dedit gig arm2 a] | την εξουσιαν] την > Or*: + auton
arm1. 3 : ommem potestatem suam Pr | τω θηρωι] τω θηριω
920 : autw arm1 | λεγοντε ... θηριω > s2 | και προσκυνησαν το
θηριον > 051. 181. 205. 2038. 2067 arm2 4 a] | το θηριον Α 2036.
2037 alp : τω θηριω κν 025. 046. 201 (− 920). 250 alp Or* : τω
θηριων 920 | τω1] συδεσ arm1 | τω θηριω] + τουτω s1. 8 bo eth :
ilae bestiae Pr | και3 ANC 025. 046. i. 35. 60. 61. 69. 172. 181.
2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2041. 2067 Or* Pr gig vg s bo eth :
385. 2016 alp | δυναται ANC 025. i. 35*. 172. 250. 250. 458.
2067 : δυνατον 046. 201 (− 35*. 205. 920. 2020 2040) alp Or* |

5°. και εδοθη ... βλασφημασ > i. 2016. 2017. 2038 Pr |

στομα > arm1 | Αλαουν] λαουντων 205 : Αλαουν
arm1 2 3 a bo
eth : loquendi gig | βλασφημασ κν 201. 386. 2020. 2040 alp
vg(a) 1 2 3 a | bo arm1. 2 : βλασφημαι 620. 866 vg.f.e v : βλασφημα
2040) alp Or* s4 arm3. (a) a : blasphemare gig : + γενεσθαι arm4,
6. καὶ ἤρνετο τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίαν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦται.

56. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἱεροσολύμονες οὖν ἤνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δῶν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸν κέλευσαν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἱεροσολύμην ἐπὶ τόσαν φυλήν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ἔδωκαν.

8. καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆς, ἵνα οὐ γέρασται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ἔρωτος τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἑσφαγμένου αὐτὸ καταβολής κόσμων.


9. Εἶ τις ἔχει οὗτ άκοντάτων.

10. εἰ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
    εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
    εἰ τις ἐν μαχαῖρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι,

*Οδί ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονή καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.

αὐτῷ Ν 025. 051. 1. 35. 104. 172. 205. 468. 1957. 2015. 2023. 2038. 2040. 2067 αλπ ὑπάγει·

9. εἰ τις ἔχει οὗτ άκοντάτων.

10. εἰ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
    εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει·
    εἰ τις ἐν μαχαῖρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι,

*Οδί ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονή καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.
11. Καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαίνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἠγένε κέρατα δύο ὄμοια ἄρνιν, καὶ ἔδειλεν Ἐφραίμ.

12. καὶ τῇ ἐξωστίαν τοῦ πρῶτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιεῖ τῇ γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἵνα προσκυνήσωσιν τὸ θηρίον τοῦ πρῶτον, οὗθεν ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγή τοῦ βανάτου αὐτοῦ.

13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεία μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῆ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

bo sa | υπομονὴ . . . πιστία | ~ s¹ | υπομονὴ] sapientia gig | πιστίας | ἠλπίσον 498. 2020 | αγιών]+makarios esti bo : +makarios-
mos καὶ ou πατάμασε Σαταν ἐθεν |

(− 18. 35. 468. 620. 866. 2020. 2040). 42. 82. 110. 314. 385. 2016. 2017 al¹ arm⁸ | ὀμοιο C : ὀμοιον bo : καὶ ὀμοιον τὴν s² | ἀρνιν] pr τῷ 620. 866 arm³. 4. 5 : ἀρνινον Pr vg s³ | ἐδείκ: On the corruption of the Hebrew source here, see vol. i. 358 sq. : λαλεῖ
gig : λαλοῦν bo | δρακον] pr a arm |

12. τοῦ πρῶτου θηρίου] τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ πρῶτου 69 | πᾶσαν >

κοῦντας] tr ἐν αὐτῇ after κατοικοῦντας C 61. 69 gig vg eth : inhabitantes terram Pr : eosi qui in ea sunt Τυς | ἵνα προσκυνη-
ζουσιν ΑΣ 69. 104. 429* 522. 2019. 2038 : καὶ προσκυνη-
ζουσιν s¹ : ἵνα προσκυνηζουσιν 025. 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2067 al¹
Or¹ : ut adorant Tys gig arm : ut adorant Pr : προσκυνην N : adorare vg | το θηρίον το πρῶτον] τον θηρίον το πρῶτον 172. 314*.

katabaivn eis twn gyn enwpon twn anbropwn. 14. kai plana tois katoikontas epi tis gynis dia ta symia kai eidoth astre poieiai enwpon tov thron, legei tois katoikontas epi tis gynis poieiei elkouna to thron, de eixe tin plhgy ths maqairhs kai eizezen. 15. kai eidoth t' astre t' douvni plhgy tis elkouna tov thronou, ev kai lalhsh h elke tov thronou, kai poieiai eva osoi ean mu proskoun-
hsanw tis elkouna tov thronou apoktadabhwn.

104. 314. 429. 522. 2019 arm* : katabaivn ev ex tououro 205
ev twn twn AMC 025. 1. 205. 250. 2037. 2038 alma Or* gig vg :
1957. 2016. 2067 s arm1. 2. 3. 8. 9. bo : eti twn gyn 69 : > 35. 2040
Pr arm 4 |

14. plana] planeret s bo : seduit Pr : planan arm1 | touno
2040 Or* Pr gig vg s arm bo eth : pr touno emous o51. 20 ( 205.
arm1. 2 | dia ta symia... | eti twn gyn > 046. 8. 9 | ta symia]
to symion arm4 | leugov | leugov 046**. 1. 61. 69. 201. 386. 620.
2040 : leugoros 046.wg : et dicit Pr | touregai | pr kai N | ikouna
2018. 2019. 2036. 2038 Pr gig : o N 20. 1. 2037. 2067 alp vg s1 :
ev Or* | eixe AMC 025. 1. 250. 2020. 2038 alma Pr gig vg s1
arm4 bo : eixe 046. 20 ( 2020. 2037. 2067 alma Or* s2 | twn
plhgy AC 025. 35. 205. 250. 620. 632**. 2020. 2037. 2038.
2040. 2067 alp Or* : plhgy N : twn > 046. 20 ( 35. 205.
620. 632**. 2020. 2040). 42. 61. 69. 82. 110. 141. 201.
2021 bo | twn maqairhs (pr a0 61. 69 Pr) kai eizevan (eizevan
arm1. 2. 3) AMC 025. 35. 61. 69. 205. 632**. 2020. 2037. 2038.
2040. 2067 alma Pr gig vg s arm bo : eizevan a0 ( + twn
plhgy 336. 620. 1918) twn maqairas 046. 20 ( 35. 205.
632**. 2020. 2040) alma Or* : twn maq. k. eizevan a0 t.
plich. t. maq. 205 | maqairas AMC Or* : maqairas 025. 046.
20 alp [.

15. asth AC 025*. (The feminine may be due to the
gender of the Hebrew word נני; but the late emendation in N
025**. 046 must be adopted) : asth N 025**. 046. 20. 250. 2037.
2038. 2067 alp s : souma > C arm8 | souma πνευμα AMC 025. 1. (35).
205. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 alma Pr gig vg s : ~ 046. 20 ( 35.
16. καὶ τοιεὶ πάντας, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλούσιους καὶ τοὺς πτωχούς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δουλοὺς, ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ

205. 2040). 250 αἱμα  Ὀρα | να καὶ λαληθῇ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου
> C 69. 336. 468*. 617. 620*. 2015. 2036 s1 (3) arm 4 bo (but not sa eth) | να καὶ ~ Ὀρα arm 2 a: καὶ > 104. 205. 2020. 2037. 2040
gig arm 1: oti arm 3 | λαληθῇ] λαληθεὶς 104. 522. 620**. 2040: ἐλαλεῖ
arm 3 | καὶ τοιῆσθαι...] θηρίου > C 2015 | καὶ τοιῆσθαι... ἀποκτάνθωσιν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι οὐκ εἰ. μὴ προσκυνῆσον τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ bo | τοιῆσθαι (on this Hebraism (= τοιῆσθαι) see vol. i. Introd. | Gram. § 10. i. (b)) A 025. 046. 20 (− 468. 617. 620. 2004. 2040). 1. 2037. 2067 αἰμα Ὀρα υν 61. 69.
σωσιν A 025. 046. 20. 250. 2037. 2067 αἰμα Ὀρα: προσκυνησωσιν
N 051. 69. 452. 2016. 2038 arm 1 a: = adoraverunt
Tyc: adoraret Pr: adoraverit gig υν: adorabant arm 2 | τὴν
eἰκόνα A 1. 2037 2067 αἰμα: τὴ εἰκόνα N 025. 046. 20. 250. 2038
αἱμα Ὀρα | τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θηρίου] τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ
tyc bo | τοῦ θηρίου] + iwa 051. 1. 35. 632**. 1957. 2023 αἰμα: +
neque accerperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua
tyc | ἀποκτάνθωσιν ἀποκτάνθηκαί 61. 69 Ὀρα: ἀποκτεῖναι bo: occidatur υν a. d. e. [...]

16. τοιεὶ] τοιῆσθαι Νο υν s arm 1 a 2 61 a: bo: sevct Pr | μικροῦς
... μεγάλους] ~ Ὀρα arm 4 | τοῦ > N | καὶ > > 1 | πλοῦσιους... πτωχοῦν] ~ N 2036 | καὶ του πτωχοῦ καὶ του ελευθέρου] > Pr:
πτωχοῦ... ελευθέρου ~ arm 3 | ελευθέρου... δουλοῦ] ~ 620.
1918. 2019 6th | καὶ του ελευθέρου] > 205. 2038: καὶ του
desptosas 61 | να > bo | δωσιν (δωσι Nο) ἈΝC 025. 046. 35. 42.
2023. 2037. 2058. 2040 s Ὀρα: δωσι 1 bo: δωσι o51 arm: δωσι
2067 αἰμα: δοθη s: λαβωσ αύτον εἰκόνα 2040: habere Pr υν | αὐτοῦ Nο
2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 αἰμα Tyc Pr gig υν s arm 2 a. d. e: χαραγμα
nN 046. 20 (− 205. 632**. 2020. 2040) αἱμα Ὀρα: το χαραγμα αὐτοῦ
506. 2040 arm 1 | της χειρὸς... της δεξιᾶς] τῶν χειρῶν... τῶν
dεξιῶν s | της > 20 (− 35. 205. 2040). 42. 82. 110. 201. 314. 385.
μέτωπον αὐτῶν. 17. καὶ ἦν μὴ τις δύναται ἀγοράσαι ἐλ ἢ ἦν τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ οἴνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ ἀνώματος αὐτοῦ. 18. "Οὐδὲ ἡ σοφία ἑστὶν" ἢ ἦν νῦν ψυφοστάτων ἀριθμῶν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμός γὰρ ἄνθρωπων ἑστὶν καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἡκάκοσιον ἑξηκοντα ἔ.

2038 arm.²⁺ᵇ.⁴ * bo | το μετώπων ἈΝ 025. 20 (- 35. 205. 468**), 920. 2020), 250 al²ᵃ Or* TyC arm* (bo) eth : pr auto 2020 : του μετώπων C : των μετώπων 046. 051. ἓ. 35. 205. 468**. 920. 2015. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg arm.¹.²⁺ᵇ.⁴ | auton² > 2015 Pr .


xiv. 12–13. On the restoration of these verses to their original context, see vol. i. 368–369.
CHAPTER XIV.

1. Kai eidoν kai idoν to deρnioν ietos επι to deρono Σων,
kai met' autον ekatoν teσσαρακοντα τεσσαρα χιλιαδες,
ἐχουσαι το άνομα αυτον kai to άνομα του πατρος αυτον γεγραμ-
mενον επι των μετωπων αυτων.

2. kai ήkousa φωνην εκ του ουρανου
ως φωνην οδανων πολλων
kai ows φωνην βροντης μεγαλης.

και ἡ φωνή ἦν ήκουσα ὡς κιβαριδῶν
κιβαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιβάραις αὐτῶν, 3. καὶ ἄδουσιν ὄς φῶνη
καινή.

Ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων'

1. Kai eidoν kai idoν] et ecce vidi Pr : και μετα ταυτα eth |
και1 > gig | και idou > gig Cyp bo (cf. eth) | το αρνιον . . . Σων |
supra montem Syon agnum stantem gig | το αρνιον ANC 046.
20 ( - 35. 205. 468**) s arm3 = bo eth : το > 025. 1. 35. 205. 250.
alp arm1.2 4 | εστος ANC 025. 2036 : εστως 046. 1. 205. 250.
2040) 2067 alμυ : esτηκος 104. 172. 2004 : stans Tyc : stantem
Pr gig Cyp : stabat vg | επι το οροσ Σων] επι οροσ C | μετ αυτου
ANC 025. 35. 205. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig
250 alμυ s2 | ekaton teσσαρακοντα τεσσαρες ANC : ekatoν τεσσαρα-
2067 alpr : ekatoν τεσσαρακοντεσσαρες 149 : pmδ 046. 20 ( - 149.
exovter gig vg : habebant Pr Cyp | αυτου και το ονομα > 025. 1 |
to ονομα4 > 104. 336. 522. 620 | αυτου8 > 385 | γεγραμενον pr
to Λ s3 : εγγεγραμενον 385 : καιομενον 1 |

2. φωνην1.2 8] φωνην 2067 | φωνην > 920 | εκ του ουρανου
ως φωνην > 620* | φωνην υδατων πολλων και ωs φωνην > bo
| φωνην > Tyc | και ωs φωνην βροντης μεγαλης > 2015. 2036 |
: μεγαλης > N5 : ~ Pr : βροντης μεγαλης Tyc bo | και η φωνη την
ηκουσα ANC 046. 20. 250 alp Pr s2 bo : και > s1 : και φωνη ( -πο
2067 ) ηκουσα 025. 1. 1957. 2015. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm3 :
et vocem quam audivi Tyc gig vg : και ηκουσα ως φωνην arm1 = |
ως3 > 1. 1957. 2038. 2067 : + φωνην arm4 | κιβαριδων κιβαριζων |
kιβαριδουν κιβαριζωνα s1 : κιβαριδουν bo | εν ταις κιβαραις αυτων |
αυτων > C : εν τυ. κ. αυτου s1 : > Pr bo |

3. και ἄδουσιν] και (> bo) adovter 743. 1075 s1.2 bo eth : et
καὶ οὖθεν τοῖς μαθείν τὴν ὁδήν,
εἰ μὴ αἱ ἑκάτοι τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες (a).

οὗτοι οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἄρνῳ ὅποιον ἄν ὑπάγει,

(α) Text adds following interpolation: 3d. οἱ ἡγορασθέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχῆ τῷ θεῷ (b),

4d. οὗτοι ἡγορασθέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχῆ τῷ θεῷ (b),

(a) Text adds gloss: καὶ τῷ ἄρνῳ.
5. καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οῖχ εὐρέθη ψεῦδος· ἀμωμὶ [φὺς ὁσι].

6. Καὶ ἐδὸν ἄλλον ἀγγέλον πετώμενον εἰς μεσοπαρθήματι, ἀκμαίας ὦν ἐγένετο ἐβαγγέλιον αἰώνιον ἐβαγγελίσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ [κατοικοῦσάς] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔθνων καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλώσσαν καὶ λαον, λέγων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.

7. Φωβηθῆτε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν, διὸ ἑλθεν ἡ ὁρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσατε τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγάς ὠδάτων.


8. Καὶ ἄλλος δεύτερος ἅγιος ἑκολούθησεν λέγων "Εστεχὲς ἐπειν Βαβολῶν ἡ μεγάλη, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ οἴου [τοῦ θυμοῦ] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς πεπήκεν τάντα τὰ ζῆνε•


9. καὶ > 386 | alllος ἅγιος τρίτος ΑΝΕ 025. 046. 90 (−325. 456. 1849). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 al<sub>pm</sub> gig ς arml.*. : ἅγιος
10. καὶ αὐτὸς πίέται ἵκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θημα τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῦ κεκεραμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ
ἐνώπιον τῶν ἄγγελων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἄρπίου.

11. Καὶ ὁ κατώτερος τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐλαῖος ἀλώνων
ἀναβάει,
καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός,
οὶ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θήριον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ εἰ τις λαμβάνει τὸ χαράγμα τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ. (a)

(a) Vers. 12-13 have been restored to their original context after xiii. 18.

10. αὐτὸς πίέται ἵκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θημα τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῦ κεκεραμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ,
καὶ βασανισθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ
ἐνώπιον τῶν ἄγγελων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἄρπίου.

11. Καὶ ὁ κατώτερος τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἐλαῖος ἀλώνων
ἀναβάει,
καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός,
οὶ προσκυνοῦντες τὸ θήριον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ εἰ τις λαμβάνει τὸ χαράγμα τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ. (a)

(a) Vers. 12-13 have been restored to their original context after xiii. 18.
14. Kai ἐθνον, καὶ ίδου νεφέλη λευκή,
kai ἕπι τὴν νεφέλην τῷ καθήμενον ὄμοιον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου,
εἴχων ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσῶν
καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξὺ. (a)

(a) Text adds here a doublet of xiv. 18–20 from another hand. See vol. ii. 3, 18 (ad fin.), 21 sq.: 15 Ἐκ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἔζηλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, κράζων ἐν

16. καὶ ἐβαλεν ὃ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,
τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ τῇ εἰκονὶ 468. 2019. 2040: τῇ εἰκονὶ 104 | το2
>1. 205. 2037*].


15. ver. 16 > arm2-4-6 | ο καθήμενος . . . νεφέλησ > οξύ | επὶ τὴν 

νυμ βεσεδεμένων τῷ καθήμενον ὄμοιον τῷ ἄνθρωπῷ.

Πέρασον τὸ δρέπανον σου καὶ τέρασον,
ὅτι ἔθελεν ὡς ἡρά τερίσαι,
ὅτι εὔπρασθη ὁ τερώματὰ τῆς γῆς.

16. καὶ ἐβαλεν ὃ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,
18. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (α), καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ ἧντι τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δὲ λέγειν
Πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ δὲ καὶ τρύγησον τοὺς βότρυας τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλai αὐτῆς.

19. καὶ ἦβαλεν (β) τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἔτρυγησεν τὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἦβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὰν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μέγαν.
καὶ ἔθερασθη ἡ γῆ. 17. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἤχων καὶ αὐτὸς δρέπανον ἤχον.

(a) Text adds a gloss: ὁ ἤχων ἔσωσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς.
(b) ὁ ἄγγελος is here added by the interpolator of 15–17.


17. ver. 17 > 69. 2039 [ἐξῆλθεν] ἦλθεν 046 | ναοῦ... οὐρανῷ | οὐρανοῦ bo | τοῦ εν τῷ οὐρανῷ | τοῦ > 104. 141. 620. 1849 : τῷ > C : pr τοῦ θεοῦ arm4 : αὐτοῦ εν τῷ οὐρανῷ 205 | καὶ αὐτοῦ > bo sa | δρέπανον οὖν | ῥομφαίαν οξείαν bo (also in ver. 18).
XIV. 20–XV. 2] ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ

20. καὶ επατηθῆ ἡ λῆνος ἐξεθεὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἔσχλεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ ἀχρὶ τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἱπτων ἀπὸ σταδίων χιλιῶν ἐξακοσίων.


CHAPTER XV.

2. (a) Καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν υαλίνην μεμιγμενην πυρὶ, καὶ τοὺς νικώντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριμμοῦ τοῦ δνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐστώτας ἐπὶ τῆς θάλασσαν τῆς υαλίνην, ἔχοντας

(a) xv. 1. is an interpolation: Καὶ εἶδον ἀλλο σμείων ἐν τῷ ὀφραξίῳ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν, ἀγγέλους ἐπτὰ ἔχοντας πληγάς ἐπτὰ τὰς ἑχόντας, ὅτι εἰ αὐτοῖς ἔτελθει ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The subject of xv. 1. is not touched upon till xv. 5, where the phrase καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον shows that a new section and a new subject begin. See vol. i. 106 and footnote; vol. ii. 30.


2. υαλίνην] vitreum perlucidum Tyс | καὶ τοὺς νικ . . . ἐστώτας | επι τῆς θαλάσσαν) et super mare stantes uidi eos qui . . . uictoriam ferent fl : et superstantes uidi eos qui . . . uictoriam ferent Pr |
κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ, 3. καὶ ἔδωσεν (α) τὴν ψῆφιν τοῦ ἀρνίου λέγοντες

Μεγάλα καὶ θανατωτὰ τὰ ἔργα σου,
cύριε, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτορος.
δίκαιοι καὶ ἀληθινοί αἱ δόσεις σου,
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἑθνῶν.

4. τίς οὖ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε,
cαὶ δοκάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου,
ὅτι μόνος ὦσίος;

ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐθνη ἤσοντο
καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐνώπιόν σου,
ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.

(a) Text adds a gloss: τὴν ψῆφιν Μωυσεῖ τοῦ δοσολογίου τοῦ θεοῦ καί.
5. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἤνοιγῃ ὁ ναὸς ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου † (a) ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ, 6. καὶ ἔδηλθαν ὁι ἐπὶ ἀγγελοὶ † (b) [οἱ ξυντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς] ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐνδεδυμένοι † λίθον † (c) καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ περιεξωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς.

(a) For the probable origin of this corrupt phrase, see vol. ii. 37 sq.
(b) Here the hand that inserted xv. 1 changed ἀγγελοὶ ἑπτὰ into ὁι ἐπὶ ἀγγελοὶ, and added ὁι ξυντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς.
(c) See vol. ii. 38.


5. και1 > Pr fl | μετα ταυτα | μετ αυτα C | και3 | ιδου Tyc Pr vg arm4 : ιδου bo | ηνοιγη > arm4 | o ναος | του θεου 620 : > Tyc | της σκηνης | + της αγιας gig : η σκηνη Tyc | en tw oup. | pr o s3 arm* eth | .

7. καὶ ἐν ἐκ τῶν τετσάρων ζώων ἡ δωκεν τοῖς ἔπτα ἄγγελοις ἔπτα φιάλας χρυσάς γεμοῦσας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν δικτος εἰς τοὺς ἀλώνας τῶν αἰώνων. 8. καὶ ἐγεμώθη ὁ ναὸς κατανοο ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ σόδεις θεόντως εἰσέλθειν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν αἱ ἔπτα πληγαὶ τῶν ἔπτα ἄγγελων.

προν 2017** Tyc gig s¹ arm² 2: * et candida Pr (arm⁴): candido vg : > 386 fl | και² > 1. 205 bo | peri² > 1. 181. 2016. 2037. 2067 : et 2015. 2036 Tyc s¹ bo sa eth |


CHAPTER XVI.

1. Καὶ ἡκουσα μεγάλης φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ λεγούσης τοῖς ἔπτα ἄγγελος Ὑπάγεται καὶ ἐκχέεται τὰς ἔπτα φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς

2. Kai ἀπῆλθεν ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἔξεχεν τὴν φιλήν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγένετο ἤλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπὶ τούς ἀνθρώπους.(a) 3. Καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἔξεχεν τὴν φιλήν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα ὡς νεκροῦ, καὶ πάσα ψυχὴ ζωῆς ἀπέθανεν, τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. 4. Καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔξεχεν τὴν φιλήν αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ποσαμοῦν καὶ τῶν πηγάς τῶν ὀδάτων καὶ ἐγένετο αἷμα.(b)

(a) Text adds the gloss: τοὺς ἑκάστας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τοὺς προσεκτοῦσας τῇ ἐκδήλῳ αὐτοῦ. See vol. ii. 43.

(b) Text adds an interpolation 5c: καὶ ἤκουσα τὸν ἄγγελον τῶν ὀδάτων λέγωντος, in order to introduce 5d–7. These clauses 5d–7 originally followed after xix. 4, to which context they are restored in this edition. See vol. ii. 122 sq., 116 sq.


ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ  
[XVI. 8-19.

8. Καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἐξέχειν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱμιόν· καὶ ἔδόθη αὐτῷ καυματίζαι τὸν ἄνθρώπον ἐν πυρὶ. 9. καὶ καυματίζοντος αὐτῷ καύμα μέγα, καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν δούναι αὐτῷ δόξαν.

10. Καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἐξέχειν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θρήνου καὶ ἔγανε τὴ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐκκοσμημένην (a) . . . καὶ ἐμαυσώντο τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πῶνου. 11. καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ὄρφανον ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁλκών αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτῶν. 12. Καὶ ὁ ἐκτός ἐξέχειν

(a) Several clauses lost here: see vol. ii. 45 sq.
(a) Text adds gloss: ἦς βατραχοῦ 14. εἰσὶν γέρ πνεύματα δαμασιών ποιεῖται σημεῖα.

(b) In 051 change ἐκτροπεῖται into ἐκτροπεῖσθαι. Corrupt for ἐκτροπεῖσθα—ithe change being made by the interpolator of the preceding words. See vol. ii. 48. Pr (see below), recognising the need of this participle, inserts it after τρία, and some Gk. MSS insert ἐκτροπεῖσθα after βατραχοῦ.

(c) MSS insert here as xvi. 15 a verse which originally stood after iii. 3° and where it is restored in this edition.


16. καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τόπων τὸν καλοῦμενον Ἐβραῖον

17. Καὶ δὲ ἐφονος ἐξέγεν τὴν φιλάθλην αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν φωνὴς μεγάλης ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ὁπό τοῦ βρόντου λέγουσα Γέγονεν' καὶ εὐνόμως ἐγένετο μέγας, οἷον ὁ πρὸς ἐγένετο αὖ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐγένετο ἑπτά τῷ γῆς


XVI. 19-21.]  ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ 337

tηλικοῦτος σεισμός οὖτω μέγας. 19. καὶ (a) αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἄθων ἔπεσαν καὶ Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη ἡμερήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῇ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ. 20. καὶ πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὁ ρῆ ὑπὲρσχεσαν. 21. καὶ χαλάζα μεγάλη ὡς ταλανταία καταβάνει ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἑβασιφημήσαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τῆς χαλάξης, ὅτι μεγάλη ἡστίν ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς σφόδρα.

(a) MSS insert before καὶ the words: καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ὡς τριά μέρη. See vol. ii. 52.


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CHAPTER XVII.

1. Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ὧτά ἀγγέλων τῶν ἀγάντων ταῖς ἐκτα ἀγίας, καὶ ἔλαβεν μετ’ ἐμοῦ λέγων Δέωρο, διέξω σου τὸ κρίμα τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν,

2. μεθ’ ἐς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέως τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύσησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς.

3. Καὶ ἀπενεχθεὶς με εἰς ἐρμον ἐν πνεύματι, καὶ εἶδον γνώμακα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίου κόκκινου γέμιστα ὑδάτῳ ἀναθημάτως, ἑκὼν


2. μεθ’ ἦς + “sinned and” bo | ἐπορνευτὰν] ἐπορνευτὰν πορναν | Ν bot sa | καὶ . . . αὐτὸς ἢΤυς Πρ | ἐμεθύσησαν] ἐμεθύσησαν πορναν 205 | οἱ κατ. τ. γ. | ττ after αὐτὸς Ι | ek | ap 929 | οἰκου τ. | πορνιασα πορνοῦ 205 |

κεφαλής ἐπὶ καὶ κέρατα δέκα. 4. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἥν περιβεβλημένη
πορφυρῶν καὶ κόκκινων, καὶ κεχρυσωμένη ἤχρυσω' καὶ λιθά
τιμών χρυσὶ καὶ μαργαρίταις, ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τῇ
χειρί αὐτῆς γέμον γέμων
βελανυμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
μετωπὸν αὐτῆς οὖνομα γεγραμμένον, μυστήριον,

BABYLON Ἡ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ,
Ἡ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΨΩΡΩΝ †(a)
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ.

