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## armenian version of revelation

# THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF REVELATION <br> AND 

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S SCHOLIA ON THE INCARNATION AND EPISTLE ON EASTER

EDITED FROM THE OLDEST MSS. AND ENGLISHED

## By

FRED. Corcion Beare, F.B.A.


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## APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

LIST OF THE ARMENIAN SOURCES

I. Sources of the Older and Unrevised Text
$1=$ The Bodleian Codex Armenus, e. 2.
$2=$ British Museum Codex Orient. 5304.
$3=$ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.
$4=\mathrm{a}$ Codex preserved in the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem.

## II. Sources of the Twelfth Century Recension

$\alpha=$ British Museum Addit. 18549.
$\beta=$ British Museum Addit, 19730.
$\gamma=$ An Armenian Bible Codex of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.
$\delta=$ Rylands Library in Manchester Cod. Arm. 2, formerly of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana.
$\epsilon=$ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément Arm. 51.
And. or Andreas = the Text of the Apocalypse contained in the Lemmata of the Armenian Version of the Commentary of Andreas and Arethas, printed at Jerusalem in the year 1855.
Oskan = the text of the Apocalypse printed by Oskan in the first edition of the Armenian Bible at Amsterdam in the year 1666.
N.B.-The single symbol $\alpha$ imports the agreement of the codices $a \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon$ and of the printed texts of Andreas and Oscan. Where the codex $a$ differs from the rest of this group it is referred to thus : $\alpha$ alone.

Of the codices $1,2,3,4$, the last alone is complete, and the Text of Revelation divided according to their varying testimony falls into the following portions:
Ch. $1^{1}$ as far as $16^{16}$ rests on 1234 and the recension $\alpha$.
Ch. $16^{17}$ as far as $19^{18}$ rests on 24 and the recension $\alpha$, and note that, except for verses 12-16 of ch. 19, codex 3 , which breaks off at $19{ }^{16}$, exhibits merely the text of the recension $\alpha$. This portion of the text, viz. ch. $16^{17}-19^{18}$ is deficient in Codex 1.

Ch. $19^{19}$ to end of ch. 21 rests on 1, 2, 4, and the $\alpha$ recension.
Ch. 22 rests on 1, 4, and the $a$ recension, for in Codex 2 this chapter is lost.
The main text is translated from Codex 1, except the portion $16^{17}-19^{1 s}$, where it is translated from 4.

In the main text words italicised are those which are added in two or more of the other sources, reckoning the sources of the recension $\alpha$ as a single source. Where no note accompanies the passage the italics signify a consensus in adding of all the sources save that which forms the main text.
Words printed in small capitals are omitted in two or more of the sources, and where no note accompanies the passage the small capitals signify the consensus in omitting of all the sources save that which forms the main text.

## Brackets

(...) signify an alternative translation of the main text.
[...] signify an omission on the part of the $\alpha$ recension.
<...〉 signify an omission on the part of Codex 2.
r ... ${ }^{7}$ signify an omission on the part of Codex 3.
An asterisk after a word indicates that the text is corrupt.
An asterisk added after the symbol of a codex indicates an old correcting hand, and a double asterisk a late correcting hand. Thus
$3^{*}$ is an old hand, but not the first, correcting the text of 3 .
$3^{* *}$ is a recent hand correcting the same.

## Abbreviations

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { cor. } & =\text { corrector, or corrects } \\
\text { om. } & =\text { omit, or omits. } \\
\text { add or }+ & =\text { adds. } \\
\text { subst. } & =\text { substitutes. } \\
\text { tr. } & =\text { transpose. } \\
\text { ras. } & =\text { rasura. } \\
\text { h. } & =\text { hand. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## I

1 The revelation of Jesus Christ by means of which (or whom) God gave to shew to his servants whatever is about to come to be shortly, and signified, sending by means of his angel to John his servant.
2 Who witnessed of the word of God, and the witness of Jesus Christ, what he savo and what was, and what was to be after this.
3 Blessed he who shall read out or listen to the word of the prophecy, and shall keep what therein is written. For the time is near.
4 From John to the seven churches which are in Asia, Grace with you and peace from the existent and from him which is and which is to come, and from the seven powers of the spirit, which is before his throne;
5 And from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, who is eldest among the dead, and ruler of kingdoms of earth, who loved us and loosed the bonds of our sins by his blood.

Italics signify the additions to the text of Codex 1 furnished by two or more codices: capitals matter contained in 1, but omitted by two or more codices. Collation of $\alpha$ and of codices 234 .

1 Codex 4 begins thus: The revelation of John the Evangelist, which he saw. Blessed they that hear and do the things therein written. For the time is near-by means add a $23^{* *}$ —God odd a 3: om. 12 - $13=$ quodeunque futurum est : $a 2=$ quod fut. est_ad Iohannem servum suum $a 12$ : ad ser. suum Ioh. 3.
2 Who . . .] testimonium $\tau 0 \hat{v}$ verbi dei 3-what he saw] om. 3, add $3^{* *}$ over ras.-and what was and . . . this] om. $3: \alpha$ and 2 add the entire verse.
3 Blessed he who peruses the words of this prophecy and who hears and keeps a 2-For . . . near] add a $23^{* *} 4$ : om. 13.
4 From om. a 2-are om. a2_from . . . eldest $a 234$ : this lacuna in 1 is due to the lower part of a folio being torn off-from the existent . . . come] over ras. but first hand $3-$ seven . . spirit] spirit's power $\beta$ eosean : seven of the spirit (sic) 4-is (after spirit which) om. 3: are 4.
5 tr . who is witness faithful 4 -eldest andranik: 4 renders literally by NAKHDSIN firsthorn - of the dead $\gamma \in 4$ _- kingdoms] kings 4-who loved . . . bonds] to the one loving and loosing us 4-by his blood a 24 : $3^{*}$ adds in later ink.

## APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

6 And made us worthy of his kingdom, and priests unto God and his father, to him glory and might unto coons of coons, Amen.
7 Behold, he about to come with the clouds of heaven, and they shall see, all eyes and they who pierced him, and there shall see all extremes of earth. Yea, Amen.
8 And he saith, I am Ayb and I am Qê, saith the Lord who is unto æons, and who is about to come, Lord almighty.
9 I John, your brother and participator in tribulation and kingdom and patience unto Christ Jesus with much boldness do write unto you. I was in the island which is called by name Patmos, because of the word of God and because of the testimony of Jesus Christ.
10 And there was in me the spirit holy on the day dominical, and I heard a great voice behind me, as the voice of a trumpet
11 Which said to me, <what thou beholdest, write in a book and send it> to the seven churches <which are> in Ephesus and <in> Zmyrna and <in> Pergonia and in Thyatria and in Serdis and in Phrygia and in Laulodika.

6 worthy . . . kingdom 134: kings a $23^{* *}$ ——after God om. and $\epsilon 4: \alpha 23$ add and his-him] whom 3-and might . . . Amen] om. 4-might] + now and 3 -of æons om. $\beta$-add. Amen $\beta 3$.
7 he cometh 4—om. of heaven 4-and they etc.] $3=$ et videbunt omnes oculi et vilebunt cum fines mundi, et qui confixerunt eun omnes in terra. Here a late hand adds illum before omnes oculi, and in mg. after terre the phrase et plangent super illum-see . . . extremes] see him, all eyes, and they who pierced, and there shall mourn over him all nations $a$, and so 2 , but subst. 'races' for 'eyes' through misreading in an uncial copy the twenty-fifth letter of the Armenian alphabet as the sixth. It is noteworthy that codex 3 in writing the word for 'eyes' gives this twenty-fifth letter in its uncial form. 4 has the same sense as 2, lut uses another equivalent for the word 'eye'-Extremes [DSAGQ]? a corruption of $a z q q=$ tribes.
8 Ayb] Alpha a 24 -om. I am bef. Qê a 24 ——Qê] O a 2 : ôv 4——who . . . rons] God, and who exists and who is a 2 and 3 (in which an old, but not first, hand writes 'who was'): God the existent $24-\mathrm{om}$. Lord bef. almighty 34.
9 participator] associate 4-tribulation] oppression 3: sufferings 4-of the kingdom (om, and) 4——and patience . . Jesus] a 2: om. $14: 3^{* *}$ adds and patience which is in in mg. lut first hand urites Christ Jesus-I was]=ego eram 14 : fui ego a 23 , supplying the pronoun -om. by name a 2 -because of om. a 24 -om. Christ 4.
10 And] om. $\alpha$ (not $\beta \gamma$, ete.) $2-a$ spirit a $2-4=$ factus sum in spiritu-tr. dominica die $34-4 \mathrm{~cm}$. behind me and = vocem magnisonam tubæ dicentemtr. behind me a great voice $a 2:$ in 3 cor, culds after me a great-om. the voice $a 2$.
11 which said] saying $\alpha 4$ - to me] om. a 24 . Here $\beta \gamma$ (not $a$ ) Andreas 2 add. 'I am Alpha and $O v$, the first and the last, beheldest 4 -in. . send it] om. 4-om, which are a 2-Pergamus 3: Pergamon a 24 - Thivatir 2: Thivatria 3: Thivatiria 4-Sardis $a 4$ : Sardikê 23 Andreas-and in Philadelphia ceteri-Lavodikea a $\gamma 24$ : om. $\beta$.

12 And I was coming to see him who He Is which speaks with me; and in my turning I saw seven candlesticks of gold and
13 In the midst of the candlesticks like to a son of man, clothed in a garment down to the feet and girt about the breasts with a girdle of gold.
14 And on his head and hair as wool white, and his eyes as flame of fire.
15 And his feet likened to brass of Libanan refined amidst a furnace fiery; and his voice as voice of waters many.
16 And he had in his right hand stars seven ; and from his mouth proceeded a sword two-mouthed sharp, and his countenance like the sun flashing appeared.
17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as if dead; and he laid upon me his right, and saith to me, Fear not, I am beginning and I am end.
18 I am life, and I am who died, and behold, I am alive to coons of ceons. And I have the keys of death and hell.
19 Write what thou seest, what is, and what hereafter is about to come to pass after this.
20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right HAND, and of the seven candlesticks of gold ; and the seven stars, of the seven churches are the angels; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches.
12 was coming 13 : turned $\alpha 23^{*} \mathrm{mg}$. 4-him] the voice cet. ZAYN=him is a corruption of $Z T S A Y N=$ the voice-spake a 234 -to me 3-in my turning a 2 : over ras. $3^{* *}$ : I turned 4.
13 of the] + seven 3 -candlesticks of gold 4-garment om. a 24 -down . . . feet $\alpha 24$ and $3^{* *}$ in mg. : om. 13-girt . . . gold] 4 retains the sense but modernises the diction.
14 And on, etc.]. But the hair of his head white as wool pure 4-the hair 3: his hair 2 -wool . . . eyes as om. 2 per homoioteleuton-wool] + and as snow $\alpha$ and $3^{* *} \mathrm{mg}$.
15 like to a 24 -brass] ALILIIBANU 4 and at $2^{18}$ ARKOLCIBANI? a corruption of aurocalco Libani of Primasius- of Libanan oin. a 2 -refined . . . fiery $a 23^{* *}$-and his voice . . . many] om. 4.
16 in . . . hand] om. 4 -hand om. $\beta \gamma 2-$ tr. proceeded after sharp 2: after two-edged 4-two-edged a 24 - sharp a 2: om. 134 -was flashing and om. appeared 4.
17 And when $34-o m$. him 4-tr. his right upon me 4-and saith] saying $4-$ om. to me a 4-I am first and last and 3: I am first and I am the hereafter 4.
18 I anu life . . . æons] om. 4-same who 3-om. behold 3-of æons]+ Amen 3 -and who have 4.
19 Therefore write what thou sawest 4——what is a $23^{* *} 4: o m .13$-hereafter] om. a 24 : 3 retains and adds and what-after this] a 24.
20 sawest] dost see $2-\mathrm{in}]$ upon 4-of $a 2-\mathrm{om}$. and a $234-\mathrm{tr}$. are angels of the seven churches $34-o m$. seven bef. candlesticks 4 .

## II

1 Therefore to the angels of the Ephesians' church write, Thus saith he who holdeth stars seven in his right hand, and walketh in the midst of the seven candlesticks of gold,
2 I know thy works and thy toils and patience. And I know that thou bearest not the evil ones whom thou didst test: them who called themselves apostles, and were not, and thou foundest them false and borest them.
3 And thou wast patient and in tribulation for my name's sake, and hast toiled.
4 But I say unto thee and unto thy love, the first thou didst leave me.
5 Remember whence thou art fallen and 「repent ${ }^{\top}$ and thy first works $d o$. But if not, I come, and will move thy candlestick out of its place, if thou repent not.
6 But this I will do, that thou mayest hate the work of Nicolaus, which (or whom) I hate.
7 He that hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the spirit holy saith to the churches. They that shall be found conquerors, and having acquitted themselves bravely, I will give him to eat of the tree of life, which is in the garden of my God.
1 angel a 34 -angel which is in Ephesus in the church 4-he] the able one 3 -tr. seven stars a 2 -om. hand a 2 -who was going 4-udd seven a 34.
2 know] have seen a 2 -add thy 234 -toils] labours 4 -thy patience 34 -bearest not] art not able to bear a 2 and 4 which alters the dictionwhom] and a 234 -who] hecause they a 2_called] presented $\gamma 2$ : call 34 —brf. apostles + to be a-apostles] + and are not and Hebrews, they lie 3 which mm. the words added in a 2 and were . . . borest them: 4 agrees. with a 2 but has are and om. borest them.
3 thou hast pratience and borest for my 4-and in trib.] om. a 24 -and . . . tailed] a 2 : and art not tormented 3 : and didst not reproach 4.
4 say . . . thee] have against thee 4 and om. rest of verse-_ and . . . me] forasmuch as thy first love thou didst leave a 23 .
5 aftor remember] add now 3: add thy love the first 4 -repent] be contrite 4 (which always employs this synonym) -and] a 4-do] add cet. but in 3 in old hand above line-1 . . move] there comes for thee an earthquake (lit. movement) and moves 3-I come] + quickly $a:+$ to thee 4-and] a 24 candlestick ] tower a 23 erliti through confusion of ashtanak with ashtarak: 4 uses another word for candlestick tsraganotz.
6 I will do] do thon a 2 : thou shalt do 3 : thou hast 4-works a 24 -of the Nicolaitans 4-which om. 2-I also hate 4.
7 om . of hearing a 3: retain $\beta \gamma 24$ Andreas - $r$. what saith the sp. $a-o m$. holy a 3 Andreas: retain $\beta \gamma$ cet. -They . . . bravely]. He that conquers a 3: To the conqueror 4: 2 agrees with 1 , but uses the singular-I . . . eat] so $3^{* *}$ over ras. of the words 'they shall eat'_-tree] wood a24_-in the] + midst of the a-om. my a.

8 And to the angels of the Smyrnean's church write thus: Thus saith he that is without beginning and without end, who became dead for our Sake and for the Church's sake.
9 I know thy works and tribulation <and> Labours, thy poverty shall be for riches and not unto trials, and the blasphemies which the Jews wrought against thee, do I know. For (or that) they reckon themselves that they may be something, but they are a synagogue of Satan.
10 Fear thou not, for although they are about to torment thee, behold Satan wills to cast some of you into prison, and into trials, and into straits of tribulation for ten days. Stand thou firm and be faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.
11 He that hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches. They that shall be found victorious, shall not be afraid of the second death.
12 And to the angels of the Pergameans' church write: Thus saith he that hath the sword two-mouthed sharp :

8 Angel a 234 - $4=$ angelo qui in Zmyrna ecclesia -churches 2-that is... end] 2 has or $\hat{E} N$ SKIZBN EV KATARADS $=$ that is beginning and end. In $a$ and 1 EV has been confused with the privative affix $A N$, so as to read which (is) beginningless. An was then added out of sense symmetry before katarads also, yielding the sense without end, endless: 4 has "the first and the one hereafter" - 3 has "the first and the last and the dead one and the life"-dead] + and lived 2: and was made alive a 4 : and the life 3 (vide supra).
9 know] have seen a-after works $3^{*}$ writes and over ras.-thy works and patience, tribulation and poverty, but thou art strong to endure the abuse (of those) who affirm (themselves) to be of the Judæans, and they are not but 4 labours] poverty $a:$ om. 23 -thy]. But thy $a 2: 3$ thus poverty, but it shall be and om. thy - before riches om. for a-and. trials] om. a $3:=$ tentationem enim 2-which . . . know] om. $\alpha:=q u æ$ dicebant ludæi audis 2: quæ dicunt ludæi 3-For . . . are] who affirmed themselves to be Jews, and they were nothing, but $a$ : for they are naught, but they are 3 -that . . something] and are not 2-synagogue] people a 4 (jolov for jolovaran).
10 for . . . thee] om. 3 : about what thou willest ( $\theta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon$ cs) to suffer $\alpha \beta$ Andreas : so $\gamma$ (but $\mu \in \lambda \lambda \epsilon$ es) : whatever shall hap to thee $4:-$ Satan . . . days] the traducer is about to cast ( + one 4) of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye have straits ten days a and so 4 only subst. the words ye shall have for and ye have straits - Satan wills] = cogitant illi cogitationem Satanæ 3-and into trials ... days] that ye may be tried, and there cometh to you straits for days ten 3 Find for you to be in tribulation $2-$ stand... and ]om. $a 4$-stand, etc.]. Firm be thou in faith unto death, and thou shalt receive for thyself the crown of life 3 -and I . . . life] a 4.
11 ears] an ear $a$ of hearing] om. $\beta \gamma 23$-holy] om. a $\gamma 34-\mathrm{He}$ that conquers $\alpha$ 4: They that conquer 3 : He that shall be found victorious $2-$ shall $\ldots$ afraid] is not injured by $a$ : shall not be hurt by 4 .
12 Angel which is in the Pergamus church $\alpha 4$ angels 123 : angel a $4-$ of the Pergeans 1: of the Pergameans 2-of Pergam the church 3-twoedged $a 4$.

13 I know thy works and where thou dwellest, where is SET the throne of Satan. But they hold my name, and thou hast not denied my faith in these days, all who are witnesses faithful, who for my sake died among you: unto temptation and unto the dwelling of Satan among some of you.
14 But I say to thee because there abides with thee the teaching of Balam who taught Balak to place a stumblingblock in front of the children of Israel, <for them> to eat <the things sacrificed> and to fornicate with the daughters of the gentiles.
15 Thus also thou hast the teaching of Nicolaus.
16 Do thou therefore repent. But if not, I come quickly, and will make war against them with the sword of my mouth.
17 He that hath ears of hearing let him hear what the spirit holy saith to the churches. They that be found victorious, I will give him food from the tree of life ; and I will give him the writing of holiness, and will mingle his name in the numbers of the saints who hold my name.

13 I know, etc.] I have seen thy works and (om. $\beta$ ) that (where $\gamma$ ) thou dwellest where the throne is a-thy works and] a $3:$ om. 124 -thou dwellest]= habitans es tu a 123 -is] om. 3-set] om. a 4-But] and a34-thou holdest oUNIs a $23^{* *} 4$ : or'NIN $=$ they hold 3 first hand-thou hast denied] over ras. $3^{* *}$ —my faith] my faithful one 3 : the faith 4--in these . . . you] in the day on which Anthipas my witness was faithful who was slain by you who abide where Satan is dwelling 3*** and a alone : in the margin of latter an old hand adds this scholium, 'Anthipas was bishop of Pergam, whose feast is on April tenth.' $\beta \gamma \delta$ have the same reading, but add after 'was faithful' the words öTı $\mu$ ' $\rho$ 'vs $\mu \circ \mathrm{u} \pi \sigma \tau \partial \mathrm{s}(o \mathrm{~m} . \gamma) \pi \mathrm{as} \dot{\text { o }} \pi \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \dot{v} \omega \nu$, and $\beta \gamma \delta 3$ omit the words, 'who abide': on which thou withstoodest ( $=\dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \epsilon i \pi a s$ ), my witness faithful who was slain by you where Satan dwells 4-all . . . witnesses . . .] omnis qui fuit testis fidelis propter me qui mortui sunt e uobis ad habitandum Satane in regionibus ex uobis 2 where, $A R I$ KolmANS $=$ in regionibus is a corruption of $A R$ OMANS = 'among some.'
14 say to] have against $a$ : have to say unto $\beta \gamma 3^{* * *}$. Note that the gloss 'to say' which stands in text of $\beta \gamma$ only appears in the margin of $a$ in a late hand. I say] I have to say a $3^{* *} 4$ : contigit etiam 2 (confusing asel with haseal)to thee] about thee $4:+\mathrm{a}$ few things or a little $\alpha 3^{* *} 4$-because, etc.] for thou hast there (those) who have the teaching of B. who teaches 4-place] cast 4——in front] a 23 - for them] om. 24 -with . . . gentiles] om. a 34 -om. the before gentiles 2 .
15 Thus] + saith the Lord 2: +he saith $3^{*}$ - hast] + those who have 4-Nicolans] of the Nicolaitans a 4, and add which I hate a.
16 Therefore) om. 2: only do thou 3-Do thou thus be contrite 4- But]om. 4-quickly] to thee 4-and] om. 2 -them] in a alone first hand corrects to 'you': him 23.
17 Of whom there are ears 3-of hearing] om. a 2-holy] om. a r 24 -They . . . life]. He that overcometh, I will give him to eat of the manna hidden a 4 : He that shall be fomed victorions, I will give him food the mama budding forth 23, where dsulhicul, 'hudding forth,' is a corruption of dsadskicul, 'hidden.' a 4 use the word thaqutzal_ult. him $]+$ a name 3-and I will . . my name] and a written name new in the writing which no one knoweth, hut only he who receires $\alpha$ - his name] him 2: them 3 - of my saints 3-who . . . name] in whom is written a name new which no one, etc. (as in a) 23 -_writing

18 And to the angels of the Thivatireans write: Thus saith the Son of God, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and his feet likened unto brass of Libanan:
19 I know thy love and thy works and thy patience and the faith of thy holiness, that thy last works have become more than the first.
20 But I say unto thee much, that thou hast abandoned thy wife Zezabel, who declared herself a prophetess, and taught unto my servants error, to fornicate and eat the thing sacrificed.
21 I vouchsafed her time of repentance, and she hath not repented of her fornication.
22 Behold I cast her into a furnace, and her fornicaters into「great¹ tribulation, unless they shall repent of their evil works.
23 And their children I will slay with death, and all the churches shall know that I am he who do search hearts and reins. And I requite unto each his works.
24 And unto you I say, that do believe of the Thivatireans, ye who have not learned this teaching; they who have not known the secrets of Satan, which they say; I will not cast upon you a burden,
. . . my name] a testimony white and upon the testimony a name new written which, etc. (as in a) 4.
18 angel $a$ and $3^{* *} 4-$ of the Th.] qui in Theatrea ecclesia $4:$ which is in the Church of Thivatir $\beta \gamma$ Andreas, and so $a$ but omitting 'which is': +church 3 -write]+unto the churches 2-Arm. = cuius oculi eius, but 23 om . eius and subst. sunt: $4=$ who hath eyes-likened] like $\alpha 4$ : om. 2-of Libanan] smelted $\alpha 3^{* *}$.
19 I know, etc.] I have seen thy works, and love, and faith, and thy service in patience that $a$ : thou knowest thy works, and love, and faith, and ministerings and thy patience, that 23 (cor. havcasar. to spasavor. read in 4): I know thy works and faith and ministerings and thy patience, and thy last works more, etc., 4 -works] labour $\alpha$-have become] ure $3:$ is $a$.
20 I say]=dicere etiam 2: I have against thee 4 -thee] + much $\alpha 4$-thy] the a 23 -wife] or woman-Zezabel] Yezabel Andreas 3-declares 2-herself] + to be 4-teaches and leads astray my servants to 4-tr, teaches (taught a) error unto, etc., $\alpha 23$-the thing sacrificed] cm .2 .
21 I] And I a 23 -vouchsafed] gave a 4-her] them $\alpha$-of repentance $23-$ and ... fornication] to repent of their fornication and they repented not $\alpha$ -that she may be contrite and she wills not to be contrite of, etc., 4 .
22 a furnace] pains of a couch 4 -her . . . great] her co-workers with whom she committed adultery into very great $a: 3^{*}$ adds in mg . 'her co-workers'fornicators] + with her 4-unless] and 2 -repent] are contrite 4 (so passin) -their] her 4--evil] om. a 4, and $3^{* *}$ obelizes the word evil.
23 And their $\alpha 2^{*} 3$ : and her 24 -child 4-search, etc.] probe $(=\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \gamma \chi \omega)$ reins and hearts $\alpha$-and I (+ will 4) give to you each according to their (your 4) own works. But (However 4) to you I say that are ( + left 4) in Thivatir, and (who 4) have not this doctrine (teaching 4) a 4--heart 2 .
24 they 124 : ye a 3 -(qui non cognouistis), they who understood not 4- secrets] deep things a 234 (Khorhurd = 'secret' is a corruption of Khor, 'deep')-say] converse of $\alpha-$ which they say] om. 4-I]. However I $\beta \gamma \delta$-will] do 4.

25 More than what ye have and is with you until the goal.
26 <He that shall conquer shall keep> the works <until the end. And> I will give them authority over the nations.
27 And they shall shepherd them with a rod of iron, and as vessels of a potter shall they shatter them. As I received from my father.
28 And I will give them the morning star.
29 He that hath ears of hearing let him hear what the holy spirit saith unto the churches.

## III

1 And to the angels of the Sardicans' church, write: Thus saith <he which hath> grace of the Spirit of God, and the seven stars. I know thy works, that a name <alone> is thine, that thou art alive, but thou art dead.
2 Be thou watchful, and fill up that which lacks, which was set down in thy mind, the transgressing. For I have not found thy works completed before God.
3 Remember as thou receivedst, keep, and repent. But if thou
25 a burden, but (ayl) what ye have a Andr. $3^{* *}$ : an other (cyll) burden, however, $y e$ who have not 4 : another (ayl) burden, what ye have $\beta \gamma \delta$-and is .... end l preserve ye until I come a $3^{* *}$ : hold ye fast until I come 4-and is] from the Lord* 2.
26 and he who conquers and keeps my works until the end I will give him $\alpha$ and the who conquers and keeps until the finish the works, I will 4 -my works 2 -I will give]= cgo dulo where 24 om . ego-them] him 24 -nations] heathen 4.
27 they] he a 4 -them] him 2-a vessel $\alpha \beta 2$-of earthenware-shall he a 4-them] him 2: om 4-received] corr. ANKay to Ěnkalay: also took 4.
28 Them] him $\beta 24$-morning] first 4.
29 Of hearing] om. a only an 12 -holy] om . a $\gamma \delta$ (but not $\beta$ ) and 24 -churches] + which be found victorious $\gamma$.
1 Angel $a$ 4-which is in the Sardesia churches 4-Sardicans] Surdians $2 a \gamma$, but not $\beta$-grace . . God] $=$ septem gratias spiritus (+sancti 2) Dei 23 -grace of the] the seven a 4, but retaining the singular 'spirit'- know] have seen a-that a name . . art] that thon hast name of a living one and art a: and that thon art named that thou art 4-but] and $34-\mathrm{om}$. thou art 4.
2 Watehful] arthun in a 4 where 123 have the corruption zvarthun='glad'--fill up . . . transgressing] establish henceforth, for thou art about to die a: establish the remaining ones (or remainders) which were about to die 4-the trans.] to transgress 23-completed katarcal] 4 has lsel=heard, a corruption of lizeal $=$ filled -my God 24.
3 Remember, as (how 4) thou receivedst and heardest, and keep 24 : Remember, as thou receivedst and as thou heardest 3 (om. keep)-Remember] + therefore a
art not watchful, I come unto thee as a robber, as to which thou linowest not the hour in which I come unto thee; thou art outside as the man robbed, and one shall not know when the robber will come upon him.
4 But thou hast a few names of Sardicans, who defiled not their garments, and were walking with me in whites. Because they became worthy,
5 To be found victors, who shall put on garments of white; and there shall not be effaced their name from the book of life. And I will remember their name before my Father that is in heaven, and before his angels.
6 Who ever hath ears of hearing let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.
7 And to the angels of the lovers of the brethren's church write; Thus saith the holy one and the true, who hath the keys of Hades, who openeth and no one is able to shut it, and who shutteth and no one is able to open.
8 I hinow thy works. Behold, I have given before thee a door opened, which none can shut, because a little thou hast of power of Grace, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.
9 Behold I give you a synagogue of Satan, who call them(and om. and)-receivedst] heardest, and $a:-$ watchful] zuarthanas = 'art joyful,' a 123 -a corruption of arthnanas =art watchful. - But if thou be not contrite 4 -I come ...upon him] I come as a robber, and no one understandeth my coming to thee $\alpha$ : thou knowest not in what hour there cometh upon thee the thief 3 (om. rest) : I will come upon thee like a thief, and thou shalt not understand in what hour I will come 4 : Italics from 2 -one knew not 2.
4 But] om. a-thou hast] he that has $\beta$ : who hast $\gamma$ : 1 have 4 - Sardicans] Sardians a 23: in Sardes 4-defiled] fouled 4-garments] dresses 4-walk $\alpha$ : have walked $2:$ shall walk $3:$ shall go $4 —$ with me] om. a 4—whites] correcting psaks (crowns) of 1 and 3 to the reading of 2 spitaks 'white': in luminous garments, for they are alive 4.
5 Because, etc.] of which they became worthy. He that overcomes shall thus put on whites, and his name $a-$ He who conquers thus shall they make his (sic) garment white, etc., $4-$ who . . on] they shall receive $2:$ they shall don 3 -there. . . effaced] I will not efface 234 -names 234 -remember] confess a 34 -their] his a 4 -his] om. a.
6 of hearing] om. a $2-\mathrm{om}$. holy $a$ and 3 and 4.
7 angel a 234 - of the Philadelphians' 3: which is in Philadelphia 4- om. church write 4 -and] om. a 4 -Hades 123 pr. m. : David a $3^{* *}$ : the garden 4 -who] $234:$ om. a 1 --no one. . . open $123:$ there is no one who shuts, and he shuts, and there is no one who opens $a$ : no one shall shut ; and he shuts, and no one openeth 4.
8 know] have seen $a$-before] om. 23 -quam nemo potest claudere eam 3: for no one is able to shat it 2 -of grace and ] shnorhatz ev in 1 is a corruption of the reading of the other sources ev pahetzer = "and hast kept" "words a 23 _denied] forgotten 3 : add my word and 4.
9 give tam]a 2 3. In 1 asem ${ }^{*}=1$ say- thee $a 3: o m$. cet.-of the synagogue
selves Judæans. And they are not Judæans, but affirm a lie. Behold I will make them that they shall come and shall worship before thy feet. For I have loved thee,
10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, and I will keep thee in the hour of trial, when I shall come upon the whole world, to try all dwellers upon earth.
11 Behold, I come quickly. Be strong and hold fast what thou hast, let not any one snatch from thee thy crown.
12 And whosoever be found conquering, I will make him a pillar of the temple of my God, and without he shall no more go forth; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and will give to them my house, the new Jerusalem, which shall come down out of heaven from my God, and $I$ will give them a name new.
13 Whoever hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.
14 And to the angels of the Phrygians' church, write; Thus saith the Amen; the witness faithful and true, and the beginning of the creations <OF GOD>:
15 I know thy works, that thou art not hot neither cold, <but thou art lukewarm>.
16 Judge thee I will out of thy mouth.
17 Because thou sayest, rich am I, and have become rich, and in
24 _Judeans] 14 transliterating 'Iovoaious: 2 and 3 have Hreay $=$ Hebrews -alt. Judieans] om. a 4-Behold, ] om. a-thy feet] thee 4-For] and 2 : and they shall know that $\alpha$ and $3^{*}$ over line : and thou shalt know that 4.
10 Because] And a 4-will keep] have kept 2-hour of ] thy a 3 : season of 4 -when I shall] who is destined to $a$ : when he shall 23 : which is about to 4 -all] om. 4-upon earth] of it 4-upon] the face of $a$.
11 Behold) om. 234 - Be strong and] om. a 4-and let not 3 : lest $a-$ snatch] take a4, and omit from thee.
12 Ani. . . I] Him that conquers $\alpha$ : He that is conquering 4-of the temple] om. 4 -and] hut 2 -he . . . more] shall no one 4 - no more] not 2-_ alt. will. . .Jerusalem] the name of the city of my God, the new <one of> Jerusalem a 34 and 2 which mils the name-shall come] was coming 4from for cet-I will give them $23: \mathrm{om}$. a and $3^{* *}$ and 4-a name 2 : my name 34 : lis name a $3^{\prime * *}$ confusing Norat his with NOR new.
13 of hearing] om. a-what . . . churches] om. 4-holy] om. a 3.
14 angel a 34-of the Plorygians'] of Laodicea $a$ : of the Laodiceans' 23 : qui in Lavodike in ecclesia 4 -and bef. true om. 4 -and after true] om. a 4 heginning] + of the begiming $a:$ sulst. from the beginning $4:=a b i n i t i i 1$, a conilation of $\alpha$ and 4 : 1 render 2 and 3 - of the . . . (iod] om. 4.
$151 \mathrm{know}=$ cognosco ego - cr. cold neither hot a 4 , and a adds thou oughtest to be cohl or hot, 4 ablels it were hetter thon wast either cold or hot : 3 adds and since thou art not hot nor cold after lnkewarm.
15 Julge....thy mouth] so 123 . But a and $3^{* *}$ read Thou art about to be vomited out of my month: I am about to turn thee round out of my mouth 4.
17 rich] opulent 4-am] was a -have hecome] will beeome* 2--naught lacks
no way am I lacking. And thou art wretched <and> miserable and weak and poor, and blind, and naked.
18 And now hear thou me and I will advise about thee. Take, buy of me gold refined by fire, that thou mayest become rich; and garments precious that thou mayest clothe thyself, that there be not revealed the shame of thy body, and lay salve on thine eyes, that thou mayest see.
19 Because I love thee, and I reprove and chasten thee: take zeal <and> repent.
20 Behold I stand at thy door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will go in to him and will dwell with him, and he with me in my kingdom.
21 As I have overcome and sat down on the right hand of my Father on the throne of glory.
22 Whoever hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the holy spirit saith to the churches.