6. καὶ ἐθά τὴν γυναῖκα μεθύσωσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἴματος τῶν δακρύων καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων 'Ἰρηνᾶ.

(a) Τυχ Πρ ζυγ λ' = τυριῶν, which the parallelism in the next line
requires. See vol. ii. 65.
Σωζωσα Θεον αυτην θαμα μεγα. 7. και επεν μοι δ άγγελος Δια τη θεαματα; "Εγω ήρω σοι το μυστηριον της γυναικος και του θηριου του βασταζοντος αυτην του έγγονος τος ειτα κεφαλας και τα δεκα κερατα. 8. του θηριου δ εδεις ην και ουκ έστυν και μελλει αναβαίνειν εκ της άβυσσου και εις απαλειν έσται και θαυμασθερονται οι κατοικουτες επι της γης, δν οι γέρασσαι το δυνα όπι το βλεπεσ της ζωης απο καταβαλης κοσμου, βλεπεστων το θηριον δ ην και ουκ έστυν και τφρεσται.


9. 'Ωδε δ' οὖσι δ' ἔχων σοφίαν' αἱ ἐπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ἐπτὰ (a) 10. βασιλείας (b) εἰσίν' οἱ πέντε ἐπεσαν, δ' ἐς ἄστιν, δ' ἄλλος οὖν ἠλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἠλθεν οὖν αὐτὸν δεῖ μεῦναι. 11. καὶ τὸ θηρίον, δ' ἤν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑγίους ἔστιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔστιν, καὶ ἐς αὐτῷν ἐπέγει. 12. καὶ τὰ δέκα κύρια ἐδέξε δέκα βασιλείας εἰσίν, οἵνες βασιλείαις οὖν ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ὁς βασιλείαις μίαν ὁμοῖα λαμβάνουσι μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. 13. ὁδοί μιᾶν

(a) Here follows a gloss giving a second explanation: ὅρη εἰσίν, δ' οὖν ἡ γυνὴ κἀθηκαί ἐν' αὐτῶν. καὶ.

(b) The same gloss adds εἰσίν.


γνώμην ἔχονσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἔξωσιν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρῷ διδάσκειν (a). 17. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἐδώκεν εἰς τὸς καρδίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσαι τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶ, (b) καὶ δόθηκε τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν τῷ θηρῷ, ἵνα τελεσθήσητε οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

16. καὶ τὰ δέκα εἶδαν ὁ ἀλέες καὶ τὸ θηρίον,
οὗτοι μυϊζουσιν τὴν πόρνην,
καὶ ἀφημιμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν,
καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται,
καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαίουσιν [ἐν πυρ].

14. οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἄρνου πολεμήσουσιν,
καὶ τὸ ἄρνον νικήσοντες αὐτούς,
ὅτι κύριος κυρίων ἠτὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέως,
καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ. (c)

(a) Text of xvii. 14–17 dislocated and glossed. On the restoration of the original order, see vol. ii. 61, 71 sq.
(b) A doublet here follows καὶ ποιήσατε μιᾶν γνώμην: see crit. notes below, and cf. xvii. 13.
(c) What was originally a marginal gloss on xvii. 1 text adds here: 15. καὶ εἰς τὴν δόξα ὁ ἀλέες, ὅτι εἰς τὸν κάθητα, λαοὶ καὶ ἐκλογή εἰσιν καὶ ἔθνη καὶ γλώσσαι.

αὐτῶν] εὐσεβεῖς ἡ (s): > arm² 2. a | τῷ θηρ.] diabolo Τύγκων | διδάσκαλον | διωκοῦσιν 94. 2036. 2037 Τύγκων bo: διωκοῦσιν 218: tradent Pr vg |

17. θεοῦ] κυρίου 61. 69 | εὐθείαν τῷ Τύγκων | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | τ. γν. αὐτ. κ. ποιησά | > 94. 620. 1918 arm² 3 a | eth | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | κ. ποιησά μιᾶν γνώμην | > A 2036. 2037 Τύγκων γιγ γιγ: et esse illos in (+ uno arm² 2. a | bo sa eth) consensu (+ et metu Pr) Pr arm² 2. a | bo sa eth | καὶ ποιησά > N² | μιᾶν γνώμην N 025. 1. 35. 2019. 2022. 2037. (2040). 2067 al: ~ 046. 20 (− 35. 2040).

250 alma: μιᾶν > 172. 2018: + αὐτῶν 2040 s | καὶ > γιγ γιγ bo | δοῦναι] dabunt Τύγκων: ut dent Τύγκων | τοῖς² > bo sa | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² | αὐτῶν² |


14. πολέμησον] πολέμησον Τύγκων arm² 8: a | οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν]
18. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ εἰδώς ἐστὶν ἡ πόλες ἡ μεγάλη ἡ ἔχουσα
βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλεῶν τῆς γῆς.


Pr Cyp: “multitudes of nations” bo |.


CHAPTER XVIII.

1. Μετὰ ταύτα εἰδὼν ἄλλον ἀγγέλον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔχουσα ἐσοῦ ἀνοίγηται καὶ η γι' ἐφωτισθη ἐκ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

2. καὶ ἔκραζεν ἐν λογωρφ φωνῇ λέγων
Ἐπιστρέφειν, ἐπιστρέφει Βασιλεὺς ἡ μεγάλη,
καὶ ἐγένετο κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων,
καὶ φυλακή παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου καὶ μέμη-ἀκαθάρτω
σημέουν',
καὶ φυλακή παντὸς ὅρνου ἀκαθάρτου καὶ μεμημη-
μένου (α).

(a) Text of these last two lines is uncertain. Possibly we should read θηριὸν for πνεύματοι (cf. Jer. 1. 39). Cf. A 250. 424 Pr gig s 3 below: or else, with 250. 424 Pr gig s 1, read an additional line: καὶ φυλακή πάντως θηρίων ἀκαθάρτου.


3. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου [τοῦ θυματού] τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς ἐπετίκεν ἡ τίμα ταύ ἤθη,
καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς μετ’ αὐτῆς ἐπώρνευσαν,
καὶ οἱ ἥρωοι τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς διάμεθος τοῦ στρήνους αὐτῆς ἐπλύτησαν.

2019. 2023. 2036. 2038. 2040. 2041 Τυς σφ. (βο) : > Ν 046. 20
61. 69. 2067 : + τ πολύ bo sa eth | κατόχον] habitatio et refugium Πρ | δαιμονίων Αν 046. 2040 Τυς Πρ γίγ νγ : δαιμονίων 025. 20
(Πρ) νγ σ bo sa eth : + et omnis bestiae immundiae Πρ | φιλ. pαντότε > 456. 632** | ὄπωρον θηρίου Α | ακαθ. > 920 | κ. με-
μετημένον Α. κ. μεμετημένον 18 : > 61. 69. νγ (− νγ) : Πρ καὶ φιλακτήριον θηρίου ακαθαρτου 250. 424 : + et carcer omnis bestiae
immundiae et odibilis gιγ σ 4.*

4. Καὶ ἣκονοι ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄφρανοι λέγουσαν ἑξελθαίτε [εἴς αὐτῆς δ' λαὸς μου], ἵνα μὴ συνκοσμώσῃ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβῃς.

5. οὕτω ἐκκολλήθησαι αὐτῆς αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ἀχρὶ τοῦ ὄφρανοι, καὶ ἐμνημόνευσεν τὸ θέος τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῆς.

6. ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ δικαὶ καὶ αὐτῇ ἀπέδωκεν, καὶ διπλώσατε διπλά κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὑπὲρασπεῖτε αὐτῇ διπλῶν'


αὐτῶν TyC arm<sup>3</sup> |.

6. ἀπόδοτε ... αὐτῷ] et (>Cyp) ied reddidit ei duplicia (dupla Cyp) Pr Cyp | ἀπόδοτε αὐτὸς arm<sup>2</sup> : | καὶ1 > vg (− vg) | αἵτιμοι | + υμιν 051. 1. 35. 175. 205. 468. 617. 632*. 1934. 1957. 2016. 2037. 2038. 2041 gig vg<sup>2</sup> arm<sup>1</sup> : + ἐμνα 025 arm<sup>2</sup> : | καὶ1 > αἰ | 

7. ὅσα ἐδέξασθε αὐτήν καὶ ἐστηρνιάσαν,
τοσοῦτον δότε αὐτῇ βασανισμὸν καὶ πένθος.

ὅτι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὦτι
Καίθημαι Βασίλεισσα
καὶ χήρα ὦτι εἰμί,
καὶ πένθος ὦτι μὴ ἴδω.

8. διὰ τούτο ἐν μαζὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἥξουσιν αἱ πληγαὶ αὐτῆς,
† βάνατος καὶ πένθος καὶ λιμός,†(a)
καὶ ἐν πυρὶ κατακαθήσεται,
ὅτι ἐσχυρὸς ὦ θεὸς ὦ κρίνας αὐτῆς.

κλάσοντων
9. καὶ κλαίονται ὦτι κόψωνται ὦτι ὀρθαλίες τῆς γῆς,
αὐτῆς. ὃ μετ’ αὐτῆς πορνεύσασται καὶ στρηνάσασται, ὦτι βλέπων τῶν

(a) On this line see vol. ii. 100.
καὶ τὸν τῆς πυρὸς εἰσήκουσα τοῦ, τὸ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἑστηκότες διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῆς, λέγοντες
Οὐαί, οὐαί ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη,
Βασιλέων ἡ πόλις ἡ λυχνία,
ὅτι μὴ ἀφῇ ἤλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου.

11a. καὶ οἱ ἐμπόροι τῆς γῆς κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἐπὶ αὐτήν,
23a. [ὅτι οἱ ἐμπόροι τῇ συν ἦσαν οἱ μεγαλείνες τῆς γῆς] (a)
23b. ὅτι τὸν γόμον αὐτῶν συνέδεε ἄδοξαζε συκῆτι,

(a) This line is provisionally restored here: see vol. ii. 102, 112. But it is best to take it as a gloss on 11a.


12. γόμου χρυσοῦ καὶ αργυροῦ καὶ λίθου τιμίου καὶ μαργαριῶν, καὶ βυσσίνου καὶ τορφύρας καὶ σιρικοῦ καὶ κοκκινοῦ, καὶ πάν ξύλου θύελλος καὶ πάν σκεύες ἐλεφάντινον καὶ πάν σκεύες ἐκ ξύλου τιμωτάτου, καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου καὶ μαρμάρου,

13. καὶ κυνάμωμον καὶ διμωμον καὶ θυμιάματα, καὶ μύρον καὶ λιβανον καὶ οἶνον,

precedes 025. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037 Pr gig vg s¹: joined with what follows AC 046. 19 alpl s²: without punctuation κ.'
καὶ ἐλαιον καὶ σεμίδαλν καὶ σῖτον,
καὶ κτήνη καὶ πρόβατα (α) καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων. (β)

15. οἱ ἐμποροὶ τούτων, οἱ πλούτισται ἀπ' αὐτῶς, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν
στήσονται διὰ τῶν φῶν τοῦ βασανισμοῦ αὐτῶς κλαίοντες καὶ
πενθοῦντες, 16. λέγοντες

Οὐαὶ, οὐαὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη,
ἡ περιβεβλημένη βύσσινον καὶ πορφυρόν καὶ κόκκινον,
καὶ κεχρυσωμένη χρυσῷ καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ καὶ μαργαρίτῃ,
ὅτι μιὰ ὥρα ἡμιμώδη δο τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος.

(a) Here follows an interpolation: καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἰδέων καὶ σωμάτων. See vol. ii. 102.
(b) Verse 14 is restored after 21: see vol. ii. 105. 108.
17. καὶ τὰς κυβερνήτας καὶ τὰς ὅ ἐπὶ τῶν πλέων, καὶ ναυτά ὃι οὗ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν πλέων ἢ ὑγαζοῦντα, ἀπὸ μακράθεν ἐκτητοῦν 18. καὶ ἕκραζαν μὲν ἑκάστους τοῖς καπνοῖς τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῶν, θάλασσας. Τὸς ὄρμια τῇ πόλει τῇ μέγαλῃ; 19. καὶ ἕκαστον ὄρος ὥἀ ἔτι ταῖς κεφαλίς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἕκραζαν κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες, θάλασσας.

Οὖν, οὖν ἡ πόλει ἡ μεγάλη,

ΑΝC 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 620. 2037. 20238 al Tyc (Pr) gig


Ouess, ouni tis polei i megalie,
21. Καὶ ἤρθεν εἰς ἄγγελος ἵσχυρὸς λίθον ὡς μίλιον μέγαν, καὶ ἴδαλεν εἰς τὴν βάλασσαν λέγων
Οὕτως ὁμήματι βληθήσεται
Βασιλέως ἡ μεγάλη πόλις,
καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρέθη ἐκι.

14. καὶ ἡ ὕπόπρα σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς (δ)
ἀπήλθεν ἀπὸ σου,
καὶ πάντα τὰ λιπάρα καὶ τὰ λαμπρά
ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ σοῦ. (ε)

(a) Text corrupt. We should read: ὁτι μᾶ ὧρα ἡρμημοθή ἡ τιμίητης αὐτῆς: cf. vers. 10, 16, and see vol. ii. 106 sq. Ver. 20 is restored to its original context after 23a. See vol. ii. 92 sq.
(b) On the restoration of the order of the text, see vol. ii. 92, 105, 108.
(c) Here follows a gloss: καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ αὐτὰ εὑρήκοντοι. On a possible explanation of it in connexion with the loss of 22b which I have restored, see vol. ii. 92, 109, and footnote in loc. of English transl.


14. η επωρα] pomorum (-a vg) Pr vg : hora gig (arm4) : > arm4 3 a | η > C | sale placed after επωρα ANC 025. 2040 (Pr) vg a et f. g h. v : tr after ψυχης 046. 19. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 gig vg s arm : in both places 172. 2018 s1 : > bo | της επιθυμιασ]
23a-d. καὶ φωνὴ κιθαριδῶν καὶ τὸ μουσικῶν *(a) καὶ <φωνὴ> (a) αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν οὐ μὴ ἀκοφθῇ ἐν σοι ἔτι.

23b. καὶ πᾶς τεχνής τάσης τέχνης οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐν σοι ἔτι.

καὶ φωνὴ μύλου οὐ μὴ ἀκοφθῇ ἐν σοι ἔτι *(a) Necessarily restored, yet found in eth: see below.

η επιθυμία Πρ s1 | απηλθεν] discordant vg<arm> δ bo sa: perient Πρ: απωθετον 2067: απηλθεν 051. 1. 2036. 2037 s1 arm8-a | ουκετι + ουκετι Πρ after s1 eth: see below.


22d. καὶ φωνὴ... σαλπιστῶν] καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀκοφθῇ ἐν αὐτῇ φωνῇ μουσικῷ καὶ κιθαριά καὶ αὐλῳ καὶ φωνῇ σαλπιγγος οὐ μὴ ἀκοφθῇ ἐν αὐτῇ Πρ. Here observe that the Ethiopian has already restored the missing words in 22h-c. | καὶ] > καὶ Πρ: οὐδὲ bo eth | κιθαριδῶν] κιθαρις s1 arm2 bo eth | μουσικ... σαλπ.] ~ s1 | αὐλητῶν] αὐλητῶν 620: sinfoniarorum Πρ | αὐλ. καὶ > bo | σαλπιστῶν AC 025. 046. 19 αἱ δε τοιοῦτο σαλπιγγων (ος s1 arm2) Πρ Πρ: τιβίκινον Πρ: + καὶ 2020 | σοι] αὐτὴ gig vg8-f Πρ |.

23c-d. φωνὴ] φωνὴ* bo | νυμφὴς] pr φωνῆ Πρ: φωνῆ C 920 s1 eth |

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Μετὰ ταύτα ἤκουσα ὅσ φωνὴν μεγάλην ὀχλοὺ πολλοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀφραντὶ λεγόντων

'Ἀλληλουία'

ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν,


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2. ὅτι ἀλῆθιναι καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτῶν:
ὅτι ἐκρινὲν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην,
ήσυ ἐφθαρεν τὴν γυνὴν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς.

3. καὶ δεύτερον εἰρήκαν
'Ἀληθονιά':
καὶ ὁ κατηστὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαινεί εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων.

4. Καὶ ἔπεσαν οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες προσβότεροι καὶ τὰ τέσσερα
ζώα, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ λέγοντες
'Αμήν, 'Ἀληθονιά':

632**, 2020. 250. 2037** al vg bo : tr after μεγαλῆν 2019 eth :
> i. 104. 181 241. 336. 620. 632**. 2020. 2038. 2067 Tyc Pr
gig s arm : [μεγαλῆν] μεγαλῶν 337. 632** : tr after πολλῶν 1957.
2023. 2041 al : > i. 141. 2036. 2038. 2067 Pr arm4 | οὐλοῦ
πολλοῦ | οὐλον πολλον Pr vg1 | s1 : tubarum multarum vg1, 1
arm2 : aquarum multarum vg1 | πολλοῦ] > arm8, e : + clamantium
voce magna Pr | λεγοντων] dicentis gig : λεγονταν 

2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 Tyc vg s1 arm2, e bo sa eth : ἡ
διν. κ. ἡ δοξα (< κ. η τιμή 632** arm2, e bo sa) κ. η διν. ΑΚ6 025. 35. (632**). 2019.
2020. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 Tyc vg s1 arm2, e bo sa eth : ἡ
div. κ. η δοξα (< κ. η τιμή 620) o46. 19 (− 35. 632**. 2020. 2040).

250 al1 gig s1 arm3 : κ. η διν. > ن* Pr arm4 | τ. θεου ημων >
2067 | του θεου ΑΝC o25. o46. 19 (− 632**). 250. 2038 al1 gig
bo sa : τω θεου 241. 632**. 2019 Tyc Pr vg s arm : κυρω τω θεο
i. 2037 της + est vg .

2. αληθιναι] εκρινεν αληθη 468 | on2] qui vg : + sic Pr |
πορνην] πολων 69. 94. 209. 241. 632**. 2023 | ητισ ... πορνηα
αυτης > bo | ητις ... γην > 2026. 2031. 2037 arm3, e | εφθαρεν
ΚC o25. i. 172. 632**. 2019. 2036. 2037. 2040 al : διεθεμεν
o46. 19 (− 632**. 2040). 250. 2067 al : εκρινεν Α | πορνηα C
o25. 046. 19 al1 : πορνια ΑΚ | και + κω 2040 | αυτου2 | αυτης 

3. και1 > s1 | ειρηκαν ΑΚ o25. i. 35. 172. 2018. 2036. 2037
2038 : ειρηκασιν 61. 69. 201. 250. 386. 2040 2067 al : ειρην (αν
2020) C 2020 : dixerunt (= ειρηκαν or ειρην) Tyc Pr gig vg s
arm2, 8, 4 sa eth : ειρηκεν o46. 19 (− 35. 386. 2020. 2040) al bo |
2036. 2037 s1 arm : αναβαινεται bo .

XVI. 5b.  

Δίκαιος ἐλ, ὃν καὶ ὃν, (a) Ὅσιος ὦ ταύτα ἐκρεμάς'

6. ὃτι αἷμα ἀγίων καὶ προφητῶν ἐξέχειν, καὶ αἷμα αὐτῶν ἐδέωκας πεῖν' ἀξίοι εἰσιν.

7. Καὶ ἠκούσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος

Nai, κύριε, ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ,ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου

(a) On the restoration of xvi. 5b-7 to their original context, see vol. ii. 116, 120-124.


XVI. 5b. δίκαιος] + domine vg[s] eth | αι > 104 arm 1. 1. 8. 1. | o 8  


6. αἷμα[1] αἵματα Ν 620. 1918. 2019 | αγνων . . . προ-  


7. του θυσ. λέγοντος ΑΝC 025. 20. 250. 2038 al[a] vg s[a] s arm 4 bo : pr ek 046. i. 2037. 2067 vg[d]. (v) arm 1. 2. 8 : φωνην ek
xix. 5. Καὶ φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἔσχλθεν λέγουσα
      Ἀλεπτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, πάντες οἱ δύο λαοὶ αὐτοῦ
      καὶ οἱ φασόμενοι αὐτὸν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι.
6. καὶ ἡκουσά ὡς φωνὴ ὀχλοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ ὡς φωνὴν ὑδάτων
      πολλῶν καὶ ὡς φωνὴν βροτῶν ἱσχυρῶν, λεγόντων
      'Ἀληθεύα'
      ὅτι ἱδαίλευσεν κύριος, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ.
7. χαίρωμεν καὶ αγαλλίωμεν,
      καὶ δύσομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ,
      ὅτι ἠλθὲν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου,
      καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἤγοιμασεν δαυτήν,

(>arm*) τ. θν. λεγουσαν 2019 arm*: alterum (alia aliam vocem Pr)
dicentem (ens vg) Pr gig vg*: ab altari dicens vg* | αλθωναι...
dikeai] ~ arm1. (t. a) (bo) eth | dikaioo bo | kai> bo].

xix. 5. φωνη... εσχλθεν... λεγουσα] An** 025. 046: φωναι... εσχλθον...
      λεγουσαι N*: > arm3.4 | apno AC 046. 19
      2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2067 almn | θρόνου ANC 025. 19
      gig vg s arm*: bo: oupavan 046 61. 69 Pr | εσχλθεν] tr before
      apn t. θρον. N: > s1 | tw thew ANC 025. 046. 325 alp: ton thew 19
      (- 325). 2050. 2057. 2067 alp | ημων] ημων Pr: + antete
      2040: > 18 arm* | kai A 046. 19 almnPr gig vg s arm3.4.6* bo
      eth: > κατ Α 025 | αυτον] dominum Pr: το ονομα αυτον s1 | μικροι...
      μεγαλοι] ~ Pr | οι μικροι | pr kai 1. 2023. 2037 al arm4: pr
      παντες s1 | ois> 175 | κ. οι μεγ.] metta των μεγαλων s bo | ois> 18 |.
6. εω An 025. 046. 19 vg s2 bo: tr after φωνη 2019 s1
      Tyc Pr gig arm*: | οχλ. τολλ.] οχλων τολλων s: tubarum (ae
      vg) magnarum (ae vg) Pr vg* a. d. f.. | εω An 025. 046. 19
      (- 386) Pr gig vg s arm3.4.6: bo eth: > A 181. 201. 314. 386 Tyc | udar.
      τολλ. . . βροντ. ἱσχ.] ~ Pr | βροντ. + τολλων και 468 | ἱσχυρων
      magnorum vg | λεγοντων (ουσων N: -ουσα 2067) A(N) 025.
      vg: λεγοντω (toos 620). 046. 18 ( 35. 2020. 2040) almn:
      λεγοντας 051. 1. 35 al: dicentes Tyc | κυριος o theos An* 025.
      046. 18 Tyc gig vg s3 arm bo sa: o theos o κυριος N*: o theos o
      theos 2038: o theos 051. 1. 110. 181. 2019. 2067: κυριος Pr s1
      046. 18 (- 2040). 250. 2037. 2038 2067 alp Tyc Pr gig vg s3
      arm3.6* | o παντοκρ. > gig |.
7. χαιρομε] χαιρομεν (και χαιρομεν arm4) s1 arm | αγαλλιωμεν
      2067: -ωμεθα 046. 18 (- 2040). 250 alp | kai> s1 | δων. t. δ.
8. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάλληται βύσσινον λαμπρὸν καθάρον. (a)
9. Καὶ λέγει μοι Γράφων Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δείπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἄρνιον εκκλησίαν· (b)

(a) An incorrect gloss follows in the text: τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἄγων ἄρτων. See vol. ii. 127 sq.
(b) Text adds a doublet of xxii. 6a. 8-9: καὶ λέγει μοι ὢντα οἱ λέγων οἱ ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰλίν. 10. καὶ ἑκατάκοιτοι τῶν πολὺν αὐτοῦ προσκυνήσαντες αὐτῷ. Καὶ λέγει μοι "Ορα μής σύρουστο σοῦ εἰμί καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν "Ἰσσοῦ τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσου· το γὰρ μαρτυρία "Ἰσσοῦ ἔστω τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας. See vol. ii. 125-129.


II. Καὶ ἔδει ὁ ὁδωραν ἑνεψυγμένον, καὶ Ἰδοὺ ἐπτὺς λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν [καλοὔμενος] πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθίνης, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κράτει καὶ πολεμεῖ.

12. οἱ δὲ αὐθαλμοί αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά: (a)

(a) Here follows an interpolation: ἔχων βοῶμα γεγραμμένον θ οδησις οἴδει εἰ ἡ αὐτῆς.


13. καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἵματόν ἵματον ἵματον, καὶ κάκληται τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ. Ο Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ.

14. καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ ἐν τῷ σώρα ἰκάλεθαι αὐτῷ ἐφ’ ἐπιτοι προκοπές, ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσων λευκὸν καθαράν.

15. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώρατός αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσται βομφαία ὁξεία, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν βάσει σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν λήρον τοῦ ὁλοῦ τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς δραγῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος.

325. 468**, 617. 632**. 1934), 250. 2067 al '*arm' | γεγο. ο οὐδ. > Ν * | o > arm* | autov| qui accipit gig : + μνσ 2026 bo eth |

18. περιβεβλημένον] circumdatus est Tyc arm² : vestitus erat vg : erat coopertus Pr | βεβαμμένον Α 046. 051. 18 ( - 2040).


15. autov] autov s¹ arm² bo | εκταρευται] exiebat Pr arm | ωζευ Α 025. 1. 35*. 2019. 2020. 2036. 2037. 2038 al gig vg s¹
16. καὶ ἐρέα (a) ἔτη τὸν μηρὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον,
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ.

17. Καὶ εἶδον ἡ ἄγγελος ἑστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ ἔκραξεν
φωνὴ μεγάλη λέγων πάσι τοῖς ἄρνεοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσοῦ
ρανηματὶ Δεῦτε συνάχθητε εἰς τὸ δείπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ, 18. ἔνα
φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων καὶ σάρκας χιλιάρχων καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν
καὶ σάρκας ἱππῶν καὶ τῶν καθημένων ἐν τούτοις, καὶ σάρκας πάντων
(a) Text adds: ἔτη τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ. See vol. ii. 137.


RESTORED ORDER OF THE TEXT.

CHAPTERS XX. 1-3, XXI. 9-XXII. 2, XXII. 14. 15. 17.

XX. 1. Kai elidon άγγελον καταβαίνοντα εκ τού ουρανού,
άχωτα την κλέιν της άβυσσου
καὶ ἀλωνὶς μεγάλην ἡττὶ την χειραν' αὐτοῦ.

2. καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὁφις ὁ ἄρχαῖος,
ὁς ἐστὶν διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς,
καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη.

3. καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν άβυσσον,
καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφραγίσευ ἑπτάνω αὐτῶν,
ἐνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἵπ τὰ ἔδην,
ἀχρὶ τελεσθῆ τὰ χίλια ἔτη.

μετὰ ταῦτα δεὶ λυθῆναι αὐτὸν μικρὸν χρόνων.

XX. 1. αγγελον] pr allon Ν: 2017. 2050 Τυκ s1 arm1 s = sa eth :
+ allon 336. 620. 1918 | ek t. ουρ. > Ν | κλειν] κλειδα (av
620). I. 104. 620. 2037. 2067 al | αλωνι] αλωνι μεγ. | αλωνι μεγ. Ν :
αλωπις μεγαλη Τυκ : ~ bo sa eth | μεγ. > Pr | epit t. χειρα Α 046.
Pr gig vg s arm bo sa eth |

2. o oφις o άρχαῖος Α (s?) : τον oφις τον άρχαῖον Ν 046. 18
alia : serpentem (pr illum Pr : anguem Τυκ) antiquum Τυκ Pr

gig vg : τον άρχαῖον 2036 | σσ Α 046. 18 aij : o Ν 2050 | εστιν

cognominatus est Pr | διαβολος Α 046. 18 ( - 2020. 2050). 250.
2037. 2038. 2067 arm : pr o Ν 69. 498. 2020. 2036. 2050 arm
bo sa | κ. o στ. > 2050 | και > bo sa eth | o5 ΑΚ 046. 35.
386. 620. 632. 920. 1849. 2004. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2067 al | (o)
(2050) Τυκ Pr gig vg s1 arm bo : + o πλανων την οικουμενην ολην
(> 61. 385) 046. 051. 18 ( - 175. 617. 632**. 2040. 2050). 250.
2067 ali s/ | χλ. et τη κ. εβαλ. αυτον > Ν |

3. καὶ . . . αβυσσον > arm4 eth | εκλεισε] εθησεν (+ αυτον ι)
I. 181. 2036. 2037. 2038 : εθησεν καὶ εκλεισεν arm : + το στομα
αυτον bo sa | εσφραγισεν] εσφραγει θε μ [ ευαν αυτον εμμακως
αυτον Α | πλανηση (σει Μ) ΑΚ I. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2040 al :
πλανω (γ 2050) 046. 18 ( - 2040). 250. 2067 ali | et] tr after
εθη > s/ : > I. 69. 141 Τυκ bo eth | ta1 > 35 : pr παντα s1 | αχρι
. . . ετη > s1 | αχρι] αχρις αν 2050 | τελεσθη] τελεσθωσι 141.
241. 386. 2067 | ta2 > 051. I. 181. 2036. 2067 | μετα ΑΚ Ο46.
xxi. 9. Kai ἤλθαν εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐγόντων τὰς ἐπτὰ φιλας, ἃ τῶν γεμόντων ἃ τῶν ἐπτὰ πληγῶν τῶν ἐγχάτων, καὶ ἐλάλησαν μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων Δεόρο, δείξω σοι τὴν νύμφην [τὴν γυναῖκα] τοῦ ἄρνιον. 10. καὶ ἀπηνεγκέν με ἐν πνευματί ἐπὶ δρόσο μέγα καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ἰδεών μοι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν Ἰερουσαλήμ καταβάνων ἐκ τοῦ ὀφρανῶ αὐτὸ τοῦ θεόν, 11. ἐχουσάν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ φωστὴρ αὐτῆς ὁμοιός λίθῳ τιμωτάτῳ, ὡς λίθῳ ἰαστικῷ


κρυσταλλίζωντι. 12. ἔχουσα τείχος μέγα καὶ υψηλόν, ἔχουσα
tυλώνας δῶδεκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τούς πυλόσιν ἄγγελον δῶδεκα, καὶ ὄνοματα
cτυχεραμένα, ἀ ἑστὶν τὰ ὄνοματα τῶν δωδεκα φυλῶν ὅνων Ἰσραήλ·
13. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς τυλώνες τρεῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τυλώνες τρεῖς, καὶ


18. ανατολη Αν 025. 1. 205. 2017. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 s : ανατολην 046. 18 (- 205. 2050. 2050). 250 al | και 1.2.* > 051. 1. 205 arm1 4.* α Τυς Pr | και 2.3 > 2037. 2038. 2067 θερα (- πασ 2050 : βορα 9200) ... νοτου ... δυσμων Ν* 025. 046. 18 (- 386). 250. (2037). 2038. (2067) al formatter omni Ἰσραήλ] τυς Pr gig vg s arm4 ❋ : βορα ... βορα ... νοτου Ν*: βορα ... δυσμων ... νοτου (μαθημβριασ π) Α 1 : δυσμων ... βορα ... νοτου 386. 1957 arm1 2.* : νοτου ... βορα ... δυσμων 522 : νοτου ... δυσμων ... βορα (bo) : και απο μαθημβριασ πυλωνεσ τρεισ 2037. 2067 τρεισ 1.2.*) γ' ο46. 35. 337 |
αὐτῆς ἐκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου, δ’ ἑστὶν ἄγγελου.

18 καὶ ἐνδώμησε τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔπλος χρυσοῦ καθάρον ὅμοιον υάλῳ καθάροφ

καὶ ὁ θεμέλιος τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως παντὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ κεκοσμημένοιν.

ὁ θεμέλιος ὁ πρῶτος ιαστος, ὁ δεύτερος σάπφειρος, ὁ τρίτος χαλκίδος,

τυχεῖν. 18. 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 ἀπὸ Pr vg bo | ἐνδώμησεν ἉΝο 458. 2020 | εν δωματίῳ τοῦ αἰώνος cf gig: ἐνδώμησε 2050 | ἐνδώμησισ 205. 046. 051. 18 (−2020. 2050) ἀπὸ 

αὐτῆς > 175. 2050 Ἡγος arm⁴ | ωσιος | ex lapide iaspidi Pr vg (arm².4) | πρὸ ως bo : > Ἡγος | χρυσ. καθ. | χρυσὴ καθαρὰ 2014. 2034. 2036. 2042 vg : χρυσὸν (πρὸ ἐκ Pr) καθαροῦ Pr s arm¹.2.4 | ωμοὺν) ωμοῖα 051. 1. 35. 205. 2036. 2038 Pr : pr καὶ gig | υαλω ἉΝο 025. 046. 18. 175. 337. 456. 617. 920. 1934 : υαλω (νελλω 385. 498) 35. 205. 325. 386. 620. 632. 1849. 2004. 2020. 2050 ἀπὸ | καθαρῷ > 2025 | η Ἰολε ὁχυσὸν . . . καθαρῷ civitas aurum mundum (purum gig) simile (+ et gig) vitreo mundo (puro gig) τυχεῖν : ipsa vero civitas ex (>vg) auro mundo similis vitreo (simile vitreo vg) mundo Pr vg : η πολιος (+ ὀλη arm⁴) χρυσὸν καθαροῦ ωμοὺν (ορ ωμοῖα) υαλω καθαρῷ s arm¹.2.4.4.4. : "the city was wrought of gold pure like glass pure" bo : ωμοῖα η πολιος ως ης τοπηγος εστὶν εν χρυσῷ καθαρῷ eth |

19. ὁ θεμέλιος ἉΝο 025. 046. 18 (−35). 250 ἀλλαμ Tyc vg sa : pr καὶ ἉΝο 1. 35. 104. 2018. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 s arm bo eth : pr ubi gig : + αὐτει Pr | της πολεμοῦ + ωμοῖα 2050 : > Pr | παντὶ λίθῳ τιμ. | οmnia ex (ex omni Pr) lapide pretiosio Tyc Pr : λιθαῖον τιμοῦν s¹ : παντὶ λίθῳ τιμῶν arm | τιμῶν κεκοσμημένοι | ~ 205 | κεκοσμημένοι | ~ 1849. 2004 : > 61. 2050 Tyc Pr gig arm | ο θεμ. . . . ἦσσιος > arm⁴ | ο θεμέλιος | pr καὶ s¹ arm³ eth : + τοῦ τείχους arm¹.2.4.4. : > gig | πρωτος | eir ἢ | s² | pr καὶ Ἁν Tyc s¹ arm² eth | σαπφειρος | σαπφειρος 2017 : ηρως 051. 2020. 2050 : ηρως 025. 046. 2004 Pr vg gig bo : saffyrus Tyc | σαφειρος | pr καὶ s¹ arm² eth. (Also before s² and ver. 20 o².⁹ ο arm³ eth add καὶ : s¹ except ver. 20 o².⁹ | τριτος | υ ἢ (also δ’ ε’ . . .
20. de tētartos sēmaragdos, de pēuptos sārdōnĭs, de ēktos sārdĭnĭs,
de ēbōdomoi xronoūlbĭs, de ñōndos bērnullos, de ēnatos tōpāzĭon,
de dēkatos xronotĕprasŏs, de ēndēkatos ūākĭthus, de dōdēkatos
ἀμēvostos.

21. kai oĩ dōdēka pūlŏnes dōdēka măgraphaĭtai,
aṿa ẽis ēkastos tōn pūlŏnŏn ūn ẽn évōs măraphatĭn,
kaĩ ἡ πλατεῖα tῆς pūlewĭs χρυσοῦ kabharon ὡς ëalos diānụgĭs.

22. kai vàon õuk eiðon ἐn aụ̆ṭḥ,̣
̣ḍ γăp kūρmŏs, ὁ ñeōs ὁ păntokrạ̄ṭωp̣, ὁ naị̈s aụ̣̆ṭḥs ẹ̣̄ṣṭịn,
̣kai ὁ ὀρνί̣oν < ὁ kibwōṭs tῆς diāthẹ̣̄s aụ̣̆ṭ̣ḥs. (a)

(a) Lācān restored by means of xi. 19. See vol. ii. 170 sq.
23. καὶ ἡ πόλις ὁ χρείαν ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου οὗτε τῆς σελήνης ἦν φαίνοντις αὐτή.

24. καὶ περιπτάτησον τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτοῦ αὐτῆς,

25. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς φέρουσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτήν.

26. καὶ οἱ πυλώνες αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας † νυὲ γαρ

(a) Read καὶ υπόθη. See vol. ii. 173.

min omn | ὁ ναός ἀντ. εστιν] τρ alter ἀρνοῦν Pr | ἐστὶν > 104 | το > 2050 | ἀρνοῦν] + the only begotten son (> 2) of God (+ is 2) altar of holiness “arm 1.2 | x. το ἀρνοῦν] joined with what follows 046 s1 |.


27. καὶ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν τὰν κοινὸν τῷ καὶ τούν μὴ βδελυγμα καὶ ψεύδος,
eι μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ἡμῆς τοῦ ἁρνού.

xxii. 1. Καὶ ἔθεσαν μοι ποταμὸν ὑδατος ἡμᾶς λαμπρὸν ἐς κρύσταλλον,
ἐκπερευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου. 2. καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐνεβάλεσθε καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐξῆλθον ἡμᾶς,

[ποταμῷ] καρποῦς δώδεκα,
καὶ μὴν ἐκατοστὸν ἀποδίδουν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ἐξῆλθεν θεραπεύει τῶν ἱδών.

(a) Primitive corruption for τάς καρόμες. As the rest of the verse (cf. xxii. 15) shows, only persons are contemplated: cf. vol. ii. 173 sq. arm<sup>2</sup> (r. a) definitely restore the text. s<sup>1</sup> - <sup>2</sup> are susceptible of either text.

27. καὶ<sup>1</sup> > vg<sup>d</sup> bo | εἰσέλθῃ] εἰσελθοῦσιν Ν : εἰσελθοῦ 2050 :
estai<sup>s</sup> | εἰς αὐτήν] επ αὐτήν 2050 : in ea Pr gig vg : ekei<sup>s</sup> arm<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> (r. a) | τὰν κοινὸν | "anyone corrupt (of evil will arm<sup>1</sup> -<sup>2</sup> a)" arm | ποταμὸν ΑΜ<sup>o</sup> 61. 94. 2021. 2032. 2050 : ποταμὸν 025. 046. 051. 1. 35. 175. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 : faciens Tyc Pr vg : o ποταμὸν Ν<sup>s</sup> 18 (–35. 175. 617. 1934. 2050). 42. 82. 93. 104. 110. 141. 201. 241 336 al<sup>π</sup> s (arm<sup>s</sup>) : quod facit gig : οἱ ποταμοὶ τὸ βιβλίον | τῆς ψεύδεις Pr | οἱ γεγραμμένοι | οἱ εὐγεγραμμένοι 2016. 2050 : τα γεγραμμένα<sup>1</sup> : quorum nomina<sup>s</sup> sunt<sup>1</sup> : suas arm<sup>s</sup> scripta sunt arm<sup>1</sup> -<sup>2</sup> ) ev | eti bo | τῷ βιβλίῳ τῇ βιβλίῳ 2050 | της ζωῆς > Pr s<sup>1</sup> | τοῦ ἁρνίου) τοῦ ὑψανοῦ Ν : τοῦ βιβλίου 2050 : illius agni Pr |.


2. ev. meων] εμεύων A 2050 : pr καὶ 2050 gig s<sup>1</sup> : per mediam (plateam) Pr | τῆς πλατείας| τῶν πλατειν όν arm<sup>1</sup> -<sup>2</sup> : τῆς πολεως 1934 | καὶ<sup>1</sup> (r. a) | επι s<sup>2</sup> : + επι s<sup>2</sup> | του ποτ. tr after ekei<sup>he</sup>νεν Tyc Pr vg s<sup>1</sup> | κατάθεται | εκεῖνον Ν<sup>s</sup> εκείνον εκεῖνον Tyc Pr v<sup>g</sup> s<sup>1</sup> (r. a) | etafter ekei<sup>he</sup>νεν Tyc Pr vg s<sup>1</sup> : + καὶ s<sup>1</sup> | τουτον > Ν | θρωνου | στοματος 61 |.

2. ev. meων] εμεύων A 2050 : pr καὶ 2050 gig s<sup>1</sup> : per mediam (plateam) Pr | τῆς πλατείας | τῶν πλατειν όν arm<sup>1</sup> -<sup>2</sup> : τῆς πολεως 1934 | καὶ<sup>1</sup> (r. a) | επι s<sup>2</sup> : + επι s<sup>2</sup> | του ποτ. tr after ekei<sup>he</sup>νεν Tyc Pr vg s<sup>1</sup> : + καὶ s<sup>1</sup> | κατα μηνα (μηναν Α) εκατοστὸν ἀποδίδουν

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14. Μακάριοι οἱ πλέοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τοὺς πυλῶν οἰς ἀλλήλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

15. εἴπ οἱ κόινε καὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ, καὶ οἱ πόρναι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι, καὶ τὰς φιλῶν καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν.

16. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγοντι "Ἐρχοῦ καὶ ὁ ἄκουστο εἴπαρον "Ἐρχοῦ καὶ ὁ δυσμὸν ἐρχόμενον" ὁ θέλων λαβέτω υἱὸν ζωῆς δωρεάν.


17. πλεοντες (<arm 140. 2050) τας στολας αυτων (+ in sanguine agni vg4) ΑΝ 104. 2020. 2050 (Pr) vg sa eth : πουιντες τας αυτως αυτων (εμου 2067) 046. 17 (– 2020. 2050). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl gig Cyp s arm1.4* bo : (qui) servant mandata haec Tyc | ον > s1 arm1 | εσται | τρ after autow2 bo sa | autow* | ωσ δε η εξουσία Ν* | τους πυλων | των πυλων s1 bo : + ou μη 2050 | εστελθος | εισελευνοται s1 arm4 bo | εις τὴν πολίν | τὴν αγαν Pr : την πολεων (+ του θεου arm1) arm1.6*.


17. καλ > Tyc | το > Ν bo | πνευμα | + αγιον arm1 eth | η
CHAPTER XX. 4-15.

4a Καὶ <εἴθον> τὸς ψυχᾶς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαμ- 
τυρίαν ἵησον (α) 
a καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ, 

ε καὶ [οἴνους] οὐ προσεκύνησαν τοῦ θηρίου 
οίδα τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῶν, 

ζ καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ χάραγμα ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον 
b καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χείρα αὐτῶν, 

καὶ εἶδον βρόντος καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, 
b καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.

(a) I have restored 4a-b to their original place after 4b. See vol. II. 182 sq.
4. kai el'tasan kal 'I'Iasilewusan metà tov χρυσών χίλια ἐτη. (a)  
5b. αὐτὴ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη.  
6. Μακάριον καὶ άγιος ὁ ἤχων μέρος εἰς τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ. ἔνι τοῦτον ὁ δεύτερος δικαίως οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐςαίνει λεφτές τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύοντιν μετ' αὐτοῦ [τὰ] χίλια ἐτη.

(a) Text adds 5th: οἱ λαοὶ τῶν νεκρῶν εἰς ἔξων ἐξορί τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἐτη —unobjectionable as far as diction is concerned but rejected as a gloss on the following grounds advanced by Mr. Marsh. (1) It is prosaic and made up of words borrowed from 4th 3rd or 2nd. (2) If it were original we should expect it to be introduced either by καὶ used adversatively or δέ as in 21st. The asyndetic construction in 19th is not parallel, for there the thought of the preceding sentences is simply developed further. (3) It spoils the metre. (4) 5th follows more naturally a positive than a negative statement.

4. κ. el'tasan κ. 'I'Iasil.] ουσ εξευσαν (sic) 2050 | κ. el'tasan κ. > Pr | και] hi omnes Tyc : oι s1 : ouou (+ εισον αι arm1.2) arm1.2 eth : > bo sa | el'tasan] είπησαν 920 : είπουσιν arm1.2.4 eth : + μετ' αυτοῦ bo | 'I'Iasilewusan] βασιλεύοντιν (ουσιν arm4) arm1.4 eth | του > i. 2017. 2038. 2067 | τ. χρυσών] Ιεσοῦ Pr | χιλια ἐτη ΑΝ 1. 35. 175. 181. 250. 424. 617. 1957. 2017. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2041. 2050. 2067 s1 arm1.2.4. a bo : pr τα ο46. 18 (- 35. 175. 617. 2050) al1 s2 : > arm1 |.


7. Καὶ ὅταν τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη, λυθήσεται ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ ἑξελισσεῖ πλανήσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρις γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, τῶν Γάνω καὶ Μαγών, συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, διό πῶς ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἁμοίος τῆς βαλάντος. 9. καὶ ἀνάβησαι ἐκ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς, καὶ εἰκύλουσαι τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην. καὶ καταβῇ πόρο τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὀφελοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτοὺς. 10. καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ θεοῦ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, ὅπου καὶ

7. οταν τελεσθη (οτε ετελεσθησαν 1 : οτε ετελεσθη 8) ΑΝ 35. 175. 250. 617. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2040. 2050. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm1 bo sa eth : μετα 046. 18 (− 35. 175. 617. 2020. 2040. 2050). 61. 69. 104. 385 alpi arm1,2 a : αὐτοῦ > arm1,2 a bo eth [.

8. εξελισσεται > bo | πλανήσαι] καὶ πλανήσει (+ τοὺς δουλοὺς καὶ bo) vg arm1,2 bo | τα εὕνη A 046. 18 (− 386) Tyc Pr gig vg s arm1,2 (bo) eth : pr παντα Ν 2036 s1 (arm1,2) : τα > 386 | τα2 A 046. 18 (− 149). 250. 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl Tyc Pr gig vg s arm1,2 : > Ν 61. 69. 149. 172. 2018 s1 bo sa | ταυτ > 1. 69. 432 | τεσσαρίων τετραπρ.: Ν : τεσσαρα 617 | τ. γης > Ν 1. Τov ΑΝ 046. 18 al μεν : > Μ* bo sa | τ. Γην κ. Μ. συναγ. αὐτ.] “Gog and Magog shall be gathered” bo eth | Μαγω ΑΝ* 1. 1934. 2036. 2037. 2050 bo sa : pr τον Ν° 046. 18 (− 1934. 2050). 2067 alpl | συναγαγεν A 046. 18 (− 35. 175. 617). 250. 2067 alpl s arm1,2 a sa : pr και Ν 051. 35. 175. 617. 2016. 2017. 2036 s1 arm1,2 και συναγεί 81 : et congregabit (−avit gig : trahet Pr) Pr gig vg | τον2 ΑΝ 046. 18 (− 175. 617) alpl : >051. 1. 175. 250. 617. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 | ων > 2050 | αυτων ΑΝ 046. 18 (− 35. 175. 617. 2014. 2020) alpl (s) arm1,2 a : > 1. 35. 175. 242. 250. 617. 1934. 2020. 2023. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2067 Pr gig vg arm1 k. | ων γ] ομι 42. 82. 104. 201. 325. 385. 386. 456. 498. 620. 632. 920. 1918. 1934 |.


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ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ [ΧΧ. 11-12.

τὸ θηρίον καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, καὶ βασανισθήσονται ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

11. Καὶ εἶδον θρόνον μέγαν λαυκῶν καὶ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ
† αὐτοῦ,† (a) οὗ ἀνεῖ τοῦ[(b) προσώπου ἐφυγαν ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός,
καὶ τόπος ὁχύρωθη αὐτῶς.

12. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ἐστῶτας
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου,
καὶ βιβλία ἤνωθησαν, καὶ ἀλλὸ βιβλίον ἤνωθηθῇ ὁ ἐστὶν
τῆς ἑωθῆς,
καὶ ἐκκύθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγομένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις
[κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν].

(a) Wrong construction due to editor.

(b) An interpolation by the editor (?); cf. vi. 16, xii. 14.

2067 al : τὴν καταμεμημιν πυρε (διωκ bo) 2050 bo : > 2038 | καὶ3 A
025. 046. 19 (− 205. 2050). 250. 2037 alpl Tyc Pr gig vg s2 : >
Ψ 1. 205. 1957. 2050 s1 arm1 2. * bo sa eth | καὶ6 + οὗτος Ν : >
620 | ὁ ψευδοπροφ. | + ἐβληθησαν 2050 : οἱ ψευδοπροφηταὶ τύχη
arm1 | βασανισθήσονται | + εκεῖ 2050 | εἰτ. τ. αἰών. τ. αἰών. > 1.
181. 2038 arm1 | τῶν αἰώνων > 241. 336**. 2067 |

11. θρόνον μεγαν | ~ bo sa | μεγαν | μεγαν 2050 | μεγαν (+ καὶ
2050 Pr arm1 4 eth) λαυκὸν ΑΝ 025. 046. 19 (− 18. 175. 205.
337. 617. 2020) al Pr gig vg s arm1 4 bo sa eth : ~ 1. 175. 205.
250. 617. 2020. 2037. 2038. 2067 arm1 : μεγαν > 18. 337 | εἰτ]
2067 | του ΑΝ 025. 2040. 2050 : > 046. 19 (− 2040. 2050) alpl |
προσωπα] + αὐτοῦ 2040 s arm1 | η γ καὶ o (2050) οὐρ. ΑΝ
025. 046. 19 (− 35) al gig vg s bo sa : o οὐρ. κ. η γγ 35. 60. 432.
1957. 2023. 2041 Pr arm eth | αὐτοῦ | eorum Pr bo : ab eis vg :
in illis gig |

μεγ.) placed before εστῶταις ΑΝ 025. 046. 35. 205. 632**. 2020.
2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 alma Tyc gig vg s arm1 * bo sa eth : placed
after εστῶταις 91. 175. 242. 250. 506. 617. 1934. 2016. 2017 :
placed before του νεκροῦς 104. 620 : > 1. 18. 82. 93. 110. 201.
1849. 2004. 2024. 2039 | εστῶταις ενωτ. τ. ὅρ. > Pr arm2 | εστῶταις
> 61. 69. 82. 429 | ενωτιον | ετι Ν* | ενωτιον ετι Ν | [θρόνον] θεο
1. 2037. 2067 al | Βιβλίων 2050 : Βιβλίων 386 | ηνοιχθῆσαν
. . . ηνοιχθῆς ἡ Ν* : ἡ ηνοιχθῆς καὶ ἀλλο Βιβλίων ἡ ηνοιχθῆς Ν |
13. καὶ ἐδώκεν τῷ ἡθάλασσα τῷ νεκρός τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ (a) καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἄγας ἐδώκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἐκαστὸς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. (b)

14. καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἄγας ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. (b)

(a) The text has been tampered with here. The abode of righteous souls should occur instead of "the sea." Probably δο θηραυρόν or αὐτοι (John xiv. 2) or παράδεισος (Luke xxii. 43) stood originally in the text. See vol. ii. 194-198.

(b) + αὐτοὶ ὁ θάνατος ὁ δευτέρῳ ἐστίν, ἡ λίμνην τοῦ πυρός—a marginal gloss drawn from xxi. 8 f., where it is full of meaning, but nonsensical here.
15. καὶ εἶ τις οὖν εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ βιβλῳ τής ἡμέρας γεγραμμένος 
βληθή εἰς τὴν λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς.

1957. 2023. 2041 gig s\(^1\) arm\(^4\) : after θανάτος 2067 : > 104 | η 
λίμνη τ. πυρὸς > s\(^1\) arm\(^4\).

16. καὶ > 325 | εὑρέθη] εὑρεθήσεται Μ\(^*\) arm\(^1\) | τῇ βιβλῳ ΑΝ 
046. 18 (− 35. 205. 2020. 2050). 1. 250 al\(^pl\).

RESTORED ORDER OF THE TEXT.

CHAPTERS XXI. 5°. 4\(^d\). 5b \([6\(^a\)]\). 1−4 \([6\(^a\)−b\(^a\)]\). XXII. 3−5, XXI. 
5°, 6b−8, XXII. 6. 7. 18\(^a\) \([18\(^b\)−19]\). 16. 13. 10 \([11]\). 8. 9. 

xxi. 5°. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ ἡ (a)
4\(^d\). Τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν
5b. ἰδὼν καὶ ποὺ ἔργα (b).

(a) Wrong construction due to editor.
(b) The text contains the following intrusion: 6\(^a\). καὶ εἶπεν μοι Γέγοναν. 
See vol. ii. 203 sq. xxi. 5° should be read immediately before xxi. 6\(^b\).
Hence correct note in Commentary.

5\(^a\). καὶ > 18. 82. 201. 325. 337. 385. 386. 456. 498. 632**.
arm\(^2\). \(\text{4\(^d\)}\) bo | ο καθ. επὶ τ. θρόν. > 2050 | επὶ | ευ 172. 2018. 2036.

4\(^d\). τα Α 025. 051. 2038 arm\(^4\) : pr oτι (Ν) 046. 18 al\(^s\) vs omη Pr 
gig vg s\(^2\) arm\(^1\). 2\(^a\) bo sa eth : + γαρ 2036 | τα πρῶτα] τα προβατα 
Μ\(^*\) : παυτα 2050 : επὶ τα προβατα αυτης και s\(^1\) ; > arm\(^1\). 2 | απῆλθαν 
Α : απῆλθον 025. 1. 18. 35. 104. 205. 920. 2037. 2038. 2067 al : 
απηθευν η 046. 18 (− 18. 35. 205. 920). 250 al\(^ma\) arm\(^1\). 2 \(\text{4\(^b\)}\) : + και 
(> bo) idoν παντα ποιηθουσανται καινα (κ. επιθηθουσαν τ. eth) bo eth |.