## IV

1 And after all this I saw, and behold the dome of heaven was opened; and a voice of the trumpet which I heard the first, which spake with me and said to me, Come up hither, and I will shew thee what is to come to pass in the future time.
me $\dot{4}$ : and thou knowest not that thou art a 4 —art miserable and supine and poor, naked and blind $a-$ and weak] om. a $234-t r$. naked and blind $a 4$.
18 And ... and]. So then a:om. 4-I will advise about] so 2 Khorhetzaytz, of which 1 and 3 have a corruption khonarhetzaytz = 'I will humble'-I give thee a precept to buy 4-precious] white a 234 -clothe thyself] put them on thee 4 -and let not be revealed 34 -body] nakedness 234 -and lay etc. a 2 3: and spread an eye-drug on the eyes and thou shalt see 4-salve] drug $\alpha$.
19 After see add For whom I love, I reprove and chasten 2-So far forth as I love anyone I reprove 4 -Because, etc.] I, whom I love, do reprove a-After thee om. and 23 -thee] 23 be zealous now and $a$ : anyhow be zealous and 4 .
20 thy $\gamma$ : the $\alpha \beta$-and open, etc.] let him open the door and I 4 -will dwell] will make supper $\alpha$ : will sup 234 - in my kingdom] om. a 4-kingdom] +He that overcometh, I will give to him to sit (+with me a) on my throne $\alpha$ 4: + as I have overcome I will give to him to sit with me on my throne 3, but cor. writes I will . . . sit over ras.
21 as also $\gamma 24$-on the . . of with 234 -right hand] throne $a$-on . . . glory] on his throne 234 - sat down on the throne of my father $a$.
22 of hearing] om. $\beta \gamma 2$-whatever 4-holy] om. a 34 -tr. saith the spirit a 4.
1 And] om. 4-all] om. a 4-dome] a door 4: doors a 23 -opened in heaven 4-were opened a 23 :om. 4-a voice the first which I heard as that of a trumpet speaking 4 - which . .. first] of the first which I heard 3 -which] om. a 3-with me] a 23 -and said to me] om. 4-in . . . time] after this $4-$ time] om. a: add 23.

2 And in that hour there was in me the spirit holy, and I beheld a throne that it stood in heaven, and on the throne he sat
3 Like to a vision of stones jasper and sardius.
4 And priests round about the throne like to a vision of emerald. And round about the throne thrones twenty and four, and on the thrones were sitting elders twenty-four arrayed in garments white, and on their heads they had crowns of gold.
5 And out of the throne went forth lightnings and voices and thunders. And seven lamps of fire flaming before the throne, which are seven powers of the spirit holy.
6 And there was before the throne a sea of glass, in the likeness of the whiteness of crystal, and in the midst of the throne four beasts; and they were full of eyes behind and before.
7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast like an eagle flying.
8 And of the four beasts there were for one by one of them six uron six wings and round about and within they were full of eyes. And they rested not, not by day and not by night, and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, who is and liveth unto æons, and who is to come.
9 And when the beasts gave [<glory and〉] honour and praises to him that sat on the throne, <to the living> unto æons of wons.

2 And. . . heheld]. And forthwith (that same hour 4) was I in the spirit, and behold, a 4 : And there arrived unto me the spirit and I beheld 3 : and on the hour was I in the spirit holy and beheld 2 -that it stood] there $a$ : om. 'that' 4. I correct gayr to kayr-'stood' in 123 - he sat] 234.

3 like... vision] sitting the likeness of a vision a-to stone 24 - sardion a 23 4: stadion MS. 1.
4 priests] an honour 4 (? sense) -like to] of the likeness of 4 -_merald round and om. And 3-throne] +I saw 4 -twenty-four elders having clad themselves in white 4 (and om. garments) -they had] om, a 34.
5 went forth] ent or clave 4 -lamps, etc.] torches kindled 4- the seven powers of the spirit of God 3: the seven spirits of God $\alpha$, and $3^{* *}$ over ras. --powers] parts 4-holy] of God 4.
6 there was] om. a 4 -a sea as glass, like to beryl 4-glass, like to the 23 -throne] add 'and roumd the throne' a 4-and . . . were] om. a 4 -full of] filled with 4 -before and behind 234
7 had a 2: was 3:om. 4-the face of like unto 4-om. flying 4.
8 Et quatnor animalia ante habebant et singulatim sex sex $4-0 m$. of them 4 -upon six] om. a 2 -om. round about 4 -about and within they were] om. a full off filled with a 4-And] om. 3-rest they had not 4-not] add his a 23 -and said) saying a 234 - Holy! the word is repeated nine times in $a \beta \delta$ and 3- (iod| a 34 - of hosts Almighty a 234 -liveth . . . come] art and art to come $\alpha 23$ : is and is to come 4.
9 praises $\mid$ might 1 sec . hand: thanks a 3 : land 24 . Note that zonnivtuiun,

10 There fell down the twenty and four elders before the throne, and they worshipped the alive of eons. And they laid down their crowns before the throne and said,
11 Worthy art thou, Lord God, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou didst fashion all, and at thy willing they were fashioned and stand sure.

## V

1 And I saw on the right hand (of him) who sat upon the throne, that he had a book written within and without, and sealed with seven seals.
2 And I saw an angel strong, that he proclaimed with a great voice and said, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?
3 And no one was found who was able, not in heaven, and not on earth, nor underneath the earth, to open the book and to look into it.
4 And I wept violently, because no one was found worthy to open the book and loose its SEAL and to look into it.
5 And one of the elders there saith unto me, Weep thou not: behold he hath overcome, the lion from the tribe of Judah, from the root of David; and he is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof.
praise, and zôruthiun power are often confused - sat] sitteth 4-to the living] of life 4 unto æons] om. $\gamma$ : add Amen a $\beta \delta 2$.
10 There fell . . . four] om. 2: and there shall fall down, etc. 4- there fell ... æons] om. a 3 Andreas - And the elders 2-and . . . alive] = dicebant digni erant* 2 : and they shall worship 4 and om. the alive to rons of rons, amen, 24 (om. amen)-they laid] laying $a$ : they shall lay 4——and said] saying 234 : said $a$.
11 Worthy ...thou]. It is worthy for thee $\alpha$-Worthy is the Lord our God 2 ——Lord] + our a (not Andreas): +and our 3-our Lord and God 4-and power] om. a. I correct in 1 and 3 zôrhnuthiun to zorduthiun, which is read in 2 and in the printed text of Zohrab. See note on vs. 9 -fashion] acquire $a$ : make 4-and because of thy will they were and are 4.
1 right hand] throne (sic) 4-that he hail] om. a 234 --before sealed, om. and a 4 -tr. seals seven 4.
2 who proclaimed 4-om. and said 34 - the book . . . loose] om. 4.
3 nor ... earth] a 24 - to open the book] om. 4-anid to . . . it] for they saw it not $a 3^{* *}:$ nor to see it 4 .
4 plangebant multi $\alpha$-ego flebam 13 : flebam $24-$ - book ...its] add $2-$ seals] book a 34 -loose . . . it] and read it or see it $\alpha$ : nor to see the book 4 -nor to look 2.
5 elders] old men 4 (so always)-unto me] om. a alone and Andreas-Weep] lament $\alpha$-open ... seals] open the book and its seven seals $a$ : MS. 1 transposes

6 And [I saw] in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, Like unto a lamb slain; and it had horns seven, and eyes seven, which are the seven powers of the Spirit, which are sent forth unto all the ends.
7 And he came and received from the right hand of him which sat upon the throne.
8 And when he took the book, the fourfold-shaped beasts and the twenty and four elders fell down before the lamb. And they had each a harp, and a censer of gold full of incense, which were the prayers of the saints.
9 And they were hymning a hymn new and saying, Worthy is the lamb to take the book and open the seals thereof. Because thou wast slain, and hast bought us unto adoption with thy blood, out of all tribes and tongues and peoples and gentiles.
10 <And hast made us priests of our God>, and we shall reign upon earth.
11 I was hearing and seeing round the throne voices of angels <many> and around the 「four' beasts and the elders. And the number of them was ten thousand ten thousand and thousands of thousands,
the text thus: 'to loose the book and open the seals.' I correct from $23-$ seven seals] $a$ and $3^{*}$ and 4 -loose the] + the book and the seven 4 (ep. 1).
6 om . and after throne 4 -alt. in the midsit om. a $\beta 4$, retains $\gamma$ And, etc. elders) + of the old men 4 (a conflation)- like unto] om. a 34 -a lamb] + was standing a 34 -slain zeneal] so $\alpha \beta$ in text, but in margin KNQEAL (=sealed): 3 adds both, but in mg. only: as it were slain 4 (using SPanEaL) -and it] which 23 - Ir. seven eyes a-powers . . . Spirit] Spirits of God a : powers of God 2: powers of the Spirit of God 3, in which the cor. erases 'powers of': which are parts of the seven graces of the Spirit of God 4—which are bef. sent] om. awhich . . . ends] om. 4 and subst. 'unto all earth'-ends] earth $a \geq 3$.
7 rereivel from a 2 : took by* 13 : took from 4 -om. hand 4-of] a 24 .
8 when] added cutside the line by $3^{*}$-_book] + and 3 —-fourfold-shaped] four a 23 - fell down] over ras. by cor. in 3-and they had] saying having 4a censer] goblets of 4-were] is a 3: are 24.
9 singing songs new 4: hymning songs new $\alpha$-hymns 2 -Bef. saying om. and 4- is the Lamb] art thon a 3 4: art thon Lord our God 2-slain] ZENAR a 123 : spasab 4 -bought]. In 23 first hand wrote gretzer $=$ 'hast written,' in 3 cor. changes to guelzer 'hast bought'--adoption] God a 4: adoption of (A our 3) God 2 and 3, in which the corrector erases the word 'adoption.'
$10 \mathrm{us}]$ them a 4-and peoples of gentiles $a$-priests and kings] $a$ and $3^{* *}$ in mg . and partly over rusura of the words 'a kingdom'-for our God a realm and priests 4-ur. of our Gol priests and kings a $\beta$ : of our God kings and priests $\gamma$ Aml. and we shall to $a$ : and they shall 4 .
11 And I saw and heard ( + as if 4) the voice a 234 - tr, round the throne after 'many' 3 4-mavy who stood round the throne a-uded and $\alpha$, and 4 ( $=$ and of the old men and animals' elders] priests a - And the . . . was] 3 adds above line in an old, but not in first hand.

12 Who were [crying out and] saying with voice great, Worthy is the lamb slain to receive praise and riches and honour and glory.
13 And all creatures which are in the heaven and on earth and in the sea, [and all powers which are in them], heard I saying, He which sitteth on the throne, and the lamb, blessed, <exalted> and glorified unto the æons <of æons〉.
14 And the four beasts said, Amen. <And> the elders fell down before him and worshipped нгм.

## VI

1 And I saw that the lamb opened one of the seven seals; and I heard in the midst of the four beasts as it were a voice of thunder which said, I come.
2 And I saw, and behold, a horse white, and he that was mounted thereon had a bow; and there was given to him a crown, and he came to conquer that he might conquer.
3 And when he opened seal the second, I heard from the second beast that he said, I come.
4 And there went forth <another> horse light-blue; and he that was mounted thereon, there was given to him to take peace

12 who] and they $a$ only and 3 : they were 2 -who . . . saying] saying with voice great 4-praise] power 34 (see note on $4^{9}$ ) —riches] + and wisdom 3receive riches and wisdom and power and honour and glory and praise $\alpha$ : so 2 except that it substitutes 'praise' zôrhnuthiux for 'power' zôruthiun, reading the word twice over : receive power and majesty ( $=\mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda o \pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon l a \nu$ ) and wisdom and might and honour and glory and praise 4.
13 earth] + and under earth 4-and all powers] om. a 34 -which . . them] + and what in them is all 3 and $a$ (but om. all) : from them all 4 - which sat 4 -and] a 3: and on 4—-blessing and honour and glory 4-blessed] + and 3 -glorified]+and almighty 3-of æons] + Amen 3.
14 om . before him 4.
1 that] and when 4 _the lamb] he a-_seven seals 234 -_in the midst] oue 4: from one a (MIOY of which midjoy 'in the midst' of MS. 1 is a corruption. In mêdj of MSS. 2 and 3 we have a further stage of the corruption, but the same sense) -as . . said] it said as it were in voice of thunder $4-$ which said] saying 2: 3 omits but inserts above after 'beasts' the words 'and it said' in an old hand above the line-I come] come thou 4.
2 and there came (add forth 4) the conqueror, that 24 -that, etc.] and he will conquer and he conquered 3 .
3 the second seal 3-after 'heard' first hand added 'from the four' which a later hand erases $3-\mathrm{I}$ come] om. 4.
4 light-blue] scarlet a 2: reddish which is ruddier white 3-to take om. 24 -earth] + that they shall slay each other $\alpha$-and there . . . he] and they 4
from earth: and there was given unto him to take a great sword, wherewith he shall slay all habitants of earth.
5 And when he opened seal the third, I heard <from> the third beast that it said, I come. And I saw, and behold another horse black; and he that was mounted thereon, had a balance in his hand.
6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts [which were saying], A measure of wheat for one penny, and three measures of barley for one penny. And the oil and wine shall not be hurt.
7 And when he opened seal the fourth, I heard from the fourth beast, that it said, I come.
8 And I saw and <behold>, another horse, reddish, and he that was sitting upon him had* death, and Hell 「followed` with (or after) him. And there was given him <authority> to destroy the fourth part of the earth with famine and sword and death, and by the wild beasts of the earth.
9 And when he opened seal the fifth, I saw underneath the altar the souls, 「all' sealed because of God and because of the word of God, and because of testimony thereof, who said with a great voice,
10 How long, Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and exact vengeance of our blood from the dwellers of earth.

[^0]11 And there were given them robes white: and it was said unto them that they should rest a little time, until there be fulfilled their fellow-servants and brethren who are about to die even as they. And then shall be judged the earth and vengeance be exacted of their blood.
12 And I saw when he opened seal the sixth, there was a earthquake great; and the sun was turned to darkness, and became night darkling; and the moon wholly <became> blood,
13 And the stars from heaven were shaken down to earth as leaves of a fig tree, in case it shall be violently stirred by the wind and shall shake down her leaves.
14 And the heaven like a parchment book was rolled up, and was removed from the midst. <And> all islands and mountains from their places were moved.
15 And kings of the earth and rulers, and captains of thousands and magnates and mighty ones, and all bondsmen and freemen, hid themselves in caves and in hollows of rocks.
16 And they said to mountains and rocks, Fall upon us, and то the little hills, Shelter us [from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb].
17 For there is come the day great of his wrath, and who is able to stand before him?

11 And there was given them a 234 -a robe 2 3: each a garment 4-and it, etc.] and let them be joyful in their rest a little time, in order that being fulfilled, there may live also their fellow-servants and their brethren, and having died may come, they too 3 -until] in order that 4--their brethren a 4 -who shall be slain 4 -are] were $a$ - die] end $a$-and then . . . blood] om. a 34 .
12 and an earthquake great was there $3:$ an earthquake was there great 4sun . . . darkling] sun became black as sack of goat's hair a: sun was darkened as sackcloth black 4-night darkling 3 first hand: as sack of goat's hair $3^{* *}$-wholly] entire 4.
13 from heaven] outside line ? first hand 3-were . . . to] fell upon 4-as a fig tree casts her unripe (fruit), by a violent wind shaken 4-leaves of] om. 23 and . . . leaves] 23.
14 heaven]+all 3-heaven]+was dissolved 4-book] a 3-and was . . . midst] om. a 34 - And all . . . moved] om. 4-tr. mountains and islands 23 -from . . . moved] were removed from the midst 3 -places] place $\alpha$.
15 rulers] magnates 4-and] 234 -magnates] a 1 : rich 234 --om. and freemen 4-all freemen $a$-rocks] + of mountains 4.
16 say 4-tr. to rocks and mountains 4-and rocks] 23 -to the little hills] om. 34 and hide us $4-\mathrm{om}$. of him 24 -from the face of wrath 4.
17 of their wrath 4 -stand . . . him] pass (gnal) from his face 3 -who shall be able to live (keal a corruption of kal stand) 4 : a also has 'to live before him.'

## VII

1 After this I saw four angels <that they stood> at four corners of the earth. <AND they held the four winds of the earth>,「that there should not blow <a wind> upon the earth, ${ }^{7}$ neither on sea, nor upon trees.
2 And I saw another angel, that he was ascending from the sunrising, and he had the seal of God living: and he cried with a voice great to the four angels who had received authority to destroy earth and sea.
3 And he saith, Hurt ye not earth, neither sea nor trees, till I shall have sealed the forehead of the servants <of my God>.
4 And I heard the number of the sealed ones that they were a hundred and forty and four thousand sealed out of tribe of the children of Israel.
5 Of the tribe of Judah twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Dan twelve thousand sealed.
6 Of the tribe of Aser twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Nephtalim twelve thousand sealed.
Of the sons of Joseph twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand sealed.
1 And after 3-at] over or upon 4 - corners . . . earth] regions of the world 2, but the homoiotelenton omission which follows arose hefore this change was made in the text through the consonance earth . . . carth-And] om. 23 : who held 4 -neither . . nor] not . . . not 3.
2 who was assending, 4-and he had] having 4-cried] called aloud 3four beasts to whom was given to do hurt upon earth 4-by whom was received behest to hurt the earth 3 -and sea] $a 24$.
3 and he sail] saying 4-trees] + ye shall pause a editi: + panse thon 3-till ... sealed] that I may seal 3-I] we-the servants of our God upon their foreheads 4 - the forehead of om. a 3 -the servants a 3-of my servants 2-God]+ all cunetos 3.
4 that they were] mm .4 -were] + sealed 3 - thousand] + who were sealed of every 34 - om. of the children 24 -out of all stocks of Israel 4.
5 tribe] stock 4 passim-sealed] 34 omit everywhere save at end of the list4 has the order Jutah, Renhen, Shmavon, Levi, Isachar, Zabulon, Benjamin, Naphthalim, Gad, Aser-Dan] Gad 3 a editi (in a the initial $g$ is over a rasura).
6 tribe] stock 2 and 3 (which retains it throughout the rest of the list)--of the sons, ete.] a and 3 omit this clause : 2 subst. 'of the house of Shmavon'. . . and then continues in this order 'of the house of Manasseh . . . of the house of Levi . . . of the house of Isachar. . . of the seed of Zabulon . . . of the seed of Joseph . . . of the seed of Benjamin . . . of the seed of Gad.'

7 Of the tribe of Shmavon twelve thousand sealed.
Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand sealed.
Of the house of Issachar twelve thousand sealed. if
8 Of the tribe of Zabulon twelve thousand sealed.
Of the stock of Benjamin twelve thousand sealed.
9 And I saw after all this, and behold, a multitude ${ }^{\text {• numerous }}$ which was not a number, AND out of all tribes and all stocks and all tongues, and out of all peoples which stood before the throne and before the lamb, arrayed in robes white, and in their hands palms.
10 And with voice great they were saying, Salvation unto our God who sitteth on the throne <of the lamb>.
11 And all the angels were standing round about the throne, and about the elders and about the four beasts: and they were falling down on their faces before the lamb and were worshipping God, and said,
12 Amen. Blessing (or praise) and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and grace to our Lord for æons of æons, Amen.
13 And saith to me one of the elders, These which are arrayed in robes of white, who are they, and whence come they?
14 And I say unto him, my Lord, thou knowest. And he saith to me, These are they which come from great tribulation; and they washed their robes, and made him white in the blood of the lamb.
15 And therefore are they before the throne of God: and they
7 tribe of Issachar $\alpha$.
8 Zabulon 12,000 sealed] + of the tribe of Joseph, etc., a 3-stock] tribe $\alpha$.
9 And] om. 234 - $t r$ r 'after this I saw,' omitting 'all' a 234 -a crowd] excessive 4 -which, etc.] quod (or quam) numerare eos nemo potest 4 -of whom was $a$--tribes ... stocks] nations and all tribes $a$-and stocks and peoples and tongues 3 and $4-\operatorname{tr}$. palms in their hands a $34-$ in garments 4.
10 And they exclaimed with a great voice and said 3: And with a great voice they cried out and said 2: [And] they cried out with a great voice and said $a 4-\mathrm{of}$ ] and before $\gamma$ : and upon 3 (but 'upon' is above the line and? in first hand):

11 elders] old men 4-lamb] the throne a 23:4 has a confation 'before their throne and before the lamb'_and bef. were] they 3-and said] saying a 23 : and say 4.
12 Add And after Amen 2-wisdom and thanksgiving] praisegiving 4-grace] authority 3: might 4—our Lord] the Lord our God a: our God 234.
13 Saith to me] om. 4 - elders] old ones 4 and add answered saying-robes] garments 4-or whence a 3-came 4.
14 Say $\gamma$ : said $\alpha \beta 234$-my 234 -unto him] om. $\gamma-$ my] 234 - tribulation wshtatz] + and straits 3:4 subst. straits (Neduthiun) robes] garments 4 _him]. The Arm. zNA means 'him' or 'her' or 'it' equally : them $4:$ om. $\alpha$.
15 The throne of ] om. 4-they wait upon him 4-dwelleth 3: shall dwell 4,
serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth upon the throne is dwelling in them.
16 And any more they shall not hunger, nor shall they thirst; nor shall there harm them cold and heat.
17 And the lamb in the midst of his throne shall shepherd them, and shall lead them unto fountains of waters of life ; and God shall remove all tears from their eyes.

## VIII

1 And when he opened seal the seventh, there was silence in heaven about half an hour.
2 And I saw angels seven which stood before God; and there was given unto them seven trumpets.
3 And there came another angel and stood before the altar, ${ }^{r}$ and $\urcorner$ he had a censer of gold; and there was given unto him incense much, that he should offer the prayers of all saints, upon the altar of gold before the throne.
4 And <there went up>smoke of the incense, which are prayers of all saints, from the hands of the archangel before God.
5 And the angel of GoD filled full the censer from fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth; and there was thunder great, and voices and lightnings and earthquake great.
6 And seven angels which had [the] seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound the trumpets.

16 And any more] om. a 3:4om. any more-nor, etc.] they shall not thirst. There shall not 3-nor] + any more 2 - there] any one $\alpha$-harm] strike 4 cold] sun a 4-and heat] nor heat a 4 : not heat 3 .
17 And] since 34 - lamb who is in 4 and om. his- unto water of life's fountains 4: unto life's fountain of water living $a$ : unto fountain springs of waters 2 of life) living 23 -and] Inasmuch as $a$--om. God 24 -shall remove] has removed $a$ : shall expunge 24 --eyes] 4 zohrab sulstitute 'faces,' from Is. $25^{\text {s. }}$.
2 seven angels 34-before God stood a 3: stood before God 2:-before the throne stood 4.
3 tr. and another angel came a 34 -before] at a 234 -and he had] having 4 -censer] 4 transliterates libasootron here and in vs. 5 -offer] give $4-$ of ( $\sigma$ to) the prayers 4 -upon] que (or quod) super 4-which was before 4.
4 which are] om. $a$ : that is, 23 : of 4 -from] into 2 -hand 4 -archangel] angels a 2: angel 34 -before God] cet.: 4 retains hefore but om. God.
5 filled full took 4-censer] + and made it full $3:+$ and filled it 4-cthe altar] Gehenna 2-were voices and thunders 4- great] om. a 24 --lightning aearthquakes 28 -great om. 234.
6 the seven angels 234 -which had] having 4-the trumpets] om. a 4 : the seven trumpets 2.

7 And the first angel sounded the trumpet, and there was hail and fire and blood mingled. And it fell on earth and the second part of earth it burned up and the third part of the trees it burned up, and all green grass it burned up.
8 And the second angel trumpeted, and as it were a mountain great with fire burning fell into the sea. And the third part of the sea became blood;
9 And there were destroyed the third part of the things swimming, and things which had breath 「living 7 were destroyed.
10 And the third angel trumpeted, and there fell from heaven a star great, flaming like a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers and fountains.
11 And the name of the star <was> bitterness, and the third part of the waters became bitter, and many <of> men died from the bitterness of the waters.
12 And the fourth angel sounded [the trumpet], and wounded the third part of the sun and of the moon and stars. And there was darkened the third part <of them; [and the day appeared not], and the third part> of the night likewise.
13 And I saw and heard the voice of an eagle flying in mid heaven, that it said with a great voice, Woe, Woe, Woe, that are dwelling upon earth, when there shall come to be a voice
7 angel] om. 4 -fire with blood 3 and 4 (which uses another construction than 3) —and . .. up] a 23 , but not 4 -second a 23 : third $\beta$ And.- and the third part of the trees. . . grass it burned up] om. a $\beta \delta$, but not Andreasthird part of the trees] om. 3: MS. 1, has 'fourth' for 'third' through a common confusion of Armenian letters: 2 has 'second part'——it burned up] om. $\gamma 23$ : was burned up 4 (bis).
8 trumpeted] sounded trumpet 234 -mountain] add with fire 24 --burning] lit up 4 - second part of the sea 2.
9 And there died the third part of animals which in the sea had breath, and the third part of ships was destroyed 4 -and things] om. 23 -second part of the things 23 -swimming] +in the sea 3--things which] what a-were] was a -were destroyed], and <the third part> was (were 2) ruined 23 : was ruined a
10 sounded trumpet 234 -and flaming 3-a star, lit up, great, like 4-third part] second part 3, first hand. Cor. changes to 'third': third parts 4 -fountains] + of waters 24.
11 was] they called or said 3: was called 4:om. 2-bitterness marhnuthiun] 4 has wormwood Aushinde - and the third . . . bitter] added in 3: $4=$ and there was turned the third part into blood into wormwood-of men] om. adied, etc.] were destroyed from the waters, hecause they were embittered 34.
12 There was wounded $4-p r$. third] fourth MS. 1, a reading due to confusion of the third and fourth letters of the Armenian alphabet - and the third part of the moon and the third part of the stars a 34 -and the day ... likewise] and the third part of them had not light, and day and night was not 3 : and the sixth day, likewise also the night 4 .
13 the voice of] om. 34 -eagle] angel $a$-heaven] earth 4 (ERKRI for ERKNI)that it said] saying 4 -that . . . earth] to dwellers who are fallen upon earth $2^{*}$ -come to be] be fulfilled 23 - yet three] the 3 -when . . . future] for the
of yet three trumpets, which the angels shall will to sound hereafter in the future.

## IX

1 And the fifth angel sounded trumpet, and I saw a star from heaven to earth fallen; and there was given to him a key of the pit of the abyss.
2 And he opened the depths of the abyss. And there went up a smoke from the pit, like the smoke of a furnace great, and there was darkened sun and air.
3 And out of the pit went forth locusts on earth, and there was given them authority, AND THEIR stings like the stings of a scorpion.
4 And it was said to them that they should not injure grass of earth, nor tree ; but only men who have not the seal of Christ upon their forehead.
5 And there was given to them a command that they should not slay them, but should torment them months five: and their torments as the smart of a scorpion that striketh a man.
6 And in that day men shall seek death and shall not find; and they shall desire to die from the strokes 「of the loctstst, and there shall flee from them death.
7 And the likeness of the locusts is the likeness of a horse prepared for war; and on their heads, as it were, a crown like to gold; <and their faces like the faces of man>.
remainder of voice of the trumpet of the three angels which were about to sound the trumpets 4- the three angels 3-sound] trumpet forth 3 and 2 which transfers it after 'future'_-hereafter . . . future] om. a 34.
1 trumpeted $a-s a w$, etc.] saw that a star from heaven was falling to earth $a$ : was seeing that there was falling a star from heaven to earth 2: saw that a star was falling, ete, 3 -fallen from heaven to earth 4 -pit] depths 4.
2 and. . a alyss] our a 23 -from the pit IGFOYs] 4 has the corruption KuNKOTZN $=$ ' of incense _- like, etc.] quasi fumus fornacis erat ejus 3_furnace] + kindled 4-air] + by the smoke of the furnace $3:+$ hy the abysmal smoke 4 .
3 pit]smoke 234 Tsk hovs corrupted into groys - them] it 23 ('locusts' is sing. in Armenian) - and their stings] om. a 234 - scorpion] + there was authority of their power on earth 3 - like, ete.] sicut habent anctoritatem scorpiones terra 4.
4 injure] lit. sin against : luurt 4-of the earth] om. 4-tree] all trees a 234 -man + terrestrial $a:+$ them 3 _have not $\mid$ shall not have a 2 _of Christ ] om. a: of God 23 4-foreheads a 3: foreheads Andreas cet.
5 a command] om. 4 -torment and torments] 4 uses synonyms---them] om. 34 -smart] sting $\alpha$ : strokes 4-scorpions when they strike 4.
6 in those days a 234 -find it 34 -shall (hef. desire) $\gamma$, ete. : omit a $\beta$ And.
-from . . locusts] om. a 4 ——stroke $23-1 r$. death from them 4.
7 Et erant similitudines locustarum similes equis 4-is like unto a horse 3-

8 And their hair like the hair of a woman, and their teeth like a lion's.
9 And their breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings as <the sound> of horses many which rush into war.
10 <And> they had tails like unto a scorpion, and the stings of their tails had authority to torment men months five.
11 And they shall bring into them the king of angels of the abyss: AND his name in Hebrew is Albagos, who is called destruction in Armenian.
12 Behold woe the first is past, and woe <the second is to come> after it Quickly.
13 And the sixth angel sounded the trumpet; and I heard a voice from the four horns of the altar of Gold, which was before the throne of God,
14 That it said to angel the sixth, which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound upon the river Euphrates.
15 And there were loosed the four angels prepared for the hour and the day and the month and the year, that they might slay the third part of men.
of horses 2 -as it . . . gold] they were like golden images 4-like to] nMANEAL 2 changes into zmaneak = necklace: om. 3 and read of gold-faces] 4 uses demq instead of eresq of the other sources-men 4.
8 their] the 3: they had 4—of women 4 their teeth, etc.] I saw them like lions 3-lion's]+ they had teeth $3^{* *}$ : like lions' 4.
9 their] they had a 23 -breastplates] 4 subst. GUUQ for zrahq of the other sources. Sevs. 17 of chariot horses $\alpha$ : of chariots of horses 4 -which rush] coursing 4.
10 had] have $a$-And they had a likeness to scorpions 4-like unto] in the likeness of $a$ and a sting (stings 3 4) and in their tails was (om. 4) anthority ( + for them 4) 234 - the stings of] a sting in $\alpha$-had] and they had $a$ torment] hurt 4 : offend 3 .
11 shall . . . angels] had a king over them the angel $a$ : quoad et regem adducent angelorum 3: had of themselves a king the angels (sic) 4-om. and 23 -is] was 4 - Abbadon 3: Nabathdon and in Ionic Destroyer 4: Albagon $\beta \gamma 2$. The $g$ is due to confusion of the third and fourth letters of the alphabet $q$ and $\boldsymbol{r}$. In a we read Apiton, in Greek indeed Apollyon and the Latin name Koriun, (destruction) over a rasura in a late hand. 3 has 'is called in Hellenic Apollyon' -Armenian] + language $\beta \gamma$-who . . Armenian] om. 4.
12 past] gone 4-and... quickly] and woes two are to come $a$ : and there are to come two, woe woe, and after it the sixth angel 3, which thus associates the words 'after it' with verse 13 as do the Greek MSS. Q, 14 : Behold the second woe after these 4-quickly] om. cet.
13 from one of the four 4, and om. a voice-horns] animals a 2 _of . . .gold] om. a 2 -of gold] om. 4 —was] are $\alpha 2:$ is $3: 0 \mathrm{~m} .4$-throne] altar $a:$ om. cet.
14 That it said] saying 4-tr. sixth angel 4-had] hath 4-to loose 2river]+ great 3.
15 loosed] liberated 3-year] ans 3; tari cet.-slay] destroy 3.