5\(^b\). iδου] pr και Α : + iδου 2021 | καινα (κενα Ν) ποιω παντα 
gig vg s\(^1\) : καινοποιω παντα 051. 35. 2036. 2038 : παντα καινα ποιω 
2037. 2067 : ποησον (ποιω eth) παντα καινα bo sa eth |.

5°. For text of this line see p. 379, line 5. κ. λεγει > arm\(^3\) | 
λεγει (εἰπεν Τυc vg's bo) Α 046. 18. 325. 337. 386. 456. 620. 
632**. 1849. 2004 Τυc Pr gig vg\(^a\) \(\text{4\(^b\)}\) arm\(^2\). 2 \(\text{4\(^a\)}\) : + μοι Ν 
2038. 2050. 2067 al\(^pl\) vg\(^d\). \(\text{4\(^b\)}\) bo eth arm\(^1\). 2 | γραφων oτι] ~ 
205 : > Pr | oτι > 051. 386. 1849 s\(^1\) arm\(^2\). 2 \(\text{4\(^a\)}\) | πιστοι κ. αληθινοι
1. Kai elidon oúranou kainen kai yin kainen
   ou yap proutos oúranos kai ou prouta gin apelabon,
   kai ou thalassas ouk estin eti.

2. kai tin polin tin angian Ierousalìm kainen elidon
   katabaíonouv en kai ou oúranou anto tou theou,
   òtoimasesenin òws vómpen kekooymenèn tin ándri aítin.

3. kai ëkousa phoini megalías en kai tou òronou legoúsas
   'Idon ou skhína tou theou metà ton òronwv,
   kai skhnása peri àtovn,
   kai àtovl laüd (a) àtovl ðóntai,
   kai àtovs [i ou theos peri àtov] estai àtovn theos [i. (b)]
   laüd

(a) In the New Jerusalem God has only one laüd. Before the final
   judgment our author might have said that God had many laüd. Hence laüd
   (An and a few cursives) is a corruption. Otherwise if laüd is the older
   reading, then it arose through a misunderstanding of the editor, and laüd
   (205, 046 and Versions) is a right emendation of the text.

(b) Read: àtovn theos estai or estai theos àtovn. See vol. ii. 207 sq. ou theos
   peri àtovn (=hýmen) seems to have originated in an excellent marginal
   gloss on 3b, 0, but in 3a it is wholly irrelevant and against the parallelism.

An 046. 18 (- 35. 175. 205. 617) al'mu Tyc (Pr vg) gig s arm1.2.4
bo sa eth.: -o25. i. 35. 175. 205. 250. 617. 2037. 2038. 2067
arm3 | piot. k. alàb. (alàb. k. piot.)] + tou theou 046. 18 (- 35.
205. 2020. 2050) al'mu s4 | eisiv] tr before kai alàbion Pr vg: +
tou theou 175. 250. 617.]

32. eisiv] legei N arm | gegovn (-ai20 2020) A 2020 s1 :
gegovn N* 025. 046. 051. 18 (- 386 2020) al'fera omn s2 arm :
gegovn 386 : factum est Pr gig vg: >Ne Tyc bo |}

1. kainov . . . kainen] kainov . . . kainen N arm4 | prwtov] kainov arm4 | prwtv >42. 385 Pr bo arm | apthabn An : apthabn
046. 18 (- 35. 205. 620). 42. 61. 110. 201. 250. 385. 429. 498.
2018 gig vg : parphabn 051. i. 35. 205. 620. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2067 al | ò vall. ouk esti] twn thalassan ouk idon An | ò 2 >
18. 2050 | ouk estin eti] ouk estai ent 2050 : oukoi estai 205 |

2. kain1] + eko Johannes vg* | agian) megalhà Pr | kainov]
   kainov N | kainen idov] ~2050 arm4 | eidov] tr before twn polin gig
vg* | ek twn] ap 920 (arm3) | ek t. oup. apo t. theou An 046. 18
(- 35. 205. 920). 250. 2067 al Tyc Pr gig vg s arm1.2.4 bo sa
eth : apo t. th. ek t. oup 025. i. 35. 205. 1957. 2023. 2036. 2037.
2038. 2041 al : apo t. theou >2021 | vómpen1 + kai Tyc .

3. kai ëkousa faini megalhà . . . legeousai kai faini megalhà
   . . . legeousa N* | megalhà >gig arm1.2.4 | ek t. thron. >2050 |
   thronov An 94 vg : oupanov 025. 046. 18 (- 2050) alfera omn Tyc Pr
   gig s arm bo sa eth | idov] ide 205 | skhinais] eskhinais N* 2050


4. eti] pr και N : pr scriptum Pr arm* |.
5. καὶ νῦν οὖν ἥστατη ἐτη, καὶ οὑχ ἐξουσίν  χρειάν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἄλλον, ἐξουσί λόγος ὁ θεὸς φωτίζει ἑτέραν, καὶ βασιλεύουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

xxi. 6. Καὶ λέγει Γράφον ὅτι σοῦ οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθεία εἰσὶν.

6b. Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Ω, ἤ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. ἔγὼ τῷ δυσμένῳ δώσω εἰς τὴν πηγήν του ὑδάτος τῆς ζωῆς
δωρεάν.

5. estai] estin 051. 35. 175. 617 s¹ : ἦν arm¹– ² | ετι ΑΝ 025. 82. 93. 2018. 2032. 2050 Τυκ Pr gig vg s² arm¹– ² bo sa eth :

καὶ νῦν οὖν ἥστατη ἐτη, καὶ οὑχ ἐξουσίν χρειάν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἄλλον, ἐξουσί λόγος ὁ θεὸς φωτίζει ἑτέραν, καὶ βασιλεύουσιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

xxi. 5c. See p. 376 (ad fin.) sq. for notes on this line.

7. ὁ νῦκὼν κληρονομῆσαι ταῦτα, καὶ ἵσομαι αὐτῷ θεὸς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσται μοι νῖός.

8. τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδολυμένοις, καὶ φονεύσῃ καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς, καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδεσί—
tὸ μέρος αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ καιομένῃ ποτῇ καὶ θείῳ, ὁ ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεώτερος.

xxii. 6. Καὶ εἶπεν οὐδέποτε οἱ λόγοι τοῦτοι καὶ ἄλληνι, καὶ ὁ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἀγγέλον


xxii. 6. εἶπεν AK 025. 1. 175. 205. 250. 617. 1934. 2037. 2038. 2050. 2067 Alp Pr vg s arm 4· bo : Ἀγγεί o 046. 17 (−175. 205. 617. 1934. 2050) Alp. gig arm 1· | πίστωι fidelissima (+ sunt vg)] (Pr) vg + εἰσιν καὶ αὐγοι εἰσιν bo | πιστ. ... αληθ.] ~ 2050 al : + εἰσιν Pr gig vg a. f. s. h. v bo | καὶ 2 > bo | 01 AK 61. 2018 s1 bo
The following interpolation is inserted here: 18b. εἰν τιν ἐπιθυμείναι αὖτ' αὖτ', ἐπιθυμεῖ δ' ὁ θεός τῶν φροντεῖν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ. 19. μαρτυρόν ἐγώ παντὶ τὰ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους τῆς φροντεῖας τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ. (a)

(a) See vol. ii. 222-224.
16. ἐγὼ Ἡσυχὴ ὑπεμψα τὸν ἀγγέλον μου μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,

ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ μία καὶ τὸ γένος Δανεῖδ,

ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ ὁ πρωτός.

13. ἐγὼ τὸ "Αλφά καὶ τὸ "Ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἐσχατος, ἡ ἀρχή καὶ τὸ τέλος.


12. időv ἔρχομαι ταχύ, 
καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ, 
ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τοῦ ἐργοῦ ἡ ἀστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ. (a)

to.

10. καὶ λέγει μοι Μὴ σφραγίσῃ τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφήτειας 
tου βιβλίου τούτου, ὁ καρπὸς γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἡστίν. (b)

(a) This order is against our author's use and is probably due to the 
editor. See Gram. in Introd. to vol. i. Read αὐτῷ ἡστίν.
(b) The following verse is removed from the text as an interpolation; 
see vol. ii. 221-222:

11. ὁ ἀδίκως ἀδικησάτω ἐτί, 
καὶ ὁ ῥυταρὸς ῥυτανθῆτω ἐτί, 
καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοῦντι ποιήσατω ἐτί, 
καὶ ὁ ἄγας ἀγιασθῆτω ἐτί.

1934. 2037. 2038. 2067 al arm | τελος| + λεγει ο κυριος ο θεος 
ο παντοκρατιων arm 1 |

12. ἄνδον [pr και 1. 2038. 2067 Tyc eth | ταχυ| + μακαριος ο 
τρων τους λογους του βιβλιου τουτου 104 | και > bo | ἀποδουναι] 
ἀποδοθηναι κ*: και (> bo) ἀπόδωσιν ς1 bo | ὡς . . . αυτου] κατα 
τα εργα (το εργον ς1 sa eth) αυτον (αυτων gig) 2036 Pr Tyc gig vg 
ς1 arm bo σα eth | το > 325 | ἐστιν ἈΝ 205. 2014. 2020. 2038 ς2: 
ἐσται 046. 17 (− 205. 2020). 1. 42. 61. 201. 250. 429. 498. 522. 
αυτον (αυτω 2050) ἈΝ 046. 17 (− 35. 175. 205. 617. 1934. 2020). 
2067 alpl |

10. κ. λεγει . . . τουτον > gig | λεγε. μοι > eth | λεγει] ειτε 
Tyc Cypr s bo | μοι]+angelus Tyc | σφραγιση| σφραγισε 
205 | λογον| + τουτους κ* (del first hand) | προφ.| + ταυτησ bo | 
τ. βιβλη. > Tyc arm 1 | τουτους eius Tyc : ταυτησ arm 1 | ο καιρος 
γαρ] στι ο καιρος 1. 35. 1957. 2023. 2038 Pr | γαρ placed 
after καιρος ἈΝ 046. 17 (− 35. 205. 620. 1934. 2050). 250 alpl 
Tyc gig vg s arm bo σα : τρ before καιρος 82. 94. 141. 2036. 
2037. 2050 : >91. 242. 336. 517. 620. 1918. 1934. 2032 |

11. ο αδικων] pr και 424. 2018. 2032 Pr s1 eth | ο αδικ 
αδικησατω eti] hii qui perseverant nocere noceant Pr : qui 
perseveraverit nocere noceat adhuc Tycb (qui ininiustus est iniusta 
faciat adhuc Tycb) | eti1.2.3.4 > arm1.4 και (> bo) ο ρυτι. ρυτι. 
eti (> arm bo) κ 046. 17 (− 2050). 2037. 2038. 2067 alpl Tyc 
2050 | ο ρυταρος] qui in sordibus est Tycb Pr Cypr gig vg | 
2038. 2067 alpl : ρυτανθηντω 205 : sordescat Tyc Pr Cypr vg | 
eti2.3.4 > arm4 bo eth | δικαιοουντι ποιησατω eti ἈΝ 046. 17 
(− 2020) alpl gig vg s : iustiora faciat (iusta faciat adhuc Tycb)
8. Καὶ ἦταν Ἰωάννης δ ἄκοινων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ Ἰωάννης εἴπερ προσκυνήσαι ἐμπροσθέν τῶν ποτῶν τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ δεικνύοντός μοι ταῦτα. 9. καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ὄρα ὁ πρόδρομος σοῦ εἰμὶ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν θεοῦ τούτου τούς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τῷ θεῷ προσκυνήσας.

20. Λέγει δ ἄρα προφητῶν ταῦτα Ναὶ· ἐρχομαι ταχὺ. 'Αμὴν ἐρχομένῳ κύριε Ἰησοῦ.
21. ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.


IV. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER I.

1-8. THE REVELATION WHICH GOD GAVE TO JESUS CHRIST TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS SERVANT JOHN, AND THE BEATITUDE PRONOUNCED ON THOSE WHO KEEP THE THINGS WRITTEN THEREIN.

The book —its source and contents, 1-2

1. The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants—even the things which must shortly come to pass; and (which) he sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John; 2. Who bare witness of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ—(even) of all things which he saw.

The first beatitude for those who keep the things written therein

3. Blessed (is) he that readeth, And they that hear the words of the prophecy, And keep the things that are written therein: For the time (is) at hand.

4-7. JOHN'S GREETING AND BENEVOLENCE TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

4. John to the Seven Churches that are in Asia—

Grace unto you and peace, from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; 2

5. And from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, The firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth. 3

Unto him that loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood,

1 On the seven beatitudes in this book, see vol. ii. 49.
2 Here John's editor interpolates the following words: “And from the seven spirits which are before his throne” ; see vol. i. 9, 11-12.
3 The last two phrases = the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living. The primary meaning of ἐκκυρομένος, i.e. “firstborn,” is wholly superseded by its secondary one of “chief,” “foremost,” “sovereign.” See note on i. 5 (vol. i. 14).
6. And hath made us to be a kingdom, priests unto his God and Father— Unto him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7. Behold he cometh with the clouds; And every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him. And all the tribes of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so. Amen.

9-20. JOHN'S CALL AND COMMISSION.

(His vision of the Son of Man, who is described in terms that recur in the Letters to the first six of the Seven Churches.)

1 Not "and he hath made us"; for we have here a Hebrew idiom which often recurs in our text; see vol. i. 14-15.

2 In this translation I generally use "that" to "introduce a statement that is essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and "who" to "introduce a non-essential statement," as Abbott, Gr. 218, footnote, recommends, this being the usage generally adopted by Shakespeare and Addison.

3 Here év συνορέω requires this rendering. In Zech xii. 10, on the other hand, the same words mean, "they shall wail for him." We could also render "wail in regard to him." cl. John xiii. 28.

4 Here all the authorities add: 8. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." This verse is unquestionably interpolated, though I did not recognize this fact when writing my Commentary. This is proved by the evidence of (a) the context (or thought), and (b) that of the text (or grammar). (a) Contextual grounds. These words imply that John heard them in a vision; for otherwise he could not have heard them. But this would necessitate a foregoing statement, that John had fallen into a visionary condition or trance, such a statement as we find in i. 10 ("I was in the spirit") before his vision of the Son of Man, or his very frequent "I saw" or "I saw, and behold"; see vol. i. 105 sq. John does not fall into a trance till i. 10. If, then, i. 8 is original, the text is fragmentary. But the words cannot come from John's hand at all, as we see from (b). (b) Textual or grammatical grounds. John never disconnects δ θεός ("God") and δ παντοκράτωρ ("Almighty"), for the very good reason that δ παντοκράτωρ represents a genitive in the Hebrew dependent on θεός. That is, δ θεός δ παντοκράτωρ is a stock rendering of μακαρισμός ("God of hosts"); see vol. i. 20. Only an ignorant scribe could have separated the words. For John's use of this phrase, see iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxii. 22. The recognition of this fact is very important, seeing that not only has no scholar recognized the misuse of this phrase in i. 8, but none has recognized that the text in xix. 6, δ θεός [ἡμῶν] δ παντοκράτωρ (N 025. 046 Pr gsg vg cf s4), is equally impossible with that in i. 8. Here such great authorities as A 2040 s arm. vgs bo eth Cyp should at all events have led scholars with WH to bracket ἡμῶν as an intrusion, if not as impossible. In the LXX and in all works written by Jews in Hebrew or in Greek, nothing can intervene between δ θεός (or κύριος) and δ παντοκράτωρ in this phrase.

Hence i. 8 must be rejected. By its removal the right order of thought is restored. First in i. 4-7 comes John's greeting to the churches, and next in 9-20 his account of his call and commission by Christ. i. 8 is thus impossible in itself linguistically in our author, unintelligible in its present position, and intolerable as creating a breach between i. 4-7 and 9-20.
I John, your brother and companion in the tribulation and kingdom and endurance (which is) in Jesus, was in the isle which is called Patmos, because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. 10. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard a great voice behind me, as of a trumpet, saying:

11. What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches;
   Unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamum,
   And unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And having turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;
13. And in the midst of the candlesticks One like unto a son of man,
    Clothed with a garment down to the foot,
    And girt about the breasts with a golden girdle.
14. And his head and his hair were white as white wool,\(^1\)
    And his eyes were as a flame of fire,
15. And his feet like unto burnished brass, as when refined in a furnace,
    And his voice as the voice of many waters.
16. And he had in his right hand seven stars:
    And out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword:
    And his countenance was as the sun shining\(^2\) in his strength.
17. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying,
    Fear not; I am the first and the last:
18. And he that liveth,\(^3\) and was dead:
    And, behold, I am alive for evermore;
    And have the keys of death and Hades.
19. Write therefore the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are,
    And the things which shall be hereafter.

\(^1\) The text adds what was originally a marginal gloss, "as snow"; see vol. i. 28.
\(^2\) Not "shineth," which is neither good English nor a rendering of the text. The text here contains a Hebrew idiom; see vol. i. p. 31.
\(^3\) This clause belongs to this line, not to the preceding; see vol. i. 15, 31.
20. As for the mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand and the seven golden candlesticks—the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the candlesticks are the seven churches.

CHAPTERS II.—III.

LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

(To the angels of the Churches, i.e. to the Churches in their potential and ideal character, John addresses the seven following letters, which come from Jesus Himself, through whom alone their ideals can be realized; for He holds them in His right hand. These Churches, which are very imperfect witnesses of God on earth, are menaced with world-wide tribulation. These Letters were written by John, probably in the time of Vespasian, and edited afresh for incorporation in the Apocalypse. See vol. i. 43–47.)

CHAPTER II.

II. 1–7. (Letter to the Church in Ephesus, which is praised for rejecting false teaching, but blamed for forsaking its first love.)

1. To the angel of the Church in Ephesus write:

These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand,
That walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks:

2. I know thy works, even thy toil and endurance,
And that thou canst not bear evil men;
But hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not,
And hast found them false.

1 Nearly all the authorities read ις ανθρωπίνας ις ἡ γῆ ἢ ἐκκλησίας εἱστ. The position of the numeral without the article in the predicate here is parallel to that of ἡ γῆ and ἡ ἐκκλησία in xvii. 9, 12, xxii. 21. But here we require the article in the predicate, since the predicate is co-extensive with the subject, and since “the seven churches” (τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν) have just been mentioned. Two cursives Pr Fl and Arm rightly omit the second ἡ γῆ.

2 Not “and they are not”; for we have a Hebraism here; see note on 5–6, vol. i. 14.
3. And thou hast endurance,
   And didst bear for my name’s sake,
   And hast not grown weary.

4. But I have (this) against thee, that thou hast left thy first
   love.

5. Remember therefore from whence thou hast fallen,
   And repent and do the first works;
   Or else I will come unto thee,
   And remove thy candlestick out of its place.¹

6. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the works of the
   Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7. He that hath an ear, let him hear
   What the Spirit saith unto the Churches:

   The victor
   To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life,
   which is in the Paradise of God.

8–11. (Letter to the Church in Smyrna, which is praised for
   its loyalty under tribulation and impoverishment, and forewarned
   against a still worse though shortlived persecution.)

8. And to the angel of the Church in Smyrna write:

   These things saith the first and the last
   Which was dead, and is alive (again):

9. I know thy tribulation and poverty,
   But thou art rich;
   And the blasphemy of certain of those² which say they
   are Jews and are not,³
   But are a synagogue of Satan.

10. Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer:
    Behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into
    prison,
    That ye may be tempted, and have tribulation for ten
    days.

    Be thou faithful unto death,
    And I will give thee the crown of life.

¹ A gloss adds, "except thou repent"; see vol. i. p. 51.
² ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῶν is partitive. Our author does not charge with blasphemy
   all who claim to be Jews. The limitation is defined further in "and are
   not, but are a synagogue of Satan." But the ἐκ here may be only a sign of
   the genitive; see my Grammar in the Introd. to vol. i. under ἐκ.
³ Not "and they are not"; see note on ver. 2.
11. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches:
He that overcometh shall not be hurt by the second death.

12-17. (Letter to the Church in Pergamum.)

12. And to the angel of the Church in Pergamum write:
These things saith he that hath the two-edged the sharp sword:

13. I know where thou dwellest,
(Even) where Satan's throne is:
And thou holdest fast my name,
And didst not deny (thy) faith in me,
Even in the days of Antipas, my faithful witness,\(^1\)
Who was slain among you,
Where Satan dwelleth.

14. But I have a few things against thee,
Because thou hast there some who hold the teaching of Balaam,
Who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel,
To eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication.

15. Thus\(^2\) thou too in like manner hast some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans.

16. Repent, therefore,
Or else I will come unto thee quickly,
And I will make war against them with the sword of my mouth.

17. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.
To him that overcometh I will give of the hidden manna,
And I will give him a white stone,
And upon the stone a new name \(^3\) written,
Which none knoweth but he that receiveth it.

\(^1\) AC read “my witness, my faithful one”; but i. 5, iii. 14 support the text adopted above.

\(^2\) The “thus” is justified by the statement in 14, while the words “thou too in like manner” involve a comparison with the Church in Ephesus, ii. 3.

\(^3\) Though difficulties may attach to the various explanations of the “white stone,” that of the new name is clear. The name stands for the man and all therein implied—his personality. For him that overcometh this personality is so transformed, developed and enriched that it is in effect a new personality, which none knoweth save God and the man himself.
18-29. (Letter to the Church in Thyatira.)

18. And to the angel of the Church in Thyatira write:

These things saith the Son of God,
Whose eyes ¹ are like a flame of fire,
And whose feet ² are like unto burnished brass:

19. I know thy works—
(Even) thy love, and faith, and ministry, and endurance;
And thy last works are more than the first.

20. But I have (this) against thee,
That thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess,
And teacheth ³ and seduceth my servants,
To commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols.

21. And I have given her time that she should repent:
But she hath refused to repent of her fornication.

22. Behold, I will cast her upon a bed of suffering,⁴
And those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation; ⁵

23. But her children I will slay with pestilence:
And so all the churches shall know
That I am he that searcheth the reins and hearts,
And giveth ⁷ to each one of you according to your works.

¹ Lit. "who has his eyes."
² Lit. "and his feet"; but the possessive pronoun is really a part of the relative in Hebrew. Thus the stanza would run in Hebrew:
³ Not "and she teacheth"; for we have here a Hebrew idiom; see vol. i.
⁴ See vol. i. p. 71. Here as in iii. 9, ἠδοδε with the present indic. is to be rendered by the future.
⁵ Text adds a gloss, "unless they repent of their works." These words are unnecessary. Moreover, ἐκ μη with ind. (μετανοησοντες, Mt; μετανοησοντες Co 325, 046), is against John's usage. The punishments in 22-23 leave an opportunity for repentance but not the punishment in 23. The omission of 22 restores the parallelism and makes this stanza a tristich as the two that follow.
⁶ Here καλ has this meaning still more strongly than in Matt. v. 15, xxiii. 32; 1 John iii. 19, etc.
⁷ ὅ τρανθον ... καλ δώσω. We have here another instance of the same idiom as in ἡ. 52-6 = οὖν ... ἔθαν. Cp. Amos ix. 6 for a construction like that implied in the text. The judgments about to be executed in 22-23 will
II. 24–29. ] LETTER TO THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA 393

24. But to you I say, to the rest that are in Thyatira,
As many as have not this doctrine,
That know not the deep things of Satan, as they call (them)—

25. I cast upon you none other burden:
Only hold fast what ye have till I come.

26. And he that overcometh, even he that keepeth my works unto the end—
To him will I give authority over the nations:

27. As I also have received from my Father, the
The victor shall share in Christ’s dominion over the nations,

28. And he that overcometh, even he that keepeth works unto the end—
To him will I give him the morning star.

29. He that hath an ear, let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

cause all the Churches to know that it is Christ that is the Judge, and that He judgeth now. In fact it is from such experience that they connect the judgments in 22 with the conclusion in 23. The judgments are in accordance with the work. Both the sins and their punishments have become actually known to them. Hence there is no eschatological reference here to the final judgment, and accordingly καὶ δώσω must not be translated “and I will give,” but according to the Hebrew idiom as rendered above. Here is another fact tending to prove that the Seven Letters were written at a much earlier date than the Book as a whole. The Letters insist more upon the present judgments of Providence, the Book as a whole on the final judgment.

1 ἔγνωσαν. Timeless aorist to be translated as a perfect = “have recognised” = “know.” See Introd. vol. i. Gram. § 4. iii.
2 Or “and.”

3 This line follows 26 immediately, as the exactly parallel construction in ii. 21 shows.
4 Or “shatter” or “destroy”; see note in vol. i. p. 75 sq.
5 συντρίβωσαι is to be taken as a Hebraism and rendered by the future; see vol. i. 77. Tyc (ut vas figuli comminuentur) Pr vg (sicut (tanquam vg) as figuli confringentur) (s2) presuppose συντρίβωσαι and the above translation. 2050 gig (s2 emended by Gwynn) = καὶ συντρίβωσαι αὐτῶς ὠτ τὰ κείμενα κτλ. In any case the verb affects the ἔδωκα, not the σκέψεως.
6 συντρίβωσαι (or συντρίβησαται) would have seemed more natural in our text, since ἔδωκα is thrice preceded and twice followed by the plural verb inPropri author (xii. 18, xv. 4). But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neuter plural of various nouns in our author; see vol. i. Gram. § 8. ii. (δ). If this seems unsatisfactory here, seeing that ἔδωκα is referred to in the preceding aorist by αὐτῶς, then we must regard συντρίβωσαι as a slip of the writer a primitive corruption for συντρίβησαται or συντρίβησαται.
CHAPTER III.

III. 1-6. (Letter to the Church in Sardis.)

1. To the angel of the Church in Sardis write:
   These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God,
   And the seven stars:
   I know thy works
   That thou hast a name to live, but art dead.

2. Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, (but)
   which are ready to die:¹
   For I have found no works of thine fulfilled before my
   God.²

3. Remember therefore how thou hast received and didst
   hear,
   And keep (them), and repent.

XVI. 15. Behold, I come as a thief:
   Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his
   garments,
   So that he may not walk naked,
   And his shame be seen.³

III. 3°. If therefore thou dost not watch,
   I will come as a thief,
   And thou shalt not know
   At what hour I shall come to thee.

4. But thou hast a few names in Sardis
   Which have not defiled their garments,
   And they shall walk with me in white;
   For they are worthy.

5. He that overcometh shall thus be arrayed in white
   garments;
   And I will in no wise blot his name out of the book of life,
   But I will confess his name before my Father,
   And before his angels.

He that hath an ear let him hear
What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

¹ The epistolary imperfect here rendered as a present.
² "Works of thine" (AC). This judgment is more sweeping than the
   reading of ω.025.046—"thy works." Sardis has failed as a centre of spiritual
   power.
³ Lit. "they see his shame."
III. 7-10. (Letter to the Church in Philadelphia in which it is given unqualified approval for its fidelity and steadfastness, and promised the honour and privileges of the true Israel (9), and deliverance from the final demonic woes in the approaching worldwide tribulation (10-11). He that overcometh shall have an everlasting place in the spiritual Kingdom of God—even God's city, the New Jerusalem—and bear on his forehead God's name and Christ's own new name, 12.)

7. And to the angel of the Church in Philadelphia write:

These things saith he that is holy, he that is true,
He that hath the key of David,
That openeth and none closeth, 1
And closeth and none openeth:
Behold I have set before thee an open door,
Which none can shut. 3

8a. I know thy works,
That thou hast a little power,
And yet thou hast kept my word
And hast not denied my name.

8b. Behold, I will cause them of the synagogue of Satan
Who say that they are Jews and are not,
But do lie:
Behold, I will make them to come
And worship before thy feet,
And know that I have loved thee.

9. Behold, I will cause them of the synagogue of Satan
Who say that they are Jews and are not,
But do lie:
Behold, I will make them to come
And worship before thy feet,
And know that I have loved thee.

10. Because thou hast kept the word of my endurance,
I also will keep thee from the hour of tribulation,
Which is about to come upon the whole world,
To tempt them that dwell upon the earth. 4

1 See vol. i. 86.

2 The demonic temptations here referred to can only affect the unbelievers i.e. "those that dwell upon the earth"; see note on xi. 10 in vol. i. 289).
The victor shall dwell for ever in God's city and bear His name and Christ's new name.


12. He that overcometh—I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, And he shall go out no more: And I will write upon him the name of my God, And the name of the city of my God, The new Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven from my God, And mine own new name.

13. He that hath an ear, let him hear What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

14. And to the angel of the Church in Laodicea write:
   These things saith the Amen, The faithful and true witness, The beginning of the creation of God:

15. I know thy works That thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16. So because thou art lukewarm, And neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

17. Because thou sayest, I am rich, And have gotten riches, and have need of nothing; And knowest not that thou art (of all creatures) the (most) wretched and miserable And poor and blind and naked:

18. I counsel thee to buy of me gold refined by fire, that thou mayest be rich; And white garments, that thou mayest clothe thyself, And that the shame of thy nakedness be not made manifest; And eyesalve to anoint thine eyes, that thou mayest see.

19. As many as I love, I reprove and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.
20. Behold, I stand at the door and knock: If any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, And he with me.

21. To him that overcometh, I will grant to sit with me on my throne, As I also have overcome, and sat down with my Father on his throne.

22. He that hath an ear, let him hear What the Spirit saith unto the Churches.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VISION OF GOD THE CREATOR, FROM WHOM ARE ALL THINGS.

(With iv. comes an entire change of scene. The dramatic contrast could not be greater. In ii.-iii. we had a vivid description of the Churches, with the ideals they cherished, their faulty achievements, their not infrequent disloyalties, and their outlook darkened with the fear of universal martyrdom. But the moment we leave behind the restlessness and turmoil of earth, the moral shortcomings and apprehensions of the Churches in ii.-iii., we enter in iv. into an atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace, where neither the threatenings of the powers of evil nor the alarms of the faithful on earth can awake even a momentary misgiving in the heavenly hosts that serve and worship. And yet that the manifold needs and claims of the faithful on earth were the object of God's gracious purposes becomes clear and ever clearer as we advance.)

1. After these things I saw, and behold, a door was opened in heaven, and the former voice, which I had heard as of a trumpet speaking with me, said, Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter. 2. Straightway I was in the spirit: And behold a throne was set in heaven, And on the throne (was) one seated;

1 I have taken these participles as finite verbs, a construction occasionally occurring in our author and in Hebrew, and very frequently in Aramaic. If rendered as participles the sense is not so good: "Behold, a door opened in heaven, and the former voice, as of a trumpet speaking with me, saying."  
2 i.e. that in i. 10.  
3 On the high probability that part of this chapter was written at an earlier date by our author and subsequently incorporated by him when he edited the complete work, see vol. i. 104 sq., § 3.
8. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper stone and a sardius, 
And there (was) a rainbow round about the throne, like an emerald to look upon.

4. And round about the throne (were) four and twenty thrones: 
And on the thrones four and twenty elders sitting, 
Clothed in white garments; 
And on their heads (were) crowns of gold.

5. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and voices and thunders, 
And seven lamps of fire were burning before the throne, 1
6. And before the throne there was as it were a sea of glass like unto crystal; 
And round about the throne (were) four living creatures, 2 
full of eyes before and behind.

7. And the first creature (was) like a lion, 
And the second creature like a calf, 
And the third creature had a face as of a man, 
And the fourth creature (was) like a flying eagle.

8. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings, 4 
And they rest 5 not day and night, saying: 
Holy, holy, holy (is) the Lord God Almighty, 6 
Which was, and which is, and which is to come.

1 A gloss is added here: "which are the seven spirits of God." On the whole line see vol. i. 117.
2 A disturbing gloss is added here: "in the midst of the throne and"; see vol. i. 118.
3 i.e. Cherubim; see vol. i. 119-123.
4 The following clause is here interpolated: "Around and within they are full of eyes"; see vol. i. 125.
5 Pr gig and vg 4 d give "rested." See next note.
6 The rendering "Almighty" is probably right, but by no means certain. The Hebrew behind παρακρατῶν is in our author μῶις; see Isa. vi. 3. See footnote on i. 7 above. The specific word in Greek for "Almighty" is παρακρατῶν, which is found in Wisd. vii. 23, xi. 17, xviii. 15. It is significant that, although παρακρατῶν has in some instances approximately the meaning of "to be powerful," in the LXX (see Esth. i. 1; 1 Esdr. iv. 38, etc.), it never has this meaning in our author nor in the NT. The two words παρακρατῶν, παρακρατῶν are found side by side in the Liturgy of St. James; see Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, ii. i. 7. In the Apostles' Creed and generally in later times omnipotens is the equivalent of παρακρατῶν. The rendering "Lord God of Hosts" would be safe in any case.
9. And when the living creatures give glory and honour and thanks
   To him that sitteth on the throne,
   Who liveth for ever and ever,

10. The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sitteth on the throne,
    And worship him that liveth for ever and ever,
    And cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11. Worthy art thou our Lord and God,
    To receive the honour and the glory and the power:
    For thou didst create all things,
    And because of thy will they were, and were created.

CHAPTER V.

THE VISION OF CHRIST THE REDEEMER, THROUGH WHOM ARE ALL THINGS.

(As in iv. we have the vision of God from whom are all things, in v. we have the vision of the Lamb, into whose hands the destinies of the world are committed, inasmuch as through His redeeming death He had won the right to carry God's purposes into effect. As in iv. the Elders and Cherubim worship God as the Creator, in v. the Cherubim, Elders, and angels worship Christ as the Redeemer, while the chapter closes in the adoration of God and Christ by all.)

1. And I saw upon the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the back, sealed

2 These verbs are futures and not pasts in the Greek. But the context cannot admit of futures. We have here no prediction of what shall be under certain circumstances, but (a) either an account of what the Seer saw in a vision in the past—in such a case we should have pasts, and so Pr. v. p. 10. But (b) or a statement of the regular order of divine worship in heaven. Since the praise of the Elders follows immediately on that of the Cherubim, the context seems to favour (b). Hence the futures are to be rendered as presents. The Greek futures represent Hebrew imperfects in the mind of our author—used in a frequentative sense—a common usage in Hebrew; see vol. i. Gram. § 10. ii. (b). But (a) may be right, and the context refer simply to what the Seer saw in his vision. Then the futures would have to be rendered as pasts, as in the Latin and Armenian Versions mentioned above. The Hebrew imperfects in the mind of our author would explain this anomaly also. In careful translations like the LXX the uncertainty of the translators as to whether the Hebrew imperfect should be rendered by the Greek present, future, or past imperfect is constantly manifest, each of these renderings being possible.

3 Lit. “were” (םיה—so A omitting rest of line). Other MSS and Versions: “were and were created.”
And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no one in heaven, or on earth, or under the earth was able to open the book, or to look thereon. And I wept much, because no one was found worthy to open the book, or to look thereon. And one of the Elders saith unto me, Weep not: Behold the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and its seven seals. And I saw between the throne and the four living creatures and the elders a Lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth. And he came and took (it) out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having each of them a harp and golden bowls full of incense. And they sang a new song, saying, 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 reign upon the earth.

And I saw, and heard the voice of many angels round about the throne; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, saying, with a loud voice: Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain To receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, And might, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

1 Here the Lamb stands between the inner circle of the Cherubim and the outer circle of the Elders. This implies a Hebraism in the text. See vol. i. 140. Otherwise render: “in the midst of the throne and the four living creatures and in the midst of the elders.”

2 The perfect is here an aorist perfect: the RV. renders “takest”; cf. viii. 5. See Intro. vol. i. Gram. § 4. v.

3 The MSS add a gloss here: “which are the prayers of the saints.” The prayers and the incense were not identical; see vol. i. 145.

4 The text has “sing”; but this can represent the Hebrew imperfect in our author’s mind.

5 In the vision the Seer sees the saints already reigning in the Millennial Kingdom. Otherwise the verb is to be given a future sense as a Hebraism.

6 The MSS add a gloss here: “And the living creatures and the elders.” See vol. i. 148.
18. And every created thing which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and on the sea, and all things that are therein, heard I, saying,

Unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb,

Be the blessing, and the honour, and the glory,
And the power, for ever and ever.

14. And the four living creatures said

Amen.

And the elders fell down and worshipped.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD BEGINS WITH
THE OPENING OF THE SEALS BY CHRIST.

(Christ opens seal after seal of the Seven-sealed Book, and as they are successively opened a series of destructive agencies are let loose—war, international strife, famine, pestilence, the prayers of the martyrs which have become instruments of divine wrath (see footnote 2, p. 403), a mighty earthquake, cataclysms affecting heaven and earth. Through these God’s judgments on evil are brought to pass. But the cosmic troubles are still future, and even when fulfilled are partial and not the immediate heralds of the end, as the dwellers on the earth apprehended (see vol. i. 183, 153 sqq.).

1. And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four living creatures saying as with a voice of thunder, Come.

2. And I saw, and behold a white horse,

And he that sat thereon had a bow;
And there was given unto him a crown:
And he went forth conquering and to conquer.

8. And when he opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature saying, Come.
4. And another horse, a red one, went forth:
   And to him that sat thereon was given to take away the
   peace of the earth, 1
   And that they should slay one another,
   And there was given to him a great sword. 2

5. And when he opened the third seal, I heard the third
   living creature saying, Come.

And I saw, and behold, a black horse;
And he that sat thereon had a balance in his hand.

6. And I heard as it were a voice in the midst of the four
   living creatures saying,
   A measure of wheat for a penny,
   And three measures of barley for a penny;
   But to the oil and the wine do no hurt. 3

7. And when he opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of
   the fourth living creature saying, Come.

And I saw, and behold, a pale horse:
And he that sat thereon was named Pestilence. 4

1 So A, which omits εκ. But even if we retain εκ, with the great
   majority of the authorities, the sense could be the same; cf. ii. 9, "the
   blasphemy of (εκ) them." This peace is the wrong peace. Christ came to
   destroy it to make room for the true peace. The text recalls a saying of
   Christ in Matt. x. 34: "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth:
   I come not to send peace but a sword." Otherwise with κ, etc., render: "to
   take peace from the earth."

2 The sword bears here the eschatological meaning of civil and international
   strife. It is given by God to the faithless nations that they may destroy each
   other with it. See vol. i. 165.

3 Ramsay (Cities of St. Paul, 430 sq.) traces these commands to ancient
   custom. "The annual crops may be destroyed, but that means only scarcity
   and high prices; a new year will bring new crops. On the other hand, the
   vines and the olive must not be destroyed, because that means lasting ruin.
   New olive trees take about seventeen years to mature. Vines also need a
   number of years. ... This old principle of West Asiatic international
   religious law was taken up into the Mosaic Law." This is no doubt true, but
   our author is first of all and mainly dependent on the Little Apocalypse (Mark
   xiii. and parallels) and Zech. i. 8, vi. 2-7. See vol. i. 158 sqq.

4 The MSS add a gloss: "And Hades followed with him." See vol. i.
   169 sq.

5 So θάνατος must be rendered. It bears this meaning in ii. 23, xviii. 8, and
   frequently in the LXX. It is rendered by Aquila and Symmachus ὠλίμπος
   ("pestilence"), which is unmistakeable in meaning, but in the LXX by θάνατος
   and not ὠλίμπος. (Hence correct footnote in vol. i. 170.) Aquila so renders it in Deut.
   xxvii. 21; Amos iv. 10; Hab. iii. 5; Sym. in Ps. lxxvi. (lxxxvii.) 48; xc. (xci.) 6; Jer.
   xiv. (xxxviii.) 2, and both translators in Ex. v. 3, ix. 3, 15; Ezek. vi. 12, xi. 16. In Ps.
   lxxvi. (lxxxvii.) 50 the LXX renders both νεκρων and ῥήματα by θάνατος.
And authority was given unto him over the fourth part of the earth.¹

9. And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held:

10. And they cried with a loud voice, saying,
   How long, O Master, holy and true,
   Dost thou not judge and avenge our blood
   On them that dwell on the earth?

11. And there was given to each one of them a white robe;
    And they were bidden to rest yet for a little season,
    Until their fellow-servants also and their brethren should be fulfilled,
    That should be killed even as they.

12. And I saw when he opened the sixth seal:
    And there was a great earthquake;
    And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair,
    And the whole moon became as blood;

13. And the stars of heaven fell to the earth,
    As a fig tree casteth her unripe figs,
    When shaken by a mighty wind.

¹ MSS add a gloss: "to kill with sword and with famine and with pestilence (or 'death'), and with the wild beasts of the earth." See vol. i. 171.

² Though the subject of the seal is described as "persecutions" (see vol. i. 158, 171 sqq.), in keeping with the original eschatological tradition in Mark xiii. 7–9, 24–25 (and parallels), the reader should observe that its character has been altered by our author. Here the first thought is not of the persecutors or of their victims, but of the prayers of the latter. The prayers of the martyrs, vi. 9–10, are conceived as an instrument of divine wrath. The prayers of the martyrs offered on the altar, vi. 9–10, as those of all the saints, viii. 3–4, become spiritual forces. Hence a voice from this altar, ix. 13, orders the four angels of punishment to be let loose for the second Woe, and in xiv. 18 an angel from this altar delivers to the Son of Man the divine command to undertake the judgment of the earth, while in xvi. 7 (which rightly belongs to xix., see vol. ii. 122) the altar declares, as the angels, Elders and Cherubim have already done, that God's righteousness and truth have at last been vindicated in the destruction of Rome. Thus the prayers of the martyrs and saints are conceived as bringing about divine judgment, like the other seals.

³ ἔπνέω should perhaps be rendered "were cast," seeing that πυρείν is here used as the passive of δάκείν="casteth," in the next line. In Isa. xxxiv. 4 the same verb is presupposed in both clauses of the LXX and Sym. δέπνεια . . . ὡς πυρείν. See vol. i. 180.
14. And the heaven was parted,
   Being rolled up as a scroll; ¹
   And every mountain and island were moved out of their places.

15. And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, and every bondman and freeman, hid themselves in the caves and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and to the rocks,
   Fall on us, and hide us from the presence of him that sitteth on the throne,
   And from the wrath of the Lamb:

16. For the great day of his wrath is come;
   And who is able to stand?

CHAPTER VII.

VISION OF THE SEALING OF THE SPIRITUAL ISRAEL:
   AND OF THEIR BLESSEDNESS IN HEAVEN AFTER MARTYRDOM.

(In the preceding five chapters there is a progressive drama, advancing in a series of visions dealing first with its chief agents:
(a) with the Christian Church on earth, ii.–iii.;
(b) with God from whom are all things, iv.;
(c) with Christ, who takes upon Himself the fulfilment of God's purposes, v.;
and then with the opening of the first six Seals, which are to be followed by a series of social and cosmic judgments, vi. But with vii. 1–3 a pause is made in order that the spiritual Israel may be sealed, to secure them against the coming three Woes of a demonic character, 4–8. Thus in vii. 1–3 a pause is made in the movement of the divine drama, but in vii. 9–17 there is more: there is a breach in the unity of time, a unity which has been observed in ii.–vii. 8. But this breach is full of purpose. The sealing in vii. 1–4, though it secures the faithful from demonic powers, does not secure them from suffering martyrdom. Hence to encourage them to face these impending evils the Seer recounts the vision in vii. 9–17, in which, looking to the close of the great tribula-

¹ So is ἐπανάλημεν and some Cursives. So also Isa. xxxiv. 4: Προσάχειτε ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ὀφείλει. But the best attested reading, ἐπαναλήμενος, is perhaps at once original and a primitive slip for the emended form in ν. If ἐπαναλήμενος be taken as the original and correct text, then it is to be rendered: "as a scroll being rolled up."

² Less weighty authorities read "their."
tion, he beholds those who had been sealed and died as martyrs, already triumphant in heaven before the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom. This vision is proleptic. It constitutes a breach in the unity of time. At its close the chronological order of events is resumed. Such proleptic visions recur with the same purpose later on.)

1. After this I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind should blow on the earth, or on the sea, or upon any tree. And I saw another angel ascend from the sun rising, having a seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed: a hundred and forty and four thousand were sealed out of every tribe of the children of Israel.

5. Of the tribe of Judah were sealed twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand:
7. Of the tribe of Simeon twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand:
8. Of the tribe of Issachar twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Zebulun twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Joseph twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand:
5. Of the tribe of Gad twelve thousand:
6. Of the tribe of Asher twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Naphtali twelve thousand: Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand.

9. After these things I saw, And behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, Out of every nation, and (all) tribes and peoples and tongues, Standing before the throne and before the Lamb, Clothed in white robes, and with palms in their hands;

The text here is without the article. In ix. 4, where it recurs, it has the art.

1 The participle here is to be rendered as a finite verb. See Introd. Gram.

§ 4. ii. (b).

5-6 have been restored to their original order, in which the sons of Leah are followed by those of Rachel, and these in turn first by the sons of Leah's handmaid and then by Rachel's. See vol. i. p. 207.
10. And they were crying with a loud voice, saying,
   Salvation to our God
   That sitteth on the throne,
   And to the Lamb.

11. And all the angels stood round about the throne and
   the elders and the four living creatures; and they fell
   before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,
   saying,

12. Amen:
   Blessing, and glory, and wisdom,
   And thanksgiving, and honour, and power,
   And might, be unto our God for ever and ever. 8

13. And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, These
   who are clothed in the white robes, who are they, and
14. whence came they? And I said unto him, My Lord,
   thou knowest. And he said unto me,
   These are they that have come out of the great tribulation,
   And have washed their robes,
   And made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15. Therefore they are before the throne of God;
   And in his temple:
   And he that sitteth on the throne shall abide upon them. 4

16. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more;
   Neither shall the sun smite them any more, nor any heat:

17. For the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall be
   their shepherd,
   And shall guide them unto the fountains of the waters of
   life:
   And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

1 Here εορσωρ represents the imperfect in Hebrew in the Seer's mind, and
should be rendered by a past imperfect.
2 Nearly all authorities but C Pr add "Amen"; but it seems to be here a
liturgical addition, as Swete remarks: it is bracketed by WH. See note
in vol. i. pp. 19, 151 sq. The MSS read: "The blessing and the glory," etc.
3 We have here a Hebraism frequent in our author; see note in vol. i.
14 sqq. The RV. here, as always in the case of this idiom, is wrong—
"Come... and they washed."
4 Or: "shall cause his Shekinah to dwell upon them." See vol. i. p. 215.
5 The construction ἐκποιεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνόι is not found in any OT. version (so far
as I know) except in Aquila's (Ex. xxiv. 16). In xxii. 3 of our text we have
ἐκποιεῖν μετὰ ἀνόι. Now, since ἐκποιεῖν = ἐκ and ἀνόι frequently follows ἐκ,
ἐκποιεῖν ἐκτ seems here modelled on the Hebrew, as ἐκποιεῖν μετὰ on ἐκ ἀνόι.
Cf. the presupposed interchange of ἐκ and ἀνόι in the LXX and Theod. of
Dan. vii. 13, while Matt. xxiv. 30, 36vi. 64 (ἐσθίουσαν ἐκ τ. ἐτολῶν) and the
LXX of Dan. vii. 13, presuppose ἐκ, and Mark xii. 26, Luke xxi. 27 (ἐσθίον τοῦ
ἐκ), and Mark xiv. 62 (ἐσθίουσαν μετὰ), presuppose ἐκ.
6 An emendation of Gwynn and Swete. See vol. i. 216.
CHAPTER VIII.

HEAVEN'S PRAISES STILLED THAT THE PRAYERS OF ALL THE FAITHFUL MAY BE PRESENTED TO GOD AGAINST THE IMPENDING THREE WOES.

(1, 3-5, 2 (restored), 6 (restored), 13. Amid the silence of heaven for the space of half an hour, when all praises and thanksgivings were hushed, the prayers of all the saints are presented before God, 1, 3-5, to shield them in the coming tribulation. Then three Trumpets are given to three angels, wherewith they prepared to sound, 6, whereupon the Seer beheld another vision, even an angel flying in mid heaven and proclaiming, "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth," i.e. the non-Christians and faithless, because of the three Woes that were about to come upon them, 13. On the interpolated passage, viii. 7-12, and the changes introduced by the interpolator in viii. 1, 2, 6, 13, see notes below, and vol. i. 219 sqq.)

1. And when he opened the seventh seal, there followed a silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour. And another angel came and stood by the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer it upon the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense went up from the angel's hand before God, and the angel took the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth. And there followed lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and an earthquake.

2. And I saw three angels; and unto them were given three trumpets.

1 viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present context and not original in its present form. It is restored in what appears to have been its original form after viii. 5. These changes are due to the interpolation of viii. 7-12. See vol. i. 218-222, 224.

2 Or, "on behalf of."

3 This is the original order as in iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18. See Introd. Chap. IV, where it deals with this phrase. Corrupt order in MSS, due to interpolator of viii. 7-12.

4 The text reads: "And I saw the seven angels which stand (ἑπτατομος) before God, and there were given unto them seven trumpets."

Three angels bidden to sound the three trumpets announcing the three Woes, 2, 6, 13.
6. And the three\(^1\) angels who had the three\(^1\) trumpets prepared to sound.\(^2\)

18. And I saw, and I heard an eagle flying in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to them that dwell on the earth, because of the voices\(^3\) of the trumpets of the three angels, which are about to sound.

**INTERPOLATED PASSAGE.**

[7. And the first (angel) sounded,  
And there followed hail and fire, mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth:  
And the third part of the earth was burnt up,  
And the third part of the trees was burnt up,  
And all\(^4\) green grass was burnt up.

8. And the second angel sounded:  
And as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea:  
And the third part of the sea became blood;

9. And there died the third part of the creatures which were in the sea—that had life;  
And the third part of the ships were destroyed.

10. And the third angel sounded:  
And there fell from heaven a great star, burning as a torch,  
And it fell on a third part of the waters, and on the fountains of waters,

11.\(^b\) And the third part of the waters became like\(^6\) wormwood;  
And many men\(^7\) died of the waters, because they had become bitter.

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\(^1\) Text has "seven."

\(^2\) Here the editor of John's Apocalypse interpolated a small Apocalypse, viii. 7-12; see vol. i. 218-222. This consisted of four stanzas of four lines each. These four plagues are modelled on the first four Bowls.

\(^3\) Text reads: "the remaining voices." The addition comes from the hand of the interpelator of viii. 7-12.

\(^4\) Instead of "all green grass" the rest of viii. 7-12 suggests that in the original document there stood originally: "the third of all green grass." But why the change was made is not apparent; for as it stands it is in direct conflict with ix. 4.

\(^5\) The context requires "of the fountains," etc. See vol. i. 234. The MSS add: "and the name of the star is called Wormwood." But this clause breaks the development of thought and makes the stanza consist of five lines instead of four.

\(^6\) So 2038 Or\(\text{a}\) Pr fl gig vg \(\text{s1 bo sa eth.}\) Other authorities = "became wormwood." But the waters did not "become wormwood," but bitter in taste like wormwood.

\(^7\) We should expect: "the third part of mankind." See vol. i. 236.
12. And the fourth angel sounded:
   And the third part of the sun was smitten,
   And the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars;
   So that the third part of them was darkened,
   And the day did not shine for the third part of it, nor likewise the night.

CHAPTERS IX.—XIII.

THE THREE WOES.

(The three Woes, i.e. (1) the demonic locusts, (2) the demonic horsemen, (3) Satan and the two Beasts. These affect only those that dwell on the earth, i.e. the non-Christians, viii. 13, who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, ix. 4. The third Woe, it is true, results in the universal martyrdom of the faithful, xiii. 15; but its power to deceive and destroy spiritually is limited to the non-faithful, xiii. 14. Thus these Woes affect in the deepest sense only those who had not the seal of God on their foreheads. Yet evil at this stage appears to have triumphed, and the cause of God on earth to be brought to an end for evermore.)

THE FIRST AND SECOND WOES.

IX. (The first Woe consists of a plague of demonic locusts, which had no power to hurt those who had God's seal on their foreheads, but only those who had not, i-11. The second Woe consists of a plague of demonic horsemen, which were let loose from the Euphrates and destroyed one-third of the heathen world, 13-21.)

CHAPTER IX.

1. And the first angel sounded:
   And I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth,
   And there was given unto him the key of the pit of the abyss.

1 The text is hopelessly corrupt. There is no connection between the destruction of one-third part of the sun and the reduction of the length of the day by one-third. The corruption may have arisen in the Hebrew. The Bohairic gives what was apparently the original sense: "the third part of them did not shine by day, nor likewise by night." Cf. eth. I here withdraw the note in vol. i. 237 unless so far as it traces the error to the Semitic original.
2 "Fifth," owing to the interpolation of the four plagues in viii. 7-12.
2. And he opened the pit of the abyss;  
And there went up a smoke from the pit,  
As the smoke of a great furnace;  
And the sun and the air were darkened by the smoke of  
the pit.

3. And out of the smoke came forth locusts upon the earth;  
And power was given them, as the scorpions of the earth  
have power.

4. And it was said unto them that they should not hurt the  
grass of the earth,  
Nor any green thing, nor any tree, but only the men  
That had not the seal of God on their foreheads.

5. And it was given them that they should not kill them,  
But that they should be tormented five months;  
And their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when  
it striketh a man.  

6. And in those days men shall seek death,  
And shall not find it;  
And they shall desire to die,  
But death shall flee  
from them.

7. And the forms of the locusts were like unto horses pre­  
pared for war;  
And on their heads as it were crowns like gold,  
And their faces were as the faces of men.

8. And they had hair as the hair of women,  
And their teeth were as those of lions;  

9. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron.  
And the sound of their wings was as the sound of  
chariots,  
(Yea) of many horses rushing to war.

10. And they have tails like unto scorpions, and stings;  
And in their tails is their power  
To hurt men five months.

11. They have over them as king the angel of the abyss:  
His name in Hebrew is Abaddon.  

1 In my Commentary (vol. i. 222, 243) and Text I have treated this line  
as a gloss for the reason given in vol. i. 222; but it may be original.

2 The text reads "'fleeth," which seems to be a Hebraism: i.e.,=Hebrew  
imperfect in the mind of the writer. See vol. i. Introd. Gram. § 4. i. (a).

3 Text adds a gloss: "And in the Greek (tongue) he hath the name  
Apollyon." See vol. i. 245 sq.
The first Woe is past: behold, there come yet two Woes hereafter.

And the second angel sounded:
And I heard a voice from the horns of the golden altar which is before God,

Saying to the second angel who had the trumpet,

Loose the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates.

And the four angels were loosed,
Which had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year,
In order to kill the third part of mankind.

And the numbers of the armies of the horsemen were twice ten thousand times ten thousand:

And the four angels were loosed, Which had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year, In order to kill the third part of mankind.

And the numbers of the armies of the horsemen were twice ten thousand times ten thousand:

And the four angels were loosed, Which had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year, In order to kill the third part of mankind.