16 And the number of the hosts of the mounted ten thousands of ten thousands. I heard the number of them.
17 And I saw the horses in the vision, and those mounted on them who had breastplates of fire, and tails aflame with brimstone, <and the heads of the horses like the heads of lions>: and out of their mouth fire went forth and smoke and brimstone.
18 And by these strokes (or plagues) were dieing the third part of men, by the fire and the smoke and the brimstone which went forth out of their mouth.
19 For the authority of the horses was in their mouths and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and they had heads wherewith they shall destroy the many.
20 And the others <who> were no longer dieing of men because of these strokes, who repented not, nor turned from the works of their hands, and from the worship of devils and their idols, made of gold and of silver and of wood and of brass and of stone; which can neither see nor walk nor hear:
21 And they repented not of their slaying of men, sand of their sorcery,> and of fornication, and of their thieving.

16 hosts] soldiers 4-Before I heard the a text adds and thousands of thousands ten . . . number] a 234 -of them] om. 4.
17 And thus I saw 4-who were mounted on them having 4-on them] of them 23 -tails . . . brimstone] hyacinth and sulphureons 3 (which transliterates $\theta$ etwofes) : hyacinths aflame with sulphur a 2 . The a text has yakinths, similarly yakese in 2. The reading agi 'tail' in MS. 1 is a corruption and so is rasthak in 4 which also renders $\theta \in \epsilon \omega \delta \epsilon$ is 'godlike'-and . . . lions] a 34 -et erat capita equorum 3: et caput equorum 4-mouths 4-ir. went forth fire 234.
18 And from these three strokes 4-this stroke 3-were dieing] died $a 2$ : was destroyel 3: were slain 4-and by the fire 4-which . . . mouth] om. 4.
19 For . . . was] there being auth. of the horses 3-of the horses] om. a-was] is $a$ - for] and $a$-were . . . serpents] the likeness of a serpent $a$ - serpents, since they had heads and with them were tormenting, were hurting 4 and om. the many -unto a serpent, who had (=habebant) heads, and therewith did harm, hoth for afflicting of men and not to die from these wounds who repented, etc. 3-shall destroy] were destroying a 2-the many] the unjust $a:$ all 2: om. 4.
20 others] men* 1. And the others of men who died not of these strokes repented not a : And uthers no more died of these wounds of men, but only they who rep. not 2: for 3 see above: and the remaining of men were not slain by wounds of these and were mot contrite from 4-and bef. from mm. a 4-and from . . . stone] that they shonld not worship devils and golden images and silver ones and brazen, and stones and wooden ones 4.- devils and] cet. - tr. and of wond after stone a 3-tr. nor hear nor walk a 234.
21 They] who 2 -slaying . . . fornication] voice and of sorcery, of their striking and of their fornic. 3. Perhapss 'voice' is due to confusion of $\phi \dot{\nu} \omega \nu$ with $\phi \omega \nu \bar{\omega} \nu$ -of men] om. 4-and] nor thrice 4-sorcery] divination 4.

## X

1 And I saw 「another ${ }^{7}$ angel strong that he came down out of heaven, veiling himself with clouds; 「and the rainbow upon his head ${ }^{7}$; and his face as the sun, and his feet like a pillar of fire;
2 And he had in his hand a book: he opened, and set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the dry land.
3 And he cried with a voice great, <and> roared as a lion; and when he cried out there uttered seven thunders with their voices:
4 And the utterances of seven thunders, I wished to write> THE things which henceforth are to come: And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up that which spake the <seven> thunders, and write [them] not.
5 And the angel whom I saw, which set his foot upon the sea, and his other upon dry land, and raised his right hand to heaven,
6 And sware by him that liveth from æons, who established the heaven and what is therein and the earth, and what is therein, [the sea and all that is in them], that no longer there abideth time;
7 But in the day <of the voice of> the seventh angel, whenever he shall sound the trumpet, shall be finished the mystery of God, which was gospelled to his servants the prophets.

1 strong a 34 - that he came] coming 2—tr. strong after heaven 4-veiling ... clouds 23 : and he was arrayed with a cloud $a$ : with cloud, arrayed with honour 4 -and the rainbow] om. 4-of fire] fiery 4.
2 a book opened a 234 -tr. right after sea 4—add foot 23 --dry land] earth a 34.
3 cried out] exclaimed 3 using kardam, which it habitually prefers to alalazem = ululo of the other sources and] om. $\gamma 4$-tr. as a lion roared 23: as a lion that he may roar 4-cried out] + with a loud voice a alone - with their . . . write] from a 4 and 3 (in which cor. adds 'with their').
4 the utterances of the seven thunders] when the seven thunders uttered $a$ : et quantum etiam locuta sunt septem tonitrua 4-the things . . come] om. a 34 - 'which' and 'are '] om. 2 -a voice] voices 3: add of God 2-saying] which said 3 -that . . . spake] the utterances of 34.
5 which . . . land] stood on sea and on earth 4-his feet 3 first hand above line-his other upon] om. 23 -up to 4.
6 and] om. 24 -liveth] + to æons 2 established] made 4_and the earth . . . therein] om. $\boldsymbol{\beta}$-the sea . . . them] om. a 4-them] it 23 -that time no longer shall be 4 : tr. time after that 23 .
7 days a 23: + of the Lord 4-at the voice and of the 4-before whenever] + with voice 2 -shall] is about to 4 and om. the trumpet - which was gospelled] Oscan reails as he gospelled: as was gospelled 3 : which he gospelled 4 _to] by a 3: Oscan by means of.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven，again it spake and said，Come and take the book which the angel hath open 「in his hand？and he standeth upon sea and dry land．
9 And I，having come unto the angel，asked［for the book］of him．And he saith＜to me＞，Take，＜and＞swallow it；and it shall be made bitter in thy belly，but in thy mouth sweet as honey．
10 And I took the book out of the hand of the angel，and swallowed it，and it was in my mouth as honey，＜and when I ate it＞my belly was filled＜with bitterness＞．
11 And he saith to me，It shall befall thee＜again＞to prophesy「unto gentiles and＇ unto peoples and unto tongues and kings many．

## XI

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod．「And there stood the angel ${ }^{1}$ ，and saith то me，Arise and measure the temple of God and the altar and the worshippings which are therein．
2 And the courts without the temple，leave it＜out＞and measure it not．For it hath been given to the nations；and the holy city，that they shall trample under foot months forty and two．

8 which］om．4－again from heaven which was speaking 24 －spake］was speaking to me 3：was sp，with me a 24 ＿and said］saying 4＿－said］＋to me 2 —and take 23 －open］om．here 234 and place above after＇book＇—which ．．．hand］from the hand of the angel 4－and he］who 4－dry land］earth 4.
（3）And I went to the angel，saying，to give me the book 4－tr．of him the book］ 23 （3 adds＇olrened＇）－take］＋it $a-$ swallow ］eat a 34 －it］the same $a$ ：om． 4 －shall make bitter thy $4-$ mouth $]+$ it is $2:+$ it shall he 4.
10 hands 3－－out ．．angel］opened from the angel $\alpha$－swallowed］ate 34 － it was］＋sweet $3: 4$ culds sweet ufter honey－it was．．．honey］so 234 ， but 2 transposes this clause after the words＇my belly was filled，＇and omits the clause（surplied from a 34）＇and when I ate it＇——belly］mouth 4——filled with bitterness］made bitter $a$ ：filled and bitter was it 3 ．
11 it shall hefall］it hefalls a 23 ；it hehoves 4－minto］against or over 4 thrice－ tr．unto proples and unto gentiles a 24 －peoples］＋and to races 3 －many］of the earth $\alpha 2$ ．
1 a reed in likeness of a rod 4－And］add a 24 －and said］saying 4－to me］ om． 34 －measure the word of fod，the temple and 4——of God a 34 －wor－ shippers a 84 －which ．．．therein］thereof 4.
2 court a 34 ：without］the outer of 4——leave it out and］om．4－out］outside 3： om．a．In codex 1，a late hand crases it and substitutes＇inside＇——taken by $\beta$ ：given to $a \gamma$ ，etc．

3 And I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy for days 1265 , clothed in sackeloth.
4 These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the Lord God of all earth.
5 And they that shall desire to hurt them, fire shall go forth from their mouth and shall devour their enemies; and whoever shall desire to sin against them, thus shall be destroyed.
6 They have authority to shut the heavens, that they rain not during the days of their prophecy. And they have authority over earth of all plagues ; and they have authority over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth <with all plagues> as often as they may desire.
7 <AND When they shall have finished> all the days of their testimony, then the beast that goeth up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and shall overcome them, and shall slay them.
8 And their carcases <shall remain lying> in the midst of their street, in the city great which is called by name after the Spirit Segor and Egyptos and Babylon, where also their Lord was crucified.
9 And there shall see them all the tribes and peoples and all tongues and gentiles their corpse, that they remain lying three days; and they shall not suffer to be buried in a tomb their bones.
$31260 a 4$ : in 3 cor, erases the five-clothed in sackcloth]. The words are added in 3 by cor. over ras. of a whole line.
4 standing] which stand a $4: 2$ tr. after God, and 3 after earth-_Lord] om. aGod] om. 34 -all] om. a 34 -in earth $a$.
5 they] he 234 - shall desire] desires 4-hurt] sin against or offend $\gamma \eta$ shall go] goeth 4 -devour] destroy 3 : eateth 4 -shall desire] desires 4$\sin$, etc. ] hurt them, so must they be hurt 4.
6 They] these over heaven 3-shut] measure 4-the heavens] him or it 3they] it a 23 - that there descend not rain in the 4 : earth . . . over 14 : om. a 23 - $t r$. auth. have they 3 - turn] change 3 -in all plagues $a 3$.
7 And when . .. all] and there was finished $3^{* *}$ over a rasura (it would seem) of the word 'all.' Thus the first hand omitted the clause as does 2-all . . . of] om. 4 -testimony] propheey 2 -then] and $2: 3^{* *}$ over ras. of 'but': om. 4.
8 carcase a 3-shall lie 4-of the street of the great 3-om. midst of their 4 and read streets - in the] of their a 2: of the 4-after the spirit] spiritually 3: in spirituality 4-Sodom and Egyptos a 2 3. In 1 Segôr and Egiamos, a corruption arising out of an uncial text misread-and Babylon] om. a $3: \operatorname{tr}$. after Sodom 4.
9 them] him a 3: om. 2_all] om. 23 (before tongues)-And there see of peoples and of stocks and tribes their carcases, days three and a half; and their carcases they shall not suffer to be laid in tombs 4-tr. peoples and tribes 3-and gentiles] a 23 -corpse] 1 has 'of their race' azgi-a corruption of $z d i$ 'corpse' that their corpse remains $\boldsymbol{a} 3$-and their bodies they shall not give to be buried in tombs 3 -suffer] give a 2 .

10 ＜And＞they that are dwelling on earth are glad and rejoice rover them 7 ，so as to bring gifts and offerings one to another；because these two prophets shall torment the dwellers of earth．
11 And after＜three＞days and a half a Spirit of the living God shall enter into them，and they shall 「rise up ${ }^{7}$ ，stand erect on their feet；and awe ${ }^{\text {rand }}$ fear ${ }^{7}$ shall fall on dwellers of earth．
12 And I heard a voice great from heaven which said unto them， Rise ye up 「and come up ${ }^{1}$ hither．And they rose and went up into heaven on clouds，and all their enemies beheld their rising up．
13 「And ${ }^{\text {P }}$ in that hour an earthquake great there was，and the tenth part of the city was swallowed up．And there died of the earthquake men seven thousand．And after that fear creat was in all；and they gave glory to God heavenly．
$14{ }^{〔} \mathrm{Lo}^{7}$ ，woe the second is past，$\left\ulcorner\right.$ and ${ }^{7}$ woe the third is about to come quickly．
15 And when the seven angels sounded trumpets，there was a voice［great］from heaven which said：There hath come to be all the kingdom of the world of our Lord and of his Jesus Christ；and he shall reign upon earth unto roons of reons．
16 And the twenty and four elders which sat on a throne 「before God，＇fell on their faces and worshipped the Lord God and said，
10 are］shall be 2： 4 has shall rejoice and omits are glad and－and send 234 and om．so as to－and offerings］om． 34 －tormented 23 ：torture 4－those who are dwelling 4－of］upon 34.
11 and a haif］a 3 4－of ．．．God］living，from God a 3：of life of God 4－ entered 4－shall ．．．up］ mm .34 －－erect］ 23 －stood 4－on their feet］3＊ in mg．and ald festinunter illi－awe and fear great $a$ ：awe and fear 2：awe great 234 －shall fall］ 23 first h．：fell $\alpha$ and $3^{* *}$ and 4 －dwellers of earth］all who beheld them $\alpha \beta \gamma$ and $3^{* *}$（omitting＇all＇）：all who slew them $\eta$ Andreas： them 3 first hand：the beholders of them 4.
12 from heaven］om．a Rise ye up and］om．4－rose and］om，4－and went］ going 3－all］om，a 34 －their ．．．up］them a 34.
13 there was in that hour 3：And there shall be in that hour 2：on that day there was 4－and there fell the tenth，ete．4－men］＝arq a $24:=$ mardiq 3－ after ．．．all］the remaining of men were astounded 4－great］om． 23 － was］shall be 2 －gave］give 2 －of heaven 4.
14 past］gone 4－and lo，woe the third cometh instantly 4.
15 when om．4－seventh angel sounded trumpet a 234 －and there was 3 － were voices 4＿in heaven a 24 ＿which said］saying 4－＿tr．the kinglom all a 2 —om．all 34 －－of the world］a 23 －and of his］a 3：his 4—Jesus］ om．a 34 －upon earth］om． 34 ：over all a 2－unto wons］＋and unto rons 4 －of Cons］＋Amen 2.
16 Elders hefore the throne of God which sat 3：old men who before God were，sat 4 －on their thrones a 234 －－tr．hefore fiod on th．th． 2 －fell etc．］a 23 ，and 4 （lmut 4 mm ，before ．．．faces）—om，the Lord 34 －and said］saying 34.

17 We thank thee, Lord God Almighty, which is unto rons, who hast clothed thyself with power great, and art become king.
18 And the peoples were wroth, and there is come wrath of the enemy and season of judgement, that it may be condemned, and thou givest rewards to thy servants the prophets and to saints fearers of thy name, to small and great, <and> to destroy the destroyers of the earth.
19 And there was opened the temple of God which (is) in heaven, and there appeared the ark of his covenant <which is in his temple>; and there was lightnings and voices and thunder「and earthquakes ${ }^{7}$, and hail very great.

## XII

1 And a sign great appeared in heaven; a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of stars twelve.
2 And she was with child, and she shreaked in travailling, <and in many pains she was nigh unto being delivered>.
3 And there appeared another sign in heaven; and lo, a dragon fiery great exceedingly, whose were heads seven and horns ten, and upon his head seven diadems.
4 And his tail swept away even unto the seventh part of the stars of heaven, and cast them upon earth :

17 Lord our God 2-almighty] + the existent and 4-who art unto the reons and which is $2-$ is] + and art a 3-om. unto æons a 34 -who . . power] for thou workest powers great 3-who] and $\alpha$ : for thou 4-clothed... with] taken $a 24$-thy power a 4 .
18 peoples] gentiles $a 3$ wrath ...condemned] thy wrath and season of the dead that they shall be judged $a$ : thy wrath and season of the enemy's judgement that he may be condemned 2: thy wrath, and thou art Lord of death, judgest 3 : thy wrath and season of the deal of judgement 4--and thou givest] to give 2: and to give 4- his servants 4-om. and before saints 4-saints] + and 34 -to destroy] destroyest a 3 .
19 Arm = quod in cerlo-covenant] testaments 3-his covenant] God a-which is] om. a 4-there was (were a 4) lightnings a $23^{* *} 4:$ om. 3- lightnings] + of hin 2 - $t r$. and thunder and a voice 4-thunders a 23 - earthquake a 24 -very] om. 4.
1 appeared] was seen 4 arrayed] zgetzeal 1: arkeal ceteri.
2 And being with child she cried out travailling and being tormented to be delivered 4 -and she cried] who cried 3 first hand-In 3 'and' is erased before ' in' and added after 'pains.'
3 appeared] was seen 4-fiery] om. 4-who had heads 4-heads a $\gamma$ : seven heads 4 : head $\beta$, ete._diadems] crowns 34.
4 even unto] $3^{* *}$ erases: a 4 om.- seventh] third a 3--cast them]+ from

And the dragon stood before the woman who wished to be delivered, that when the woman should be delivered of her child, he might devour him, he the dragon.
5 And the woman was delivered of a child male, who shall shepherd his people with a rod of iron. And there was caught up her child unto God, <and unto his throne>.
6 And the woman fled into a wilderness, where was her place prepared of God, that she may be fed there days 1265 .
7 And there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels were fighting with the dragon, and the dragon together with his angels was fighting against them;
8 But they were not able to withstand, and place there was not found for them in heaven.
9 And there fell the dragon great, the serpent primal, who is called by name Beelzebul and Satan, He that led astray the whole world, the lion fell to earth and his angels fell with him.
10 And I heard a voice great from heaven which said, Now hath become salvation and power and kingdom of heaven of our God, and authority of his anointed: for there hath fallen the accuser of our brethren who accused them before God and the Lord Jesus Christ day and night.
11 CAnd> they overcame him through the blood of the lamb or God, and through the word of his testimony. And they aequiesced not in the dragon even unto death.
heaven 2 , and 4 (wh. om. upon earth) _wished to] was about to a 4 ——t the woman] she 4 -of her child] om. 4-him] om. 4-he the dragon] om. 34.

5 the woman] she 4-child $\beta$ : om. $a \gamma-$ shall] is about to $\alpha 4$-his people] all Gentiles a 34 -unto] om. a $\gamma$ : retain $\beta$ And. etc.
6 where. ete. | ubi erat illic prepparatus locus illi a Deo 3: which hath there a plave 4--her place a place for her a 2-that . . there] and (that 4) there they shall feed her 24: ut illie aleret illam 3-1265 in 1234:1260 in a $3^{* * *}$.
8 and Michael 2-were] om. 4-and the dragon was warring and his angels 34 and om . was fighting: and the dragon was warring together with his hosts a rr. was fighting together, etc. 2.
8 but] anil 23 : cm. 1 - to withstand and] in mg. first hand 3-were . . . withstand] held not on overmuch 4.
9 great ]-and the 2 -serpent primal $a$-called hy name] betrayer $a$ and $4-$ leads 4 - the . . . worlil all the inhahitants of earth a-the lion . . . earth] om. a 3: and he fell to earth 4-angel 2-with him fell a 3: fell with $\lim 2:$ with him were cast out 4.
10 om . great 4-in heaven 23-which said] that it said 23: saying 4-tr. prower and salvation a-- of heaven] om. a 34 --and his authorities 4 and om. of his anointed-anointel] Christ 3 -acenser] betrayer 4-aceused] was betraying 4-our God 34 -and . . . Christ] om, a 34 -and our Lord and om. J. C. 2.
11 of Godj om. a 34 -throngh his testimonies 4-And they did not love him with their soul even 3: And they loved not their souls even 4-they] he $\gamma 2$

12 Therefore let the heavens be glad, and 「all` who are dwelling in them. Woe to earth and sea : because the dragon is fallen unto you, who hath wrath a little time.
13 And when the dragon saw that he fell to earth, he pursued the woman which bore the male child.
14 And there was given to the woman two wings of an eagle great, that she might fly into a desert place, where she shall be fed there for times <and a time> and half a time, from the face of the serpent.
15 And the serpent poured forth from his mouth after the woman <waters > many [as a river] that he might engulf her.
16 And earth helped the woman, and earth opened her mouth, and swallowed the water which the dragon poured out from his mouth.
17 And the dragon waxed wroth with the woman, and went away to war with the woman and with her seed and who keep the commandment of God, in whom is the testimony of Jesus Christ.

## XIII

18 〈And he stood upon the sand of the sea>.
1 And I saw that there went up out of the sea a beast great, -acquiesced] the word used in $a$ and $1=$ satisfecerunt. The word used in 2 $=$ pacauit.
12 the heaven was glad 23 : be ye glad, heaven 4-all] om. $\gamma^{3}$ : ye 4-the dwellers 3-in it a 34 -dragon] in text 3: adversary a 3 in mg.-is fallen] hath descended 4-who hath] who shall have 2: having 4-wrath much $a$ 2: wrath great 34 -a little time] and shall abide a little time $a$ : he saw that a little time he abode 2: he saw that he abode time little 3 first hand, which cor. erases in order to subst. the reading of $a$ : knowing that a little time hath he 4.
13 And] om. 4 -fell] was cast down 4 -child] om. 4.
14 Befoie wings add two a $\beta \gamma 4$ : om. And. cet.- desert] + unto her a 4-where] +habitabat illa et 3-shall be] was $\alpha 23$ : is 4 -a time a 34 -and times $\alpha 4$.
15 And]+ while he went $\gamma$ Andreas -serpent] dragon $\gamma$ _poured] cast 4- forth] + venom 2 -from his mouth] om. $\gamma$ Andreas-after] in front of 3 And. p. 175 ('after' p. 180)——woman]+fire, 4-many] om. a $\beta 234$ : much $\gamma$ And. p. 175 (but om. p. 180) -engulf her] make her carried on the river 4.
16 earth] a 23 -water] river $\gamma 234$-poured out] cast 4- from . . . mouth] om. a alone 4 Andreas p. 176 (retains p. 180): upon the woman 4.
17 And ... woman] a 23 --with the rest of her seed a 4 - keep] kept a 234 -commandments a 234 -in whom is] and held $a$ : and who hold 4-and who testified unto Jesus 3-Christ] om. a 34.
18 he stood] I stood a 4 (steti ego). Note that in Armenian katzi $i$ verah, 'I stood upon,' is easily confused with katz $i$ verah, 'he stood upon.' 3 has the augmented form êkatz, 'he stood.' This verse is omitted in 2 alone.
1 And he] who 3 -that . . . up] tr. after beast 4 -and he had] having 24 $t r$. horns ten and heads seven 34 -upon him a mitre 2 -mitres] crowns 4.
and he had heads seven, and horns ten ; and upon his horns ten mitres, and upon his head a name of blasphemy.
2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet as of a bear; and his mouth as of a lion. And the dragon gave him his power and his throne and authority great.
3 And one of his heads was wounded unto death; and his death-wound was being healed; and the whole earth wondered at the beast.
4 And they worshipped the beast, <because the dragon gave him his authority. And they worshipped the beast>, and said, No one is like unto the beast, or is able to war with him.
5 And there was given to him a mouth to utter very great things and blasphemies; and there was given him authority то WORK, TO WAR ${ }^{\text {against }}$ the saints and overcome them. And there was given him victory ${ }^{7}$ months forty two.
6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy unto God, 「and blasphemed his name and his temple holy which is in heaven.
7 And there was given him authority over all souls and tongues and peoples,
8 That they might worship him, and all dweller's upon earth, whose names are not written in the book of life of the lamb slain from the beginning of the world.
2 add was 234 -as the mouth of 34 -and his great $\beta$ 。
3 was] om. $234-$ wounded] as it were slain $4-$ Arm. = et vulnus mortis ejus -being] om. 4-at] after 4.
4 And . . anthority] om. 4-m And... beast] om. a: And they were worshipping the dragon who gave his anthority to the beast, and were worshipping the heast and saying 3-authority] kingdom a-the beast] the dragon which (that he 4) gave the (his 4) authority to the beast a 4-and said] saying 4No one] who cet.-is] would be $a$-is] would be $\alpha 4$ : who is 2 - to battle 4 .
5 to speak] which spake 4 -blasphemy a 34 -and . . . authority] to become 4 : to hear 5 -authority to work war against 2-to work . . . victory] om. a 4 - to work] om. 3-to war] $3^{* *}$ over rasura of a sentence which began with the word conquer, so that 3 originally had a text akin to that of 1 -given authority to work victory forty two (and om. months) 2.
$6 \mathrm{in}]$ to utter 3 -and blasphemed] to blaspheme 34 -temple] shrine $a 2:$ dwelling 4 -holy] om. a 24 - and his temple . . . given him] and lis chosen ones, those who in heaven were chosen 3 , and over a rasura of this $3^{* *}$ subst. 'and his shrine and the heavenly shrine, and there was given him.' Then 3 continues thus, 'to war and (over ras.) to smite his saints. And he conquered them, and there was given him authority'-which . . . heaven] and the heavenly shrine $a$ : and those who in heaven are dwelling 4 which adds 'and there was given him to work war against the saints and overcome them.'
7 Souls] stocks a 34 -and peoples and tongues and Gentiles 4 : add Gentiles 3.
8 And (that $\alpha$ ) there worshipped (shall worship a 4) him all those ( + who are a 4) dwelling on earth whose a 34 -that . . . worship] and there worshipped all diwellers of earth him 2 - earth] the fare of earth a 3-are not] were not 2 : were not yet 4. The Arm. = quorum non sunt nomina illorum seripta-life] + of the lambslain $\alpha 4$ : + who received not the seal of the lamb 3.

9 They that have ears of hearing，let them hear．
10 For there are＇ssome ${ }^{7}$ who shall be led into captivity，and there are 「some ${ }^{\top}$ who 「died by the sword，「and there are 「some ${ }^{\top}$ who of themselves shall destroy themselves．But patience and

11 And I saw another beast that he came up out of the earth； and he had horns 「twain ${ }^{7}$ like unto a lamb，＜and＞he spake as the dragon．
12 And all the authority of the first beast he did exercise before him；and he made the earth and all dwellers thereof that they should worship the first beast，until there shall be healed his wound of death．
13 And he wrought signs many，and 「he caused’ fire from heaven to come down upon earth in sight of men．
14 And to lead astray the dwellers of earth＜with＞the signs which it was given into his hands to do in the sight of the beast． And there say unto him the dwellers of the earth，Make an image of the beast which shall have the wounds of the sword， and shall live．
15 And there was given him authority that he should give spirit to the image of the beast，and in order that the image may speak，and that there may worship him all inhabitants of

9 Whoever hath 2：He who hath 34 －them］him 234.
10 For］a 2：For ．．．some］om．4－who shall be led］who were delivered over 2： he who goeth 4－and there ．．．themselves］he who shall with sword slay， he must with the sword be slain 4－some who ．．．are］supplied from a 23 ＿died］shall die a：om．3－by］unto 3－shall］om．a（bef．destroy）－ shall destroy］shall slay a 3 ：slew 2＿－But］Here is a 4——shall ．．．God］ of the saints a 34
11 that he］who 4 －the lamb $\alpha 34$ ．
12 tr．＇all＇$a^{\text {ftter }}$ beast 3：om． 4 －he did possess before him over earth and the dwellers thereof 3 first h．：he did exercise before him，he made the earth，etc．， $3^{* *}$ －and all ．．．thereof］as they who are dwelling in it 4＿until］of whom was healed the strokes of his death 4，etc．－before him and］add a 234.
13 wrought］shall work 4 －many］great 3 ：very great 4－and he caused］that he shall make 4－tr．to come down from heaven a 4－upon earth］om． 4.
14 et seducebat（sic）incolas terre signa quæ erat（sic）inter eos coram bestia 2 － to lead］he（or it）led a 23 ：he leads 4－t the dwellers of］those who dwell on a 4－＿dwellers upon earth by the might of the signs 3－because of the sign 4 －which were（was 4）given to him to do 4 and $3^{* *}$ over ras．－it was］have been $a$－to do］om．Andreas－And］om．a 34 －saying to the dwellers upon earth to make 4 －which shall ．．．authority］which up top of the sword lived，and there was given him authority $3^{* *}$ over a rasura of 3 lines－shall have ．．．］hath the strokes of the 4－may ．．．live］from the wounds of the sword did live a－shall live］was made alive 4－shall have issue of fire and shall stand $1^{*}$ ．
15 And ．．．authority］over ras． $3^{* *}$ —authority］om．4－－that he should］to 4 －that ．．．slay them］ 3 has et dedit illi（ille cor．）spiritum in ea hora imago bestiæ quia loquebatur imago bestiæ et faciebat ut qui non adorabant imaginem
earth, and that those who shall not worship the image of the beast, he may slay them.
16 And he shall make all, small and great, and rich and poor, freemen and bond, that he may give them HIS sign on the right hand and on their foreheads.
17 And no one is able to buy or to sell, if he have not the sign of the beast and number of his name.
18 He who hath wisdom, shall reckon the number of the name of the beast. For the number of the name is of the man. And the number is such as this, 151.

## XIV

1 And I saw and Lo, a lamb stood upon the mount Sion, and with him 144,000 , who <had> his name and the name of his father was written upon their foreheads.
2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as it were voice of waters many, as it were a voice of thunder great, and I heard as it were voice of harpers, that they struck their harps,
3 And were singing a song new before the throne of God, and before the four animals and before the elders, and no one was
bestix, destruet eos - spirit] breath 4-and] a 2 - and in order . . . of earth] om. 4 -and he shall make slaughter of those who worship not the beast 4 -the image of a 3 -slay] a 1 : destroy 23 .
16 shall make] maketh 4-tr. great and small 4-In 3 thus: Et adversus omnes pusillos et magnos et divites et adversus pauperes et adversus liberos et adversus servos, dicebat ut daret illis signum super manum illorum dextram et super frontes eorum-and rich (mighty 4) and poor and free $24-t r$. and free and poor $a$-sign] stamp, $\alpha 4$-on their] 4 - and on] or on] forehead $a$.
17 Shall be able a 3 - And that no one shall be able 3 and 4 (but om. And.) and to sell a 3--if he be not one who may have the sign of the name of the beast and number of his name 3 - except one who hath the stamp or name of the beast or the number of his name 4-sign . . . name] stamp of the writing and name of the beast and number of his name a 2 .
18 Here is wisdom: who hath moderstanding let him reckon a 4. Here is: he who may have understanding, wislom, let him reckon 2-the number off om. 4 is of being of a 23 - of a man a 4 : the man (om. of) 3-And the . . . 151] according to the number of him 3 (addling in mg . in first hand the words and the number: 666)-And his number a 24 - such as] om. a 24 - 151 1:660 a 2. The origin of 151 in MS. 1 may be the sulstitution for the Greek letters $\mathrm{X} \Xi \mathrm{Z}$. of the Armenian letters which most resemble them in form. 4 reads and his number and sis humbred and sirteen -of the name pr. vice] om. a 23 .
1 the lamb a 3-who ... name] a 23 4, and a 24 om . was - the names of 4.
2 as it were (after many)) and as it were 34 : and a 2 - of violent thunder, and the voice was, which I heard, as it were voice of harpers who struck 4 _I heard sec. vice] om. 2 -voice I heard as of 3.
$3=\psi \delta i \eta \nu$ кal Kauviv 3-thrones 2-of Goil] om, a 24 -and. . . elders] a 24 -no one was] I was not 4-was] is a 3-learn] know $a$-the song 4
able to learn their songs, save only the 144,000 who were standing around the lamb on Mount Sion, who were virgins, and liberated from earth.
4 These are they who with women were not defiled, <and are> virgins ; and in every hour they shall follow after the lamb, wheresoever he shall go. These wrote of men upon their foreheads the name of the father and of the lamb.
5 And in their mouth was not found falsehood, for they were without blemish.
6 And I saw another angel flying from heaven, and he had a gospel eternal ; and being come was gospelling to all races, and tongues.
7 And with voice great he said, Fear ye God and give <to him> glory. For there is come a time of his judgment. And ye shall worship before him who made heavens and earth, sea and all which is in them.
8 And another second angel came after 「him ${ }^{\top}$ and said, It is fallen, it is fallen, it is fallen, the great Babylon, from wine of drunkenness, AND from wrath aND from her fornication, who made drunk all the gentiles.

[^1]9 And another third angel came after him and said with voice great, Whoever worships the beast and his image, and hath received his writing on his forehead, or upon his right hand,
10 Such a one shall drink from the cup of wrath of God poured out from the unmixt <cup> of ire; and shall be tormented with fire and sulphur, before God and the lamb [and before his holy angels].
11 And the smoke of them shall ascend to æons of reons, and there is not faculty for them to rest day and night, who worshipped the beast and his image and who received the writing of <number in> his name.
12 But those who endure and have not in themselves his seal, they are those who have kept the law of God and the faith of Jesus Christ.
13 And I heard a voice from heaven which said to me, Write, Blessing is to the dead who in the Lord have died heretofore (or henceforth), and have not attained to this hour. Yea, saith the Spirit holy, that they are at rest from their many trials and labours, but alone their works have gone after them.
14 And I saw, <and,> behold, a cloud white, and on the cloud wos
9 tr . angel third a3-after them a4——and said] saying 24 -whoever] he who 4 -hath worshipped a 3: shall worship 2-and his] or his a $\beta$ (not Andreas and $\gamma$ )_and hath, etc.] or shall receive the writing of his seal 2: or hath received the stamp of his seal $a$ : and receiveth a stamp upon 4-writing] seal a $23-$ right] om. 4.
10 Such a one] and he or even he 4-cup] wine 4-wrath] + of God a 234 (which suhist. ire for wrath) - poured, etc.] which was mixt pure (or unmixt) of the cup from his ire 4 - from his unmixt 3 -God and] a 2 -and before . . . angels] on. a: tr. bef. his (the 4) holy angels and before the lamb 34.
11 them] him $\alpha$ alone and 2: their (the 4) torments 34 -tr. to æons of æons shall ascend 4-of feons $]^{*}$ add rising upwards 3 -was not 2 -and there . . . rest] and they have not rest $\alpha 4$-day and night] tr. after beast $a$-worship 4and who worshipped the image and received $a$-receiveth 4-or who were receiving 2 -the writing . . . his] his stamp and $\alpha$ : seal and stamp of his 3: a stamp of his 4.
12 Here is endurance of the saints who keep the commands of God and the faith of Jesus 4 -And endurance of the saints is here, they who keep a and $3^{* *}$ (over rasura of a text almost identical with 1)-have not] receive not 2-those] saints 2 -who keep (kept $\gamma$ ) the commands of God a-Christ] om. a 34.
13 which] that it $4 \gamma-\mathrm{m}$. to me 4 - have died] die 4 : have fallen asleep $a-$ heretofore] now, at once $a$ : from now forward 4-and . . . hour] om. a 34 hour] time or season 2_yea] and 2: I correct ays in a 1 to ayo:- holy] om. a 4-they shall rest] 234 -many . . . and] om a a - trials and] om, a 34 —and many labours 2: labnur a-but] and 2: for 4-om. alone 4tr. their works alone 2-works with him do follow sic 4.
14 And on . . . crown] = cuius super caput eius corona 3: having upon, etc., $4-$
sitting（one）like unto a son of man，and on his head he had a crown of gold，and in his hand he had a sickle made sharp．
15 And another angel went forth from the temple，cried out with voice great before him，and saith，Thou who sittest on the cloud，Send thy sickle＜and reap＞．For there is arrived the time of harvest，and there is fully ripe（lit．arrived）the harvest of earth．
16 ［However he who was sitting upon the cloud，cast his sickle to earth，and reaped the dwellers of earth．］
17 And another angel went ‘forth｀from the temple which（is） in heaven，〈and＞he also had a sickle made sharp．
18 And there went＇forth＇another angel from the altar，which had authority over the altar＇s fire，and cried out in voice great＜unto＞the angel，which had the sickle made sharp and saith，Gather the clusters from the vineyard ${ }^{\top}$ of the earth，for fully ripe is her grape．${ }^{\top}$
19 And＜the angel cast his sickle＇on the earth＇，and gathered the grape thereof，and＞cast（it）into the winepress 〈of God〉．
20 And he trod［in］the winepress outside the city，and there went forth from the winepress blood exceeding much，and it reached even to the bridle of the horse，the length of it 1600 furlongs（lit．parasangs）．
om．he had ceteri（after head）——om．he had after hand 4－made sharp］sharp excessively 4.
15 temple］heaven a 24 －crying out in a great tongue 4－thou ．．．cloud］ a $23^{* *}$ ：to the one sitting on the cloud $3:$（to him）who sat on the cloud 4 （ 34 om ．before．．．saith，a 2 om ．before him）time］hour a 3 －arrived］ come 23 －of harvesting 34 －and for 34 －for the harvest of earth is dried up 4.
16 But he］and he cast 23 and om．below cast—＿and he cast his sickle who sat on the cloud on earth and there was reaped the earth 4 －reaped］＋all 2.
17 temple of God 4－who also he had 3 ：having also he 4 －om．made 4.
18 which had］whose was $2-\mathrm{om}$ ．altars a 3：tr．fire of the altar 24 －cried out］ voiced 24 －with great tongue 4 －the angel］him 3：he 4－made］om． 4 －saying 4 and add send thy sickle sharp and： 3 add come thou－from om．$\alpha$ the clusters from the vineyard 2 and $\alpha$ ：the clusters of plants 3 －is the grape in her $a$ ．
19 the angel］he 3 －grape］vineyard 4－thereof］of earth $34:$ in her $a-$ wine－ press］＋great 4＿God］＋the great（？winepress）a $\beta \gamma 3$ ：great of the wrath of God $4-3$ renders the whole verse thus，And he cast his sickle and gathered the grape thereof，for fully ripe was the grape on earth．And the angel cast his sickle on earth and gathered the grape of earth and cast（it）into the winepress of God，the great（winepress）．
20 And there was trodden the winepress $a 4$ ：and it was trodden in，etc．，3－ from the winepress］om． 23 ：tr．after blood 4－exceeding ．．．reached］om． a 4 －horses a 4 the length of it］as it were 4：0m．3：prom．et erat 2： preem．et a－1600］a thousand and six hundred 3.

## XV

1 And I saw another sign great in heaven and marvellous; that angels seven which had wounds seven betokened the end, since through them shall be ended wrath of God.
2 And I saw a sea of glass, mingled with fire, and they that have conquered of the 「beast and of his? image and of the number of his name, were standing upon the sea of glass. And they had the harp of God:
3 And were singing the song of Moses before* God and before the lamb, and were saying, How great and wonderful are thy works, Lord God almighty; just and true are thy works, Lord king of coons and king of all Gentiles.
4 Who shall not fear and glorify thy name holy, for thou alone art holy and worthy (or sacred) <of worship> since all Gentiles shall come and worship before thee, that (or since) thy righteousness shall be manifested to all the world.
5 And after this I saw that there was opened a temple of the tabernacle of testimony in heaven :
6 And there went forth the <seven> angels who had authority of the seven plagues. And they were clothed in linen pure and glistening; and they were girt about their chests with girdles of gold.
1 tr . in heaven great a 24 -which . . . seven $\}$ a 23 : having a creature the strokes (or plagues) which 4 where ararats =creature is a corruption of leataruts $=$ ond read in 1 and 2-betokening 2:om. a $3^{* *}$-the end kutarats 12: the latter ZKAI a : the subsequent yetoy $3^{* *}$ which writes the words wounds subsequent over a rasura of two lines: the seven worse than all evil 4-shall be] was being a 2: has been 4_wrath] fury 4.
2 saw] +as it were $\alpha 4$ - and the conqueror of the beast 4-image] after this word 3 is deficient through mutilation as far as the word angels in vs. 7 numbers 4 - name, ] + and his stamp, they $a:+$ and they $2:+$ that they $4-$ And they had] to have 4-harps a 24.
3 of Moses the servant (dsarhayi) of God 4 (corrupted in a 123 to arhudji= before)-and... lamb] 23 : and the songs of the lamb a 4-and were] oin. a 4-How] om. a 24 —true is thy path $a$ : true are thy paths And 2 - Lord] om. a 4-king ... and] 2 -king over all $\gamma$-king of nations and om. all 4.
4 And who a-holy $p r$.]om. 24 -worthy]. The same word, ARJANI, means both
 om. 4-Gentiles] races 4 -come to worship 2 -thee] + Lord a that] when $a$ : because 2 -shall be manifested] om. 2 and subst. from rons: thy rightconsnesses have heen manifested 4 -to ... world] om. a 4 : add of earth 2 .
5 saw and behold the temple of the booth of test. 4 and om. was opened - that] and $\alpha 2$ - which was in heaven $\alpha$.
6 forth] + from the temple 4-authority off behest of 2 : om. a 4-and they were] and he was 2:om. 4 -clothed] + from the temple $a$ - pure and glistening] clean and bright $a$ : pure and white 4 -girt ] hound firm 4 and om. they were.

7 And by [one of] the four animals it was given to the seven angels, seven bowls of GOLD full of the fury of God, the living to æons of æons.
8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his powers; and none was able to enter into the temple, until there shall be ended the seven plagues of the seven angels.

## XVI

1 And I heard a voice great 「in the temple ${ }^{7}$, that it said to the seven angels, Go ye and pour out the seven bowls of the fury of God upon earth.
2 And there went the first ANGEL, and poured out bowl the first on to earth; and there came to pass plagues grievous upon men which have the writing of the beast, and worshipped his image.
3 And a second angel poured out from his bowl upon the sea, and the water was turned to blood dead, and all souls (or breaths) which were in the sea were destroyed.
4 And the third angel poured out from his bowl into the rivers and fountains of waters; and it became blood.
5 And I heard from the angel of the waters that he said, Righteous is he which exists and holy. For thus he hath judged.
6 Because the blood of saints and the blood of prophets they

[^2]
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did pour out，the impious ones，therefore the holy one hath given＜them＞blood to drink according to their deserts．
7 And I heard from out of the altar that it said，Yea，Lord God ＜Almighty，just and＞true are thy works．
8 And the fourth angel poured out from his bowl upon the sun，and it was given to him to scorch men 「with fire ${ }^{7}$ ．
9 And men were burned up with the great heat（lit．burning）， and they blasphemed the name of God，who hath authority over these plagues．And they repented not，nor gave glory to God．
10 And the fifth angel poured out from his bowl upon the throne of the beast，and his kingdom became darkened；and they gnawed their tongues for pain of anguish；
11 And they blasphemed the God of heaven in their anguish， and in pain of bitterness，and they repented not of their works．
12 And the sixth 「angel ${ }^{7}$ poured out from his bowl upon the river great Euphrates：and there was dried up his water that there might be prepared a path of the king of the rising of the sun．
13 And I saw that there went forth out of the mouth of the dragon and out of the mouth of the beast and out of the mouth of the false prophet spirits three unclean，as it were frogs．
14 For they were spirits devilish，which worked signs，「and ${ }^{7}$ they came to the kings 「of all earth ${ }^{\top}$ ，to gather them together unto war on a day great of the Lord Almighty．
15 For thus spake the Lord，「Behold，${ }^{7}$ I come as a thief of

[^3]night ; blessed are they that shall be watchful and shall keep their raiments, that they may not walk about naked, and their shame appear.
16 And he will gather them into a place which is called in Hebrew Karmagedon.
17 And the seventh 「angel ${ }^{1}$ poured out from his bowl upon the air ;

## XVI. 17-XIX. 18

Text translated from 4 with collation of $\alpha$ and 2. Codex 3 as far as XIX. 11 inclusive, agrees with $\alpha$ save where its variants are specially noted. Codex 1 is deficient.
XVI. 17 And there went forth a voice great from heaven from the throne, saying, It is come to pass.
18 And there were lightnings voices and thunders, and an earthquake was there great, as there has not been from the beginning, from when forth there have been men upon earth, such an earthquake great.
19 The city great was made into three parts and the cities of the nations fell; and the great Babylon was remembered before God, to give her the cup of wine of his fury.
20 And all islands fled, and mountains were not found.
21 And hail great as if a talent descended from heaven upon men. And men blasphemed God <in heaven>, because of the hail, since great were the strokes thereof.
of night] om. a $34-$ Blessed the watchful and who kept 3 : Blessed is he who is watchful and who keeps his raiment, that he 4—om. about 4-shall be a 2 —and their, etc.] and that they see not his unseemliness ( $\dot{\alpha} \chi \chi \eta \mu \sigma \dot{\nu} \eta \eta) 4$.
16 he gathered 24:1 will gather $a$-which is called] named 4-Armagedôn a 4 : Karmaketon 2: Magedon 3.
17 from] om. 24.
heaven]+and a: subst. the temple and 2 (for heaven)-saying . . . pass] a and 2 (which adds the end of all).
18 voices] $a$ : and voices 2 - $t r$. and there was an earthquake $a 2$-as] such as $a$ text: 2 writes which there was not ever such an earthquake great since there hath heen, etc. and om. such . . . great : a alone omits from as to end of verse, but the other $a$ texts retain-hath been man $a$.
19 And the city a:2 writes and there were swallowed up cities very great as it were three parts, and the cities of the nations were swallowed up, and B. the city great (the change to the plural is due to a simple corruption)- parts a$t r$. B. the great a-the Lord God $2-$ of fury of his wrath a 2 .
20 fled] were turned to flight 2 - not found] removed from the midst $a 2$.
21 as if] + weight of one $a: 2$ subst. crkrord $=$ second $a$ corruption- of the strokes of hail $\alpha 2$-since very great and awful are the strokes exceedingly 2 (om. thereof) - was the stroke and violent a (om. thereof).

## XVII

1 And there came <a certain> one of the seven angels, which had the seven cups, and he spake with me, saying: Come, and I will shew thee the judgement of the great harlot, who sitteth upon the waters many,
2 with whom fornicated kings of earth, and were made drunk dwellers of earth from wine of her fornication.
3 And he carried me away into a desert in spirit. And I saw a woman, that she sat upon a scarlet beast, 〈and〉 full <was he> of names of blasphemy, he had heads seven and horns ten.
4 And the woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and bedecked with gold and pearl, and with precious stones, having a cup of gold in her hand, <and> full <was it> of abomination and impure fornication.
5 And upon her forehead written a [name:](name:) mystery, the great Babylon, the mother of abominations and of harlots of earth.
6 And I saw the woman drunk with blood of saints and with blood of the witnesses of Jesus, and I wondered having seen her, with wonder great.
7 And saith to me the angel, Wherefore didst thou wonder? I <will> tell thee a mystery of the woman and of the beast, which shall carry her, which hath seven heads and ten horns.
8 The beast which thou sawest, which was, and is not, and is about to go up from the abyss, and to proceed to perdition. And they shall wonder <all> who are dwelling upon earth, of

[^4]whom is not written name in book of life, from beginning of the world, seeing the beast, that it was and is not, and shall be close by.
9 Here is intelligence, he who hath wisdom. The seven heads, seven mountains are, where the woman sits upon them.
10 And kings seven are there. The five have fallen, and the one hath stood, and the other is not as yet come; and when he shall come, it behoves him a little to abide.
11 And the beast which was and no more is, even he is eighth, and is of the seven, and unto perdition proceedeth.
12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, ten kings are, which the kingdom as yet have not received. Authority as kings unto one hour they receive together with the beast.
13 These one mind have, and their power to the beast they give.
14 These with the lamb shall war, and the lamb shall conquer them, since lord is he of lords and king of kings, and who with him (are), called are they and chosen and faithful.
15 And he said to me, Waters, which thou sawest, where sitteth the harlot, the people and multitudes are, and nations and tongues.
16 And the ten horns, which thou sawest, they shall judge the strumpet, and desolate and naked they shall make her ; and her flesh they shall eat, and her shall they burn with fire.
names $a$ : the names $\epsilon 2$-book] volume or roll 2 _seeing] him which thou sawest $a 2$-that . . . by] which is and is not, and which was passing by to perdition 2-and is near $a$.
9 Here is wisdom, he who hath intelligence $a:$ A man wise in intelligence shall understand, that the seven 2 -where] which 2 -was sitting a 2 .
10 And the same, kings $\alpha$ : And they the kings 2-were seven and om. there 2there] they a which adds and kings seven being ( $\epsilon$ om. seven)-The seven* are fallen 2 -and . . . stood] a : and the one hath a while 2 -was not as yet 2 -as yet] om. a-when he cometh (shall come 2), a little time hath he a 2 .
11 which, etc.] which thou sawest, which is and henceforth is not 2-no more is] is not $\alpha$-seven] +and of the five* 2 -is about to proceed $\alpha 2$.
12 sawest,]+ they too 2 -received] + but they receive and stand rulers for one hour a-and they receive authority with the beast a (and om. words as . . . hour): but they receive, they also authority as a king for one time with the beast 2 .
13 These in concord go, and power and anthority they give to the beast 2 -mind] will $a$-their] om. $a$-power] + and authority $a 2$.
14 These] and $\alpha$-do war $a 2$-conquereth $a$ : shall conquer $\epsilon 2-$ since] + God and $2 —$ of lords $3:$ of them $a: o m .2 — o m$. are they and before chosen $a$.
15 saith a 2: said Andreas-me,] And a 2 (not $\epsilon$--the water $a$ : the waters $\epsilon 2$ -sat a 2-peoples and om. the a 2 .
16 Sawest] + of the beast $a$ : unto the wild beast 2 -they shall see (testzen) the harlot and shall hate (atestzen) her $a$; shall judge (datestzen) in 4 and shall see in $a$ are corruptions : 2 has they shall hate the harlot simply-and desolate . . . make her] om. a-tr. naked after her and om. and 2-tr. her after fire 2.

17 For God gave into their hearts, to do his will, and to do one will, and to give their kingdoms to the beast, until there shall be fulfilled the word of God.
18 And the woman whom thou sawest, is a city great, which hath kingdom over earth.

## XVIII

1 After this I saw an angel come down from heaven, having authority <great> and earth was lit up with his glory.
2 And he cried out with voice mighty, saying, She is fallen, [She is fallen,] Babylon great, and she is become a dwelling place of devils, and a prison <of every ghoul abominable and hated, and guardhouse> of every spirit impure and hated.
3 Since from wrath of wine of <her> fornication have fallen all nations, and kings of earth with her have fornicated, and merchants of earth with her have fornicated, by might of her wantonings have been enriched.
4 And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Go forth from her, my peoples, that ye may not participate of her sins, and of her plagues that ye may not receive.
5 For her (sin) hath been joined even unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.
6 Requite ye her as she requited you, and double ye unto her
17 hearts, for them to become ( + of 2 ) one will and to give a 2 - the kingdom $a 2$.
18 the city $a 2$-over] + kingdoms of $a 2$.
1 And after a 2 -another angel a 2 -having] and he had 2: which had $a$.
2 with his great voice and said 2 -mighty] great $a$-she is fallen bis $\epsilon 2$ fallen sec. loc.] to earth 2 -and she] which $a$-was become $a$-of all devils 3 -of all ghouls a-and hated pr. loc.] om. a-prison] jail of guarding a 2 —of all spirits a 2 .
3 of all wine a alone -wine] + of drunkemess 2-fallen] been intoxicated a 2 - earth] + who a 2 - earth . . . wantonings] earth waxed rich out of the riches of earth and from the might of her sins 2-wantonings] debauchery $a$.
4 Another voice 2 -her midst $a$ : their midst 2 which throughout this passage subst. their, them for her-people $\alpha 2$-and of ... receive] om. a $\beta \delta \epsilon$ Andreas - of her plagues] the plagues also of their sins 2.
5 a $\beta \boldsymbol{\delta}$ (but not $\epsilon$ Andreas) omit this yerse-hath] + reached and Andreas, from which I supply the word $\sin$ omitted in $4: \epsilon$ and 2 subst. reached and touched for been joined- their sins have 2 and Andreas (not $\epsilon$ )_God] the Lord $\epsilon$ iniquities] impieties a 2 : illegalities $\epsilon$.
6 And he requiteth them even as they requited you and they shall give double aceording to their deeds and the cup which they mingled, shall be mingled unto
twofold according to her deeds, with the cup wherewith she mingled, ye shall mingle to her twofold.
7 As much as she glorified herself and waxed wanton, so much ye shall requite to her [torments and] sorrow. For in her heart she hath said, I sit a queen for ever, and widow I no more am[, and sorrow I will not see].
8 Therefore in one day shall come torments of her, death and sorrow and famine, and fire shall burn her. For mighty is the Lord <God〉, who hath judged her.
9 And there shall mourn and wail kings of the earth over her, who with her fornicated and wantonly sported, when they shall see smoke of her burning,
10 Afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, and shall say, Woe, woe, city great, Babylon, city strong, for in one hour hath come judgment of thee.
11 And merchants of earth shall weep and wail over her, because their freight no one buyeth.
12 Freight of gold and of stone precious and of byssus and of purple and of silk and scarlet, and all wood of frankincense and all vessel <of ivory and all vessel> of wood precious and of bronze <and of iron> and of marble.
13 And cinnamon and <all> incense (or spice) and oil and gum and wine and olive-oil and wheat-flour and corn, and cattle and sheep, and <of> horses <and chariots and of bodies and souls of >men.
them and om. twofold 2: And he requiteth her even as she requited us, and she shall receive twofold according to her deeds, and the cup, etc. (as 4) a.
7 And as much $\alpha 2$-waxed wanton] sported $\alpha 2$ - so much shall be given unto them torment and sorrow 2--she saith 2 : she said $\alpha-$ I will sit 2 - queen] $\alpha 2$ use a synonym-for ever] for all time $\alpha$ : om. 2: always $\beta$ _-I am not nor ever will I see sorrow 2_am] will be $a$.
8 come upon her plagues [of] death $\alpha 2$-and burning with fire 2 : and in fire shall she be burned $a-$ who judgeth her 2 .
9 wantonly om. a 2 _-when] and they shall sigh when a 2 -burning] furnace 2.
10 And afar 2 - <they shall stand>[, till having arrived they shall sigh] for dread of her $\alpha 2$ - and shall say $\alpha 2$-B. the great city and strong 2 -upon thee 2 .
11 and 12 And they who shall profit from her shall both be dragged and shall weep and wail over her, and the flocks and possessions in her he shall no more buy through shame, and in vain shall they stand, not any one of gold and silver and of stones precious, of pearls and of byssus and purple, and of hyacinth and scarlet 2-weep] lament $\alpha$-her] thee $a$--there is no one who buyeth $\alpha \beta$ (not Andreas) -freight . . . byssus] and goods which are from thee shall no more be, of gold and silver and of jewels precious and of pearls and of byssus $\alpha$ silk] goldthread $a$-frankincense] 4 transliterates $\theta$ vïvos: the other MSS. render by khunk used again in vs. 13 to render incense-vessels precious of 2.
13 oils 2-gum] or incense-corn and] + chattels all a 2-tr. sheep and cattle (or oxen) 2 _horses] war-steeds $\alpha$ _and of bodies] what profiteth bodies a _meu] and all that profiteth men 2.

14 And season of longing of thy soul hath gone from thee, and all «rich and white> is lost from thee, and no more shalt thou find it.
15 Merchants by these things, were euriched from her, from afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, weeping and making wail,
16 <and saying,> Woe, woe, city great, who clothedst thyself with byssus scarlet, with gold and with precious stone and with pearl, since in one day hath been destroyed so great riches.
17 And every pilot, <and all> who unto places navigate, <and> sailors <and> whosoever with implements work, afar off shall stand,
18 Shall cry out, seeing the smoke of her burning, saying, Who is like unto this city great?
19 And they did cast dust upon their heads, <cried out with voice great, weeping and wailing> and saying, Woe, woe, city great, (in) which now we were enriched, who had ships in the sea from her preciousness, since in one hour she hath been dishonoured.
20 Be thou glad over her, heavens and holy apostles and prophets, since God hath judged your judgment out of her.
21 And an angel mighty took a stone, <as it were> a millstone great, and cast (it) into the sea, saying, Thus with onset shall fall Babylon, great city, and no more shall be found there.
22 And voice of harp-singers and musicians and of trumpeters and trumpets, shall no more be heard in thee.

14 And <all> longing of $a 2$-hath gone] shall depart 2-all]+ well-being 2-_ and all gleaming heanty the rich and dainty and white is gone $\alpha$ ( $\beta \mathrm{om}$. all)thee] them 2 -shalt thou] could they 2.
15. And all traders ( + who 2) by these things (+were 2) enriched from thee (them 2) - shall stand apart a 2 -after fear om. and a 2 ( 3 retains)-of her] of thy a : of $2-$ shall weep and wail 2 .
16 and saying] shall say $a$-clothedst] wast robed a 2 -byssus and purples and scarlet and gold broileries and stones precious and pearls $\alpha 2$-day] hour $\alpha$ : day hour 2-riches] + of thee a 2 .
17 and befure sailors] om. a alone and 2 - implements] nets $a$-who in the sea are eupployed : so 3 but relains work-sea 2-stand] + weeping, and $a$.
18 and shall 2 -of their furnace, shall say 2.
19 did] shall a 2 -cried out] and mourning $a$-and weeping $\alpha$-and saying] and mourning shall say $a 2$-now] all a 2 -who had ships] and went hither and thither 2 -from her] lecanse of thy a 2 -wealth of preciousness 2 she, ete. ] thou (she 2) being destroyed art (is 2) ruined a 2 .
20 Be ye glad $a$ : Let them he glat 2-holy ones and 3-your] their 2 .
21 Thus. . . onset] after this semblance 2-onset] over a rasura in 3 -fall] be swallowed up 2-tr. city great 2 - there] om. a 2.
22 of harp and songs artistic and voice of drun and trumpet shall no one any more hear out of her 2-musicians|+artistic $\beta$ Andreas Oscan (but not a)trumpets] thmbki drum $\alpha_{\text {. }}$.

23 <And light of torch> shall no longer appear in thee, and voice of bridegroom shall no longer be heard in thee. <For thy merchants were> magnates of earth, because by thy wizardry were led astray all nations.
24 And in her <all> blood of saints and prophets was found, and of all those massacred upon earth.

## XIX

1 And after this I heard voice of a multitude in heaven great, saying, Alleluiah, Salvation and glory to our God.
2 For true and just are his judgements, since he hath judged the harlot great [which ruined earth] in her harlotry, and hath sought vengeance of blood of his servants <at her hands>.
3 And a second time they said, Alleluiah, and smoke of her went up to æons of æons.
4 And there fell down the twenty and four elders, and the four animals, and they adored God, who sitteth upon the throne, saying, Amen, Alleluiah.
5 Praise ye, praise ye God, all servants of him, and ye who fear him, both small and great.
6 And I heard a voice as of a multitude great, and as voice of waters many, as voice of mighty thunders: Alleluiah, and He hath reigned among us Lord God Almighty.
23 torch] + and sound of mill a : 2 subst. And voice of mill for And light of torchno . . . thee] he not hear there 2-bridegroom]+and of bride $\alpha: 2$ has of bride and of bridegroom-in thee] out of her 2-For] Nor a-magnates . . . by] her glorious ones who were delighted on earth who by 2 -merchants and glorious ones and magnates a 3 _-earth] + who were delighted in thee $a$ —by wizardry of thy (her 2) drug-giving a 2-were sec. loco. ] om. 2.
$24 \mathrm{her}]$ thee $\alpha-\mathrm{tr}$. of prophets and saints $a 2$-all . . . earth] all those written ( + and sealed 2) in the land of life a 2 .
1 voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said 2-after voice add great and om. below a-glory]+ and honour and power a 2: 3 has salvation and power and glory.
2 For in justice and truth are 2-that harlot 2-which] because she 2harlotries 2-sought]+ from her 2.
3 time] + they praised and $a:+$ they sang and 2 .
4 down]+on their faces 2-who sat upon the throne of glory a 2-saying] + Amen, Alleluiah a 2 ( $\beta$ om. Amen).
5 a prefixes and a voice from the throne went forth saying-Praise ye, etc.] 2 omits this verse and also verse 6 as far as Alleluiah_praise ye sec. loco] om. a -our God $\alpha$-om. both $\alpha$.
6 after voice om. as a-after great om. and a-after many add and-thunders] + saying $\alpha:+$ saying again 3-and He ] because he $a 2$-reigneth 2 -om. among us a 2 -om. Lord Andreas-our God $\alpha$.

7 And we rejoice and exult, and will give glory to him, because a second time is come unto his marriage <of the lamb, and the wife, <the bride of him>, hath made ready herself.
8 <And it was given to her,> to array her in byssus <white〉 gleaming pure. For the byssus, righteousnesses of the saints are.
9 And <he saith to me,> Write, blessed are they who are called to the supper of the lamb. [And he saith to me, These words, true are they of God.]
10 And I fell down before his feet and worshipped him. And he saith, See, Nay. Fellow-servant of thee am I, and of thy brethren, who have the testimony <of Jesus>. God do thou worship, <for by the certainty of Jesus is prophecy>.
11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a horse white, and he that was mounted thereon, is called faithful and true, <and in righteousness> he judgeth and wars.
12 And his eyes as torches fiery, and upon his head many a crown, having names written, which no one can know save himself alone.
13 And clad in a garment fallen in blood, who is called as to his name, the Word of God.
14 And captains of heaven 'and forces of heaven${ }^{7}$ came after him <upon> horses [white], robed in byssus white pure.
15 And from his mouth went forth a sword sharpened, that with it he may smite the Gentiles. And he shall shepherd them
7 And] om. a 2 _will] om. a 2 -him] his name 2 -because hath come the marriage of the lamb a (and om. a second time):-is come] a 2 -his wife who is 2 : his wife hath $\epsilon$-herself] for him 2.
8 to put on byssus white pure and gleaming which is the byssus, righteousness of the saints a-byssus white is the righteousness 2 .
9 he] one of the elders a-write] + this a 2 -are all who a 2 --supper] +of the wedding a 2 -words are true and just of God 2.
10 feet, that I might worship $\in 2$ - saith to me, obey. Fall thou not down before ine, for I also fellow-servant $a$ : saith to me, see, thou art evil. And he said to me, Fall not down before me, for I also, etc. 2 - have] had 2-Jesus] + Christ a (not 3) : the Lord 2 - cthe Lord> God alone a 2 - of Jesus is thy vision and spirit of prophecy $\rangle$, since testimony of Jesus is through (om. 2) the spirit holy which was (is 2) in the prophets a 2 (but 3 om . the words since to prophets which 2 alone retains).
11 om . is called $a$ : was called 2-and truly 2.
12 vm . as a-torches fiery] a flame of fire a 23 -mitres many $3 a$ : a mitre 2 -and he had a name $a$ : which had names many 2 -written] of them 2 -which] and the names written 3-no one knew 2--knoweth a 3 .
13 he was clad 23 - fallem1 dipped $a$ : with sprinkling of 3 and ? 2 -who, etc.] and his name was called Word of God a 23 .
14 captain 2-forces of heaven] om. 2 ( $3^{*}$ erases and ufter heaven)-white,] + which were 3-pure and white $a:$ om. white 23.
15 his] their 2 he it was who was shepherding 23 - he ( + it was who 3 ) was treading out 2 (and om. them)-om. as $23-$ fury (+and 3) of wrath of 23.
with rod of iron; and he shall tread them out as a press of wine of fury of God Almighty.
16 And there was upon his raiment and upon his thighs <and upon his right hip>, king of kings and lord of lords.
17 And I saw an<other> angel which stood upon the sun, he cried out <in a voice great>, saying to all birds <flying in midst> of heaven, Come ye, gather ye together unto the great supper of God,
18 and eat flesh of kings, [and flesh of chiliarchs,] and flesh of mighty ones, and flesh of steeds and of those mounted upon them, and flesh of all free men and bond, and of

## XIX. 19-XXI. inclusive

Text translated from Codex 1 with collation of $a, 2$ and 4 .
great and small ;
19 and I saw the beast and AlL the kings of the earth, and their forces gathered together to make war against him who was mounted on a horse white and against his forces.
20 And there was taken the beast and they that were with him, the false prophets, who wrought the signs before him, whom he led astray, and caused to receive the writing of the beast, and the worshippers of the image of him, of the Alive: they cast them into the lake of fire burning with sulphur;
21 and the rest died by the sword of him mounted on the horse, which went forth from his mouth; <and all the birds were surfeited upon their flesh>.

16 And he had upon a 3-there was written 2-his $3^{* *}$ _right thigh a name of his authority, king 2 -his thighs] his limbs $a 3^{* *}$-and. . . hip] a name written 3: a writing written a-kings] codex 3 ends.
17 which] that he 2 upon] at 2 - and saith, all ye birds 2-unto the supper of the great God a $2-$ tr. saying after heaven $a$.
18 that ye may eat of the flesh of the king and of the flesh of the ruler and of the captain, and of the flesh of the horse and of him who was mounted on him and of the flesh of men bond and freemen 2--those] all a and om. all below -small and great 4.
19 their] his 2.
20 the horse $a-$ white] om. 4-they that were] om. 24: he that was $a-$ prophet a 24 -whom] and whom $a$ : through which 4 -and caused to receive] who received 4-writing] stamp $a$ : grace 4-worship 2 -after alive om. colon 14: and of the alive they a-they hurled and om. them 4a lake a 24 -burning] flaming 4.
21 the remaining were slain 4 of the ones mounted ( $p l$ l.) 14 -on the . . forth] om. 4 -on the horse] a 2_which etc.] from whose mouth went forth the sword $a$.

## XX

1 And I saw another angel coming down out of heaven, and he had the bolts of hell and a great chain in his hand.
2 And he was holding the dragon, the serpent primal, who is Beelzebul himself and Satan. And he bound him for a thousand years,
3 and cast him into the abyss of Hades, and shut and sealed, that he should not any more lead men astray, until there be fulfilled the thousandth year; and after this he will loose him for a little time.
4 And I saw thrones, and them that sat on them ; and judgement was given to them to choose the souls of the better ones for sake of testimony of Jesus and of the word of God. They are those who worshipped not the beast, [nor his image,] and received not the writing of his emblem upon their forehead, nor upon their rigitt hand. These are they who shall live and shall reign with Christ unto a thousand year's.
5 And after that from the dead shall no one live until the completion of the thousandth year. This is the first resurrection.
6 Blessed are the holy who have a portion in the first resurrection. Over them the second death hath not authority, but they are priests of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ and they shall reign with him a thousand years.