By these three plagues was the third part of mankind killed, By the fire and the smoke and the brimstone, which issued from their mouths;

For the power of the horses is in their mouths; and with them they do hurt.

1 Text reads "sixth," owing to the interpolation of the four plagues in viii. 7-12.

2 Text seems corrupt, but I cannot emend it satisfactorily. The fact that we have here the construction τ. καθημένως ἐν τοῖς ἀντίστοις — a construction against our author’s usage—may point to the evil activities of John’s editor. Cf. xiv. 15, 16, where in an interpolation the same wrong construction occurs twice. I have supposed a loss of ἐν τοῖς ἀντίστοις καὶ ἀληθέως through ἱμ. and corrected ἐφόρως into ἐφόρως. ἀντίστοις, according to our author’s usage, refers to what precedes, cf. ii. 15, iii. 5, 16, xvi. 18; but it cannot do so here, for the description of the horses comes later.

3 i.e. “on the horses.” The text reads: καθημένως ἐν τοῖς ἀντίστοις (= “sat on them”). This incorrect phrase seems due to the interpolator who tampered with the text. I here withdraw the suggestions in vol. i. 252 sq.

4 The text adds a gloss here: “and in their tails; for their tails are like unto serpents, having heads.” But the destructive powers of the horses lie in the fire, smoke, and brimstone which issue from their mouths, and not in their tails. The gloss is due to ix. 10. See vol. i. 253 sq.
The rest repented not, 20-21

20. And the rest of mankind, which had not been killed by these plagues,
   Did not even repent of the works of their hands,
   So as not to worship demons, and the idols
   Of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood;
   Which can neither see, nor hear, nor walk:

21. And they repented not of their murders, nor of their sorceries,
   Nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

**CHAPTER X.**

**THE SEER’S NEW COMMISSION.**

(This chapter serves several purposes. It was written mainly as an introduction to xi. 1-13 (the Little Book), but partly also to prepare the way for xii. sqq. (see x. 11) and partly to declare that the time prayed for by the martyrs, vi. 9 sqq., when God’s purposes, x. 7, should be accomplished, would no longer be delayed. Thus x. links together the earlier chapters with the later. A strong angel presents the seer with the Little Book (i.e. xi. 1-13—a transmitted source), and swears that God’s purpose with regard to the world would be forthwith fulfilled, 1-7. The Seer is then bidden to eat this Book and to issue other prophecies, 8-11.)

1. And I saw another strong angel coming down from heaven clothed with a cloud, and the rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as the sun, and his legs were as pillars of fire. And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth; And he cried with a loud voice, as a lion roareth: and when he cried, the seven thunders uttered their voices. And when the seven thunders uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up the things which the seven thunders have uttered, and write them not. And the angel that I saw standing upon the sea and upon the earth lifted up his right hand to heaven, And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created the heaven and the things that are therein, and the earth and the

1 The word is here ἐξ.
2 That of ᾱδος ἀδρόβ has this meaning here is shown in vol. i. 259.
things that are therein, and the sea and the things that are therein, that there shall be time no longer.

7. But in the days of the voice of the third angel, when he shall sound, then is the mystery of God finished, according to the good tidings which he declared to his servants the prophets. And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again and said, Go, take the book which is open in the hand of the angel that standeth upon the sea and upon the earth. And I went unto the angel and bade him give me the little book. And he saith unto me, Take it and eat it up, and it shall make thy belly bitter, but in thy mouth it shall be sweet as honey. And I took the little book out of the hand of the angel and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and when I had eaten it my belly was made bitter. And they said unto me, Thou must prophesy again concerning many peoples and nations and tongues and kings.

Chapter XI.

The Antichrist in Jerusalem.

(XI. 1-13 is a proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem. It is a digression, because the Seer turns aside from his main theme of the Antichrist as identical with Rome and its empire; it is proleptic, because in point of time it belongs to the third Woe, when Satan has been cast down from heaven, and the kingdom of the Antichrist established, xii.-xiii. This task once fulfilled in xi. 1-13, he returns to his main theme in xi. 14-xviii. The seer here uses a source which originally had in several respects a different meaning. Its present meaning is given in the short summary in vol. i. 269.)

1. And he gave me a reed like unto a rod, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court that is without the

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1 Text reads "seventh." For this and other changes introduced by an early editor, see vol. i. 219 sqq.
2 See vol. i. 264 sq.
3 The Greek is solecistic, and the solecism appears to go back to the Seer.
4 "And bade" is here a rendering of λήγω, followed by an inf., as in xiii. 14.
5 The Greek is ἐβδομήμων, which must be rendered as if it were εἰσέκεν ὑμᾶς... λήγον. For like abnormal constructions, see note, vol. i. 274.
temple leave out, and measure it not; for it hath been given unto the nations: and the holy city they shall tread under foot forty and two months. And I will appoint my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, which stand before the Lord of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies. These have the power to shut the heaven, that it rain not during the days of their prophecy: and they have power over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth with every plague, as often as they will. And when they have finished their testimony, the beast that cometh up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies (shall lie) in the street of the great city, that spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified. And some of the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations look upon their dead bodies three days and a half, and suffer not their dead bodies to be laid in a tomb. And they that dwell in the land rejoice over them, and make merry; and they shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets had tormented them that dwell in the land. And after the three days and a half the breath of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them that beheld them. And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they went up into heaven in the cloud; and their enemies beheld them. And in that hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell; and there were killed in the earthquake seven thousand persons: and the rest were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The second Woe is past: behold the third Woe cometh quickly.

1 Vers. 3–13 are a prophecy rather than a vision. The presents in 4–6, 9–10, are equivalent to futures. The past verbs in 11–13 represent Hebrew perfects (or in some cases probably the imperfects with vav convervive); but these perfects vividly represent the prophetic future.

* The text adds a gloss here which is based on 5a and xiii. 10: "and if any will hurt them, in this manner must he be killed"; see vol. i. 284.

* i.e. Palestine; see vol. i. 289.
INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD WOE.

XI. 15-19. The proleptic digression in xi. 1-13, to which x. is an introduction, has come to an end, and our author here returns to the progressive development of the divine drama in the third Woe, xii.-xiii. Though x. in certain respects links up the chapters that precede with those that follow it, yet in the order of action xi. 14 follows immediately on ix. and the main theme is resumed in the third Woe, which is heralded by the third Trumpet. This Woe apparently results in the absolute triumph of Satan and his agents on earth and the annihilation of the Church; but the two songs in heaven, which introduce it in xi. 15-18, disclose in advance the actual issues of events: their burden is that the Kingdom of the world has in the reality of things become the Kingdom of God and of His Christ, that the time has come for the judgment of the nations and of Satan and the Beast, for the judgment of the dead and the due recompense of God's servants.

15. And the third\(^1\) angel sounded; and there followed great voices in heaven, saying,

The kingdom of the world has become (the kingdom) of our Lord and of his Christ,
And he shall reign for ever and ever.

16. And the four and twenty elders, which sit before God on their thrones, fell on their faces and worshipped God, saying,

17. We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty,
Which art and which wast;
Because thou hast taken thy great power,
And hast become King.

18. a. And the nations have waxed wroth,
   b. And thy wrath hath come,
   c. And \(<\) the time \(>\) to destroy them that destroy the earth,\(^2\)

1 Text reads "seventh"; see vol. i. 218 sqq. Each Woe is heralded by a trumpet blast. Before the interpolation of viii. 7-12 there were only three trumpets.

2 In the text this clause is certainly out of place. By its restoration after 18\(^a\) we recover the development of events in their true order; see vol. i. 295 sqq. "The destroyers" are the first Beast, the False Prophet, and Satan as well as their adherents.
g. The small and the great.  

h. And for giving their reward to thy servants,  
i. The prophets and the saints,  
j. And them that fear thy name.

10. And there was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant; and there followed lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and an earthquake, and great hail.

CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECT.

(XII. This chapter is retrospective. Its object is to give the reader insight into the past in order to prepare him for the crowning evil—the climax of Satan's power upon earth. But this crowning evil is not really a sign of his growing power, but the closing stage of a war in heaven, which had already terminated in the vindication of God's sovereignty, and the hurling down of Satan to earth. Hence, however, Satan and his minions, the Roman and heathen powers, may rage, but it is but the last struggle of a beaten foe, whose malignity is all the greater, since he knows that his time is short. The vision goes back before the birth of Christ, and tells with mythological colouring how Satan sought to destroy Christ, and, after His ascension, the Church itself. In setting forth his theme the Seer has borrowed the main part of this chapter from Jewish sources, which had in turn been derived from international sources, and has adapted them—though not wholly—to their new and Christian setting. The closing verses, 14–16, were written before 70 A.D., and cannot be interpreted in detail of the crises of 95 A.D., when our author wrote. See vol. i. 299, 331 sq. For a summary of the chapter, see vol. i. 298 sq.)

1. And a great sign was seen in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she was with child, and cried out in her travail and pain to be delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven; and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and

3. delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven; and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and

I have restored this line immediately after 18°; cf. xx. 12. Otherwise read line g immediately after line h (And the time) to destroy them that destroy the earth. The small and the great. "The great" would be Satan and the two Beasts: "the small" would be their adherents.
4. ten horns, and upon his heads seven diadems. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman that was about to be delivered, that he might devour her child when she was delivered. And she was delivered of a son, a man child, who shall break all the nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up to God and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that there they should nourish her a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

7. And war burst forth in heaven:
   Michael and his angels had to war with the dragon;
   And the dragon warred and his angels; and he prevailed not,
   But the child is rapt to heaven and his mother escaped, for three and a half years into the wilderness,
   Satan and his angels storm after the child to heaven, but are overturned and cast down to earth.
   Triumph song of the glorified martyrs in heaven in honour of their brethren still on earth.

9. And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, —He that is called the Devil and Satan, That deceiveth the whole world—
   He was cast down to the earth,
   And his angels were cast down with him.
10. And I heard a great voice in heaven, saying,
    Now is come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ:
    For the accuser of our brethren is cast down,
    Which accuseth them before our God day and night.
11. And they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb,
    And because of the word of their testimony,
    Seeing that they loved not their lives even unto death.7

5. The position of the numeral before the noun is against our author's usage. But this seems due to the source.
6. οὕτως. Here = Hebrew imperfect.
7. Here ἔδρασεν, from περιοῦν (as WH. In vii. 11 our author uses εὐδρασεν in the same sense.
8. See note on chap. ii. 27 (translation), and vol. i. 75.
9. The Greek is ὑρπαίρειν.
10. ὁ Μιχαήλ καὶ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ τοῦ παλαίστραίος. These words cannot be explained as Greek on any hypothesis save on that of their being a slavishly literal rendering of a vigorous Hebrew idiom. See vol. i. 321 sq.
11. A pregnant expression, meaning that they esteemed his life as nothing in comparison with their loyalty to their faith, even unto martyrdom. I have rendered the καὶ before ὡς σύνεσιν by "seeing that" (cf. xv. 3, xix. 3), as = 2 in Hebrew (cf. Gen. viii. 18, xxvi. 27). This line introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by the principal verb, ὑρπαίρον, took place. See Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, p. 253; Gesenius, Heb. Gr. p. 456 (Oxford ed.).

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have already overcome Satan by their coming martyrdom. Satan persecutes the Christian Church, but the Jewish Christian Church escapes, 13-16 Persecution of the Gentile Christian Church.

13. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them: Woe unto the earth and the sea; For the devil is gone down to you with great wrath, Knowing that he hath but a short time.

14. And when the dragon saw that he was cast down to the earth, he persecuted the woman that had brought forth the man child. And there were given to the woman the two wings of the great eagle that she might fly into the wilderness to her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, because of the serpent.

15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth after the woman water as a river, that he might cause her to be swept away by the flood. But the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the river which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon waxed wroth with the woman, and went away to make war with the rest of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and hold the testimony of Jesus.

SATAN APPARENTLY TRiumphant: THE CHURCH ON EARTH DESTROYED.

XII. 18-XIII, XIV. 12-13. (The climax of Satan’s power on earth achieved in the personal reign of the Antichrist—the Roman Empire incarnated in the demonic Nero—for three and a half years: the universal martyrdom of the faithful, and the beatitude pronounced upon them from heaven. For a summary of this section (to which xiv. 12-13 belongs—see vol. i. 368) see vol. i. 332 sq. The third Woe, which began in xi. 15-19, is resumed here, though in xii. the way is prepared for this Woe by the casting down of Satan from heaven.)

XII. 18. And he stood upon the sand of the Sea.

1 See note in vol. i. 330 ad fin.
2 xii. 14-16, which was written originally of the Church before 70 A.D., do not admit of any intelligible reinterpretation in their present context, which relates to 95 A.D. This passage, like many others, would have undergone revision had John had his opportunity; see vol. i. 299, § 1 ad fin., 332.
CHAPTER XIII.

1. And from the sea I saw a beast coming up With ten horns and seven heads, and on his heads names of blasphemy.

2. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, And his feet were as the feet of a bear, And his mouth as the mouth of a lion:

And the dragon gave him his power, And his throne, and great authority.

3. And (I saw) one of his heads slain as it were unto death; And his deadly wound was healed:

And the whole earth wondered after the beast;

4. And they worshipped the dragon, Because he had given his power to the beast;

And they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? And who can war with him?

6a. And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;

6. And he opened his mouth for blasphemies against God, To blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and those that dwell in the heaven.

5b. And there was given unto him authority to act with effect forty and two months.

7. And there was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them; And there was given unto him authority over every tribe and people and language and nation.

1 MSS add a gloss: "And on his horns ten diadems." The position of the numeral is against our author's usage. Further, the gloss conflicts with xii. 3. Again, though the use of "diadems" is befitting in relation to the Emperors of Rome [cf. xix. 12 where Christ has "many diadems"], it is quite inapt in regard to the ten vassal kings of Parthia (xvii. 12).

3 Read: "when it saw the beast." The Greek δηλω τον θρησκευ δια των ἀποριστήρων to δηλω means implies a corruption in the Hebrew source. τρομόν (＝δηλω) is corrupt for τρομή＝δηλωσα or δηλωσα. See vol. i. 337. xiii. 5, 6 are a doublet of xvii. 8.

5 The three verses relating to the blasphemies of the Beast, i.e. 5, 6, clearly form a tristich; and the three lines in 5, 7, each beginning with καὶ δῆλον αἱ ἀπορίας, just as clearly form another tristich. Hence I have restored 5b to its original place.

Possibly "his shekinah." See vol. i. 352, ii. 205 sqq.
8. And all that dwelt on the earth worshipped 1 him, 
   Whose names were not written in the book of life 
   Of the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of 
   the world.

9. If any man hath an ear, let him hear.

10. If any man is for captivity, 
    Into captivity he goeth: 
    If any man is to be slain with the sword, 
    With the sword must he be slain.  

     Here is the patience 
     And the faith of the saints.

11. And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth; 
    And he had two horns like a lamb, 
    But † he spake as a dragon †.  

12. And he exerciseth all the authority of the first beast in 
    his sight. 
    And he maketh the earth and them that dwell in it to 
    worship the first beast, 
    Whose deadly wound had been healed.

13. And he doeth great signs, so that he maketh even fire to 
    come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of 
    men. And he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth 
    by reason of the signs that it was given him to do in 
    the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the 
    earth, that they should set up an image 4 to the beast, 

14. who had the wound of the sword, and yet lived. And 
    it was given unto him to give breath to the image 
    of the beast, that the image of the beast should also 
    speak, and to cause 5 that as many as should not worship 
    the image of the beast should be killed. And he causeth

1 Text reads προσευχομαι. But this is a rendering of the Hebrew 
imperfect in the source. Cf. 4, where the past "worshipped" is rightly given. 
See vol. i. 353- .

4 A alone preserves the true text here. See vol. i. 355 sq.

5 Read: "he was a destroyer like the dragon." The Hebrew of the source 
was here corrupt; see vol. i. 358 sq.

1 Lit. "make an image."

The Greek = "And it was given unto him to give breath to the image 
of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak and cause that 
as many as should not worship the beast," etc. This does not represent the 
historical facts. It is also hopelessly clumsy. I have assumed, therefore, that 
there is a Hebraism in the text akin to another we have found frequently. 
The second beast was empowered to do two things: the first to give life to the 
image of the first beast, and the second—to cause all that did not worship 
the image to be put to death. Thus καί ωςφυς would naturally be καί
all, the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, Seer's
and the free and the bond, to receive a mark on their
right hand or upon their forehead: and that no man
should be able to buy or sell, save he that hath the mark,
the name of the beast or the number of his name.

18. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding
count the number of the beast; for it is the number of
a man: and his number is Six hundred and sixty-six. 3

XIV. 19. Here is the patience of the saints, who keep the
commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

19. And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed
are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth:
yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their
labours; 8 for their works go with them. 4

CHAPTER XIV.

PROLEPTIC VISIONS—OF THE GLORIFIED MARTYRS
IN THE MILLENNIAL KINGDOM, OF THE DOOM
OF ROME AND OF THE HEATHEN NATIONS.

(this entire chapter is proleptic: that is, the orderly develop­
ment of future events, as set forth in the successive visions, is
here abandoned (as in vii. 9-17, xi. 1-13), and the visions of
coming judgments in xvi. 17-xix., xx. 7-10, are summarised in
xiv. 8-11, 14, 18-20. To this summary is prefixed a description
of the blessed (i.e. the 144,000 in vii. 4-8) on Mount Zion
during the Millennial reign. This is a later stage in their
blessedness than that in vii. 9-17. The object of the entire
chapter is to encourage the faithful to endurance in the face of
the universal martyrdom just foreseen by the Seer in xiii. 15.

1. roγωνιάν, and be parallel to δοῦνας that precedes. But here by a common
Hebrew idiom the infinitive passes into a finite verb. Thus καὶ ἐθάνετο οὐργὴ
δοῦνας ... καὶ ὄντας is a literal rendering of ὁμοιοί . . . ἵνα δοῦνας. In this
case the imperial priesthood produce a speaking image, and cause all that do
not worship it to be put to death. If we do not accept the Hebraism, then it
is the image that causes the death of the faithful. But the context seems to
be against this interpretation, and certainly the verse that follows is. It
is the second beast in xvi. 16 that causes all to receive the mark of the beast, and
historically, as we know from Pliny, etc., it was the priesthood or official
classes that did so—not the images.

1 It is possible that ver. 18 is a later addition.
2 i.e. the hardships, laborious toils incident to the life of faith.
3 Lit. "that they should give them."
This is done by the vision of the blessedness of the martyrs in the Millennial Kingdom, 1-5, and the vision of the doom of Rome and the heathen nations—Thus Christ's Kingdom which seemed overthrown is seen in the vision to be established on earth, and Satan's Kingdom, which appeared triumphant, to be destroyed.)

1. And I saw, and behold the Lamb standing on Mount Zion,
   And with him a hundred and forty and four thousand,
   Having his name and the name of his Father written on
   their foreheads.

2. And I heard a voice from heaven,
   As the voice of many waters,
   And as the voice of a great thunder.
   And the voice which I heard (was) as (the voice) of harpers

3. Harping with their harps, and singing as it were a new
   song
   Before the throne, and before the four living creatures and
   the elders.
   And no one could learn the song
   Save the hundred and forty and four thousand:

4. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he
goeth.

4d. These have been redeemed \(^1\) from among men (to be) a
   sacrifice to God, \(^2\)

5. And in their mouth hath no falsehood been found;
   For they are blameless.

6. And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an
   eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the
   earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and
   people, saying with a great voice,
   Fear God, and give him glory;
   For the hour of his judgment is come:
   And worship him that made the heaven
   And the earth and sea and fountains of waters.

1 Here it was most probably John's editor who, wrongly taking δραχή to
   mean "first fruits," added the following gloss: "3. who were redeemed
   from the earth. 4b. These are they who were not defiled with women;
   for they are virgins." These clauses exclude from the 144,000 all women;
   for the clause "who were not defiled with women" cannot be interpreted
   of women even metaphorically. See vol. ii. 8 sqq.

2 The redeemed are a sacrifice (δραχή) to God, but not to the Lamb.
   δραχή does not mean "first fruits" here. The same interpolator who
   added the clauses given in note (1) has added here "and to the Lamb."
8. And another, a second angel, followed, saying,
   Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,
   Which had made all the nations to drink the wine
   [of the wrath] of her fornication.

9. And another angel, a third, followed them, saying with a
   great voice,
   If any man worshippeth the beast and his image,
   And receiveth the mark on his forehead, or upon
   his hand,

10. He shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God,
    Which is mingled sheer in the cup of his anger,
    And he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone
    In the presence of the angels and of the Lamb.

11. And the smoke of their torment goeth up for ever
    and ever;
    And they have no rest day nor night,
    That worship the beast and his image,
    And whoso receiveth the mark of his name.

14. And I saw, and behold, a white cloud;
    And on the cloud one seated like unto a son of man,
    Having on his head a golden crown,
    And in his hand a sharp sickle.

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1 This article is necessary; see vol. ii. 15, and text in loc. for the cursives
and versions which support it.

2 We have here kal aúrós. Three explanations are possible. (a) The kal
is a Hebraism introducing the apodosis, and so is not to be translated; see
vol. ii. p. 16. (b) It may be taken with the kal that follows in the third
line as kal ... kal, "both ... and." But this usage is not found elsewhere in our author, though it is in L. (c) It may be rendered "too." kal aúrós would then = "he too." But the context is against this rendering; for it presupposes that some one else just mentioned shall drink of the wine of God's wrath. But there is no such statement in xiv. 8. Besides, the phrase kal aúrós (in the meaning of "he too") does not occur in our author, save in an interpolation xiv. 17, and in a Greek source xvii. 11.

3 ἀκριβον. Can our author have taken this word to be a rendering of
τόν, as the LXX in Ps. lxxiv. 9? See vol. ii. 17.

4 Vers. 12-13, which pronounces the great beatitude on the martyred
Church, has been restored to its original context after xiii. 18.

5 Here apparently John's editor has added 15-17, which is really a
doublet of xiv. 18-20. This doublet represents the judgment as a reaping of
the harvest of the wrath of God. But this figure does not belong to our
author, who speaks of it as a vintage; cf. xix. 15. Besides, several construc-
tions are against his use, and the interpolator has failed to recognise the "one
like a son of man" as Christ; see vol. ii. 3, 18 (ad fin.), 21 sq. John could
never have divided the judgment between Christ and an angel or have put
any angel on an equality with Christ. It is a very stupid interpolation; for
it assigns to an angel the very judgment that is to be exercised by the Word

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Proleptic vision of the doom of Rome and of them that worship the Beast and receive his mark (=vision coming in its due order, xvi. 17-xvii. 8-11)

Proleptic vision of the judgment executed by the Son of Man on the heathen nations (=vision coming in its due order in xix. 11-20, xx. 7-10).

14, 18-20

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is a Hebraism introducing the apodosis, and so is not to be translated; see
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never have divided the judgment between Christ and an angel or have put
any angel on an equality with Christ. It is a very stupid interpolation; for
it assigns to an angel the very judgment that is to be exercised by the Word
18. And another angel went forth from the altar, and cried with a great voice to him that had the sharp sickle saying,

Thrust in thy sharp sickle,
And gather the clusters of the vine of the earth;
For her grapes are fully ripe.

19. And he thrust his sickle into the earth,
And gathered the vintage of the earth,
And cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.

20. And the winepress was trodden without the city,
And blood came out of the winepress even unto the horses' bridles—
To a distance of one thousand six hundred furlongs.

CHAPTER XV.

XV. 2-8. (The chronological order of events in the Seer's visions of the future is here resumed. In other words, xv. 2–8 follows immediately on xiii., for xiv. broke away from this order and was wholly proleptic. xv. 2 opens with a vision of the entire martyr host, that had fallen in xiii. and are now in heaven (as in vii. 9–17) praising God for His righteousness and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations (that had not been deceived by Rome), who would become His servants because of His righteous acts, 2–4. Thereupon follows a vision of the dooms inflicted on Rome and the nations seduced by her in the judgments of the Bowls, 5–8.)

of God in xix. 11–21. The interpolated verses (15-17) are : 15. "And another angel went forth from the temple, crying with a great voice to him that sat on the cloud,

Thrust in thy sickle and reap:
For the hour to reap hath come;
For the harvest of the earth is dried up.

16. And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped. 17. And another angel went forth from the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle."

1 Another, as distinct from the angels in vers. 6, 8, 9; otherwise render : "another, an angel."

2 The MSS add : "who had power over fire."

3 i.e. the Son of Man. The text reads "an angel"—an interpolation due to the hand that inserted 15-17. The Son of Man is never described as an angel. It is He, and not an angel, that thrusts in the sickle and gathers the vintage of the earth. Therein xiv. 14, 18–20 is a proleptic vision of the event described in the vision in xix. 11–21 where the Word of God treads the winepress of the wrath of God.
2. And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire; and them that had been victorious over the beast, and over his image, and over the number of his name, standing by the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3. And singing the song of the Lamb, saying,
Great and marvellous are thy works,
Lord God Almighty:
Righteous and true are thy ways,
Thou King of the nations.

4. Who shall not fear, O Lord, And glorify thy name? For thou alone art holy;
For all the nations shall come And worship before thee;
For thy righteous acts shall have been made manifest.

5. And after these things I saw, and the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened: and during the seven angels came forth from the temple, clothed in fine linen, pure, bright, and girt about the breasts with golden girdles. And one of the four living creatures gave unto the seven angels seven golden bowls full of the wrath of God who liveth for ever and ever.

6. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and none could enter the temple till the seven plagues of the seven angels were finished.

1 xv. 1 is an interpolation; see vol. ii. 30 sq.: "And I saw another sign in the heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having seven plagues, (which are) the last; for in them is finished the wrath of God." This subject is not touched upon till xv. 5, as the phrase καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλο πρόκειται proves. This phrase is not used unless at the beginning of a new and important section. See vol. i. 106 and footnote.

2 The text reads καὶ ἰδοὺ, "and they sing" as in xiv. 3. This is the Hebrew idiom, which has already occurred frequently; see vol. i. 14 sq. That this was so understood very early we see from the Versions, which render as I do in the text: i.e. Pr ἰδοὺς. We should observe the correction in καὶ, which reads καὶ ἰδοὺς. The text here adds: "the song of Moses the servant of God and "; see, however, vol. ii. 34 sqq.

3 A meaningless expression. Either we must excise the words: "of the tabernacle of the testimony," or, for this introduction to the Bowls go back to a Hebrew source and assume a slight corruption in the original. See vol. ii. 37 sq., where it is shown that if this introduction is from a Hebrew source we should probably read: "the temple of God which is in heaven," as in xi. 19. The corruption could quite easily arise.

4 Text reads: "the seven angels that had the seven plagues"—a change due to the interpolator of xv. 1.

5 See vol. ii. 38. The best MSS read λίθων. This impossible reading appears to presuppose a misrendering of the Hebrew.
(These plagues are not in any sense a repetition of the seven Seals or the three Woes. Under the Seals (save in the fifth, where the prayers of the martyrs as spiritual judgments affect only the heathen), Christian and heathen alike suffer physically. The three Woes do spiritual hurt only to those who had not the Seal of God; the first two do physical hurt as well: to those who had the Seal of God the three Woes could do no spiritual hurt, though the third could do them physical hurt. Since those who had been sealed have already been martyred in xiii., the Bowls affect only the heathen world.)