1 another] onn. 4-and he had] having 4-the keys of the abyss 4
2 he held 4: seized $\alpha$-_dragon] + great 4——Beelzebul himself] the traducer $\alpha$ : who is betrayer 4.
3 and ... into] om, 4-_om. of Hades and subst. and he bound 4-sealed] +him or it $a:+$ upon him 4-men] the nations a 4: the heathen 2 - he must be loosed for a 4 : they loosed him for 2.
4 a throne 2 - them that] they a 24 -them] it 2 -and judgement a 4 om. to choose and sulst. and 4-souls . . . for] souls of them tortured hecause of a 4-testimony] the name 4-and because of the word a 4-of God] om. 4-they are those] om. $4:$ subst. and $a$-the . . . emblem] his stamp $a:$ a stamp 4- his] 2-ner upon] and 4-om. right 24--These . . . reign] And they lived and reigned $a$ : And they shall live and reign 4-reigned 2 .
5) And the remaining of the dead shall no more live 4-live ketztee, of which 1 and 4 have a corruption chestonecome: no one lived a 2 -until there shall be completed upon them a thonsand years 4-resurrection the first a 2 .
6 are they and holy 4 -who shall have a-resmrrection] 1 and 2 render kingdom, probably through confusion of yarutheran with yarquyutheanAnd over 2: For over 4-are] shall be a-priests of J. C. 4 and oni. of God and of the Lord.

7 And after the thousandth year, he will loose Satan, and expel him from prison.
8 [And] he shall go forth to lead astray the races all unto the four regions of earth, and Gog and Magog he shall take in hand, to muster through them all the forces unto war: of which the number of them is as sand of the sea innumerable.
9 And they shall go forth over the breadth of the earth, and shall encompass the camps of the saints, and <of> the city beloved; and there shall come down fire out of heaven, from God ; and shall devour them [and <THEIR〉 CAPTAIN,
10 Satan who led them astray.] <And> he <shall> cast them into a sea of fire and sulphur, where was the beast and the false prophets. And they shall be tortured day and night unto æons of æons.
11 And $I$ saw a throne great and white, and upon <the throne> (one) sitting from whom, from awe of his face, were afraid <and fled> heaven and earth. And place was not found for them.
12 And [I saw <thrones> mighty <and] the dead who were standing at the throne. And> books were opened <of their several works ; and another book was opened>, of those whose names are written in the book of life.
But there was also a judgement made of the dead in the books according to the works of each.
7 after] when there shall be completed 4 -he will, etc.] Satan will be loosed, and will go forth from prison from his bonds 4.
8 forth, and lead $a 2$-om. all 24 -unto . . . regions] who are in the four corners 4 - he . . . hand] om. 4 - -and to muster them unto war 4 and om. rest-of them] om. 4-om. innumerable a 4.
9 shall go] went 2 -shall encompass] encompassed 2 : shall war with 4 (through corruption) -and with the city 4-shall come] came 24 - $t r$. from God out of heaven 4 - shall devour] devoured 24 -their captain] om. 4-and . . . astray] om. a $\boldsymbol{\beta} \delta$, but not Andreas.
10 Satan] the traducer 4-astray, was cast into a lake of fire 4-was] om. 4the false] Satanay 4 (? a corruption of sutanun $=$ pseudonym) - prophet a 24 -tormented 4-unto . . . æons] om. a.
11 white great and upon it sitting one of whose face, etc., $a$ : great and white, and (him), who sat upon it from whose face 4-and white] 2 subst. the numeral 'two' to the prejudice of the sense-whom and from 2 -were afraid and] om. 4 : erkentchein were afraid $a: 1$ and 2 have the corruption korntchein 'were destroyed.'
12 I saw the dead (correcting zmerjeal to zmerheal) and the mighty ones; books were opened of those whose, etc., $2:$ I saw the dead, ( + and 4 ) the mighty and the little, who were standing before the throne and books were opened. And another book was opened ( + which is 4) of life, and there were judged the dead from the writings ( + in the books 4) after (subst. and 4) their works $a 4$ Arm. = quorum nomina eorum-But, etc.] or render aliud et iudicium factum est : 2 om. but or aliud-books] + according to their works several 2 .

1:3 And the sea gave up her dead: and death and Hell their dean, and they were judged each according to their works.
14 And unto death and unto hell were they delivered, AND into the lake of fire.
15 And whoever shall not be found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire.>

## XXI

1 And I saw heaven new and earth new, for the first <heaven and〉 earth passed away, and the sea <was no more>.
2 And <I saw> the city new holy Jerusalem, that she came down out of heaven, from God, the bride, adorned and decorated, <and> she was given to her spouse.
3 And I heard a voice from heaven that it said, Behold the tabernacle of God among men. And he shall dwell in common with them; And they (are) For a people of him [with him], and he God of them.
4 And he shall expunge all tears from their eyes ; and death any longer shall not <more> have rule over them, not mourning and not crying, not pain and not care. For it is removed and has fled from their presence.
5 And he said to me that sat upon the throne, Behold, I make
13 And ... her dead] a 24 -her dead $a$ : mortuos ubi qui erat illi (sic) 2: the dead who in her were 4 - and death . . . works] add $\alpha$.
14 And death and hell he delivered up into the 2: And d. and h. were del. up into, a $\alpha$ : and d. and h. were cast into a 4 _-Fire] + This is death the second 4
15 And om. 4- shall not be] was not a 4-w was cast a 4.
1 new] empty 4 bis- for the first] and an empty 4-was] is 4-no more] not $a$.
2 And] For 4-I saw] tr, after Jerusalem a 4-ir. holy the new $a$ : tr. new ufter I saw 4- Jerusalem] + appeared 2-coming down 4-from God and from heaven adorned and prepared as the bride for her husband a: from God adorned and decorated as even a bride, ete., 2: from God, made ready as a bride, adorned for her husband 4 and om. rest.
3 voice] + great 4-that it said] which said $a$ : saying 4-tabernacle] dwelling 4-among] with 4-in common] in a house 2: om. a 4-they shall be his people, and he shall be god, with them 4-people unto a
4 expangel clean away 4-death :.. them] death no more exists a: death shall no more be 4 - not mourning] om. 24 _om. and not 2 -and pain shall no more be. The first things have pasced away 4 and om. rest-care + no longer any more shall gnard * (mer watch) them 2 -care] toil no more exists $a$-for ... presence] For the first has passed away $a$.
5 om . to me hefore write 4 - these worls are] a 24 - (r. true and faithful $a$.
everything new, <And he saith to me,> Write, For this is words faithful and true.
6 And he saith, Become am I Ayb <and Qê>, from the beginning, and for the future, and unto æons. <And now> I am. <And> they who are thirsty, I will give them from springs of water of life to drink gratuitously.
7 And they that be found victors, shall inherit all this. And I will be unto them God, <and they shall be unto me a people>.
8 And again as touching the faithless [and the abominable, and the] murderers, <and fornicators> and wizards, and sorcerers and idolaters, <and all liars [and all] impious ones,> whose portion of theirs is in the lake burning with fire and sulphur ; which is the death second.
9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven bowls filled <with> the seven ends, <with> the fulfilments: and he spake unto me and said, I will shew unto thee the bride and the wife of the Lamb.
10 And he took and carried me into a mountain <lofty and〉 great and in the spirit <holy; and> he shewed unto me the city <holy the Upper Jerusalem, and the mountain> of peace, that it came down out of heaven from God Almighty :
11 Which had the glory of God. <And> tiefer was in her a sheen of stones precious <and of the stones> jasper and sardion and crystal-gleaming and luminous.
12 And her walls were very great, and her towers lofty. And she had [in her self] portals twelve, and names several upon
6 Alpha and Ô., beginning and end. [And] to the thirsting I (+ will 4) give from a spring, etc., $\alpha 4$-and unto subsequent æons I am 2-I will, etc.] thou shalt say* unto him from the spring 2 -to drink] om. a 4.
7 He that is found a victor 2: He that conquers a 4-all] om. 4-them] him 2-and he shall be 4 -a people] sons $a$-be my son 4.
8 again]om. a 4 -as . . . faithless] of the remiss and faithless, ete., $a$ : but of the faithless and faint-hearted and filthy and fornicators and wizards and idolaters and all soreerers and liars, their portion in 4-tr. idolaters and sorcerers $\alpha-$ Arm. = quorum portio sua-is] add 2-tr. lake flaming with 4.
9 unto me] om. 4 - end $a$ : last plagues 4-with the fulf.] om. 4 and] add 24 - and said] saying 4-I] come ( + and 4) I will $a$ : and I will 2 - the wife, the bride 4.
10 took and] om. 4-me in a spirit upon a 4-tr. great and lofty $4-$ and] add 2 and in . . . holy] om. 4 the . . . city] the city great and holy a -the upper] om. a-tr. holy after Jerusalem 4-and. . . peace] om. a and 4 (which adds below)-came] was come a 2-almighty] om. $\alpha 4$.
11 which, etc.] having the mountain of peace, the glory, of which the light was like to jasper, to a stone luminous 4 _which] and it a 2 -of stones] like unto stones a 2 -and . . . stones] a rock $a$-crystal-seeming or crystal-like a 2 -luminous] living a 2 .
12 which had a wall great and lofty, having portals twelve, and names were written
the portals were written according to the twelve tribes of Israel.
13 On the east side portals three: and on the west side portals three: and on the North side portals three: on the South side portals three.
14 And the walls of the City <foundations> twelve according to the names of the apostles of the Lamb.
15 And he <that> spake with me had a measure of gold in his hand, that he might measure the city <and her portals> and her walls.
16 For the lie of the city was four square, 〈and as was the length of her, of the same measure also her breadth. [And he measured the city with the measure,] and the measure of her length was twelve thousand furlongs; and her breadth <and height> the same measure.
17 And he measured the wall thereof 144 cubits, according to the measure of men, which is of an angel.
18 And the building of those walls of stones <precious, of jasper. And the city of gold pure, like unto <pure and> white glass. And the foundations of the city of all stones precious.
19 And the first foundation of the wall, jasper. And the second, sapphire. And the third, turquoise. And the fourth, emerald. And the fifth, sardonyx.
which are names of the tribes of the children of Israel 4-And she had on the portals themselves twelve angels; her several gates upon written names of the twelve tribes of Israel 2 -and names, etc.] And on the twelve portals twelve angels, and names several $\alpha$.
13 East, ete.] In a 4 the order is: East, North, South, West-auld and bis 2.
14 And the brealth of the city had twelve, a number, and ( $n$ also) of the twelve apostles of the lamb 4-wall $a$ : foundations 2-city] had $a$-aceording .a apostles] and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles $a$.
15 Before he om. and 4-me] + and] 2 -measure] reed $a$-in his hand] om. 4 and subst. a rod of gold.
16 Forl And a 24 the lie of'] cm. a 4 _was] stands $4 — \mathrm{om}$. as was 4 -of her] a 2 -also] a 2: as also 4-breadth] +and the height equal a-with the . . . mensure of] om 4-tr. twelve furlongs her length and om. was 4twelve] two 2-thousand a 2 -her] a 24 - the same measure] om. 4 - the same] one a 2 -measure] $\beta$ And add kivos, i.e. cube.
17 And he] who also 4--cubits] in a asparez, i.e. parasang, used to render $\sigma \tau a \delta(\omega \nu$ in vs. 16 -according to] om. a 4 - of a man a 4.
18 building . . . $]$ roof of the wall, of jasper stones, and the whole of the city of gold pure in the likeness of pure glass 4 -those] her 2 -of the walls of the rity was jasper $a$-city was gold pure $a$-om. and white 4 -foundations] building (or construction) of the wall 4.
19 And peassim] add 2: om. a 4-the first . . . jasper] om. 4-turquoise] chalcedony 4 and so $a$ which uses a synonym_-chrysolite] goldstone or carbuncle $a$ : gold-eye 4. In 1 sutak a word not given in lexicons.

20 And the sixth, sardion. And the seventh, chrysolite. And the eighth, beryl. And the ninth, topaz. And the tenth, chrysoprase. And the eleventh, jacinth. And the twelfth, chalcedony.
21 And there were twelve portals of twelve pearls, uniform and several the portals were. And one by one a portal, each of a single pearl. And the centre of the city of gold pure ; and close unto the gates sheenlike as it were beryl.
22 And temple I saw not in her, for the Lord God Almighty was the Temple in her, and the Lamb, the only begotten <Son> of God is altar of holiness.
23 And the city had no need of sun and moon, that they should illumine her. <For the glory of God illumined her in every hour ; > and her lamp was the Lamb of God.
24 And the heathen walked in her light, and the kings of the earth were clad with light from Her glory.
25 And her portals were not shut, but were standing open continually. And night there was no more in her ;
26 but only illumination <and glorifying, and costliness> transcending all stones precious.
27 And there shall not enter there any one (lit. all) of evil will, lest he pollute her with <his> falsehood; but there shall enter into her those whose names of them are written in the book of Life of the Son of God.

20 transpose iacinth and chrysoprase 2-the tenth turquoise 4- chalcedony karkehan 1 2: amethyst amethows a: agate (?) yakath 4 which adds: the thirteenth pearl.
21 And there . . . each] portal which were sic 4 and om. rest-pearls, of one shape; and of them severally were doors, each door of a single pearl; and the free space of the city was gold pure, as glass resplendent. And temple, etc., a-centre] public place 4-before gold om. of 4-gate 4-pure] +as of glass glittering 4-sheen-like] more shiny white 2 .
22 was . . . her] is her temple 24 -Lord] + God a 24 - the only . . . holiness] om a 4-after God add is 2 .
23 nor of moon 4 -illumine her] beam forth 4 and om. her-illumined her]shall illumine her 4 and om. in every hour-the very glory 4-her]+ continually 2 - her lamp] a lamp in her a-was] om. 4 -of God] om. a 4.
24 And the heathen . . . light] om. 4--were clad, ete.] bring their glory into her 4.
25 were] shall not be 4 -shut] + by day and by night $a$ : + by day 4 -but... continually] om. 4 - And night] For night 24 -was] is 24 -no more] not 4 -in her] there 4.
26 but] + they shall bring 4-only . . . stones] glory and honour of the nations $a$ and $4 w h$. adds into her-only] + is there in her 2.
27 enter into her any one (lit. all) corrupt and who worketh pollution and falsehood 4-lest . . . falsehoods] and polluted and falsehood a-but, etc.] but only they who were $(\operatorname{are} \beta$ ) written in $a$ : but only the written in $4-$ are] may be $28 \_$Arm. =quorum nomina illorum (sua 2) seripta sunt-_Son of God] lamb a 24.

## XXII

Text from Codex 1 with collation of $\alpha 4$.
1 And he showed me the river of the waters of Life bright as crystal, which came forth from the Throne of God,
2 and proceeded amidst her streets. And along the bank of the river she had the tree of life, which had fruit twelve times ; one by one month it gave its fruit, and leaves of the tree were [for the] healing of all the heathen. And from all trees of which they ate they were blessed,
3 and curses were no more in them, because the throne of God and of the Lamb was in her. And the servants of God ministered unto him.
4 And I beheld his face, and his name was upon their foreheads.
5 And there was night no more; and there was not any need [of the light] of torch, and of light of sun. Because the Lord God illumined all, and they were reigning unto æous of æons.
6 And he saith unto me, This is the Word of God faithful and true. And the Lord God who through the holy spirit showed unto his prophets whatsoever is to be hereafter.
7 Behold he is come quickly: Blessed are they that shall listen and keep the words of this writing.

1 the . . . crystal] a pure river living of water of crystal appearance $a$ : a river, water living, bright as beryl 4-which] that it 4-God]+ and of the lamb a 4.
2 and proceeded] om. 4-her streets] the streets of the city $a<$ in the midst of her street (or public place) and of the river, on this side and that, a tree (lit. woorl, living made fruit twelve, month by month giving its fruit 4- she. tree] hither and thither trees $a$-had] bore $a-$ fruits] a om. times a 4one] + month $a$-it] they $a$-its] their $a$-trees $a$-were] om. 4-for the] om. a-for the health of nations 4-all] om, a 4-and from . . . blessed] om. a 4.
3 and not at all shall curses any longer be; and the throne 4-in them] there a -because] and a--the Lamb] of his Lamb $a$ : of the Lamb 4-was] are 4 _God] him a 4-minister 4.
4 And they beheld $a$ : And they shall behold 4-wwas] om. $4:+$ written $a$.
5 And night was not there a (Andreas om. was): And night no more shall be 4 -is not any Andr. - And they have not need 4-and a 1: neither 4shall illumine 4--all] them a 4-were reigning] shall reign a 4 .
6 said] 4-These words are (a is) faithful a 4 who . . . hereafter! of the prophets holy, sent his angel, to his servant, to show what is to he quickly $a$ : of the spirits of the prophets sent his angel to shew to his servants that which is to come to pass quickly 4.
7 he is] I a 4 -quiekly] in haste 4 -are . . . writing] he who keeps this word of prophecy a : so 4 but adds of this writing.

8 For I, John heard and saw all this. And when I saw and heard, I fell down and worshipped the angel which showed me all this.
9 And he saith unto me, [Thou man,] fall not down before me, and worship; for I am a fellow-servant and brother of thee, and (of those) who prophesied and kept the word of this writing. Do thou worship God.
10 And he saith unto me again, Bind not up, neither seal, the word of this prophecy; for the time thereof is at hand.
11 He that is about to do iniquity, let him work iniquity, and he that is about to be filthy, let him be made filthy: and he that is about to be made righteous, let him be made righteous, and he that is about to be holy, let him be made holy.
12 Behold I will pay thee reward, and the reward of each is according to his works. I am Ayb and I am Qê,
13 I am beginning and I am end, first and last, saith the Lord Almighty.
14 Blessed are they who shall call upon (or read) his law. They have authority of the Tree of Life; and they enter by the portals of the City of God.
15 But there shall stay without dogs, and sorcerers, murderers, and idolaters, ADULTERERS, and all who walk and converse in falsehood.
16 I Jesus have sent my angel to bear witness to all this in the
8 For] And $\alpha$ Andreas 4: om. $\beta$-all] om. 4-tr. heard and saw $\alpha$ 4worshipped before the feet of the angel 4 _all] om. 4.
9 Thou... worship; for] see, lest 4-Thou man,] om. a-for] om. 4-I] +also $\alpha$-servant] + of thee a 4-brother of thine] of thy brethren $\alpha 4$ and of ... and] who $\alpha$ : the prophets and who $4-$ keep $\beta$ : shall keep $\alpha$ Andreas -word of]+ prophecy of $\alpha$ : words of 4 .
10 again] om. 4-Bind . . seal] Seal not a 4—words prophetic of this book $a$ : the words of prophecy of this book 4-thereof om. a 4 .
11 about to do harm, will do harm yet more ; and the filthy, shall be made filthy ; and the just, shall work justice ; and the holy one shall increase 4_let him] or he shall passim.
12 I will . . . works] I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to render to each after his works $a$ : so 4 which adds the words behold . . . reward over line.
$13 \mathrm{I} \mathrm{am}]$ om. a 4 thrice-Alpha and $\hat{O}$ a 4 and $a d d$ earlier and later 4-end]+ first and last $a-$ saith . . . Almighty] om. a 4.
14 call upon] keep his commandments a 4 -They have] For theirs shall be $4-$ tree] wood 4-of] to eat of $\alpha$ : over 4-they] they shall 4: to $\alpha$-into the city $4 —$ of God] om. a 4.
15 But] and—stay] go forth a $4 —$ dogs, ] + and a 4—-sorcerers] + and fornicators and 4-murderers, ] + and a 4-adulterers] om. a 4——walk . . . in] love $a$ : work 4.
16 And I have 4 and om. Jesus-to witness to you this in 4: to witness this to you churches $\alpha$ _in] to you $\alpha-\mathrm{am}]+$ from $a \beta \delta$ (not Andreas)__-the offspring
churches. I am the root and the offspring of Adam, and the star of dawn.
17 and spirit holy, and the Bridegroom who am to come. Whosoever shall be thirsty and shall desire to come unto me, shall come and drink the water living free.
18 I am witness to every man who heareth the word of the prophecy of this book, That no one may add (aUGht) therein, and that no one shall take away therefrom. If any one shall add (aught) therein, God shall add and multiply upon him the plagues all, which is written in this book:
19 and if any one shall take away a word, and withdraw (IT) from the words of this prophecy, God shall withdraw his portion from the Tree of Life and from the City of the Saints, which is written in this book.
20 He spake which witnessed all this, Yea: I come quickly I come. Amen, there is come the Lord Jesus Christ.
21 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ upon all saints. Amen.
of] from the seed of $a \beta \delta$ : seed from And. : the progeny of 4-Adam] David a 4 _star] + resplendent $a$-of dawn] luminous the first 4.
17 And the spirit and the bride say. And he who heareth shall say, Come 4holy] om, a 4-Come] + And he that heareth, saying, Come a-whosoever] And he who a 4-shall be] is a 4-thirsty] + let him (or he shall) come a 4 - shall desire . . . free] and whoever desireth to receive the water of life free $a$ : he who desireth, shall receive the water of life 4, and om. free.
18 am ] om. a 4—-shall hear the words 4-of the prophecy] om. 4 - that no one . . . therefrom] om. a 4-therein] thereto $a$ : thereupon 4-him] them 4 _-all the] the seven $a$ : the 4-which is] om. a 4 .
19 from the words ... prophecy] om. $\alpha \beta$, but Oscan, $\delta$ and Andreas read : from the words of the prophecy of this book God shall take away and withdraw: and so 4 but omit and withdraw--tree] wood 4-of the saints] holy 4-which is] om. a 4.
20 speaks 4_-witnesses this to be 4-all] om. a_Yea] om. $a:+$ Behold 4 _ufter quickly omit I come a 4-Amen, ete.] supplied from a 4, but 4 omits Amen, and reads Come thou, Lord J. C.
21 supplied from a 4-of our Lord 4 Andreas - upon] with 4.

# ARMENIAN VERSION OF REVELATION 

## CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

## the twelfth-Century recension

Of the twenty or more texts of this version to which, directly or indirectly, I have had access, the greater number form a close group of which the members so closely resemble one another, that to have examined one is to have examined all. The few which remain outside this group seem at first sight to defy classification, so widely do they vary in sense and choice of words. But on closer examination a line of cleavage is detected in these also, according as they approximate or not to the close group in question ; and those which so approximate outnumber those which do not.

It is further to be remarked that the uniform text which so largely predominates is rarely found except in copies of the New Testament, or in manuscripts of the twelfth-century version of the commentary of Andreas and Arethas, of which the lemmata give it in its entirety. Conversely, the discrepant texts found in a minority of MSS. are met with, so far as I know, in only two copies of the N.T.; more frequently they are found, together with the apocryphal piece known as the Dormitio Johannis, in MSS. of the Armenian version of the Acts of John, known briefly in Armenian as Prochoros, from their supposed author.

Even if we had no outside evidence on the point, we should infer that a text which occurs in so many bibles, and which is always uniform with itself, must be a comparatively late recension ; just as we infer the Peshito gospels to be such
in contrast with the Curetonian and Sinaitic texts. But evidence is not lacking. We have it, and amply, in two colophons which Nerses of Lambron, bishop of Tarsus, appended to his translation of the commentary of Audreas and Arethas. In the later of these, after reciting from the decree of the Council of Constantinople the names of several ancient authorities by whom the Apocalypse was received, he writes of the book thus :-
'Following in their steps, we have handed on to the children of Holy Church this book, that it may be ranked among the apostolic books, as a truly apostolic revelation. But it was made accurate, being revised from the Greek in translation by myself, the humble Nerses; and with it I have introduced into the Armenian Church a critical interpretation of the same.'

In the sequel he writes :-
'For before our very eyes the holy city of Jerusalem, trodden by the feet of God, has been snatched from the ministry of Christians by the sword of the Ishmaelites in the year of the Armenians 636. Over which was much blood shed of the various Latin races, which rank by rank had set sail, and with noble faith and valorous souls had reached Palestine ; and there fell their corpses around the city, according to the verse "and there was none to bury them." But we remained the scorn of our neighbours until the full date 647 ( $=1198$ ), in which year king Leon of the Rubineans was honoured anew, a pious man and by God's help victorious. The fame of his valour stirred the great autocrat of old Rome, Henry, and of new Rome, Alexius; and they crowned him with precious stones in the church of Tarsus, of which, though all unworthy, I myself am pastor. May Christ our God, vouchsafe him to us, to live long and to be invincible; and when he departs hence, may he vouchsafe to him to share the crown and pavilion of the holy kings in the luminous abodes.'

In the other and earlier colophon Nerses relates how in reading the Apocalypse he was distressed by want of a commentary, and how he at last found one in great Antioch in the Frankish convent of Saint Paul, written in the Lombard tongue in the same writing which the Franks use, composed
by two interpreters (Andreas and Arethas). ${ }^{1}$ He longed to translate this, but found no one able to render from that tongue into Armenian. Afterwards being outside the city on the 'Holy Mountain,' to the north thereof, in one of the Roman convents called Bethias, he met an encloistered monk named Basil, who had by him the book he desired, composed in the Greek tongue and written in a hand both correct and beautiful. It had belonged to Athanasius, patriarch of that city. The monk lent it to him, and he hastened to acquaint his Catholicos, Gregory, with his discovery. The latter, as delighted as he was himself, had it translated by the metropolitan of Hierapolis, ${ }^{2}$ Constantius, who was living under the protection of the Patriarch. . . . 'The commentary on the divine Apocalypse was translated in the year of the Armenians 628 ( = A.D. 1179) at the holy and patriarchal Throne which is called Horomklay, surrounded by the river springing out of Eden, the Euphrates, which affords to the inhabitants fulfilment of all human wants; through the providence of God, and under shelter of the God-harboring emblem ${ }^{3}$ of Wanik and of other famous saints, who died here to the glory of God. But it was revised and punctuated with grammatical art in the safe and secure hermitage of St. George amidst the mountains of Taurus, which is in Gah ${ }^{4}$ Cilicia and on the edge of Pamphylia, by the hand of the lowly bishop of the same metropolis of Tarsus, the wretched Nerses; through the grace and merey of Christ.'

In a letter of Nerses to Yussik of Antioch, published in the Armenian journal Dschrakal, Moscow, 1859, we have another reference to his work. 'The Revelation,' he writes, 'which I myself translated from the copy of Athanasius, patriarch of the city (of Antioch), and found the explanation of the commentators,' etc. The word thargmanem, which I here render translate, would equally be used of a revision; and the interest of this citation lies in the statement that it was from a codex belonging to the patriarch Athanasius that Nerses made his revision of the Armenian. Was it really a copy of Andreas in which the text of Revelation was given section by section as the lemmata to be explained? If so

[^5]this statement well accords with the allegation of the colophon that it was from Athanasius that Nerses procured his copy of the commentary.

It is, however, to be remarked that in the one colophon Nerses relates that he found the commentary and had it translated as early as the year $1179 .{ }^{1}$ But the other colophon in which he alleges that he has revised the Armenian version of Revelation and introduced it into the Armenian canon, is dated 1198, on July 14 of which year he died. We are not obliged to suppose that Nerses was still working at the revision at so late a date, almost up to his death; and yet that seems to be the true sense of the colophon, which hardly conveys a mere retrospect of work achieved nineteen years earlier. Nor would the events which had occurred in the interim and the happy issue of king Leon's recognition by the rival emperors necessitate his adding such a colophon to a recension of the Apocalypse finished so many years before. He might indeed add a colophon to explain that these events were anticipated in Revelation, but in themselves they suggest no reason why he should enlarge, twenty years after, on the fact of his having been the reviser of the Armenian text. ${ }^{2}$

The first appearance of Revelation as a canonical book in Armenian Bibles tallies with the date of these colophons. In a bible written A.1. 1151, a vellum codex, No. 147 of the Valarshapat library, the Apocalypse is excluded. In a paper codex of the same library, No. 148, written 1253, it is contained; as also in a codex 149 of the same library, written on paper in 1270 .

[^6]
## CHAPTER II

## THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT

With a view to clearness I have used the letters $a \beta \gamma \delta \in$ to indicate the texts of the twelfth-century recension; and as they are for the most part identical, I indicate the consensus of them by the letter $a$. In the few cases, however, where a variant worthy of record stands in $a$, but not in $\beta \gamma$, etc., I register it as of ' $a$ alone.'

I indicate the other texts, which are independent of the recension, by the numbers $1,2,3,4$. By the side of these the whole group $a \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon$ has the weight and value of a single manuscript only.

The twelfth-century recension was printed for the first time, and very accurately, in Oscan's Bible at Amsterdam in 1666. His text was reprinted several times in editions of the Armenian N.T. up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Zohrap in his critical edition of the Bible issued another text, which the London Bible Society has taken as its model, and which I shall describe below. The same recension is given in the lemmata of the Armenian Andreas.

Of the recension made by Nerses I have used the following MSS.:-
a. British Museum Additional, 18549. This contains the four gospels, Revelation, Paulines, Acts, and Catholic Epistles; and was written A.D. 1279 at Sis, in the church of the Holy Spirit, by the restorer of the church, Stephanos Vahkaytzi, for a brother of king Hethum of Cilicia. In 1600 it passed from the hands of the princely family of Ochin, who owned the castle of Gorigos on the seaboard of Cilicia, into those of Khodja Khatchik of Djulfa at Ispahan, where, about the year 1620, illuminations were added by Mesrop,
pupil of the artist Ter Sarkis. It remained at Ispahan until 1743. The codex consists of 310 folios of fine parchment, measuring $8 \frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches. The text measures $7 \times 4 \frac{1}{2}$ inches, in double columns of 29 lines, written in an extremely neat cursive hand. It contains the Euthalian apparatus to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and to Acts.
B. British Museum Cod. Addit., 19730. This codex closely resembles $a$; and as in $a$ the Apocalypse and Rest of John precede the Paulines. The scribe was one Thoros Vahkaytzi, and the hand is a neat thirteenth-century cursive. It is written in double columns of 28 lines on glazed oriental paper. It is not dated, but undoubtedly belongs to the thirteenth century, and was written in Cilicia. The volume measures $9 \frac{1}{2} \times 7$, and consists of 186 folios in 28 choirs originally, of which the last 17 alone remain. The first 11 contained the Gospels. The text measures $7 \times 4 \frac{1}{2}$ inches.
$\gamma$. An Armenian Bible belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Society, neatly but closely written in double columns on paper. It was written as a memorial of Basil Vardapet who fell asleep at Ksithon in A.D. 1667 . The book of Revelation is placed at the end of the N.T. and is followed by the Rest of John.

反. Of the Rylands Library in Manchester, codex Armenus 2. It is written on vellum in double columns, 23 lines to a column, in a large neat cursive hand of the early thirteenth century; folios 390 , size $145 \times 202 \mathrm{~mm}$. Contents: Acts, Paulines, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation. Formerly of the Lord Crawford's library, Bibliotheca Lindesiana.
$\epsilon$. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Arm. 51, is a small octavo paper book of 300 folios, written in a small cursive hand in single columns of 18 lines in the Armenian era 1145, equated by the scribe with A.D. 1696 . It was written in Stamboul in the convent of St. George the warrior. Revelation fills folios 1-42. The codex is not a N.T., but a miscellany containing, beside Revelation, the tales of the brazen city and of the seven sages, etc.
$\eta$. San Lazaro, codex 1508, written A.D. 1319 , on vellum, in small cursive, in double columns of 53 lines. Zohrap printed the text of this codex in his edition of 1805 .

And. or Andreas: In addition to the above MS. sources

I have collated the Recension in the edition of the commentary of Andreas, printed at the Armenian monastery of St. James in Jerusalem in the year 1855 from three MSS. in the Library of the convent, of which the one was copied in Karin (Erzeroum) from an old exemplar written by the great doctor John of Eznka in A.D. 1306 ; the other two at Broussa. These seem to be apographs of a single exemplar of unknown age. I also collated two Venice copies, viz. $\kappa$ codex 1572, a late cursive paper copy, important for the many pre-Nersesian readings it retains. $\lambda$ codex 1230 , written A.D. 1361 in the Armenian Patriarchate at Jerusalem, on paper in small cursive.

Oscan : The first edition of the Armenian Bible, printed at Amsterdam in 1666. I collated most of the text in this, but found the text to be identical with $a$.