First Bowl poured upon the earth, 1-2

The second in the sea, 3

The third on the rivers and fountains, 4

The fourth on the sun, 8-9

The fifth on the throne of the Beast, 10-11

1. And I heard a great voice from the temple saying to the seven angels, Go and pour out the seven bowls of the wrath of God upon the earth. And the first went and poured out his bowl upon the earth; and it became a noisome and grievous sore upon men. And the second poured out his bowl upon the sea; and it became blood as of a dead man; and every living soul died, (even) the things that were in the sea. And the third poured out his bowl upon the rivers and the fountains of waters, and they became blood. And the fourth poured out his bowl upon the sun; and it was given unto him to scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat, and they blasphemed the name of God which hath the power over these plagues, and they repented not to give him glory. And the fifth poured his bowl upon the throne of the beast; and his kingdom was darkened:

11. . . and they gnawed their tongues for pain, And they blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and of their sores; and they repented not of their works.

1 et al., but 'et in 8, 10, 12, 17 without any real difference in meaning.

2 The MSS add the following gloss: "that had the mark of the beast and that worshipped his image"; see vol. ii. 43.

3 Here follows an interpolation: "and I heard the angel of the waters saying," which is used to introduce 5-7. These clauses originally followed after xix. 4, to which context they are restored in this edition; see vol. ii. 122, also 116 sq.

4 After "darkened" several clauses have been lost, in which the causes of the darkness and the sufferings of mankind were given. The plague of darkness could not explain the agony of the worshippers of the Beast. This plague is closely connected with the first Woe; see vol. ii. 45 sq. The phrase "because of the sores" proves that the sufferings of the subjects of the Beast cannot be explained from the text as it stands.
12. And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, the Euphrates, and its waters were dried up, that the way might be prepared for the kings that (come) from the sun-rising. And I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits ¹ going forth unto the kings of the whole world to gather them together unto the war of the great day of God Almighty. ² And they gathered them together to the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon. And the seventh poured out his bowl upon the air; and there came forth a great voice out of the temple, from the throne, saying, It is done. And there followed lightnings, and voices and thunders, and there followed a great earthquake, such as there has not been since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, so great. ³ And the cities of the nations fell, and Babylon the great was remembered before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. And great hail, (every stone) about the weight of a talent, came down from heaven upon men: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

¹ While our text represents God as putting it into the heart of the Parthian kings, xvii. 17, 16, to destroy Rome, it is three unclean spirits from Satan and reserved the two Beasts which muster the nations against Christ in xvi. 13-16; cf. for special judgment, xix. 17, 19, xx. 8.

² MSS add a gloss: "As it were frogs; for they are spirits of demons working signs"; see vol. ii. 47 sq.

³ The text here reads corruptly & ἀκατερήτως instead of ἀκατερήτως, which our author's usage and the context require; see vol. ii. 48

⁴ Here the MSS insert as xvi. 15—a verse which originally stood after iii. 3, and where it is restored in this edition. It forms the second of the seven beatitudes in our author.

⁵ The MSS add here: "And the great city was divided into three parts"—the contents of which are against the context, while the order of the numeral is against our author's usage; see vol. ii. 52.

⁶ Lit. "cometh" = Hebrew imperfect. ⁵ Lit. "is."
CHAPTER XVII.

XVII.-XVIII. THE VISION AND DOOM OF ROME, XVII. 1-6, XVIII.; THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BEAST AND OF HIS SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HOO NS, XVII. 8-17.

(These two chapters are to be taken closely together. xvii. begins with a promise on the part of the angel to show the Seer the judgment of the Great Harlot; but instead he turns aside to deal with the Beast, and the promised judgment is not witnessed till xviii. Our author is here using two sources: one embraces xvii. 1\(^a\)-2, 3\(^b\)-6\(^a\), 7, 18, and part of 8-10, xviii. (see vol. ii. 55, 59 sqq., 94), which was originally written when Vespasian, the sixth king, was still reigning (xvii. 10). The second is fragmentary, xvii. 11-13, 17, 16, and dealt with the Neronic Antichrist, the ten kings, and the destruction of Rome.)

XVII. 1. And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven bowls, and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee

The judgment of the great harlot
That sitteth upon many waters:

2. With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication,
And with the wine of whose fornication they that dwell upon the earth have become drunken.

3. And he carried me away in the spirit into a wilderness: and I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and adorned\(^1\) with gold and precious stones and pearls, having in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and the unclean things\(^2\) of her fornication. And upon her forehead (was) a name written, a mystery—

Babylon the great,
The mother of harlotries \(^3\)
And of the abominations of the earth.

\(^1\) Or "covered"; see note on meaning of χρυσομάκαρη here, vol. ii. 64.

\(^2\) To be taken as an acc. after γημορ, cf. 3, and not as in RV.; nor as dependent on ἄγωρα, as suggested in my note, vol. ii. 65.

\(^3\) So Tyc Pr vg arm. This forms a perfect parallel to "abominations." This reading of Tyc Pr vg arm may be the result of conjecture. If so, the corruption could have arisen in the Hebrew source; see vol. ii. 65.
6. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs\(^1\) of Jesus. And

7. when I saw her I wondered with a great wonder. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou wonder? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and the ten horns.

8. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and is about to come out of the abyss, and he goeth his way\(^2\) into perdition. And they that dwell on the earth will wonder—all whose names have not been written in the book of life since the foundation of the world, when they behold the beast, that\(^3\) was, and is not, and yet is to come.\(^4\)

9. Here (is needed) the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads\(^4\) are seven kings: five of them have fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a short time. And the beast, that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth his way into perdition.

10. And the ten horns, which thou sawest, are ten kings, that have received no kingdom as yet; but they will receive authority as kings for one hour along with the beast.

11. These have one purpose, and they give their power and authority unto the beast.\(^7\) For God hath put it into their hearts to do his purpose,\(^8\) and to give their kingdom unto the Beast, until the words of God should be fulfilled. And seven, 9-11

The ten horns are ten kings who will serve the Beast and destroy the Great Harlot, 12-16

These shall hate the harlot, And make her desolate and naked,

\(^1\) So rightly AV. and RV. and not “witnesses”; see vol. i. 62.

\(^2\) It is better to follow A \(\delta \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\), “he goeth his way,” here than \(\alpha \zeta \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\), “to go his way.” All the time, despite his apparent recovery and triumphs, he is on the way to perdition; cf. on xvii. 11.

\(^3\) Better so rendered than by “how that” (\(\delta \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\)). I here read \(\delta \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\), not \(\delta \nu \gamma \varepsilon\); cf. \(\delta \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\) in xviii. 11 exactly in the same sense. We have here a parody of the divine name: “Which is, and which was, and which is to come” (i. 4, iv. 8).

\(^4\) \(\tau \rho \sigma \tau \nu \tau \varepsilon\) is here = \(\delta \lambda \sigma \varepsilon \tau \tau \alpha\) (a form our author does not use, though he uses other tenses of \(\gamma \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon\) and \(\varepsilon \sigma \rho \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha\) (xx. 8)).

\(^5\) A gloss here follows: “are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth and they.” This is a second explanation thrust in from the margin.

\(^6\) Text = “receive.”

\(^7\) The text is dislocated and glossed. 17 is to be read immediately after 13 and next 16. 14 follows on 16, because 14 records the destruction of the forces which according to 17, 16 are to destroy Rome. 15 is a gloss on xvii. 1. “And he said unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues”; see vol. ii. 61, 71 sq.; 74.

\(^8\) Text adds here an early gloss or doublet: “and to do one purpose”; see vol. ii. 73.
And be themselves destroyed by the Lamb and the Saints, 14 (a judgment implied in xix. 15) The woman Rome

And they shall eat her flesh And burn her with fire.

14. These shall war against the Lamb, And the Lamb shall overcome them, For he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; And they that are with him, called and elect and faithful, (shall overcome). 1

18. And the woman, whom thou sawest, is the great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DOOM OF ROME.

(This chapter deals with the doom of Rome, a vision of which had been promised by the angel to the Seer in xvii. 1. With the exception of a few clauses, it comes from a source which our author has already laid under contribution in xvii. r–10, 18; see vol. ii. 94. It was written in the time of Vespasian, and several clauses survive attesting that period; see vol. ii. 93.)

1. After these things I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great authority; and the earth was lighted up by his glory. And he cried with a mighty voice, saying,

Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,
And has become a habitation for demons,
And a hold of every unclean and hateful spirit,
And a hold of every unclean and hateful bird.

3. For of the wine of her fornication hath she caused all the nations to drink; 5

1 Understand τικήνωσεν, rather than what I have proposed in vol. ii. 75. After 14 the text inserts what was originally a gloss on xvii. 1, i.e. 15. See note 7, p. 429.

2 Text of this and the next line doubtful. I have followed A min.

3 gig arm. 4

5 This line conflicts with the statement in xix. 3, according to which the smoke of Rome's burning is to go up for ever and ever. But this is due to the fact that xviii. is an early source used by our author, whereas xix. comes from his own hand.

4 m 046 Tyc s 3 read: "wine of the wrath of her fornication." I have followed 325 (?) Pr and s 1.

5 So a few cursives and s 1 (καθαρίσεις). This clause expresses the very same idea that is expressed passively in xvii. 2: έμπέθησαν . . . δέ τού ἄνω τῆς πόρειας; cf. xiv. 8.
For the kings of the earth committed fornication with her,
And the merchants of the earth waxed rich through the wealth of her wantonness.

4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying,
   Come forth from her, my people,
   That ye may have no fellowship with her sins,
   And that ye receive not of her plagues.

5. For her sins have reached unto heaven,
   And God hath remembered her iniquities.

6. Render unto her even as she hath rendered,
   And double (unto her) double according to her works;
   In the cup which she hath mingled, mingle unto her double.

7. In the measure in which she hath glorified herself
   and played the wanton,
   In that measure give her torment and mourning.

Because she saith in her heart,
   I sit as a queen,
   And am no widow,
   And I shall not see mourning.

8. Therefore in one day shall her plagues come,
   Pestilence and mourning and famine.

1 See note in loc. 3h. are circumstantial clauses introduced by kal (= Hebrew ל), which state the conditions under which the action described in 3e takes place. See notes on xii. 115, xix. 3, and see Oxford Heb. Lexicon, p. 253. Hence kal = "seeing that," "for." The Greek aorists are rendered by English aorists (ἐγένετο . . . ἔγραφε) as Babylon is regarded as a thing of the past in these verses. In 3e the perfect is rightly used, since the results of "the wine of fornication" are enduring in the present. But in 4 sqq. the standpoint of the Seer changes. Babylon is still conceived as in being. The Greek aorists that follow have therefore frequently to be construed by the English perfect.

3 This statement points to a source. The faithful have all suffered martyrdom. See vol. ii. 96 ad fin.

5 πλῆθος ("mourning") is an idea foreign to the context here and in 8b. It is not "mourning," but destruction that awaits Rome. Since πλῆθος = πόλις, the latter may be corrupt for πόλις ἡ πόλις = ἀναλύει = "destruction." The same corruption is implied by the LXX in Jer. xii. 11. Hence for "mourning" read "destruction." This explanation is better than that suggested in vol. ii. 100.

6 Read "destruction," as in 7b.

8 First of all the order seems wrong. Almost invariably in the OT. we have "famine and pestilence." Here again "mourning" cannot be right. As in 7b. we should read "destruction." Thus we should have "famine, and pestilence, and destruction."
And she shall be burnt with fire;  
For strong is the God who hath judged her.

9. And the kings of the earth who committed fornication  
and lived wantonly with her shall weep and wail over  
her, when they look upon the smoke of her burning,

10. Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying,
   Woe, woe to the great city,  
Babylon the strong city,  
For in one hour is thy judgment come.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn  
over her;¹  
For no man buyeth their merchandise any more—  

12. Merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stone and  
pearls,  
And fine linen and purple, and silk and scarlet,  
And all thyine wood, and every vessel of ivory, and every  
 vessel of most precious wood;²  
And brass, and iron, and marble,  

13. And cinnamon, and spice, and incense,  
And ointment, and frankincense, and wine,  
And oil, and fine flour, and wheat,  
And beasts, and sheep,³ and souls of men.⁴  

14. The merchants of these things, who were made rich by  
her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment,  

15. Weeping and mourning, Saying,  
Woe, woe to the great city,  
That was clothed in fine linen and purple and scarlet,  
And adorned with gold, and precious stone, and pearl;  
For in one hour are so great riches laid waste.

¹ Ver. 14 is transposed after 21 in this edition. See vol. ii. 105, 108.  
² The text seems corrupt here. Pr bo sa presuppose ἐκτὸς πρὸς τὰν φωνὴν instead of ἐκτὸς τὰν φωνή. Hence render "that saileth on the sea," see vol. ii. 105 sq.  
³ The MSS add here: "and horses and chariots and slaves." See vol. ii. 102 for the grounds for the excision of these words.  
⁴ Ver. 14 is transposed after 21 in this edition. See vol. ii. 105, 108.
19. the great city? And they cast dust on their heads, and
they cried, weeping and mourning, saying,

Woe, woe to the great city,
Wherein were made rich all that had their ships at
sea;
For in one hour are her precious things laid waste.¹

21. And a strong angel took up a stone, as it were a great
millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying,

Thus with violence² shall be cast down
Babylon, the great city,
And shall no more be found.³

14. And the fruits which thy soul lusted after
Are gone from thee:
And all the dainties and the splendours
Are perished from thee.⁴

23a. b. c. d. And the voice of the harpers and singers⁵
<Shall be heard no more in thee> ;⁶
And <the voice>⁶ of the flute players and
trumpeters
Shall be heard no more in thee.

23c. d. And the voice of the bridegroom and the bride
Shall be heard no more in thee;
23e. f. And no craftsmen of whatever craft
Shall be found any more in thee.
23g. b. And the voice of the millstone
Shall be heard no more in thee:
23h. b. And the light of the lamp
Shall shine no more in thee.

¹ On the restoration of this verse see vol. ii. 106. Ver. 20 is restored at
the close of 23h. On the restored order see vol. ii. 92 sq.
² Or "with indignation." But the meaning is doubtful.
³ The beginning of the next dirge appears to be lost. On the recon-
structed order of this dirge, see vol. ii. 92 sq., 108 sq.
⁴ The text adds: "And they shall no more find them" (= נָהֲנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָנָn). But this is possibly a corrupt form of the line, which is lacking in 22b and
which I have restored (i.e., נָהֲנָנָn). But probably it is an interpola-
tion; for elsewhere in this source 18g-27 ao μή is always followed by the sub-
junctive, whereas here it is the indicative; cf. xviii. 21, 22 (ter), 23 (bis).
⁵ μουσικτωρία (see LXX Ezek. xxvi. 13, Sir. xxxv. 3, 5), corrupt for
μουσικτωρία = μουσικτώριον, "singers."
⁶ Restored as the context requires. See vol. ii. 109. It is noteworthy
that the Ethiopic Version has made the same restoration, see vol. ii. 352.

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20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven,
   And ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets;
   For God hath given judgment in your cause against her.

23. For with her sorcery were all the nations deceived.

24. And in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints,
   And of all that had been slain upon the earth.

CHAPTER XIX.

(Response of the heavenly host to the appeal of the Seer just made—first of a mighty multitude praising God for His judgment of the Harlot City, and His avenging His servants' blood at her hands, 1-3; next of the Elders and Cherubim and of the Altar, which in like manner praise Him for that, having poured out the blood of the saints, they were made to drink each other's blood, 4; xvi. 5-7; and, finally, of the martyrs themselves, who offer their thanksgivings, for that now the Lord God Almighty has become King and that the Bride is now ready, xix. 5-7. The Bride will appear clothed in keeping with her character, 8. Thereupon the fourth Beatitude is pronounced, 9. At this stage a vision of the destruction of the Parthian kings is to be expected (see vol. ii. 114 ad init., 117 ad init., and note 1 on ii. 436). Now that Rome and the Parthians have been destroyed, there remains only the judgment of the kings of the earth who had shared in the abominations of Rome. These are slain by Christ, and the Beast and False Prophet are cast into the lake of fire, 11-20.)

1. After these things I heard as it were a great voice of a mighty multitude in heaven, saying,

Hallelujah;

Salvation, and glory, and power, belong to our God:

For true and righteous are his judgments;

For he hath judged the great harlot,

That corrupted the earth with her fornication,

And he hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

8. And again they said: 8

Hallelujah;

For her smoke goeth up for ever and ever.

1 Text reads corruptly "thy."

3 i.e. ἀλλαθέος.

9 A perfect with an aorist meaning.

4 su to be taken as a Hebraism; see vol. ii. 120.
4. And the four and twenty elders and the four living creatures fell down and worshipped God that sitteth on the throne, saying, 

Amen, Hallelujah;

XVI. 5b-c. Righteous art thou, which art and which wast. 1 Holy, in that thou hast thus judged:

6. Because they poured out the blood of saints and prophets, 

Thou hast given them blood also to drink: 3 They are worthy.

7. And I heard the altar saying, 

Yea, O Lord God Almighty, 

True and righteous are thy judgments.

XIX. 5. And a voice came forth from the throne, saying, 

Praise our God, all ye his servants, 

And ye who fear him, small and great.

6. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, 

Hallelujah: For the Lord God Almighty hath become King.

7. Let us be glad and rejoice, 

And give unto him the glory: 

For the marriage of the Lamb hath come, 

And his bride hath made herself ready.

8. Yea, it hath been given unto her to clothe herself in fine linen bright, pure. 4

9. And he saith unto me, Blessed are they which are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb. 5

1 On the restoration of xvi. 5b-7 to its original context, see vol. ii. 116, 120-124.

2 On the technical meaning of this phrase, see vol. ii. 123.

3 Ἑγερθησίαν τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα; see vol. ii. 127.

4 Text adds an incorrect gloss: “for the fine linen is the righteous acts of the saints”; see vol. ii. 127 sq. Rather “the fine linen” is the result of such righteous acts, that is, the spiritual bodies in which the saints are clothed.

5 Text adds here a doublent of xxi. 6, 8-9. 9b. “And he saith to me, these are true words of God. 10. And I fell down before his feet to worship him. And he saith to me, See thou do it not. I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren that have the testimony of Christ: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.” See vol. ii. 128 sq.
And I saw the heaven opened; And behold, a white horse,
And he that sat thereon—Faithful and True; 3 And in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

And his eyes are as a flame of fire, And on his head are many diadems; 8

And he is clothed in a garment dipped in blood: And his name is called The Word of God.

And the armies which are in heaven follow him on white horses, Being clothed in fine linen, white, pure.

And from his mouth proceedeth a sharp sword, That with it he should smite the nations:
And he shall break 4 them with an iron rod: And he treadeth the winepress of the fierce wrath of God Almighty.

And he hath on 5 his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.

And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a great voice, saying to all the birds that fly in mid heaven, Come, gather yourselves together to the great supper of God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses and of them that sit thereon, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, and small and great.

And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him

1 I have indicated a lacuna here. Where xix. 9k-10 stands we should expect a vision relating to the destruction of the Parthian kings—a destruction prophesied in xvii. 14 (see vol. ii. 116 ad fin.) and implied by the epithet θέασμος in xix. 13 (see vol. ii. 133). This vision appears to have been displaced by the interpolation, 9k-10. The subjects of all other proleptic visions are rehandled in other visions in their due order. Hence we expect a vision on the destruction of the Parthian kings here in its chronological order.

2 #046 alPl and many versions read “called Faithful and True.”

3 Here the MSS add an interpolation: “Having a name written which no man knoweth save he himself.” It is an anacolouthon: it forms a break in the thought and is contradicted by what follows; see vol. ii. 132.

4 See note on xii. 5 (translation); also vol. i. 75 sq.

5 Text adds: “his raiment and on,” see vol. ii. 137.
20. that sat upon the horse, and against his army. And the Their allies beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrouthe signs before him, wherewith he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image: they twain were cast alive birds of
21. into the lake of fire that burneth with brimstone. And prey, the rest were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, (even the sword) which came forth out of his mouth: and all the birds were filled with their flesh.

CHAPTERS XX.-XXII.

(The traditional order of the text in these three chapters is intolerably disordered and hopelessly unintelligible. The present editor has restored, so far as he can, the order of the text as it left the hand of the Seer. See vol. ii. 144-154. The restored order is given on pp. 153-154. On line 12 (p. 154) delete 6a, and on line 17 insert 5° before 6°-8.)

CHAPTER XX. 1-3.

1-8. (Satan chained for a thousand years, and the nations set free from his deceivings.)

1. And I saw an angel coming down from heaven, Having the key of the abyss And a great chain in his hand.

2. And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, Which is the Devil and Satan, And bound him for a thousand years:

3. And he cast him into the abyss, And shut and sealed (it) over him, That he should no more deceive the nations Till the thousand years should be fulfilled.

After this he must be loosed for a little time.
**Chapter XXI. 9–27.**

**XXI. 9–XXII. 2, 14–15, 17.** (Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which descends from heaven and settles on the ruined site of the earthly Jerusalem. This Heavenly City is at once the seat of the Messianic Kingdom, the abode of the glorified martyrs, and the centre of the evangelising agencies of the surviving nations on the earth, during the millennial period. Though it is not stated, we must conclude that alike the glorified martyrs and the Heavenly Jerusalem are withdrawn from the earth before the final judgment.

The tree of life (xxii. 2, 14) appears to be for the new converts (xxii. 2; cf. xi. 15, xiv. 6, 7, xv. 3, 4) and not for the martyrs, since the martyrs are already clothed with their heavenly bodies and are not subject to the second death. They had already eaten of it in the Paradise of God (xi. 7).

As one of the seven angels of the Bowls showed Rome—the capital of the kingdom of the Antichrist—to the Seer (xvii. 1), so he now shows him the heavenly Jerusalem.)

9. And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls, which were full of the seven last plagues; and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride[, the wife] of the Lamb.

10. And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem,

11. coming down out of heaven from God, Having the glory of God: her light was like unto a stone most precious, as it were a jasper stone, clear as crystal.

12. She had a wall great and high; she had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels; and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. On the east were three gates; and on the north three gates; and on the south three gates; and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

13. And the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof is as great also as the breadth; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length and the breadth and the height thereof are equal. And he measured the wall thereof,
a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.

18. And the building of the wall thereof was jasper:
And the city was pure gold, like unto pure glass:

19. And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones.

The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire;
the third, chalcedony;

20. The fourth, emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius;
The seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, topaz;
The tenth, chrysoprase; the eleventh, jacinth; the twelfth, amethyst.

21. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls;
Each one of the gates was of one pearl,
And the street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass.

22. And I saw no temple therein:
For the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof,
And the Lamb is the ark of the covenant thereof.

23. And the city hath no need of the sun, nor yet of the moon, to shine upon it:
For the glory of the Lord doth lighten it, God Himself supplying the light.
And the lamp thereof is the Lamb.

24. And the nations shall walk by the light thereof:
And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.

25. And the gates thereof shall not be shut day or night.

1 Though A 025, 046 omit, it seems best, with Pr (gig) arm s 6 bo eth to read the copula.
2 Or, "as it were transparent glass."
3 A probable restoration; the original is lost. The English versions conceal this loss by transposing the words "And the Lamb" into the preceding sentence. Cf. xi. 19, where the temple and the ark of the covenant are spoken of as the headcentres of the manifestations of God. In the Heavenly Jerusalem God takes the place of the first, and the Lamb that of the second; see vol. ii. 170 sq.
4 ἐξόρνησεν is either the Greek timeless aorist, Moulton, Gr. 135 sq.; Robertson, Gr. 836 sq., or it is in our author's mind a rendering of the timeless Hebrew perfect—a very common usage.
5 The text reads: "for there shall be no night there"—a corruption due in part to xxii. 5. As in Isa. lx 11, the text clearly ran as I have emended: "Thy gates . . . shall not be shut day or night." The alternations of day and night still prevail on the earth. It is otherwise in xxii. 5, where the New Jerusalem has come down from God to the new and glorified earth. Besides, the parallelism is against it; see vol. ii. 173.
THE RIVER AND TREE OF LIFE

Fifth Beatitude—For those who cleanse themselves and so have access to the tree of life in the City

1. And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal,
   Proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, In the midst of the street thereof:
   And on this side of the river and on that was the tree of life,
   Bearing twelve (manner of) fruits,
   Yielding its fruit every month:
   And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

14. Blessed are they that wash their robes,
    That they may have the right to the tree of life,
    And may enter in by the gates into the city.

15. Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers,
    And the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters,
    And every one that loveth and maketh a lie.

17. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come.
    And let him that heareth say, Come.
    And let him that is athirst come:
    Whosoever willeth let him take the water of life freely.

1 Primitive corruption for "any that is unclean or," cf. xxii. 15. Only persons are contemplated as the next line shows.

2 The term is used generically. The text implies that there are two rows of trees, one on either side of the river; see vol. ii. 176.

3 Since the term "bride" designates the Heavenly Jerusalem in our author (cf. xxi. 2, 9), it has no doubt the same meaning here, but the idea of the Christian community rather than of the city is here brought forward; see vol. ii. 179.
Chapter XX. 4-15.

XX. 4-6. (Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.)

4a-b. And <I saw> the souls of them that had been beheaded for the witness of Christ, And for the word of God,
And 1 had not worshipped the beast, Nor yet his image,
And had not received the mark upon their forehead And upon their hand;

4a-b. And I saw thrones, and they seated themselves thereon, And judgment was given unto them.
And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5b. This is the first resurrection.

6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection:
Over these the second death hath no power;
But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, And shall reign with him a thousand years.

XX. 7-10. (Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follows the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog against the beloved city, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth before the final judgment is presupposed. Since "the beloved city" in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse must include the risen martyrs.)

7. And when the thousand years are fulfilled,
Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, And shall

8. This couplet occurs immediately at the beginning of ver. 4, where alike the context and the grammar are against them.
9. Here follows an interpolation, as Mr. Marsh has suggested: "The rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were fulfilled." See Greek text in loc. By its removal the symmetry of the text is restored—seven successive couplets.
come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up over the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

XX. 11-15. (Vision of the great throne and of Him that sat thereon, before whose presence the former heaven and the former earth forthwith vanish. Judgment of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.)

11. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat thereon; And from his face the earth and the heaven fled away, And no place was found for them.

12. And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne, And books were opened: and another book was opened, which is (the book) of life: And the dead were judged out of the things written in the books.

13. And the treasuries gave up the dead which were in them; 1

1 The past verbs in 20-10a are to be explained from our author’s use of Hebrew idiom, according to which Hebrew perfects (or imperfects with vav conversive) represent vividly the future events as things already accomplished.

2 Our author elsewhere writes: “the small and the great”; see vol. ii. 194.

3 Tautological interpolation added here: “according to their works.”

4 The text here reads “sea,” but the context requires a reference to the abode of righteous souls, since Hades is the abode in our author only of wicked souls, and as such is cast into the lake of fire, xx. 14. The change of “treasuries”—the normal word in Judaism (50-100 A.D.) for the abode of righteous souls, or of “mansions” (John xiv. 2), or “Paradise” (?)—into “sea” was made in the interests of a bodily resurrection. But the sea has already vanished with the first heaven and earth (ver. 11, xxii. 1). According to the transmitted text only wicked souls have part in the General Resurrection and Final Judgment. In 4 Ezra vii. the text dealing with the General Resurrection and Final Judgment has also been tampered with, with a view to enforcing belief in a physical resurrection. The result of the tampering with the two texts is interesting: while in the Apocalypse only the wicked rise and are judged, in 4 Ezra only the righteous rise and are judged; see vol. ii. 194-198.
And death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them: And they were judged every man according to their works.

14. And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire. And all that were not found written in the book of life Were cast into the lake of fire.

XXI. 1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; For the first heaven and the first earth had passed away; Nor is there any more sea.

Text adds here a marginal gloss: "this is the second death, the lake of fire," drawn from xxii. 8 f., where the clause is full of meaning; but it is wholly out of place here with regard to death and Hades.

XXI. 5 a, 4 b; XXI. 1-4 a, b, 6 b; XXII. 3-6. (Declaration by God that the former things have passed away and that He creates all things new. Forthwith the Seer sees the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem coming down, adorned as a bride for her husband. God tabernacles with men. No more grief or pain or tears or death. All the faithful are to reign with Christ for ever and ever (xxii. 5), whereas in the Millennial Kingdom only the risen martyrs were to reign for a thousand years.)

6 a. And he that sat upon the throne said,

4 b. The former things have passed away;

5 b. Behold, I make all things new.

End of death and Hades

New heaven and new earth
The New Jerusalem

2. And the holy city, New Jerusalem, I saw, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband.

3. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying,

   Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men,
   And he shall dwell with them,
   And they shall be his people,
   And he shall be their God.

4. And God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes:
   And death shall be no more:
   Neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain any more,
   Neither shall there be any more curse.

And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it:
And his servants shall serve him,
And they shall see his face,
And his name shall be on their foreheads.

And there shall be no more night,
And they have no need of light of lamp or light of sun,
For the Lord God shall cause (his face) to shine upon them:
And they shall reign for ever and ever.

EPILOGUE AT THE CLOSE OF JOHN'S VISION.

XXI. 5c, 6b-8. (God's testimony to John's book: His message to all men.)

XXI. 5c. And He saith, Write; for these words are faithful and true.

6b. I am the Alpha and the Omega,
   The beginning and the end:
   I will give to him that thirsteth of the fountain of the water of life freely.

1 ἀνωτέρω is probably "the Shekinah." There is no real English equivalent. Perhaps we might render: "the Presence of God is with men"; or "the dwelling of God." In no case has "tabernacle" its ecclesiastical meaning or its traditional associations; see vol. ii. 205 sq.

2 See vol. ii. 207: crit. note on this line.

3 See vol. ii. 207 sq.: crit. note.

4 See vol. ii. 210 sq. ὄρφισσω can, of course, be used intransitively, but John uses it only actively elsewhere: xviii. 1, xxi. 23. Otherwise render: "shall shine upon them." But in this sense we find ὄρφισσω with the dat.
7. He that overcometh shall inherit these things,
   And I will be his God,
   And he shall be my son.

8. But for the cravenhearted and unbelieving,
   And abominable and murderers,
   And fornicators and sorcerers,
   And idolaters and all liars—
   Their part shall be in the lake that burneth with fire
   and brimstone:
   Which is the second death.

CHAPTER XXII.

XXII. 6-7, 18a, 16, 18, 12, 10. (Here more than anywhere else in chaps. xx.-xxii. we have the disjecta membra of the Poet-Seer. I have restored the order of this section tentatively as above. xxii. 11, 17b-19 are relegated to the footnotes as interpolations. See vol. ii. 211-213, 217.)

(Christ's testimony to John's book: His speedy coming.)

6. And he said unto me, These words are faithful and Christ true: and the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly come to pass. And behold, 6-7, 18a I come quickly. Blessed is he that keepeth the words of this prophecy of this book.1

7. To every one that heareth I testify the words of the prophecy of this book.2

1 This sentence forms the seventh beatitude. There is a certain fitness in the order of the seven. The first (i. 3) declares the blessedness of those who read and keep the prophecy: the second (ii. 3, i.e., xvi. 15) of him who watcheth and keepeth his garments: the third (xiv. 12-13) of those who die in the Lord: the fourth (xix. 9) of those who having so died are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb: the fifth (xx. 14) of those who had washed their garments that they might have access to the tree of life in the heavenly city: the sixth (xx. 6) of those who have actually part in the first resurrection: the seventh (xxii. 7) of those who keep the words of this Book.

2 The following interpolation is inserted here:

18a. If any man shall add unto them, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book. 19. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book”; see vol. ii. 222-224.
16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify these things unto you in the Churches:  
I am the root and the offspring of David,  
The bright and the morning star.

18. I am the Alpha and the Omega,  
The first and the last,  
The beginning and the end.

12. Behold, I come quickly;  
And my reward is with me,  
To render to each man according as his work is.

10. And he saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.

XXII. 8-9, 20-21. (John's testimony: the closing words.)

8. And I John am he that heard and saw these things.  
And when I heard and saw, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things.  
9. And he saith unto me, See thou do it not:  
I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book: worship God.

20. He which testifieth these things saith,  
Yea: I come quickly.  
Amen: come, Lord Jesus.

21. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints.  
Amen.

1 tr. So A, etc. Other authorities υποος = "concerning."

2 Here the text adds:

11. He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still:  
And he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still:  
And he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still:  
And he that is holy, let him be made holy still.

This verse refers to the Seer's contemporaries, and declares that the time for repentance is past. But, since xxii. 6-8 refer also to his contemporaries, there is still hope for them, if they repent; see vol. ii. 221 sq.

3 The text of this verse is very uncertain. I have followed AM in reading "the Lord Jesus." The fuller title, "Lord Jesus Christ," has the support of 046 and most cursives, while the form "our Lord Jesus Christ" has the support of some cursives and nearly all the versions. Again, the Apocalypse cannot have ended with the words "with all" (A vg). Such a grace would be wholly at variance with the thought of the Seer. Only the saints or those seeking to be saints can receive such grace. Hence the reading of A vg is simply defective, and the choice must be between the reading of & (gig) "with the saints" and that of 046 st[i-3] armk so bo "with all the saints." This last is most in keeping with our author's views: cf. viii. 3.
APPENDIX.

FOUR PAPYRUS AND VELLUM FRAGMENTS
OF THE APOCALYPSE.

FRAGMENT I. (= F1).

P. Oxy. viii. 1079.

(Late 3rd or 4th Cent. Verso of a papyrus roll with Exodus
on recto (ed. Hunt, 1911).)

i. 4. [Ἰωάννης τα]ς επτα] εκ[κλησ[ιας
tais ev τη] Ασια χαρις θυμειν και ειρη
νη απο ο ων] και ο ην και ο ερχομε
νος και απο τ]ων επτα πνευμα
tων α(?)] εν[ω]πιον του θρονου αν

5. [τ]ουν και απο Ιη Χρ ο μαρτυς ο πι
στοσ ο πρωτοτοκος των νεκρω
cαι ο αρχων των βασιλεων της γης
tω αγαπωντι ημας και λυσαντι η
[μ]ας εκ των αμαρτιων ημων εν

6. [τ]ω αματε αυτου και εποιησεν ημ[ι
[βα]σιλεις του] Θεου και π[α]τερ
[αυτου] αυτω το κρατος και η δοξα

7. [εις τον]οις αιωνας αμην ιδου
[ερχε]ται μετα των νεφελων
[και οψη]ται αυτων πας οφθαλ
[μος και ο]τινες αυτων εξε

1 Correction in first hand.
2 Result of correction in first hand. Sic.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

Fragment II. (=F²).

P. Oxy. viii. 1080.

(4th Cent. Plate 1. Leaf from vellum Codex (ed. Hunt, 1911.).)

λγ

iii. 19. ω ζήλεως 1 ουν και μετα ταυτα ιδον και ιδου θυ
20. νοησον ιδου εστηκα επι των θυραν και ² εισελευστο μει προς αυτον και δει πνησω μετ αυτον και αν
21. τος μετ εμοι ο νεκουν δωσω αυτω καθεσται μετ εμου ε[ν] τω θρων[ω μ.]ου ²
    ως καγω νεεικτες[α]
    και νεκαθαλα[η] μετα τ[ο]ν
    πριν ουν εν τω θρωνω
22. αυτου ο εχουν σω ακου[στον] τι το τo πναι λεγει

iv. 1. ταις εκκλησιας μετα
    ] κρουω ε[α]ν τ[ε] σακου [ση της
    ] θυραν μου και ανοιξη την θυραν και ²

1 Correction by second hand.
² First hand wrote θυραν ανοιξη της (?) between the lines.
2 The two missing lines are added by first hand at bottom of column, beginning ] κρουω εκλ.
3 Written by second hand.
4 Added by second hand.
5 Second hand. First hand wrote ως καγω νεεικτες[α] between the lines.

Fragment III. (=F³).

P. Oxy. x. 1230.

(Early 4th Cent. (ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1914.).)

Recto.

v. 5. ί δου εις [κηρισεν
    Δαν] ειδ ου[αξαι
6. αυτ[ου κα] α ιδου εις[α]
    ζωων και εν μεσω των πρεσβυτερων
    ως εσφαγμασιν εγον κερ[α][α]
    ] τα ε πναι του θυ απεσταλ ² []
7. ηλ[θεν και ειληθη εικ της δειξας
8. οτ[ε ελα]βεν

1 A slip of the scribe for απεσταλ.
APPENDIX

Verso.

vi. 5. ] καθημ[ενος
6. καὶ ηκουσ[α
χοιριει σιτου δηναριου και το ελεον και το [ 7. οτε ηπωξεν την σφαγι[εα
ηκο]νσα φωνην του τεταμ[ου
8. ]κυσ[ον

FRAGMENT IV. (= F⁴).

P. Oxy. vi. 848.

(5th Cent. Plate i. Fragment of papyrus Codex
(ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1908).)

Recto.

xvi. 17. [του ναι]υ απο του  
θρονου λεγουσα'  
18. γεγονεν και εγε 
νοντο αστραπαι 
και φωναι και βρο 
ται. κ[α]ι σ[εισμος εγ[ε

Verso.

xvi. 19. λη εμυν[σθη ενω 
πιον του θυ δου 
και αυτη το ποτη 
ριον του οινου 
του θυμου της 
[ο]ργης αντ[α]ν και

NOTES ON THE ABOVE FRAGMENTS

F⁴.

i. 4-7. This fragment agrees word for word with A where it exists. It is true that it differs in the reading supplied by Professor Hunt in i. 4: i.e. [των α] εφ[ω]πον. There is not room apparently for [των των] εφ[ω]πον as in AN. The fragment agrees throughout with C save that with A 025 it omits των αιωνων in i. 6, and perhaps rightly. It agrees generally with N save in two passages where N in i. 6 reads τ. αιων. των αιωνων and in i. 7 ουτοι. It disagrees with 025 five times (ι⁴ α εστιν, ι⁵ αγαπησαντι, λουσαντι, απο (for εκ), ι⁶ βασιλεις και ιερεις) and with 046 four times (ι⁴ απο θεου ο ων, ι⁶ λοουσαντι, απο, ι⁶ τουσαντι).

Thus this fragment, so far as it exists, attests the text of A(C) as already existing in its present form at the close of the 3rd cent. or early in the 4th. The transposition το κρατος και η δοξα in i. 6 is peculiar to this fragment.

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iii. 19–iv. 2. First of all A and F² (as well F²⁺ = second hand in F²) stand apart. A has two peculiar readings in 4¹ αναβηθι and οσα. Next A > καὶ before εὐσελευσομαι in 3²⁰. Finally, F²⁺ reads γηλωσον in 3¹⁹, ανεωγμενη in 4¹, and καὶ εὐθεώς in 4³—all against A. Thus F²⁺ multiplies by 75 per cent. the differences between A and F² (if we leave αναβηθι and οσα out of consideration). F² reads γηλευε in 3¹⁹ as A.

N. F³ is more closely related to N than to any other uncial. Thus N reads καὶ before εὐσελευσομαι in 3²⁰ and adds ἐνοπ after καὶ in 4¹. It reads γηλωσον in 3¹⁰ with F²⁺. The καὶ (a Hebraism) in 3²⁰ is most probably original, but the other two are wrong.

025. This uncial > καὶ before εὐσελευσομαι against F² and reads γηλωσον 3¹⁹ and καὶ εὐθεώς with F²⁺.

046. This uncial reads γηλευε 3¹⁹ and καὶ εὐσελ. in 3²⁰ with F²—both right, ανεωγμενη in 4¹ with F²⁺, and does not insert καὶ before εὐθεώς in 4³ as F²⁺ does.

From the above it follows that F² and F²⁺ agree much more closely with N than with any other uncial, but have affinities with 025 and 026. 046 attests a better text here than N or 025.

F³.

v. 5–8, vi. 5–8. F³ agrees in 5⁶ with AN 025 in reading ανοξαυ, where 046 reads ο ανοξαυν; in 5⁶ with N 025. 046 in reading εν μεγω, where A reads εμεγω and always elsewhere with C; in 5⁶ with AN 046 in reading εχων, where 025 reads εχυν (a correction), and 6⁷ with AN in reading φωνην which C 025. 046 omit. Thus F³ agrees so far as it goes with AN.

F⁴.

xvi. 17–18, 19. This fragment agrees word for word with A. Since 025 is defective here, we have only to consider the relation of F⁴ to N and 046. While F⁴ supports A in the right reading in 16¹⁸ αστραται καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονται, N* reads βρονταί κ. αστρ. κ. φων. κ. βρονταί, N° Βρ. κ. αστρ. κ. φων, and 046 αστρ. κ. φων.

F⁴ agrees with AN in 16¹⁷ against 046, which adds τον σωμαν after ναυ, and with A 046 in reading απο του βροντου against του θεου of N. Again, in 16¹⁸ F⁴ agrees with A 046 in reading δουαι against του δουαι of N, το ποτηριν and του αυνου against N, which omits the article in both cases, and ὀργης αυτου against N, which omits the αυτου. Thus 046 is right five times with A against N.
This fragment is interesting. Like $F^1$, $F^4$ agrees word for word with $A$. But whereas $F^1$ gives considerable support to $\xi$, $F^4$ is with one exception against it. Next, whereas $F^2$ gives equal support to $A$ and $\xi$, $F^2$ supports $\xi$ more often than any other uncial.

The above fragments prove, so far as they go, the absolute pre-eminence of $A$. They furnish evidence for the early uncial character of certain deviations of $025$ and for the antiquity of one or more false readings of $046$. Next as regards $\kappa$, we see that, whereas it has considerable support from $F^1$ and the full support of $F^2$, it is far inferior to $046$ in $F^2$ $F^4$. Unfortunately $025$ is defective for $F^2$. From this comparison $025$ emerges with a bad record. Hence, if on the exiguous evidence of these fragments we arranged the uncialls in the order of merit, we should have $A$, $C$, $046$, $025$. All the evidence given in the Introduction, which in the main is limited to the fragments of $\tilde{m}$ and the corresponding sections in the other Versions and MSS, uphold the following order: $A$, $C$, $025$, $\kappa$, $046$. An exhaustive examination of the MSS and Versions might place $\kappa$ before $025$, but could not affect the primacy of $A$. 
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON 13\textsuperscript{11b}.

The text of this line in vol. ii. 317 should be restored as follows: ἄγγελος χειραὶ δύο ὅμα ἀρνίον. The translation accordingly in vol. ii. 420 should be: "And he had two horns like the lamb."\textsuperscript{1}

The term "lamb" is here a symbol for the Messiah as elsewhere in our author, and earlier in Judaism, as we shall see presently. There would be no sense in saying "he had two horns like a lamb"; for some lambs have horns and some have not. The whole point of 13\textsuperscript{11b} consists in this, that the second Beast or Antichrist is portrayed as a Satanic counterpart of Christ, just as in 13\textsuperscript{8} the first Beast or Antichrist is also represented as a Satanic counterpart of Christ; for he is described as ἐσφαγμένη ἀλών.\textsuperscript{2}

But (as I have shown in vol. i. 340-44) chapter 13 is derived from Jewish sources, and 13\textsuperscript{11-18} cannot be understood apart from Jewish apocalyptic. Now, whereas in our author the Lamb is described as having "seven horns,"\textsuperscript{3} i.e. as a being of transcendent power, a Christian development of a Jewish conception, in this Jewish source the Messiah is symbolized by "a lamb with two horns," which was definitely a Jewish conception. The explanation of this latter phrase is to be found in 1 Enoch and the Test. XII Patriarchs. In 1 Enoch 90\textsuperscript{9} the Maccabean leaders are described as "horned lambs" as distinct from the rest of the religious Jews who are described as "lambs." In the pages referred to in the note\textsuperscript{1} below, I have already shown how certain religious and military leaders of Israel were so symbolized in 1 Enoch 85-90. In the Test. Joseph 19\textsuperscript{8} Jonathan the Maccabee, who is obviously regarded by the writer of that work as the Messiah, is symbolized by the term δύνας. That for the corrupt "word" in 1 Enoch 90\textsuperscript{88} we must read "lamb," where the Messiah is referred to, I have shown in my second edition of that book. But I hesitate with abandon Goldschmidt's emendation of the text which takes ἦλπις to be a corruption of ἡλπίς, and which I then accepted, and also the hypothesis that 83-90 was originally written in Hebrew. I now regard 83-90 as derived from an Aramaic original,\textsuperscript{5} and explain the meaningless term "word" in 90\textsuperscript{88} as a rendering of ἡλπις which was a corruption of ἤλπις = "lamb."

There the Messiah is symbolized as a lamb of which it is said that it became great and horned: that is, it had two horns, since this is the natural number.

\textsuperscript{1} Hence ἦλπις in the source should have been read by the translator as ἥλπις, not as ἥλπις.

\textsuperscript{2} See vol. i. p. cxtii sq.

\textsuperscript{3} In my second edition, p. lxix, I left the question of the original language of 83-90 open, though inclining to the view that it was Hebrew. But like 6-36 and Daniel originally it was most probably written first in Aramaic. Later in the 2nd cent. B.C. such books were written in Hebrew.
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE LATIN VERSIONS.

FRAGMENTS OF A LATIN VERSION OF THE APOCALYPSE PRESERVED IN THE SPECULUM (DESIGNATED M) AND FOUND IN ITS ENTIRETY IN THE CODEX GIGAS.

These fragments were first published by Mai in his Spicilegium Romanum, 1843, ix. 72–74, and are reprinted here according to Weihrich's edition (Liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum, Vienna, 1887). They do not represent any particular manuscript, but consist of a collection of proof passages from the O. or N.T. It is assigned to the vi–vii century. That m represents the same version as gig, a few examples will make clear.

From this comparison of versions, it will be seen that gig m represent one translation from the Greek and Cyp (i.e. Cyprian) Pr another. Occasionally I will append the readings of Tyc and vg. Unhappily fl is defective in the passages where m is preserved.

22 qui scrutor (scruto m : scrutans Tyc vg) renes et corda, gig m Tyc vg : scrutator renis et cordis, Cyp Pr.
316 Neque calidus . . . aut calidus gig m vg : neque fervens . . . aut fervens Pr Tyc(?).
317 miserabilis et mendicus et nudus et caecus gig m : miser et pauper et caecus et nudus Cyp Tyc vg (＞Pr).
318 vestimenta . . . induaris gig m : vestiaris veste (＞Pr) Cyp Pr.

confusio nuditatis gig m Tyc vg : foeditas nuditatis Cyp Pr.
1410 in igne gig m : igne Cyp Pr Tyc vg.
181 et (＞Tyc) ne (ut non gig) communicet peccatis ejus, et de (＞Tyc) plagis ejus (+ ut m) ne accipiatis (laedamenti Tyc) gig m Tyc = ne particeps eis delictorum ejus et ne perstringaris plagis ejus Cyp Pr.
186 calicem quem (calice quo m Tyc) miscuit . . . miscite illi (ei m) duplum gig m Tyc : in quo poculo miscuit duplum remixtum est ei Cyp Pr Arm.

From the above, out of many like instances, it may be concluded that Cyp Pr and gig m are two independent translations of one and the same MS or possibly of two Greek MSS, which were generally in the closest agreement. The example under 186 exhibits a divergence, which may represent a divergence in the Greek MSS. There are a few divergences between gig and m, which may be due to the influence of some other Latin version. Thus we have ditatus in 317 in gig Cyp and locupletatus in m (and Tyc vg). Here Pr is defective.
We might provisionally represent the relations of the Latin versions as follows:—

**Speculum** (vi–vii cent.).

1. Et angelo Ephesi ecclesiae scribe.
2. Et scient omnes ecclesiae quia ego sum qui scruto renes et corda.
3. Et angelo Laodiciae ecclesiae scribe: haec dicit ille amen, testis fidelis et verax, principium creaturae Dei.

Novi opera tua, quia neque frigidus neque calidus es. Utinam frigidus esses aut calidus! Sed quoniam tepidus, evomam te ex ore meo.

15. Quia dicis: dives sum et locupletatus sum et nihil opus est mihi; et nescis quia tu es miser et miserabilis et mendicus et nudus et caecus.

16. Suadeo tibi a me emere aurum igne probatum, ut dives sis et locupletatus sum, et nihil opus est mihi; et vestimenta mea alba, ut induaris, ut non appareat confusio nuditatis tuae. Et collurio inungue oculos tuos, ut videas.

17. Ego quoscumque amo, arguo et castigo. Aemulare igitur et age paenitentiam.

18. Ecce sto ad januam et pulso. Si quis audierit vocem meam, et aperuerit januam, introibo ad illum, et caenabo cum illo et ille mecum.

19. Qui vincit, dabo illi sedere mecum in sede mea, quomodo et ego vici, et sede cum patre meo in sede ipsius.


11. Et fumus et cruciatus eorum in saecula saeculorum ascendit. Et non habent requiem die ac nocte qui adorant bestiam et imaginem ejus, et qui accipit character nominis illius.

12. Et audivi vocem de caelo dicentem mihi: scribe, beati mortui qui in Domino
moriuntur amodo. Etiam dicit spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim eorum sequuntur eos.

17\textsuperscript{18} Aquae quas vidisti ubi meretrix sedet, populi et turbae et gentes et linguae sunt.

18\textsuperscript{4} Et audivi aliam vocem de caelo dicentem: exite de ea populus meus, et ne communicetis peccatis ejus, et de plagis ejus ut ne\textsuperscript{1} accipiatis. Quia adpropinquaverunt peccata ejus usque ad caelum, et memoratus est Deus iniquitates ejus. Reddite ei sicut et ipsa reddidit, et duplicate duplicia secundum opera ejus. In calice quo miscuit vobis, miscite ei duplum. Et quantum magnificavit se, et luxoriata est, tantum date ei tormentum et luctum. Quia in corde suo dicit, sedeo regina, et luctum meum non videbo. Propterea una hora veniet plaga ejus, mors et famis et luctus, et igne cremabitur. Quoniam fortis est dominus Deus qui judicat eam.

20\textsuperscript{12} Et vidi mortuos pusilos et magnos stantes in conspectu sedis. Et libri aperti sunt, et alius liber apertus est qui est vitae. Et judicati sunt mortui secundum ea quae scripta sunt in libris, et secundum opera sua. Et dedit mare mortuos qui fuerunt in ipso, et mors et infernus dederunt mortuos qui fuerunt in ipsis. Et judicati sunt singuli secundum facta sua.

21\textsuperscript{8} Dubiis autem et infidelibus et abominandis et homicidis et adulteris et maleficiis et idolis servientibus et mendacibus, pars illorum in stagno ignis ardentis et sulfure, quod est mors secunda.

22\textsuperscript{16} Foras canes, et malifici, et adulteri, et idolis servientes. Testor ego omni audienti verba prophetiae libri hujus. Si quis adjecerit supra haec, imponet Deus super eum plagas quae scriptae sunt in hoc libro. Et si quis abstulerit verba prophetiae libri hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de ligno vitae et de civitate sancta.

\textsuperscript{1} Ut ne (=\textit{f,a µ})\textsuperscript{a}. So Weihrich emends et \textit{in} in Codex Sangallensis. MVLC om.
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MILLENNIAL KINGDOM.

The peculiar form that the Millennial Kingdom assumes in the Apocalypse is due to the results which, according to the Seer, would arise out of the conflicting claims of the Empire and the Christian Faith.

The main question at issue between them, a question which included all minor issues within it, originated in the demand that all loyal citizens of the Roman Empire should offer Divine worship to the Emperor. This claim to Divine honours was adopted by Rome with the object of unifying and consolidating all the diverse elements of the Roman Empire into a single whole. As Rome had already united all the civilized regions of the world in one universal commonwealth, so now it aimed at strengthening this bond of common citizenship by the still stronger tie of a common and universal religion, the one essential element of which was the worship of the Roman Emperor. Such a worship, of course, no Christian could render. Hence a collision of these two forces became inevitable, and in due course Rome proposed to itself definitely the task of exterminating Christianity on the ground that it was a Society guilty of high treason to the State. This came about first under Domitian. Thus there arose a conflict of two loyalties, loyalty to God and Christ on the one hand and loyalty to Caesar on the other, and our author was the first to set forth in all its seriousness the transcendent issues at stake, and to teach his brethren that to yield in any degree to such demands of the State was to be guilty of apostasy to God and the Christ who had redeemed them.

Under the conflict of his day the prophet clearly discerned the eternal issues at stake, and in this conflict he taught that no faithful follower of Christ would escape: in other words, he foretold a universal martyrdom. Herein our author may have found a fulfilment of the mysterious saying of our Lord: "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?"

This forecast of our author, however, was no more realized than numbers of the detailed prophecies of the O.T. But, though this element in his prophecy failed to be fulfilled, the larger spiritual truth embodied in his prophecy—that the Kingdom of this world should become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ—is true for all time and all like crises in human affairs. While the human element falls away the divine remains.

But the Seer could not stop short with forecasting a universal martyrdom. For this forecast of a universal martyrdom naturally led to a recasting of the traditional expectation of
the Millennial Kingdom. If the world was to be evangelized afresh, this evangelization could not be effected save through supernatural intervention, seeing that all the faithful were to be martyred before the advent of the Kingdom. Hence our Seer expected Christ to return on His Second Advent with all the blessed martyrs to destroy the enemies of the Kingdom (17:14-19:11-30) and to found the Millennial Kingdom in the Jerusalem that should come down from heaven, and so to evangelize the world afresh (21:9-22:14-15, 17:20-26).

But since John’s expectation of a universal martyrdom in the immediate future was not realized, his expectation that the earth would be evangelized by Christ and the blessed martyrs from heaven, cannot be regarded as an essential element of the teaching of the N.T., seeing that the former expectation which gave it birth never itself came into being. The need for this supernatural method of Christianizing the world has not arisen. There has been no universal martyrdom of the Church. Hence since the faithful survive, Christ has committed into their hands the complete evangelization of the world.

But while the peculiar form of this expectation must be relegated to the region of unfulfilled prophecy, the truth at the base of this expectation is not thereby affected. And this truth is that ultimately the righteous shall inherit the earth. The entire Apocalypse is indeed in one respect an expansion of the two opening beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount:  

1 The first of these is, “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven” (Matt. 5:3). The essential element of this beatitude is conveyed in many of the Seer’s words, but especially in

iii. 20. Behold I stand at the door and knock:
   If any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, And he with me.”

As for the second beatitude—“Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth” (Matt. 5:5)—the assurance of the truth of this beatitude shows itself in every song of the Apocalypse, whether sung by angels or saints, and this assurance gathers strength as the divine drama moves swiftly onwards, till at last in the closing millennium of the world’s history the Kingdom of this world has become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.

The optimism of the man who believes in God and lives unto Him cannot be other than indomitable and unexpugnable.

1 The so-called second beatitude, “Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted,” is an intrusion in Matthew’s text. V.9 should follow immediately on v.8.
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