## Non-Nersesian Texts

$1=$ Bodley, Armenian codex E 2, which is numbered 32 in Dr. Baronean's catalogue. It is of oriental glazed paper, exterior size $7 \times 5 \mathrm{in}$.; text, $5 \frac{3}{8} \times 3 \frac{5}{8} \mathrm{in}$., of 19 lines to the page, written in a round or bolorgir hand, of an old type. The contents are as follows: 1. Pseudo-Prochoros, Acta Iohannis, fol. 1-105. This text I copied and collated with a corresponding codex in the British Museum, Add. 19728, written A.D. 1307 , for the edition lately published at San Lazaro.
2. The Apocalypse, fol. 105 verso.
3. Life of John of the Well, fol. 140.
4. Life of John the Calybite, fol. 154.
5. Life of Alexius, the Voluntarily Poor, fol. 171.
6. Martyrdom of James, Brother of John the Evangelist, fol. 184.
7. Joannes Vardapet Ezenkatzi (13th cent.), Metrical Discourse on Human Nature, fol. 221.
8. The Catholicos Zacharia, Sermon on the Passion, fol. 229.
9. Of the Same : Sermon on the Lord's Burial, fol. 262.
10. Life of Nerses I., Catholicos, fol. 287.
11. Aristotle's Letter to Alexander on Virtue, fol. 348-353.

The scribe adds several colophons; in one of which (following the Apocalypse) he gives his name as Stephanos the Clerk, and states that he wrote this MS. in the year 773 ( $=$ A.D. 1324), in the convent of Skevra (in Cilicia), at the request of Abraham, a monk, who also asks for our prayers in colophons placed at the end of the Acts of John and of several of the other pieces.

This codex has a long lacuna, unperceived by the scribe, and embracing ch. $16^{17}$ to ch. $19^{18}$, from the words $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \dot{a} \in ́ \rho a$ to кai $\delta o u ́ \lambda \omega \nu$ кaí inclusive. In the Apocalypse there is no chaptering or other division of the text, though it falls into paragraphs, which in printing it I have observed.
$2=$ British Museum, Orient. 5304. This is a New Testament written in a small neat round hand in double columns of 51 lines upon thin vellum. It bears no date, but on fol. 55 after the gospel of Luke a colophon gives the name of the owner. The codex is very beautifully and copiously illuminated, and is one of the most ornate Armenian MSS. I have seen. In places, and all through the Apocalypse, the inner upper margins of the folios have been obliquely destroyed by damp or fire, and patched with vellum. On these patches the missing text has been re-written in a clumsy, but apparently contemporary, hand ; for the text so completed is, equally with the rest, non-Nersesian, and I judge it to have been filled in from the same exemplar from which the rest of the Apocalypse was transcribed. The last chapter is lacking, owing to the loss of a folio. A synopsis of the contents precedes Revelation, as it precedes the other books of the N.T.; and in it the chief points of ch. 22 are duly summarised. The text of Apocalypse in this MS, has the Frankish chaptering.
$3=$ Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.
This is a large bilingual codex of Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, and contains the Armenian text written opposite, but later than the Greek. The codex is Tischendorf's No. 102 of the A pocalypse, Scrivener's 109. It is written on parchment, large margins being left, which are occasionally cut away. In the Apocalypse one whole column of the Armenian has been thus removed together with the Greek text which was on the verso.

The Greek hand is a large neat minuscule, the ink of a
faded reddish hue. The breathings are often square, and it seems to me to belong to the eleventh century, though M. Omont does not consider it to be clearly older than the twelfth. The Armenian text of the whole of the N.T., except Apocalypse, is the so-called mesropic version, found in all MSS. and editions; and I detected no trace anywhere, no more in Apocalypse than in the other books, of an adaptation to the Greek of the Armenian text, although in almost every line the latter is more or less drawn out in order that the two texts may correspond line by line. For the Armenian, though written in as large a hand as the Greek, would yet occupy much less space, if written out compactly.

The Armenian hand is a neat large bolorgir or round hand of the twelfth century. The last folios are torn out, so that the Greek and Armenian texts alike end at Rev. $19^{16}$ at the words $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon v_{s} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \in \omega \nu$. Thus if there was ever a final colophon, indicating in detail the history of the book, it is lost ; and we cannot say whether the Greek text was written in the first column of each page with a view to the Armenian being written in the other. It is at least as probable that the second column was intended for a Latin text, and the book originally designed for one of the Latin monasteries or churches which, on the testimony of Nerses of Lambron, we know to have been numerous in that age, in and around Antioch.

On fol. $292 \mathrm{~V}^{\circ}$, at the end of the Epistle to Philemon, where a large blank space is left before Revelation which begins on fol. $293 \mathrm{R}^{\circ}$, the following colophon occurs, written in a contemporary, if not in the first, hand:

Nerses, humble bishop of Tarsus, out of love
A toiler over this holy book, which
In old age I found in the tongue of Hellenes, and
Have renewed in the tongue of Armenians, of the grace
Of your prayers who make use of the same may I be worthy.
This colophon has been given in facsimile by Father Alishan in his volume on Sissuan, p. 112. It has been compared by others, as by myself, with specimens of Nerses' handwriting of the years 1175,1195 , etc., and the resem-
blance is so close as to leave no doubt on my mind that the Armenian text of this Paris codex was penned by the saintly and large-minded bishop of Tarsus. It is moreover clear that Nerses had not had the codex prepared for him. The Greek half of it had been penned for others and for other purposes.

In Apocalypse this beautiful codex has been sadly defaced by a later hand which has erased word after word and line after line in order to correct it according to the Nersesian recension. With the help of our MSS. 1 and 2 of the preNersesian text, it is often possible to decipher the text thus effaced, and I have in my translation of the texts been careful to distinguish readings due to the corrector as $\mathrm{A}^{* *}$. An earlier and probably contemporary hand has corrected a few passages, and this hand I distinguish as $A^{*}$. It is impossible to fix the date of this corrector, but his ink and style of handwriting seem to me not earlier than the year 1300 , and I am inclined to ascribe to him the Italian version, partly of the Greek, partly of the Armenian, text which is written as a third column in the margin almost throughout the book. ${ }^{1}$ This is probably the first Italian translation of the N.T., and as such has a peculiar interest. Hence I transcribe it, so far as it extends, for the Apocalypse. It is as follows:

Evangelistæ Revelatio Sancti Ioā.
Revelatione de Iesu Christo. la qual dete lo dio a manifestargli soi servi . che bisogno esser presto 7 egli significo mandando per langelo suo al seruo suo Ioāne. el quale diede testimūiāz agla parola de dio. $\boldsymbol{7}$ a la testimōiāza de Iesu $\overline{\chi \rho o}$ quāta uide . beato che lege $\boldsymbol{>}$ a chi udino le parole de la questa profetia. 7 a chi cōseruāolo īperho il tempo e a presto : Joāne a

[^7]sette chiesie che sō in asia Gratia a uoi $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ pace da quel che e . 7 che era. $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ che de uē ire $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ da la parte de sette spiriti li quali son nel conspecto di suo throno. 7 de parte de Iesu $\overline{\chi \rho o}$. el quale e testimōio fidele . primo genito di morti. 7 principe di re de la terra. el qual nei ha amato. 7 ha ne lauato da li peccati nostri nel suo sangue. 7 ha ne fatto Regno. $>$ Sacerdoti a dio $>$ p̄re suo . al qual sia gloria $\gg$ imperio in secula seculorū : ā̄. Ecco quel uene cō le neuole . 7 uedera lo ogni ochio $>$ quelli che pensano $\gg$ allora piangera sopra de lui tutte le tribu de la terra: 7 certi cosi sara. Io sō alpha 7 o. prīcipio $>$ fine . disse el Signor dio che fu $\boldsymbol{>}$ era. $\boldsymbol{フ}$ uē era omnipotēte. Io Ioāne uostro fratello . 7 participi uole (?) nele tribulatiōe $>$ regno $>$ i patientia de Iesu $\overline{\chi \rho o}$. Io fu ī insula la qual fu appellata patmos . per la parola de dio $>$ per la testimōiāza de Iesu $\overline{\chi \rho o}$. Io fu ì spirito nel di de la dominega . 7 uidi dopo me una uoce grāde cōe uoce de tuba la qual diceua. chel che tu uedi scriui nel libro. 7 māda a sette chiesie . ad epheso . 7 Smirna . 7 Pergamo . 7 thiatire . 7 Sardis . 7 philadelphia . 7 laodicia . 7 io me uolsi per uedere la uoce che parlaua $>$ si ādo uolto io uidi sette cādelieri de auro . $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ in mezo de sette cādelieri de auro simile al filio lo de homo , uestito de uesta linea sacerdotale . cincto ale mamelle de cintura doro . el suo capo $>$ li sui capilli . erāo bianchi cōe lana biācha . 7 cōe neue .7 li ochii soi cōe fiāma de foco .7 li sui pedi simili al aurichalco . cōe lardēte nele fornace. 7 la sua uoce cōe uoce de molte aque. 7 haueane la sua mane dextra. 7 stelle .7 da la sua boca usciua el coltello aguzo. dūa parte 7 dal altra. 7 la sua facia luceua cōe sole nela sua uirtu. 7 habiādo ueduto $\bar{q}$ llo caschai ali soi piedi cōme morto. et egli pose la sua mano dextra sopra dime dicendo . non hauer paura. Io sō el primo 7 ultimo. 7 uiuo $>\mathrm{fu}$ morto . 7 ecco che sō uiuente in secula seculorum. Amen.
7 ho le chiaue de la morte 7 del inferno: Scriui a dūque quelle cose che hai uedute. 7 quelle c̄h sono. 7 quelle c̄h bisognia esser fatte dopo queste: el sacram̄to delle sette stelle el qual uedisti nela mia dextra . 7 li sette cādelieri doro. Sette stelle sō li āgeli de sette chiesie. 7 le sette cādelieri son le sette chiesie. Et al angello de la chiesia de epheso scriue . questo dice. quel che tiene sette stelle ne la sua mā
dextra . el qual ua i mezo de sette cādelieri doro . Io so lopera tua. $>$ la fatica. 7 la tua patientia. $>$ tu nō poi sostenere li mali hōni . 7 prouasti quelli iqūli si dicōo ch sō apostoli $>$ non son . $>$ trouasti li busiardi. $>$ hai patientia . $>$ hai sostenuto per el mio nome . $\overline{7} \overline{\mathrm{n}}$ hai mācato . ma contra di te ho poche cose . perche hai abādōato la tua prima carita. Ricordate dūque ūde tu sei caduto .7 fa penitentia 7 fa le prime opere. se $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$. io uegnero a te. $\overline{7}$ mouero el cādeliero tuo del loco suo . se tu non farai penitentia. ma hai hauato questo bēne che tu hauerai ī odio li facti de nicolaiti: li qual $>$ io ho hauto ì odio. Chi ha orechie oda quel c̄hl spirito dice a le chiesie . al uincitore . daro a māgiare del legno de la uita el quale ī paradiso de dio mio. A lāgelo de la chiesia de Smirna scriui . questo dice el prīo $>$ lultimo. el qual fu morto 7 uiue. Io so la tribulatiō̄e 7 la tua
 dicōo ch sō iudei $>\overline{\text { n }}$ sono . ma sono synagogi de satana. Nō hauer paura de quelle cose le qual tu dei sostenere . 7 ecco el diauolo e de esser posto i prigione . acio che uoi state prouati $>$ hauerete tribulatiōne diece di. Sii fidele ī sino a la morte. $>$ io te daro la corona de uita . chi ha orechie oda chel spirito sācto dice a le chiesie . quello che uincera non sara offeso dela morte secūda: A lāgelo de la chiesia di Pergamo scriui . questo dice quello che ha la spatha aguza de ūa parte 7 de laltra. Io so doue douer (sic) tu habiti . doue e la sedia di satāa. $>$ tu tiene el mio nome $>\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ negasti la fede mia. 7 in $\bar{q} l$ di Anthipas fu testimonio mio fidele. el qūl fu oceisso appesso de uoi la doue satanas habita. Ma io ho cōtra dite poche cosse cōciosia che hai li cōsilii di $\bar{q} l l i$ c̄h tiene la doctrina de balaā el $\overline{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{l}$ ísegno a balach de metere scandalo auanti li figli de Israel mangiare $>$ fornicare .
 Simelñte fa penitentia. Si $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ io uignero ti tosto $\gg$ pugnaro cō essi nel cortello de la boca mia . chi ha orechie oda $\bar{q} 1$ chel spirito dice a le chiesie . Al uincitore daro māna abscōdito . 7 daro a lui (?) uno carbunculo biāco $>$ i le calculo uno nōe nouo scritto . el qual ni uno $\overline{1}$ sa saluo colui chel receue. Et a lāgelo de la chiesia de thiatire scriui. qुsto dice el figliolo de dio el $\bar{q} l$ ha ochii come fiāma de foco . $>$ li soi pedi sono simili al aurichalco. Io ho cognosciuto la
tua opera $>$ la tua carita $>$ la fede $>$ el misterio $>$ la patientia . 7 sarāo piu le ultime tue opere che le prime. Ma ho cōtra dite poche cose . perche permette la femina iezabel. la $\bar{q} \bar{u} l$ se dice ch lei profetiza a maestrare $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ seducere li mei serui . fornicar 7 mangiar dele oblatiōe deli idoli .7 holi dato tempo da far penitentia $>\overline{\mathrm{u}}$ se uol repentire da la sua fornicatiōe . Ecco io la metto in lecto $>\bar{q} l l i ~ i ̄ q 1 l i ~ f o r n i c a n o ~$ cō essa sarāno in maxima tribulatiōe . se $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ farāno penitentia dele sue opere. 7 li soi figlioli occidero ì morte . 7 questo sanno tutte le chiesie chio scrutatore de core 7 le rene . 7 daro aciascaduno de uoi secondo lopere sue: Dico dūque tutti uoi altri che sete a thiatire . ciascaduno que $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ha questa doctrīa $>$ che $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ hāno cognosciuto la superbia de satanas. secondo che dice . Io $\bar{n}$ mandaro sopra de uoi altra graueza . ma $\bar{q} l$ che hauete tenete i isino c̄h uignero . $>\overline{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{l}$ che uincera 7 obseruara ì sino a la fine la mia opera . daro a lui potesta sopra la gente. 7 regera quelli i bachera de ferro $>$ come vaso de terra separara quelli . cosi cōe io receuto dal pre mio . 7 daro a lui la stella matutīa . chi ha orechie oda $\bar{q} l o$ c̄hl spirito dice a le chesie: Et a langelo de la chiesia de Sardis scriue . $\bar{q}$ sto dice $\bar{q} l \bar{c} h$ ha sette spiriti di dio . 7 sette stelle . Io so le tue opere perche tu hai nome che tu uiui $>$ sei morto . Sii uigilante 7 empie li mācañti perche doueuana mori . Perche $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ho trouato le tue opere perfecte in āci de dio . habi in $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ te cōe tu hai receuto. $>\mathrm{fa}$ penitentia. Se tu non uigilarai io uegnaro a te cōe furo $>\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ cognoscerai in che hora uegniro a te. ma tu hai pochi nomi in Sardis $\overline{1} \mathrm{l}$ li $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ hāno imbratate (?) le uestimente sue $>$ uegnerāo cō mi in uestimente bianche perche sono degni quel chi uincera cosi. sara uestito de uestimente bianche $\boldsymbol{\gamma} \overline{\mathrm{n}}$ desfaro el nome sue delibro de la uita . 7 cōfessaro el nome suo dinanci al pre mio $>$ dinanci a li sui angeli: quel che ha orechie oda $\bar{q} l$ spirito dice a le chiesie . 7 al angelo de la chiesia de filadelfia scriue: $\bar{q}$ sto dice $\bar{q}$ llo el qual sie sc̄to 7 uero che ha le chiaue de dauid. el $\bar{q} \mathrm{l}$ apre $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ nesuno serra . serra e nesuno apre . io so le opere tue . 7 eccoc̄h io daro dinanci a te la porta aperta. la $\bar{q} 1$ nesuno porra serrare perc̄h tu hai pochi uirtu $>$ hai seruato la parola mia . $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ hai negato el nome mio: ecco chio daro de la synagoga de satana. īqli si dicono esser iudei $>$ non sono . ma mētino . ecco chio faro ēh uignarano $>$ adorarāo dinanci
ali tui piedi $>$ saperāo chio te ho amato: cōcio sia che tu hai seruato la parolo dela patientia mia . 7 io seruaro a temptatiōe c̄h ha a uenire al mōdo: a prouare qelle che abitano in terra: Ecco che uēgo presto tiene quel che tu hai. a cio che alcūo n̄te toglia la corōa tua. $\bar{q} l \bar{c} h ~ u i n c e r a ~$ faro colūna nel tēpio de dio mio . 7 fori $\bar{n}$ usciza ma piu . 7 scriuero sopra di $\bar{q} l l o$ el nōe del dio mio . 7 el nōe dela citta del dio mio. dela noue Ieruslēm. la qual descēde del cielo del dio mio . $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ el nome mio nouo chi ha orechie oda $\bar{q} 1 \bar{c} h l$ sp̄to dice ale chiesie. Et al angelo dela chīsa de laodicia dicia (sic) scriue . $\bar{q}$ sto dice el testimōio fidele $>$ uero . el qūl e principio dela creatura de dio. Io so le opere tue perc̄h $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ sei frigido ne caldo . uolesse dio c̄h tu fusti frigido o ū caldo. Ma perc̄h tu sei tepido $>\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ sei frigido ne caldo. Io cōinciaro a euomer te fori de la boca mia . perc̄h tu dice io son richo $>\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ho bisognio de alcuno . $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ sai c̄h tu e misero 7 miserabile $>$ pouero $>$ cieco $>$ nudo : A dūque io te cō seglio c̄h tu debi cōprar da mi affogato $>$ probato a cio c̄h tu deuenti richo . $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ tu te uestirai cō le ueste bianche acio ch $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ apare la confusiōe de la nudita tua. 7 onge li toi ochii de colore a cio tu uedi . io castigo $>$ reprendo $\bar{q} l l i$ çh amo. Ama adūque $>$ fa penitentia . Ecco io sto al uscio $>$ batto . se alcuno odera la uoce mia $>$ aprira mi la porta ītraro a $\bar{q}$ llo $>$ cēaro cō esto $>$ lui meco $>\overline{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{l}$ chi uincera daro a sedere meco nel throno mio . quel che ha orechie oda cehl spto dice ale chīse. Dopo q̄ste cose uidi $>$ ecco luscio aperto.

Here the Italian translation ends.
But the interest of this Paris codex is not yet exhausted. I mentioned above that the text from ch. $16^{17}-19^{18}$ is lacking in codex 1, owing to a lacuna unperceived by the scribe. Now it is no mere coincidence that from $16^{17}$ onwards as far as $19^{11}$ the texts of the Nersesian recension and of MS. 3 are one and the same. At $19^{11}$ only do the two texts diverge, just before the lacuna ends. Unfortunately MS. 3 ends at $19^{16}$, so that we do not know whether or not it differed from $a$ from this point to the end of the book. How widely up to the point $16^{17}$ the recension has differed from MS. 3, the many rasure and rewritings of the corrector attest to the most cursory glance. Whence then this sudden identification of texts?

Only two explanations are possible. Either MS. 3 was copied from an examplar which failed, as does MS. 1, at this point, and the scribe, noticing the lacuna, supplied the missing matter from the revised text of Nerses: or else Nerses took as the basis of his recension a text which, like MS. 1, failed at this point, and for want of a text to revise, never carried out his revision in respect of this portion. Subsequently Nerses himself, or some one else, transcribing his recension, filled up the lacuna from MS. 3 or from a text identical therewith.

It is in favour of the first explanation that Nerses in his colophon attests that he was already old when he found codex 3 and wrote out opposite the Greek the Armenian text. If so, he must, it may be argued, surely have made his recension long before ; at least if we are right in supposing the recension to have accompanied the translation of Andreas, finished as early as the year 1179. But would a man who died in June 1198 describe himself as grown old in 1179? On the other hand, would Nerses having already made a recension of chs. 1-16 for church use, concern himself to write out with so much care an archaic text like that of MS. 3, which everywhere conflicted with his new recension? This objection is to my mind conclusive. Nor are we bound to suppose that the work of revising the text of Revelation was concurrent with that of translating Andreas. Nerses does not say so, and it is more natural to suppose that the study of Andreas opened his eyes to the imperfections of the old Armenian version of Revelation. But, it may be asked, if Nerses had already copied out codex 3 , which filled up the lacuna, why should he later on choose as the basis of his recension a codex which had the lacuna. Why, in any case, did he not complete his recension with the help either of codex 3 which he had himself copied or of its archetype? I answer that circumstances which are hidden from us may have dictated his choice. He may have been working at Skevrha, and have left his copy and its exemplar at Sis. He may have intended to continue his recension so soon as he could obtain a complete codex, and have been cut off by death before he obtained it. This is a likely enough supposition, when we consider that Nerses' own colophon announcing, it would seem, the completion of his recension, is dated the very year of his death. It
is therefore not improbable that there was the same lacuna in his recension as there is in the Bodleian codex which was written at Skevrha. May not some pious follower, after the scholar bishop's death, have filled in the lacuna from the copy written out by his master's hand?

Nor is it impossible that Nerses himself filled in the lacuna from the codex 3, and saw next to nothing to revise in this section of its text. Perhaps he was content merely to institute by way of correction the very few differences which in this section divide $a$ from MS. 3, and to leave the rest. Who will blame an old man on the verge of death for being perfunctory? Indeed his whole recension, judged by modern standards, was of the most fitful and perfunctory kind. We, who are only anxious to know what sort of text he inherited, have every reason to be grateful for his lack of thoroughness.
$4=$ a codex written in the year 1199, and now preserved in the convent of St. James in Jerusalem. I have not seen it, but it has recently (1905) been printed there by Dr. Frederick Murat with scrupulous accuracy as the first instalment of a larger work on the old Armenian version of Revelation. Murat has not yet published a description of the codex which contains this text, but there is an apograph of the same in the Berlin library which assures us that in the Jerusalem codex, as in the Bodleian one, the Apocalypse is given along with and as an appendix of Pseudo-Prochorus.
$5=$ Berlin Library MS. Or. Quart. 805, acquired in 1890. This is a paper codex of 316 leaves badly written in 'bolorgir' and cursive hands. It begins f. 3 with pseudo-Callisthenes, then f. 104 follows Prochorus, at the end of which f. 123 is the Dormitio Iohannis, followed at f. 127 by 'Revelation of the Evangelist John,' which ends f. 149. Then comes 'The History of the Journey of Zosimos,' 'The History of Nerses the Great,' ' of St. Eugenia,' and lastly several poems of which one treats of Joasaph.

Murat prints a careful collation of this text underneath that of Jerusalem, of which it is a mere apograph.

I have not deemed it necessary to overload my book by reprinting this Jerusalem text. A collation of it with the Bodleian codex, or with the printed editions, would occupy more space than the full text itself, so numerous and intricate
are its divergences. But any one of my readers who is concerned to examine it will find a copy in the great university libraries of our country, and can also by writing to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem obtain a copy of it for a few pence.
$6=$ the Etschmiadzin codex No. 922 (Karinian’s Catalogue, p. 126). Here again Revelation comes as part of pseudoProchorus. Karinian enumerates the titles of the first ten chapters of Prochorus. Then ch. x. bears the title 'About the Vision of John,' and here most MSS. of Prochorus end; but in the codex before us it is followed by a ch. xi., entitled 'Revelation of the Vision of John.' Karinian indicates that this is incomplete, or that part of its text is displaced in the MS., for he adds the note: of which you will find the missing part at the end of the Discourse of Thomas and at the beginning of the History of Antioch.

This MS. is, according to Karinian, an uncial (ergathagir) written on parchment-like paper in A.D. 1278, by Simeon the priest for Marcus the priest. It contains thirty-six separate pieces.

I have no right to enumerate this codex, for I have been unable to obtain a collation of it. Early in 1905 I wrote to my friend the Archimandrite Nerses Ter-Mikaëlian for a collation of it. He answered me from Shuscha in October that he had arranged to have it made, and after six weeks in transit his letter reached me. But the collation has not come, and I fear lest, owing to the civil war and anarchy in which long misgovernment has of late plunged Russian Armenia, I may not obtain it at all, or, at least, not in time to use it in this work. ${ }^{1}$

[^8]
## CHAPTER III

## THE AGE OF THE VERSION

The colophons of Nerses prove that he revised from a Greek manuscript an already long existent ${ }^{1}$ Armenian version ; and I have now enumerated several MSS. of his recension and of the unrevised texts. Before I proceed to characterise these texts more fully, it is well to see how far back behind Nerses we can trace this version. My readers will understand that my enumeration of authors prior to the twelfth century is not complete. It represents only my own reading, and by diligent search among Armenian translators or authors, it could no doubt be much extended.

Gregory of Narek in the last half of the tenth century cites Revelation at least four times. In his commentary on the Song of Songs written A.D. 977, p. 334 of the San Lazaro edition of 1840 , he writes :
'As he also says in the vision of John the evangelist, numbering all the tribes separately, 12,000 from each tribe.'

This is too wide a reference to Rev. $7^{5}$ for us to argue from its language that Gregory had the version before us. But another citation in the Panegyric of the Virgin which he addressed to Stephen bishop of Mok (p. 409) allows us to draw this conclusion :
' With him (Job) the sublime John joins his strain and says in the text of the Revelation: In terror fled heaven and

[^9]earth in a single shock from the presence of the Existent, and place was not found.'

Here the words cited from Rev. $20^{11}$ agree ${ }^{1}$ with the text of Bod. e. 2, save that this, like the $\boldsymbol{a}$ text, substitutes the plural verb for the singular in accordance with Armenian idiom. MS. 4, however, has kept the singular of the verb. We may note also that the words 'in terror' answer to an addition found in the Armenian version and in no other text, for this reads: In terror of whose face were afraid and were fleeing heaven and earth, and place was not found for them. On p. 268 of the same edition of Gregory, in one of his colophons, we have an echo of Rev. $20^{15}$ and $21^{27}$ : ' May ye also be written in the book of life of sublime composition.' And again on p. 318 of his commentary on the Song of Songs he refers to 'The Vision of John the Apostle.'

The seventh vision of Daniel is an eighth-century version of a Greek original composed about the year 650 . In it we have many echoes of the Armenian version of the Apocalypse, e.g. p. 27 of the text, edited by Dr. Kalemkiar at Vienna in 1892:

Then the sun shall be turned to darkness and the moon to blood, the stars like a leaf shall fall and the heavens like parchment shall be rolled up.

This passage so far as it is italicised is identical with the text of Bodley e. 2 at ch. $6^{12}$, and the resemblance is much closer with this text than with $a$, which correctly renders the Greek phrase: 'The sun became black,' and adds the word book after parchment. We may note that the Armenian translator of the Apocalypse has taken the words: 'the stars were shaken down from heaven and the heavens like parchment shall be rolled up,' verbally from his version of Isaiah, and the words: ' the sun,' etc., from his version of Acts $2^{20}$ or Joel $2^{31}$. Yet the author of the Daniel vision cannot have used Isaiah or Acts as his source, for in Isaiah, on the one hand, the sun and moon are not mentioned, nor in Acts, on

[^10]the other, are the stars shaken down and the heaven rolled up. The Armenian Apocalypse alone combines the two sets of phrases from the versions of Acts and Isaiah. In rendering this passage, MS. 4, like the recension, but independently and using other equivalents, restores the meaning of the Greek text. And it carries the process of restoration further than Nerses, for it corrects the term leaves (of the fig-tree) to unripe fruit, and in a fashion it renders the Greek word $\dot{a} \pi \epsilon \chi \omega \rho i \sigma \theta \eta$ in vs. 14. On the other hand, it still neglects to translate $\beta \iota \beta \lambda i o v$, and echoes the texts $1,2,3$ in so far as it renders was darkened instead of became black. As elsewhere, so here, codex 4 declares itself to be a recension from Greek codices of the old Armenian text, but a recension made independently of that of Nerses, and at a much earlier date.

In the same context the author of the Daniel vision borrows from the Armenian text of Revelation $6^{15}$ the words, ' in the caves and in the hollows.' He also borrows the language of ch. $11^{6}$.

Gregory Asharuni, in his commentary on the Armenian Lectionary composed about A.D. 690, glances at Revelation, and uses its ideas, but without making any set citations, if my memory serves me rightly.

In the Armenian Version of Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel, of which fragments exist in Bodley MS. Arm. E. 35, are found citations of the Apocalypse. They are mostly too brief to admit of comparison, but on page 179 of this codex we have the following:-

Whose names are written in the book of life, as John says in the Revelation.

The Armenian citation is identical with Rev. $13^{8}$, except that the negative is omitted. The version of Hyppolytus was made not later than A.D. 500 .

In the Scholia on the Incarnation of Cyril, which was rendered into Armenian about A.D. 715, we have a citation of Rev. $3^{20}$ which stands as follows in the Armenian:

And our Lord Jesus Christ said: Behold, I will come, and if any one open to me, we will enter, both I and my Father, and will make our abode with him.

Before considering the Armenian, it is well to notice that
this form of citation occurs in Greek in Epiphanius, adv. Haer. 69 §61, Petav. Ed. p. 788, as follows:

 $\mu о \nu \eta े \nu \pi о \imath \eta \sigma о \mu \epsilon \nu \pi a \rho^{\prime}$ aủт $\hat{\varphi}$.

Tischendorf gives the reference to Epiphanius only as far as $\pi a \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \rho o v$, and without seeing that it is a genuine citation; nor have any of the Greek MSS. such a reading; and that is a warning to us not to assume that they have any monopoly of the true text.

Here the Armenian text in Bodley has instead of ' will make our abode,' the single verb 'will dwell'; but the other text reflects the T.R. The phrases of the translator of Cyril, so far as they agree verbally with the Armenian version, I have italicised above. The translator was evidently familiar with the version.

In the fifth century Eznik in his Treatise against the Sects, bk. i., ch. 13 , glances at Rev. $12^{7-9}$, but without naming it. The Treatise was written before A.D. 449.

In the same century was translated Chrysostom's commentary on Isaiah, the first part of it (so far as it exists to-day in the Greek) from that father's very autograph. On p. 412 of the text, printed at San Lazaro in 1880, we find a citation of Rev. $14^{13}$ : Blessing be on the dead which earlier indeed may have died <rather> than on the living.

In Bod. e 2 we read:
Blessing is on the dead who in (or by) the Lord have died earlier, and have not attained unto this hour.

I have italicised the common matter of the two texts, and we can hardly doubt that the translator had the version in his mind ; and his citation is nearer to the codices $1,2,3$, than to the $a$ text and 4 ; for the first of these substitutes for 'have died' the common equivalent 'have fallen asleep'; and the second substitutes for wanwanaki 'earlier' the word yaysm hetê ' henceforth' a juster rendering of $\dot{a} \pi a \dot{\rho} \rho \tau \iota$, which the Old Latin connects with what follows, herein agreeing with codex 1.

We have lastly to consider the evidence of one of the earliest monuments of Armenian, the translation of the Armenian version of the History of Eusebius, of which Mesrob was the author about the year 420. Here we have the following citations:-

Bk. 7, ch. 10. Rev. $13^{5}$, in an Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria :

There was given him a mouth which spealis great things; and there was given him authority one year and months two.

Here the Armenian texts agree verbally with the phrases italicised, but add with the T.R. the words and blasphemy after great things. The Bodley M.S. perhaps implies $\mu \in \gamma a ́ \lambda a$ каì $\beta \lambda a ́ \sigma \phi \eta \mu a$ which stands in some Greek codices of Eusebius. Instead of the words 'one year and months two' the Greek text of Eusebius has 'forty-two months.' The Armenian text of Eusebius is probably correct in giving a reading which yet no Greek codex or father attests, for Dionysius perhaps cited the text in respect of Gallus who
 years and a half. We infer that the Greek text of Eusebius has been corrected from the T.R. It should be added that 4 agrees here yet more closely with the Eusebian citation than a 123 , for whereas these render $k h o ̂ s e l=$ ' to speak,' it renders or khosér $=$ ' which spake.'

Bk. 7, ch. 25. Rev. 227, in the letter of Dionysius:
Blessed be he who shall keep the word of the prophecy of this book and 〈blessed〉 I John who heard and saw this.

Here the $a$ text is closest: I italicise verbal agreements with the Armenian text of Eusebius.

Blessed he who keeps this word of prophecy, and I John heard and saw all this.

But the Bodley MS. also has points of contact which a lacks:

Blessed they who shall hear and shall keep the words of this book. For I John heard and saw all this.

Both texts suffer from omission ; combined they harmonise remarkably with the version of Eusebius.

Ibidem, Rev. 1 ${ }^{1}$ : The Revelation of Jesus, which (or who) gave to shew unto his servants shortly and sent by his angel and shewed to his servant John, ${ }^{2}$. who witnessed about the word of God, and witnessed about all which he saw.

Save for the omission of the words 'whatever is to be ' in verse 1 the above is almost identical with the Armenian version.

Ibidem, Rev. $1^{4}$ : Grace to you and peace.

The Armenian text of Eusebius and the texts of Revelation are identical.

Tbidem, Rev. $1^{9}$ : I John, your brother and co-partner of your straits and kingdom and patience because of Christ, was in the island which is by name called Patmos through the word of God and through the witness of Jesus.

The above except for the use of the word neluthean, which I render straits, instead of wshtatz which I render tribulation, is identical with the Armenian text of Revelation, and in some good MSS. as in the printed text neluthean is read. Note that except for the omission of the words ' and patience in Jesus Christ,' which is probably accidental, the Bodley MS. is closest to the Armenian Eusebius.

Bk. 5, ch. 1, in the letter of the church of Vienne in Gaul.
Rev. $14^{4}$ : who was made close to the Lamb of God wherever he went.

Here the part italicised agrees with the Armenian version of which both texts use the same verb ertham (I go). The Eusebian text has the imperfect of this, the $a$ text the perfect, the Bodley MS. the subjunctive.

Ibidem, Rev. $22^{11}$ : there shall be fulfilled the word of the Scripture which says Let the lawless be further made unjust and the just be yet further made just.

Book 5, ch. 2. Rev. $3^{14}$ and ${ }^{15}$.
For gladly they reserved this name of martyrdom to Christ, who is witness faithful of the truth and first-born of the dead and beginning of life.

Here again the influence of the Armenian version of Revelation is unnistakable, and we note the reading 'of life' where the Greek MSS. vary between $\kappa \tau i \sigma \epsilon \omega \varsigma$, $\pi i \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega \varsigma$ and $\dot{a} \lambda \eta \theta$ єías.

That my reader may appreciate the above argument, I transliterate the citations of Eusebius and italicise all words in which they agree with the sources $a 1234$ :

Eusebius, bk. 7, ch. $10=$ Rev. $13^{5}$.
Tuav nma beran or khosi zmetsametss ev tuav nma ishkhanuthiun.

4 is identical save that it has khosêr (imperfect for present). a 123 also agree except that they omit or and have the infin. khosel $=\lambda a \lambda \epsilon i \bar{\nu}$.

Bk. 7 , ch. $25=$ Rev. $22^{7}$.
Erani itzê aynmik or pahestzê zban margarêuthean zgrotzs zaysotzik. ev inds yohannés or luay ev tesi zays.

4 agrees save that it omits the Syriasm itzê aynmik, has pahê (present indic.), omits inds and or, and has the variant forms lsêi . . tesanêi.

1 is less close for it has eraneliq en or, then adds luitzen ev, has the plural pahestzen, omits margareuthean ( $=$ of prophecy), and has qanzi ( $=$ for) instead of ev ( $=$ and). On the other hand it retains the forms luay..tesi. $\boldsymbol{a}$ also retains these, omits zgrotzs and -otzik and second or, but agrees otherwise with 4 .

Ibidem $=$ Rev. $1^{1}$.
Yaytnuthiun yisusi, ayn or et tzutzanel dsarhayitz iurotz walwalaki ev araqeatz idsern hreshtaki iuroy ev etzoytz dsarhayi iuroy yohannu, ayn or whayeatz wasn banin astuadsoy ev whayeatz wasn amenayni zor etes.

Here 4 is not available for comparison, for it has lost all but the first two and the last two words, but in these it agrees.
a 123 are virtually the same except that they add a few words which are in all the Greek texts. 1 is the nearest, but omits the last words of the passage by inadvertance. 3 has the order servo suo Iohanni.

All these texts omit the Syriasm ayn, have nshanakeatz $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \dot{\eta} \mu a \nu \epsilon \nu$ for the less accurate etzoytz ( $=$ é $\delta \epsilon \iota \xi \in \nu$ ), omit wasn and read zbanên instead, om. wasn amenayni ( $=$ of all), and have zwkayuthiunn ( $=\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu a \rho \tau \tau \rho i a v$ ) for the second wkayeatz ( $=\dot{\epsilon} \mu a \rho \tau \dot{\rho} \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu)$.

Ibidem $=$ Rev. $1^{4}$
Shonorhq ŭnd tsez ev khalaluthiun. Identical in all the texts.
Ibidem $=$ Rev. $1^{9}$.
Es yohannês elbayr tser ev hauasarord tser neluthean ev arqayuthean ev hamberuthean wasn qristosi, elê $i$ klzvodsch or anuaneal kotschi patmos wasn banin astuatsoy ev wasn wkayutheann yisusi.

4 disagrees only in rendering by ktzord tschartscharanatz the words 'partner of sufferings' (instead of by hav. nel.), and in omitting the second tser (=your). It also omits the second ev, then omits ev hamb . wasn qr.

It next, with 1 , substitutes es êi for elê and omits the last
wasn. 3 alone has neluthean, $a 2$ alone have ev hamber; ( = каi viтонóvŋ̣). 13 alone have the last wasn. a 123 all omit with 4 the second tser.

Bk. 5 , ch. $1=$ Rev. $14{ }^{4}$.
Or mertsavoreal êr garhinn astuatsoy, ur ev erthayr.
All the sources agree in the words italicised. The rest is probably due to the Syriac.

Ibidem, Rev. $22^{11}$ Ev ardarn evs ayl ardarastzi.
Here 4 alone has ardarn $=\dot{o}$ סíкаıos, for which $a 1$ subst.
 other hand $a 1$ alone have ardarastzi $=\delta \iota \kappa a \iota \omega \theta \dot{\eta} \tau \omega: 4$ expands into ardaruthiun arastzi $=\delta \iota \kappa a \iota \circ \sigma v ́ \nu \eta \nu$ тоьךба́т $\omega$.

Bk. 5 , ch. $2=3^{14}$ and $1^{5}$.
Or na ê whay havatarim tschshmartuthean ev andranik merhelotz, ev skizbn kenatz.

Here 4 substitutes nakhtsin, 'firstborn,' for andranik, but has merhelotz, ' of the dead,' where the rest have imerheals, 'among the dead.' Otherwise all agree with the matter italicised.

In addition to the above passages, Dr. Dashian of Vienna has indicated to me the following in old Armenian writers:

David Anyadt in the second half of the fifth century, in his homily 'Exalt ye' (Ed. Venet. pp. 114 and 117), alludes to Rev. $13^{11-17}, 14^{1}, 22^{4}$, but without express citation.

Moses Khorenatzi in his homily on S. Rhipsima (Ed. Venet. p. 306) cites Rev. $12^{1}$ as follows:

Lo, there comes the bride holy from Libanan, adorned with light beauteous, having clad herself with the sun and the moon beneath her feet.

The Armenian is: Arkeal ziureav zaregakn ev zlusin ŭnd otiuq.

Here a 23 have arkeal against 1 which has zgetzeal and 4 arkutzeal. But 4 alone has the accusative zlusin $=\sigma \epsilon \lambda \dot{\eta} \nu \eta \nu$, the reading of $\aleph^{*}$. All read i nerqoy for ŭnd. The former best renders íтока́тш.

Johannes Sarkavag in XI. century in his treatise on Priesthood (Ed. Venice, Sopherq III., pp. 27, $28=$ Rev. $5^{8}$ and $8^{3}$ ). Also in two other of his treatises.

Agathangelus, fifth century, pp. 74, 75 of his life of St. Gregory, as follows:

For he himself (the Son of God) bought us with his blood . . . since we ourselves are the price of the blood of thy Son, saved and freed with his blood and body. . . .

This recalls Rev. 59. The Armenian runs thus:
Gneatz zmez areamb iurow ( $=$ bought us with his blood), and $14^{3}$ where $\eta \gamma \sigma \rho a \sigma \mu \epsilon \in \nu o \iota$ is rendered in all the sources except 4 by the same word as Agathangelus uses: azatealq, which means freed or liberated.

Thus the citations in Armenian literature constitute a chain of evidence stretching back to the earliest years of the fifth century, to the very dawn of the Christian literature of Armenia. Considering that no church lections were ever taken from Revelation, and that as a suspected book it is excluded from all early Armenian lists of the canonical books of the Bible, the frequency of citation from it is a matter for surprise. Yet it accords with the internal evidence of the text, since the book must have been extensively copied and recopied for such a diversity of readings to arise as we find in the five different texts which I have been able to examine.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE INTER-RELATIONS OF THE SOURCES

The evidence of the citations proves also that the earliest tradition of Armenian text is divided and split up among our sources, not quite equally indeed, but yet with a fair amount of impartiality. In the same sentence one phrase or even word has survived in MS. 4, another in 3, a third in 1 or 2, a fourth in the Nersesian text itself. And, as a rule, what survives in 4 has failed to survive in any one of the rest, and what appears in one alone of them fails to appear in 4 . We infer that the tradition represented by 4 separated itself very far back from the tradition which, in spite of manifold variety, yet binds together in one homogeneous whole as against 4, the Nersesian recension and the MSS. 1, 2, 3.

A cursory glance through the conspectus of readings printed at the foot of each page of my rendering of MS. 1 confirms this impression, and it is superfluous to enumerate examples of a rule which my readers can so easily verify for themselves. And the impression of the aloofness of 4 from the rest of the tradition is heightened if we study it in the Armenian alongside of its rivals, for we then find that in numerous instances where it yields the same sense with a member of the other group, as often with $a$, the language is different. In such cases we seem to have before us two independent renderings of a common Greek text.

That the reader, even if he does not know Armenian, may realise the above statement, I have chosen a typical passage and transliterated, facing each other, the text of a 123 in one column and that of 4 in the other.

Ch. $7^{18}$. Text of a 1, 2, 3
13 Ev ase tzis mi yeritzantz anti,
soqa orq zgetzeal en
zhandertss ( -8 om 23) spitaks (-8 om 23), oyq
en, ev usti gan?
14 Ev asem (asatzi a 2, 3) tzna, têr (+im 2, 3), du gites.
$E v$ asê tris, soqa en
or (orq 3) gan $i$ wshtatz
( +ev i nedutheantz 3 )
medsatz.
Ev luatzin zarkanelis iureantz, ev spitakatzutzin zna (om a) areamb garhinn.
15 Ev (om a 23 ) wasn aynorik en aradschi athoroyn $\overline{a y}$, ${ }_{e v}$ pashten zna ztiv ev zgisher.

Text of 4
$E v \mathrm{mi}$ omn i dserotzn pataskhaneatz aselow, aysq orq zgetzeal en
patmutschan spitak, oyq
en, ev usti ekin?
Ev asatzi nma, têr im, du gites.
Ev asatz ints, ays orq gan $i$ nedutheantz
medsatz,
ev luatzin zpatmutschans
iureantz, ev spitakatz-
utzin znosa areamb
garhinn.
Wasn aynorik
en aradschi $\overline{a y}$,
$e v$ spasavoren nma i
tuê ev i gisheri.

I have chosen a passage where the recension of the twelfth century is identical with that of the MSS. 1, 2, 3. We have therefore in the first column the text just as Nerses inherited it. Practically the only change he made was to omit zna $=a \cup$ cóó after é $\lambda \epsilon$ úкavav in verse 15 . Elsewhere I have pointed out that we probably have here an Armenian rendering of the strange variant ipsum read by Tertullian in this passage. It puzzled Nerses, so he merely left it out; but 4 substitutes $z n o s a=a u ̉ \tau a ́ s . ~$

We notice first that 4 is more faithful to the Greek than the other texts, thus in vs. 13 it renders and a certain one of the seniors answered saying, merely displacing $\dot{a} \pi \epsilon \kappa \rho i \theta \eta$ and omitting $\mu \circ \iota$, both without confirmation of other sources.

At first sight the other text is still less authorised, for it omits $\dot{a} \pi \epsilon \kappa \rho \dot{\theta} \theta \eta$ entirely and = et dicit mihi unus ex presbyteris. But it is possible that some Old Latin text agreed with the shorter Armenian text; for they disagree here, codex $f$ of Prim. with certain of Cyprian's codices reading : et respondens unus de senioribus dixit mihi (dixit has passed into the Vulgate), whereas the other texts have: et respondit unus ex senioribus dicens mihi, agreeing with the Greek. In the first text respondens may equally have been added or dropt out.

In the same verse 4 has ekin $=\hat{\eta} \lambda \theta o \nu$ instead of the present gan $=$ ' they come.'

In vs. 14 the present asem = dico instead of asatzi $=$ dixi єl$\rho \eta \kappa a$ is a mere idiosyncrasy of MS. 1, but not so the present ase $=$ dicit just below, since here a 23 share it. Here 4 has more correctly asatz $=\operatorname{dixit}, \boldsymbol{\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu}$.

In the same verse 4 renders the phrase ovitoc oi quite literally by aysorq, omitting the copula; the others add en $=$ sunt, and so harmonise better both with classical Armenian idiom and with the Old Latin : Hii sunt qui venerunt.

In vs. 154 omits athoroyn $=\tau o \hat{v}$ $\theta$ póvov, without confirmation from any source.

Thus far we have dwelled on changes of meaning. As regards merely verbal changes the passage contains much that is characteristic of 4 . We have in 4 dserotzn which answers better to senioribus than the word eritzanz, the technical equivalent of $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{v} \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \nu$. I am therefore inclined to here recognise a Latin influence in 4 . But it is difficult to say which equivalent stood first in the version, for in one place at least, $5^{6}, 4$ has a conflation of both, thus eritzantzn dseruneatzn $=$ presbyterum seniorum; and in $5^{14}$, MS. 4 drops its favourite word dseruni and renders oi $\pi \rho \in \sigma \beta$ v́т $\epsilon \rho o \iota$ by eritzunqn. These two passages have a tell-tale look, and suggest that the equivalent used by a $1,2,3$, had the priority, and that the use by 4 now of dseruni, now of the shorter form dser is a pedantic substitution made under Latin influence. We shall see in the sequel that this influence sometimes reveals itself in 4 where it is absent in a 123 , though as a rule the opposite holds good.

In vs. $14 \theta \lambda{ }^{\prime} \psi^{\prime} \epsilon \omega$ s is rendered nelutheantz, in the rest by wshtatz. MS. 3 has a conflation of both.

In verse 13 patmutschan is preferred by 4 to handerts as a rendering of $\sigma \tau o \lambda a ́ s$, and the singular is used by 4 as also by MSS. 2, 3. The same equivalent recurs in 4 at vs. 14, where the others use arkaneli. Similarly the texts $a 1,2,3$ have changed from arkaneli in Rev. $6^{11}$ to handerts in $7^{9}$ in rendering $\sigma \tau o \lambda \alpha ́ s$, but 4 has uniformly adhered to the equivalent it uses in verses 13 and 14, viz., patmutschan, and it is worth noticing that in Mc. $16^{5}$ the Armenian version renders the phrase $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta \epsilon \beta \lambda_{\eta \mu \epsilon \in \nu o \nu} \sigma \tau o \lambda \eta_{\nu} \nu \lambda_{\epsilon} \kappa \eta^{\prime} \nu$ by the same
words as 4 uses in Rev. $7^{13}$; and that in Mc. $12^{38}$, Lc. $15^{22}$ and $20^{46}$, it also uses the same word for $\sigma \tau o \lambda \eta$ as 4 .

Here it is more natural to suppose that the first translator varied his equivalents as in $a, 1,2,3$, and that a reviser made the text uniform with the version of the gospels. If so 4 represents a revision as against $a 1,2,3$.
 a 123 by pashten. Both are equally literal. At $22^{3}$ the latter equivalent is used by 4 as well as by $a 1$, and in the whole of the rest of the Armenian N.T. no other equivalent is used. Here again one is inclined to regard the irregular usage as the earlier, but in that case 4 has here the priority. The formulæ ays (or aysq) orq oủtoc oi has a late ring about it as compared with soqa orq employed in the other texts. In the text of 4 moreover we have incontestable traces of the activity of a reviser who has tried, but ineffectually, to efface characteristics of the other texts. In ch. 6 , verses 1,3 , 5,7 , a voice cries ${ }^{\epsilon} \rho \chi \neq v$, which is rendered in the texts $a$, 1, 2, 3, 'I come,' in Armenian gam. Now in the first and last of these verses 4 renders ${ }^{\text {ćp }} \boldsymbol{\sim}$ $6^{3}{ }^{\text {E }} \rho \chi \chi o v$ is simply omitted, while $6^{5}$ is rendered: ' I heard from the third animal that he was coming,' an obvious paraphrase of the other text which runs: 'I heard from the third animal that he said, I come.' It is clear that 4 has here its basis in the rival texts, and not they theirs in it.

Another peculiarity of $\boldsymbol{a} 1,2,3$, is that in Rev. $1^{4}, 4^{5}, 5^{6}$ the phrase: 'the seven spirits of God,' is corrected in MSS. $1,2,3$, evidently by some partisan of the unity of the Holy Spirit into this: 'the seven powers of the Spirit of God,' and in $3^{1}$ into ' the seven graces of the Spirit of God.' In a the correction is only found in $1^{4}$, for in the other three passages Nerses adjusted his Armenian text to the Greek. Now in Rev. $1^{4}$ the MS. 4 has this: 'and from the seven of the Spirit which are.' Here a reviser has struck out the word 'powers,' without changing 'spirit' into the plural. So in $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ it is struck out in the text and added in the margin. In Rev. $3^{1}$ the text of 4 has 'the seven spirit (sing.) of Gorl'-a mere bit of botching. In $4^{5}$ it has this; ' which are seven parts of the Spirit of God '-a mere alteration of the other text. In $5^{6}$ it has: 'which are parts seven of the graces of the Spirit of

God.' Evidently these readings are the work of a reviser who did not like the idea of there being seven Spirits of God, and yet was not content with the text of $1,2,3$.

Sometimes too we get in 4 a conflation of an earlier text with the Greek. Thus in $19^{14}$ MS. 2 reads, 'his name was called Word of God and captain of heaven.' Here MS. 3 agrees with 2 , save that it reads 'captains of heaven,' and connects with what follows. But 4 has the conflation: 'And captains of heaven and forces of heaven'; and the same is read in the $a$ text, which is good proof that Nerses in this section of the text had a knowledge, which he rarely or never elsewhere reveals, of the text of 4.

In $8^{11}$ we have another conflation, of which we cannot trace both elements; another at $18^{8}$.

So in $19^{16}$ MS. 4 conflates the text of MS. 2 with a new translation of the Greek, where Nerses and the corrector of 3 entirely change the sense.

At $21^{10}$ the author of 4 seems to have struck the phrase 'the mountain of peace' out of the place it has in 1, and a copyist has imported it into verse 11. Nerses omits it entirely as alien to the Greek.

Often in 4 we have a desperate effort to mend a corruption rampant in the other texts as at $2^{4,5}, 2^{9}, 13^{5}, 15^{1}$, $16^{13}, 21^{21}$. In such cases 4 sometimes, e.g. $15^{1}$ and $21^{21}$, is a conflation of the old text of the other sources with a new and literal rendering of the Greek.

Another feature of 4 is that it so often prefers another equivalent in place of that which the other sources employ. Thus twelve times the word $z \lambda d s c h a n a m$, ' I am penitent,' takes the place of apashkharem, 'I repent,' as an equivalent of $\mu \in \tau a \nu o$ ó $\omega$. Tschragaran is used in a $1,2,3$, to render $\lambda u \chi$ vía four times, viz.: in $1^{12,13}, 1^{20}$. In the fourth case 4 also has it, but in the first three places and in $2^{1}, 2^{5}, 11^{4}$ it uses a rival form tschraganotz. Meanwhile the other texts in chapter two give up their first equivalent, and take to the word ashtanak in $2^{1}$ and $2^{5}$, and with curious results. This word is easily confused with ashtarak $=a$ tower, and in $2^{5}$ the latter takes its place in $a, 2,3$, and in the edited texts. yielding the sense: I will move thy towers from their place, This idea is improved upon in MS. 3, the oldest of all our
codices. Some scribe bethought him that to move a tower, it would need an earthquake; and accordingly we read: 'There cometh to thee an earthquake and moveth thy tower!'

So in $2^{9} \beta \lambda a \sigma \phi \eta \mu i a \nu$ is rendered in 4 by bambasan $=$ slander, where the other sources have the regular equivalent hayhoyuthiun which elsewhere 4 shares with the other sources. So in $2^{27}$ khetze $\lambda$ ên replaces brti used in $a 1,2$, 3 , to render кєраника́; here the genitive brti seems to be a translation of figuli, read in Primasius. So in $2^{28}$ where the regular equivalent of $\pi \rho \omega i ̈ \nu o ́ v$ arhavautun is used in $a 1,2,3$, but the word arhadschin $=\pi \rho \omega \hat{\tau} o \nu$ is used in 4 . So in Rev. $18^{3,7,9}, \sigma \tau \rho \hat{\eta} \nu o s$, $\sigma \tau \rho \nu \iota a ́ \omega$ is rendered by wrirak in 4-an unknown word, but late sounding compared with the equivalents used in the other texts.

Such examples could be multiplied, but are too technical to be pursued here; and we must turn to another feature of 4 , this namely, that it constantly gives a literal, even a servile rendering of a Greek text identical with Tischendorf's, where the other sources have odd readings, which yet seem to go back to a Greek source. Thus in $3^{2}$ in place of $\sigma \tau \eta \rho i \sigma o v ~ \tau \grave{a}$ $\lambda o \iota \pi a ̀ ~ a ̀ ~ \epsilon ้ \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ a ̀ m o \theta a v \epsilon i ̂ v, 1,2,3 ~ h a v e ~ a ~ t e x t ~ a n s w e r i n g ~$
 defective which it was set in thy mind the transgressing.' And in the next clause $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \mu \epsilon^{\prime} \nu a$ is rendered by them 'completed ' or 'perfected,' as if $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \eta \rho \circ \phi \circ \rho \eta \mu \epsilon \in \nu a$. Here 4 exactly renders the Greek: 'establish the remainders which were about-to-die' (future partic.), confirma reliqua quae peritura erant.

Nerses in this passage corrected the text he inherited along other lines, and renders: 'Establish henceforth, since thou art about to die,' without using the future participle; and in the next clause he retains the text of $1,2,3$. Here in place of katareal 'perfected,' 4 has lsel a corruption of ltzeal 'filled.'

In this passage 4 recalls Primasius in its use of the future participle to render $\mu^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \omega$. But we must not lay too much stress on this, for such a rendering would come as naturally to an Armenian as to a Latin.

Another feature of 4 is that it constantly transliterates or makes up words on a Greek model, after the manner of

Armenian translators of the post-classical age. Thus at $18^{12}$ $\theta \dot{u} \iota \nu o \nu$ (not $\theta$ úiov) is transliterated. $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \omega \rho \iota o \nu$ at $8^{1}$ is exactly rendered by the compound jamakês ; тотанофо́р $\eta \tau o \nu$ at $12^{15}$ by getatar; $\pi \nu \epsilon v \mu a \tau \iota \kappa \omega ิ s$ at $11^{8}$ by ogevorakanutheamb; $16^{15} \dot{a} \sigma \chi \eta \mu \sigma \sigma v ́ \nu \eta$ by antsevuthiun = 'want of form,' where the other texts render aio $\chi i v \eta$, and the Old Latin has turpitudo; кол入ט́pıov in $3^{18}$ by aknade $\lambda=$ 'eye-salve' or 'eye-drug,' where 2,3 have shufa ; $8^{3}$, libanowton ( $\lambda_{\iota} \beta a \nu \omega \tau o{ }^{2}$ ) in 4 , where the other texts use khnkanotz; in $4^{3}$ and $10^{1} \hat{i} \rho \iota \varsigma$ is rendered in 4 by pativ = honour or dignity, where the other sources render in the one case by 'priests' $i \in \rho \in i \bar{\rho}$, in the other by the classical equivalent dsiadsan ; $\theta \epsilon \epsilon \omega \delta \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ at $9^{17}$ is rendered 'God-like,' by a false etymology, where a 12 render ' flaming with sulphur' and 3 transliterates thiodi. Perhaps the last was left by the original translator, and the other renderings arose independently as new translations of the Greek; for we must not forget that from the year 400 up to 1200 the Armenian church writers never lost touch with Greek literature, but were translating from it in every generation. In $21^{1}$ кaıvós is quaintly rendered by 4 as кєvós from some Greek MS. which contained this common error; at $1^{5}$ nakhdsin $=$ 'first-born' takes the place in 4 of the more classical andranik, which is read in the other sources and is contestably the original reading.

In most of these cases, and in many more where 4 substitutes a servile rendering of the Greek for a more elegant, but often paraphrastic or Latinising, rendering in the other sources, the latter appear to me to contain the fifth-century text, and 4 to be a redaction of the early eighth. Nor am I alone in this view. Father P. J. Dashian, whose knowledge of the old Armenian literature and of the Greek, Syriac, and other literatures which lie behind it is unrivalled, writes to me as follows of the Jerusalem text edited by Murat:

Dabei lasse ich bei Seite die engeren Lesarten der beiden Hss., die fehlerhaften Lesungen und Schreibarten, überhaupt Alles was der Herausgeber unter dem Texte verzeichnet hat. Abgesehen von alldem, im Texte selbst giebt es noch viele, viele Stellen, die schwerlich alt Sein können.

And again :
Ist nun dieser Text wirklich 'alt'? Jedenfalls, glaube
ich alt genug; aber, ich habe den Eindruck, auch jedenfalls nicht der ursprunglichere. Keiner der alten Bibelübersetzern des V. Jahrh. hat wohl diesen Text in dieser Form und Fassung niedergeschrieben.

We must not then yield to the temptation there is to suppose that 4 contains, as against $a 1,2,3$, the more original form of text, merely because it is in general a faithful, often even servile, reproduction of a Greek original of unusual antiquity, and because it is as a rule free from the paraphrases, excrescences, and manifold corruptions of the other texts.

And from the methodical collation of 4 with the text of Tischendorf which I give in the next chapter issues a yet more cogent argument; for, thus examined, its text is found to present everywhere peculiarities in the way of Latin readings and of variants from $\mathfrak{N}$ and the cursive groups 38.79 and 7.14.92. The other texts $\alpha 1,2,3$, are characterised even more extensively than 4 by these very peculiarities. It follows that they belonged to an original text out of which 4 in one direction, and $1,2,3$ and $a$ in another, have been developed.

We shall also see that 4 often retains these peculiarities, where they have been revised out of $1,2,3$; especially out of 3. For before the age of Nerses the ancestors of these MSS. also had been retouched from Greek codices, in a manner too superficial indeed and too fitful for us to use of it the word recension, and yet so as to leave traces which assure us that it really took place.

## CHAPTER V

## A COLLATION WITH TISCHENDORF'S TEXT OF MS. $4^{1}$

Agreements of 4 with Aleph and its different hands
$2^{20}$ after $\pi \rho \circ \phi \hat{\eta} \tau \iota v$ add $\epsilon i v a \iota \mathbb{N}[\mathrm{om}$ ceteri]
$4^{4}$ om ipatioıs $\mathfrak{s}$ [add ceteri]
$5^{13}$ om каi тò кри́тos. $\kappa^{*}$ has таvтократороs [ $\alpha 2$ also om: 3 subst. каì таขтокра́тшр]
$6^{15}$ om каi $\epsilon \hat{\lambda} \lambda \epsilon \hat{v} \theta \epsilon \rho$ os $\aleph^{*}[$ add ceteri]


$12^{14}$ є́ $\delta o ́ \theta \eta$ ベ $^{\text {c }}$ [= ceteri]

 Tiwch notes : hrec verba $\approx$ per incuriam post $\tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ alterum repetierat, sed ipse* animadverso errore inclusit uncis. This common error is evidence of close affinity between 4 and Aleph [2 inserts ' waxed rich out of the riches of earth,' and an Armenian scribe may have substituted these words for the insertion of $4: \alpha=$ Tisch]
$19^{7}$ After $\gamma v v \eta$ add $\dot{\eta}$ ví $\mu \phi \eta$ : $\aleph^{\text {ce }}$ substitutes vv́ $\mu \phi \eta$ for $\gamma^{v} v \eta$. [So $a$. Thus a 4 have a conflation of the two Greek texts : 2 om $\dot{\eta} \nu$.]
 $\kappa \alpha i$ éк $\lambda_{\epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \nu}$ : Here $\mathfrak{N}$ and Arm MS. 4 both omit the words in brackets through similar ending. The Arm MS, then repeats каi ${ }_{\epsilon}^{6} \delta \eta \eta \sigma \in \nu$ avíóv, after $\ddot{\alpha} \beta v \sigma \sigma \sigma v$. In the Greek cursives 1. 3. 12. 79. ${ }^{\prime} \epsilon \delta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ thus intruded in the Arm has taken the place of ${ }_{\epsilon} \epsilon \kappa \lambda \epsilon \sigma \sigma \nu$ [a 1, 2 = Tisch $]$

$22^{20} \tau \alpha \hat{\imath} \tau \alpha$ єivvą by error for $\tau \alpha \hat{\tau} \tau \alpha \cdot v a i ́ \mathbf{N}^{*}$ (non item). Similiter cop add quia erunt
$22^{20}$ om $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta^{\prime} \nu \aleph$ cop [om 1: add $a$ ]
Agreements of 4 with Aleph and Old Latin, with or without uncials, with or without Vulgate, and with or without few cursives.

[^11] [So 13, but rendering $\lambda a \mu \pi \rho o$ 's 'light gleaming': $\alpha=$ Prim, but uses other equivalents than 1 and $4: 2$ uses the same equivalents as 1 , but has the singular]

 venter meus. Codex $f$ of Prim and Beatus p. 389 add amaritudine. [So 1 which renders коь入ía literally, where 4 subst mouth: $2=1$, but omits $\pi \iota \kappa p i \alpha a s: 3=$ repletus est venter meus et erat amarus ille : $\alpha=$ was made bitter ( + in some) my belly]
 non habebant [rested not a 123 ]

 al 12 3]
$7^{16}$ ' ${ }^{\text {ě } \tau \iota}$ pri om N 36 . Vg cop syr aeth Cyp Fulg Prim al' [=12. retain 1: $\alpha$ and 3 omit. Note that $\alpha 3$ omit twice: 1 omits the second ${ }_{\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \tau \iota$ only with P 1. 38. 87 cop Fulg: 2 retains twice]
$2^{20}$ after ка兀̀̀ $\sigma o \hat{v}$ add $\pi о \lambda \hat{v}^{\prime}$ or $\pi o \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ . \quad$ So N 12. $17^{*}$. 36. 43. 28. 79. Cyp Prim multa [om 123 : add a]
$3^{3}$ om oîv after $\mu \nu \eta \mu \mu^{\prime} v \in \nu \in \mathbb{N}$ 14. aeth Are Prim [so 123 : $\alpha$ adds]

$3^{9} \gamma^{\prime \prime} \omega \boldsymbol{\omega} \eta$ for $\gamma \nu \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota \nu \leqslant 14$. Prim [1 and 2 omit wholly : a has 'they shall know,' which also the corrector of 3 adds]
 98. Prim [add 123 : om a]
$11^{9} \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \tau \dot{\omega} \mu a \tau \alpha$ for $\tau \grave{o} \pi \tau \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha \times P$ 1. 38. 79. 87. 91 al rg syr Prim [ $\alpha 13$ have singular : 2 the plural]
$3^{3} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \nu o \eta \sigma \eta$, for $\gamma \rho \eta \gamma o \rho \eta{ }^{2} \sigma \eta / s{ }^{*}$ cop Prim (sed cop add et non vigilaveris) [ $\gamma \rho \eta \gamma$. ceteri]
$14^{8} \pi \epsilon ́ \pi \tau \omega \kappa \alpha \nu$ or -кєV for $\pi \epsilon \pi$ ótıкєข $\mathfrak{N c}$ 12. cop Prim [ $\hat{\eta} \pi \epsilon \pi o ́ \tau \iota \kappa \epsilon \nu$ (? with 28, 79.) ceteri]
$2^{13}$ after $\pi i \sigma \tau \iota v$ om $\mu o v \approx \mathrm{PQ}$ al pler cop aeth Prim [1 deficit: add a 23 (correcting havatarim to havats im)]
$11^{8} \tau \dot{\alpha} \pi \tau \dot{\omega} \mu \mu \tau \alpha$ for $\tau \grave{\prime} \pi \tau \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha \times \operatorname{P}$ 1. 38. 91. al vg syr Prim [so 12 : $\alpha 3$ use sing.]
 [? $a 1: 23$ retain present tense]
 [so ceteri]
 of life' with P Tert: $\alpha=4: 23$ have 'from the manna hidden' agreeing in the error dsalkeal for dsadskeal]
$10^{4}$ каi í $\sigma \alpha$ for каі ö $\tau \in \mathbb{N}$ 37. 79. Prim et que [defic $12:$ ? $3:$ ő $\tau \epsilon$ in $\alpha$ ]
 have plural]
 $\sigma \phi p a y i o ̂ a s ~ a i r o u ̂, ~ t h e ~ w o r d s ~ b r a c k e t e d ~ b e i n g ~ e x c l u d e d ~ b y ~ T i s c h . ~$ Here кai $\lambda \hat{\nu} \sigma a \iota ~ \tau u ̀ s ~ e ́ m \tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa \tau \lambda$. is added in $\mathfrak{\kappa} \mathrm{vg}$ Cyp. Or ${ }^{\text {Int }}$ Hier Haym (lout Hanssl does not notice this variant in Cyp) [1 involves
the words $\lambda \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota \tau$ ．$\beta$ ．：Andreas omits them： $23=\alpha{ }^{2} \nu$ ．$\tau o ̀ ~ \beta . ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \lambda . ~$ $\tau$ ．є．$\sigma \phi . a v$ ．］

 omits latter half of verse）］
$13^{17}$ add $\hat{\eta}$ before $\tau$ ò ővo $\mu \boldsymbol{\kappa} \mathfrak{\aleph} 38$ ：vg demid and anon aug Haym aut nomen bestice［and his name 1：and the name of the beast and the number of his name $\alpha$－？a conflation of the Latin with the reading of Arm 2，3，＇and the number of his name＇］
$19^{6}$ after $\theta \epsilon$ cós om $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ A 1．49． 95 al cop aeth Cyp Prim［so 2 ： om a 3］

$20^{8}$ add кaí before $\sigma v v a \gamma a \gamma \epsilon i v 心 11.12 .79 \mathrm{vg}$ Aug Prim［om a 1 2］
 $=\hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \mathrm{K} \hat{v} \rho \iota o s{ }^{\text {＇I }} \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\gamma} \sigma$ ôs $\mathrm{X} \rho \iota \sigma \tau o ́ s$ with no other source］
$11^{17}$ om каí before öть єї入ŋфаs $\aleph^{\text {ce }} \mathrm{A} P \mathrm{P}$ al pler vg Cyp Prim［ $=$ so 3 ：

 infinitive，but om кaí which underlies vg Prim Haym et exeunt（or procedunt）［ $\alpha 12=$ et procedebant，using a different verb：so 3 ，but om et］

## Agreements of 4 with Aleph and Greek sources，against Old Latin sources

$18^{22} \sigma \alpha \lambda \pi i \gamma \gamma \omega \nu$ for $\sigma \alpha \lambda \pi \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \leqslant 35.87$［so 2：$\alpha 3=$ Tisch］
 98 syr aeth Hipp．In 4 this is part of a larger omission，which as a whole Hippolytus alone exhibits［ 2 retains，but agrees with 4 in omitting the preceding words $\kappa a i ̀ \pi \hat{\alpha} s \tau \in \chi v i \tau \eta s \kappa \tau \lambda$ ．which also 14． 92 Hipp omit： 2 also omits the words which follow каi $\phi \hat{\omega} s$
 omission as 4，but adds кaì $\phi \omega \nu \grave{\eta} \mu u ́ \lambda o v$ after $\lambda u ́ \chi v o v$ in vs 23］
$1^{7}$ oै $\psi o v \tau \alpha \iota$ for ${ }^{\circ} \psi \epsilon \tau \tau \alpha \_1.12$ cop［ceteri］

 sources］


$8^{6}$ before ${ }^{\epsilon} \chi$ оутєS om oi $\mathbf{\aleph} 36$［retain ceteri with Tisch］
$11^{8}$ оm каí after ő̃ov ぶ 1．7．14，36．87． 92 cop［retain ceteri with Tisch］
 ［so 2 3：$a=$ Tisch：defic 1］


$2^{2}$ add $\sigma o v$ after кótov $\leqslant \mathbb{Q}$ al plu cop［so 3：om a 12．Note that 4 uses a different equivalent for кómov from the other sources］
$3^{3}$ add $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \dot{\iota} \sigma \epsilon$ after first，and omit after second $\eta \eta^{\xi} \omega \aleph Q$ al pler $v g$ Haym［ $\alpha$ places it after second alone with Tisch： 2 after both ： 13 add it after the second，but ？after the first］
 96 Syr Victorin [add a 12: om 3 with Tisch]

 pler anon ${ }^{\text {aug }}$ add $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ є" $\rho \gamma \alpha$ каí [add $\tau \grave{a} \epsilon \epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha$ каí $\alpha 123$, but not т. iт. каí]
 defic 3]
$2^{13}$ áv $\tau \epsilon i \pi a s '$ thou opposedst' $\kappa^{c c}$ A 2.9.13. 19.23. 41. 42. 50.** 97 [see below p. 118]

$18^{3} \pi \epsilon \in \pi \tau \omega \kappa \alpha \nu$ 'have fallen' for $\pi \epsilon \epsilon \pi \omega \kappa \alpha \nu$ ※ A C Q 7. 14. 92 cop aeth. Tisch notes: $\pi \epsilon \pi \tau \omega$ - pro $\pi \epsilon \pi \omega$ - non potest non pro antiquissimo vitio haberi [лध́т $\boldsymbol{\epsilon} \boldsymbol{\kappa} \alpha \nu$ a 23 : defic 1]

Agreements with C, alone or with cursives

 [a 12 retain ǐva to єiк $\omega v$ but om $\tau$. $\theta_{\text {. }}$ : 3 retains all]

Agreements with A, alone or with cursives, with or without Vulgate


$11^{18}$ om каí before $\delta \iota a \phi \theta \epsilon i \rho a \iota ~ A ~\left[\begin{array}{ll}\alpha & 13\end{array}\right.$ retain : 2 om]


 a 2 : defic 3]

## Agreements with P and cursives

$4^{2}$ add каí before $\epsilon \boldsymbol{v} \theta \epsilon \epsilon \omega \mathrm{P}$ P 1.7 al mu vg cop [so ceteri]
 subst $\epsilon^{i}$ i̋ $\iota$ for $\hat{\eta} \sigma a v$ ['were fashioned and stand firm' a 123 ; cp Prim hrec sunt constituta]
$9^{11}$ add кaí before $\epsilon^{\prime}$ Хоvo七七 P 1 al mu vg[so a 12 : ? 3]
$18^{6}$ add aí $\hat{\ell}$ after $\delta \iota \pi \lambda \omega ́ \sigma a \tau \epsilon$ P 1. 7. 31. (38 aíтá) 91 . al mu Cop [so a 3: om 2: def 1]
 adorarem eum : def 1]
$22^{5}$ om ' $\boldsymbol{\pi} \pi^{\prime}$ before av̉rov́s P Q al fere omn rg Haym Amb [so $\alpha: 1=\phi$. пávтas: defic 2 3]

Agreements with two or more uncials (excepting $\mathbf{N}$ ), with or without Q and cursives and with or without Vulgate
 ? 3]
$16^{6}$ aî $\alpha$ for $\alpha \hat{i} \mu a \tau \alpha \mathrm{~A} \mathrm{C} \mathrm{P} \mathrm{Q} \mathrm{al} \mathrm{fere} \mathrm{omn} \mathrm{[so} \mathrm{ceteri]}$

rendering in the sense of transivit; cp. transierunt of Beatus, whereas $4=$ uses a verb $=a b e o$ ]

Agreements with 38, with or without Vulgate
$9^{10} \kappa \alpha i ̀ \epsilon i ̂ \chi o v$ for каì $\epsilon$ 'Xovoıv 38 vg etc [so all others except 2]

 future tense : a 23 retain imperf but otherwise vary from 4]
$10^{1}$ $\sigma \tau v ́ \lambda o s$ for $\sigma \tau v ́ \lambda o \iota 38 \mathrm{am}$ fu tol demid lipss syr aeth $\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\text { so } & a & 1 & 2 & 3\end{array}\right]$

With 38 and cursives
$4^{3}$ om каì ó каӨŋ́pevos 1. 6. 8. 14. 31. 38 al cop Victorin [so a 123 : $1 \mathrm{om} \kappa \alpha \theta \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \nu$ os in vs 2 as well as in 3]
$9^{2}$ add каьо $\mu_{\epsilon} \nu \eta$ s before $\mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \eta s: 36,37.38,40,41.42$ add it after $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta s$ [om ceteri]
$11^{6}$ order тòv oủpavòv к $\lambda$ є̂́raı 14. 38. $97[\kappa \lambda . \tau$. ov̉, a $123 ; 4$ here has the error tschafel for fakel]
$11^{19}$ order каì $\beta$ роvтаì каì фшvaí 14. 28. 36. 38. 79. 87. 97 cop syr [ceteri $=$ Tisch $]$
$19^{1}$ add kaí before $\mu \in \tau \alpha ́ 1$ 1. 36. 38. 79. 91. 96 al aeth [so a 23 : defic 1]

$20^{8}$ om avir $\hat{\nu} v$ after $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \iota \theta$ оós 1. 38. 48. 49. 79 al mu [ $\alpha 12$ retain: defic 3]
$21^{9}$ т ̀̀s $\gamma \epsilon \mu$ ov́ras for $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma \epsilon \mu$ óv $\tau \omega \nu$ Q. 7. 8. 38. 91.92 [so a 1 2, but without $\tau$ ás: defic 3]

Agreements with Old Latin alone (Prim Tich and pre-Vulgate Fathers) with or without versions
$1^{16}$ фaivel] $4=$ splendebat with Cyp Matern Prim Cassiod [The rest have imperfect but render 'gleaming appeared ']
$1^{20}$ om ai $\in \pi \tau \alpha \alpha_{\text {. }}$ So Prim. [1 deficit: add a 2 3]
$2^{17}$ aures audiendi Prim Amb cop. So $3^{22}$ and $13^{9}$. At $3^{13} \mathrm{vg}$ codd and cop add audiendi [so 13: om a 2]
$1^{15} \chi^{\alpha \lambda \kappa о \lambda \iota \beta \alpha ́ \nu \omega}$ is rendered here a dilibanu and in $2^{18}$ by arkolibani, -perhaps a corrupt transliteration of aurichalco (or erocalco) libani of Primasius the chal or cal having dropt out [ 13 transliterate the Greek : $\alpha 2$ om Libani and subst the words 'smoking from a furnace fiery,' which the original version must have omitted]

$1^{16}=\dot{\epsilon} \dot{\xi} \epsilon \pi о \rho \in \dot{\prime} \in \tau 0$. Prim exiebat 4 [so ceteri]
$2^{22}$ єis к $\lambda i v \eta \nu$ is rendered 'into the woes (or pains) of the bed' in luctus lectus. Prim notes: alia translatio luctum pro lecto posuit. I have noted the rendering (? in a Latin version of Epiphanius) in luctus dabo lectus. Here we have in 4 a conflation of a genuine Latin rendering with a misspelling of the same $[=\epsilon$ is $\kappa \lambda i \not \beta$ avov ceteri $]$
$3^{1}$ add каí before öть. Prim et quia nomen habes [om ceteri]
$4^{4} 4=$ in circuitu vidi sedes. So anon ${ }^{\text {aug }}$ adds vidi, but no other source [om ceteri]
$4^{8} 4$ renders ' And the four animals in front (or before) had, and one by one six six wings, and within were filled with eyes.' The Greek

 words in front? Prim renders erant plena oculis ante se et retro, and adds in his commentary alia translatio dicit intus et foris. Here anon ${ }^{\text {ang }}$ renders in priora et retro. Some Greek text must have read $\epsilon \quad \epsilon \pi \rho \circ \sigma \theta \epsilon v$ for кvк $\lambda \lambda^{\prime} \theta \epsilon v$, and 4 has got the equivalent of this into the wrong place [1 23 retain кvк $\lambda o \theta^{\theta} \epsilon \nu$ and so also $a$, but om каi $\epsilon$ है $\sigma \omega \theta \in \nu$ with cursives 28.38.98]
$4^{9}$ ötav ס́ẃrovaıv: $4=$ 'when they gave.' Prim cum dederant: vg cum darent [so a 1 3: ? 2]
 é $\pi$ í. So also Prim [so 12 : defic a 3]
$6^{12}$ before $\alpha \hat{i} \mu \mu$ om $\dot{\omega}$ s or ? substitute $\boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ 's with Prim luna in sanguinem [so ceteri]
$7^{10}$ крáfovoıv: 4 = clamabant with vg Haym. Cyp Prim dicebant $\left[\begin{array}{lll}a & 2 & 3=4: 1=P r i m\end{array}\right]$
 them. So Prim inhabitavit in eis: vg Cyp have super eos
$6^{2}$ om каí before iva vıкク́бך. So Tert ${ }^{\text {coron } 15}$ [so a $12: 3$ : $]$
$8^{4} 4=$ 'the smoke of the incense of prayers of the saints.'-Prim fumus supplicationum (? suffitionum) orationum sanctorum [incense which are prayers,' 1 : 'incense, that is to say prayers,' 23 : 'incense, prayers,' $\alpha$ ]
$9^{11}$ om övo ${ }^{10}{ }^{\text {' }} \chi \chi \in \iota$ with $\operatorname{vg}\left[\begin{array}{llll}\alpha & 1 & 2 & 3\end{array}\right.$ subst 'which is called' for kai and ${ }^{\circ} \nu . \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \chi \in \iota$ with cop quod explicatur]
 from one of the four horns' with Cyp Prim anon ${ }^{\text {aug }}$ et audivi unum ex quatuor cornibus. Note that 38 omits $\mu$ íav [3 = Tisch: a 12 $=38]$
$9^{14}$ om $\tau \omega \mu \epsilon \gamma \dot{\omega} \lambda \omega$ after $\pi о \tau \alpha \mu \hat{\varphi}$. So Cassiod [so a 12 : 3 retains]
$9^{11}{ }^{\text {ÉX }} \mathrm{X}$ ovatv: $4=$ et habebant with Prim Haym [the other sources add et except 3 which turns the sentence otherwise]
$10^{7}$ каi $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \theta \eta$. $4=\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \sigma \theta \eta \neq \sigma \epsilon \alpha \alpha$. Prim Cassiod finietur. vg consummabitur [so ceteri]
 et audivi vocem. C'ursive 7 has каì $\eta^{\prime} \kappa$. ф $\omega \nu \eta \dot{\eta}$ [ceteri $=$ Tisch]
 (with cursives 1. 28, 36. 79) : after $\gamma \hat{\eta} \varsigma 3$ ]
$11^{8}$ 'And their corpses in the streets of the city great shall be cast

 (Tichonius) added proicitur or proiicietur, and this underlies 4 [ $\alpha$ a 13 involve same text as 4, but amplify thus 'prostrate shall remain': 2 has no verb]
$11^{10}$ 'ßarávorav: 'shall be tormented'-the passive form is due to error, the future tense to Latin influence, equally apparent here in a 13 , though they use another equivalent and render the Latin verb crucio rather than $\beta a \sigma a v i{ }^{\prime}(\omega)$
$11^{14}$ add каí before ioov́: so et ecce vg am al Prim [add каí but om ioov́ a 12 : om both 3 (with few cursives)]
$12^{4}$ бंv́p $\epsilon \iota$ : ${ }^{\epsilon} \sigma v \rho \in \nu$. Prim trahebat [so a 13 : ? 2]
$13^{4}$ тís $\delta v ́ v a \tau a \iota ~: ~ 4=q u i s ~ p o t e r i t . ~ S o ~ v g ~ a n d ~ C o d e x ~ R ~ o f ~ P r i m ~[~ u ~=~$ 4: 123 = potest]
$13^{4}$ after '́ ésovaíav add av̉тô̂ Prim [so 13 : om $\alpha$ : deficit 2]
$14^{11}$ ávaßaiveı: $4=$ ascendet 'shall go up.' So $\operatorname{cod} \mathrm{G}^{2} \mathrm{v}$ of Prim and $\operatorname{vg}\left[\begin{array}{llll}\text { so } & a & 1 & 2\end{array}\right]$
$15^{5}$ Subst кaì ioov́ for $\eta^{\prime} v o i ́ \gamma \eta$ : vg cop anonaug Prim add кaì ioov́ ["íov

 vulnus pessimum magnum [om какòv каí ceteri with A cop aeth]
$16^{3} \quad \dot{\omega} \boldsymbol{v} v \epsilon \kappa \rho \circ \hat{v}$ or $v \epsilon \kappa \rho o i ̂ s$. velut mortuis sanguis fl [1 2 omit $\dot{\omega} \boldsymbol{s} v \epsilon \kappa$.: a 3 add $\nu \in \kappa$ ро́v without $\oplus$ ¢]
 тov. Prim via venienti regi ab oriente [so ceteri]
$17^{8}$ add $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ before oi катоько仑̂vтє૬. So Prim. [so a 3: om 2: deficit 1]
$17^{10} \mathrm{C}$ has order $\delta \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ av́ròv ỏdíyov $\mu \epsilon i ̂ v a \iota$ with Prim [ $\begin{array}{llll}a & 2 & 3\end{array}$ render otherwise]
$17^{15} \operatorname{tr} \kappa \alpha ́ \theta \eta \tau \alpha \iota ~ \eta \uparrow \pi o ́ \rho \nu \eta$. So Prim sedet meretrix illa [so $\alpha 3: 2=$ Tisch]
$17^{16}$ om каì тò $\theta \eta \rho i ́ o v . ~ S o ~ v g{ }^{\text {coud }}$ Tich Bed $[\alpha 3=\tau o \hat{v}$ $\theta \eta \rho i ́ o v$ and om $\kappa a i ́: ~ ?=\dot{\epsilon} \pi i$ тò $\theta .2$ with vg]
$17^{16}$ om oṽ̃o九 with Prim [a 23 retain]
 entirely (with $Q$ and some cursives) : 2 has $\gamma v \mu \nu \eta \nu$ alone with Tisch]
$18^{17}$ ảmò $\mu \alpha \kappa \rho o ́ \theta \epsilon \nu \stackrel{\text { ̈ }}{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu: 4=$ 'afar off shall stand,' cop stabunt a longe ; stabunt is a misreading of stabant in the Latin. See on $18^{18}$ [so a 23 : def 1]
$18^{18}$ ék $\kappa \alpha \mathfrak{\varrho} \circ$ : $4=$ they shall cry out. Prim in commenting has id est ' longe stabunt et clamabunt (clamabant $F$ ) videntes fumum' [so a 23 : def 1]
 [om a 2 3: def 1]

 [so a 23 : def 1]
$19^{15} 4=$ Syr Cyp Prim of which sources Tisch notes: 'de $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \hat{u} \mu \boldsymbol{\mu}$ $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ ó $\rho \gamma \hat{\eta} \mathrm{s}$ alterutrum om ; uterque enim torcular vini irce dei' [ $\alpha 2$ =Tisch: $\tau . \theta$. каì $\tau$. ỏ. 3 (with cursives 1. 36. 79) : def 1] $\delta \iota \alpha ̀ \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \mu \alpha \rho \tau v \rho i \alpha a v: ~ C y p r i a n ~ p r o p t e r ~ n o m e n . ~ S o ~ 4 ~[1 ~=~ \epsilon ' s ~$ нартvрíav: a $2=$ Tisch]
 live and they shall reign . . . shall no longer live. Due to a confusion of vivebant . . . regnabant with vivebunt . . . regnabunt. It is true that vivebunt is not Latin, but in Prim we meet with cadebunt, and moreover it is here but a mistake for a Latin form.

The following words in Prim com (=Augustine) seem to refer to verse 4 postea dicturus est: regnabunt (regnaverunt Augustini textus) cum Jesu mille annis. [ $\operatorname{In} 1$ there is the same change
of tenses，but a 2 retain the past．For keam $=$ live in vs $4, a 1$ employ kam $=$ stand，either through a simple confusion，or because they read ${ }_{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ for ${ }_{\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \oint \eta \sigma \alpha v$ ．$a 2$ have kum in vs 5 as well， where 14 employ eliestat＝shall come，by mistake for kestze，shall live． 3 deficit．］
$20^{11}$ after $\mu$ ́́ $\gamma a \nu$ add каí before $\lambda \epsilon \imath \kappa o ́ v$ Prim Aug auct ${ }^{\text {novat }}$［so 1：a $=\lambda \epsilon v \kappa o ́ v ~ \mu є ́ \gamma а \nu: 2 \mathrm{om}$ каi $\lambda \epsilon v к о ́ v: \operatorname{def} 3]$
 （correcting paterazmestzen to patestzen）．See above on verses 4,5 ［so a 1：2＝Tisch ：def 3］
$21^{4} \tau \grave{e} \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \alpha \nu:=$＇the first things shall depart＇—a confusion of abierunt with abierint or of abibant with abibunt［ $\begin{array}{lll}1 & 2 & \text { omit }\end{array}$ the whole phrase：$a$ retains past tense，but renders independently of 4$]$
$21^{11}$ крибта入入í̧ovть： 4 renders refulgenti with Prim，who however adds in modum cristalli［crystalline and refulgent 1 （cp．Prim）： 2 crystal－ like and living $a$ 2］
$21^{14} 4$ renders the verse thus：Et latitudo civitatis habebat duodecim numerus，et duodecim apostolorum agni．The text is ruinous here， but the word thiv＝numerus，can be no corruption of the word himun $=\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda_{\iota o v}$ ．Is its presence not to be explained by the reading numeri for muri in codex $G$ of Primasius？$G$ is cod Sangermanensis，nunc Parisinus n．13390，saec．ix，variants of which elsewhere are traceable in the Armenian［alllatherwise］
$21^{16}$ om＂̈ $\sigma a$＇́ $\sigma \tau i v$ ．So cod D of Primasius［ $\alpha$ adds ${ }^{\prime \prime} \sigma \alpha: 12$ om］
$21^{18}$ ïaraıs． $4=$ ex iaspide lapidibus．Prim ex lapide iaspide［of jewels （＋precious 2）jasper 12：$\alpha=$ Tisch］
 ex auro mundo［so 12 2：$a=$ Tisch］
 pretioso omitting $\kappa \epsilon \kappa о \sigma \mu$ ．and so 4 ．The cursive 92 equally omits $\kappa є \kappa о \sigma \mu$ ．［so $a$ lll 1 ］
 Gorl shall illumine her＇through a confusion of illuminavit or of illuminabat with illuminabit．The Vulgate has illuminavit．［Here $\alpha$ and 1 retain the past tense ：def 2 3］
$21^{27} \pi \hat{u} v$ кo七vóv： $4=$＇everything corrupted＇which suggests the phrase aliquod coinquinutum of the Vulgate［everything ill willed 12：to which by a conflation $a$ adds and filthy］
 lieep his commandments．＇So Tich qui servant mandata heec．Here
 prociptis agunt，Cyp qui fuciunt precepta eius；but Tich alone has servant $[a=4$ ，but $1=$ who shall call out（or read）his command－ ments： $\operatorname{def} 23]$
 renders with Prim and Tich de civitate sancte scriptâ in libro hoc， involving $\tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma_{\epsilon} \gamma \rho a \mu \mu \epsilon \in \eta s$［ $a 1$ involve the same original as 4， but whereas 4 uses the oblique case of the partic，they render quce scripta est］

## Agreements of 4 with Prim or Old Latin and Greek uncials (except Aleph), with or without cursives

$21^{3}$ גaós for $\lambda$ aoí P Q al cop sah syr Aug Tich Prim [so a 1 2]
$19^{5}$ add каí before oi $\phi о \beta$ oú $\mu \in v o \iota A Q$ al vg Prim [so a 3: def 12 ]
$7^{1}$ om каí before $\mu \in \tau$ A C vg Prim [so a 12 : retain 3]

$18^{16}$ add каí before $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \tau \epsilon \mathrm{P}$ al vg Hipp Prim [om a 3 (=dicent) : om каì $\lambda \in \gamma .2$ (with cursives 1. 12. 16. 3.9) : def 1]
$19^{12}$ before $\phi \lambda$ ó $\xi$ add ©́s A 35. 36. 87. 91. 95 al vg Ir ${ }^{\text {int }}$ Or Cyp Prim [so 2 3: om $\alpha$ : def 1]
 $\alpha v ่ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ (which P 79 al add: A vg $\mathrm{Ir}^{\text {int }}$ Amb Tich add $\alpha v \tau \omega \nu \theta \epsilon o ́ s-$ a conflation of the rival readings of the Arm MSS.) : $2=\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota v$ $\alpha v ๋ \tau \omega ิ \nu \quad \theta \epsilon o ́ s]$
$211^{16}$ after örov add kai A al vg cop Prim [? ceteri]
$12^{2}{ }^{\epsilon} \kappa \rho \alpha \zeta_{\epsilon \nu}$ for $\kappa \rho a ́ \zeta \epsilon \iota$ C 1. 7. 8. 31. 38. 87 al Prim Haym [so ceteri but using another vb]
$14^{8} \operatorname{tr} \ddot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ os $\delta \epsilon v ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ$ ä $\gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda$ os $A Q$ al Prim [so $13: \alpha 2=$ Tisch] $\operatorname{tr}$ áкои́ $\omega v$ каi $\beta \lambda \epsilon ́ \pi \omega v$ AQ al vg Prim Haym [so a 1 : def. 2 3]

Agreements of 4 with Old Latin and 38, without uncials (Q reckoned as a cursive)
$13^{12}$ є̇ $\pi o i ́ \epsilon \iota$ for $\pi o t \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ 38. vg cop aeth Hipp Ir $^{\text {int }}$ Prim $[$ so a $12: ~ ? 3]$
$19^{1}$ om $\dot{\omega}$ s before $\phi \omega \nu \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu$ 1. 7. 38. 47. Tich Prim [so a 23 : def 1]
$22^{7}$ om каí before ioov 1. 35. 38. 79. 91 al demid cop Prim Haym [so a 1: def 23$]$
 '̈́テovtaí $\mu$ oi vioí A 1. 79: Tert has illis and illi mihi in filios.

Here 4 has airois but for rest $=$ Tisch [the other Arm sources



Agreements of 4 with Old Latin and cursives (including Q)
$1^{16}$
$\alpha 23=$ Tisch]

$\operatorname{tr} \hat{\eta} \mu \hat{\mu} \mathrm{s} \tau \hat{\varphi} \theta \in \hat{\varphi} \mathrm{l}$ 16. 31. 87 rg Hipp Aug Prim [so a 3: 12 otherwise]
$6^{6}$ om $\dot{\omega}$, before $\phi \omega \nu \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu$ Q al cop Prim [so ceteri]

$9^{6}$ фєíg $\epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ for $\phi \epsilon$ '́ $\epsilon \epsilon \mathrm{Q}$ al rg Prim [so ceteri]
$10^{2} \boldsymbol{\epsilon i} \chi \bar{\chi} \boldsymbol{\nu}$ for ${ }^{\epsilon} \chi \chi \omega \nu 1,7.28,35.79 .91 .96$ al vg Prim [so ceteri]
$9^{4}$ after $\mu \epsilon \tau \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu$ add $\alpha \imath \boldsymbol{\tau} \omega \hat{\nu}$ Q al pler vg fu Cassiod Haym [so ceteri]
 Prim [ceteri $=$ Tisch]

$11^{10}$ єंфраv日ฑंбovтає Q 6. 7. 8. 14 vg cop Prim [the other sources retain present tense]
$12^{10} \hat{\epsilon} \kappa \kappa \tau o \hat{v}$ ov̉pavồ for ${ }^{\epsilon} v \tau \tau \hat{\varphi}$ ovipavệ 95 anon $^{\text {aug }}$ [so a 1: $23=$ Tisch]

$13^{18}$ om $\epsilon$ 's $\tau \eta{ }^{\prime} v \gamma^{\nu} \nu 95$ Prim [1 retains, also a 23 (which $=\dot{\epsilon} \pi i \tau \cdot \gamma$.) but these so alter the position of these words, that we may regard them as probably intrusive]


$15^{4}$ om кv́pıє 14. 92 Cyp Amb Prim [so ceteri]
 Prim [so a $12: 3 \mathrm{om}]$
$16^{18}$ om каì фwvaí 12 Tich
 omits каí]
 2: a 3 add $\mathfrak{\eta} \mu \hat{\imath} \nu]$
 Prim [so ceteri]
$18^{14}$ єipvíceıs for єippígovaıv 1. 37. 49. 91. 96 Prim [so a 3: otherwise 2]
add úmù rố $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ after $\pi \hat{\imath} \rho \aleph^{c} P 7$ al vg am tol Hier: $[Q$ al cop Victorin Aug Tich also add it, lut after orpurô̂, and so e 1 2]
$20^{14}$ om ì $\lambda i ́ \mu \nu \eta$ тô̂ $\pi$ rpós 1. 18. 31. 41. 42. 94. 97 al vg cop Prim Haym. [Here a 12 (def. 3) have the longer omission from oĩ os which is found in the Greek and Latin sources enumerated] om $\pi \rho \omega ́ \operatorname{t} \eta$ 13. 29. $\mathrm{Ir}^{\mathrm{mtt}}$ Aug Prim [ $\alpha 12$ retain : def. 3]
 8389192 al Prim plenas]

## With Vulgate and cursives

$1^{13}$ after $\lambda v \chi \chi \nu \iota \omega \nu$ add $\tau \hat{\omega} v \chi \rho v \sigma \omega \hat{\omega}$ 34. 35. 49. 87 vg demid [om ceteri]
 a 12:om 3]

## With older Greek Fathers

$13^{16} \delta \omega \omega^{\prime} \eta$ for $\delta \omega \bar{\omega} \iota v \operatorname{Hipp}^{\text {bis }}[$ so a 1223 ]
$14^{2}$ before $\kappa \iota \theta \alpha \rho \varphi \delta \omega \nu$ add $\phi \omega \nu \eta$ Method $\left[\begin{array}{llll}s o & \alpha & 1 & 2\end{array}\right]$ ]

## With coptic

$2^{7}$ aures audiendi, vg cop; so ch $2^{17}$ and $13^{9}$ [so a 12 : om 3]
$18^{4}$ om ä $\lambda \lambda \eta \nu$ before $\phi \omega \nu \eta^{\prime} \nu$ with $\operatorname{cop}\left[\right.$ so a 3: 2 retains ${ }^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \eta^{\prime}$ : def 1]
$21^{11}$ om $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ after $\delta o ́ \xi g a v$ with cop [ $\alpha 12$ retain : 3 def]
Agreements of 4 with Q and cursives (without 38)
$2^{9}$ om éavtoús 16. 69 [a 1 retain, but render passage otherwise : 23 om , but give another sense than 4 . Here old corruptions pervade the texts 123 ; and $\alpha$ and 4 correct independently of one another]
$2^{13} \pi \alpha \rho^{3} \dot{v} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ for $\pi \alpha \rho^{3} \dot{v} \mu \hat{\imath} \nu 95$ [so ceteri]
$3^{14} \dot{\alpha} \pi^{3} \alpha \ddot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta$ s for $\dot{\eta} \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \chi^{\prime}:$ 28. 79 And $^{a}{ }_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \pi \alpha \rho \chi \eta$ [so 1: $\dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta \dot{\eta} 23$ : "̈ $\rho \chi \eta$ ${ }^{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta$ s by conflation $\left.\alpha\right]$
$3^{17} \operatorname{tr} \gamma v \mu \nu$ òs кaì $\tau v \phi \lambda$ ós 7.8 aeth Amb Haym [so a: $123=$ Tisch]
$7^{16}$ om $\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu$ 6. 11. 31 [so ceteri]
 variant lurks under the comment of Jerome and Beatus non autem dixit: percussa est et obscurata est, sed obscuraretur, as if these authors were cognisant of the erroneous reading [so ceteri, but 34 agree in using the aorist where a 12 use the imperfect]
$9^{4}$ add $\mu$ óvovs before (or after) $\dot{\alpha} \nu \theta$ pómovs 49. 91. 96 al. 'item tantum homines vg Haym' [so ceteri]
$9^{13}$ om $\tau o \hat{v}$ X $\rho v \sigma o \hat{v}$ 14. 92 [1 3 retain : a subst $\tau o \hat{v} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}: 2$ otherwise]
$9^{16} \mu v \rho \iota a ́ \delta \epsilon s$ for $\delta \iota \sigma \mu v \rho \iota a ́ \delta ́ \epsilon s, Q$ al and Epiph who adds каi ұı入íaı $\chi \iota \lambda \iota a ́ \delta e s$ with $\alpha$ [so $23: 1$ otherwise]
$10^{6} \mathrm{om} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ aíbv$\omega \nu$ 1. 12. 47. And [so a 13 : add 2. The Arm rather omits $\epsilon$ is $\tau 0{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{s}$ ai $\omega v \alpha s$ than $\tau \hat{\omega} v$ ai $\omega v \omega v$, and perhaps involves $\left.{ }_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \pi \grave{\partial} \tau \hat{\omega} v a i.\right]$
$10^{7}$ ő for $\dot{\omega}$ 10. 28. 37. 49. 79. 91. 96 [so a 12 : ís 3]
$10^{7}$ тoîs є́avтov̂ סov́doเs тoîs $\pi \rho \circ \phi \eta \dot{\tau} \alpha \iota$ 1. 28. 79. 97. And are [so ceteri]
$11^{6}$ tr $\beta \rho$ ¢́ $\chi \eta$ víєós 1. 7 al cop [ceteri otherwise]
$12^{11} \tau \grave{\alpha} s \psi v \chi a ́ s$ for $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \psi v \chi \eta{ }^{\prime} v$. So 35.87 [ceteri otherwise]
$11^{7}$ tr $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu \circ \nu \mu \epsilon \tau^{\prime}$ aữ $\omega \nu$ 1. 3.6 al cop [ceteri $=$ Tisch]
$11^{13} \dot{\eta} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \rho q$ for $\tilde{\omega} \rho q Q$ al fere ${ }^{40}$ [retain ${ }^{0} \rho \underline{q}$ ceteri]
 $\alpha 23=\tau \grave{v} v \dot{\alpha} \rho$.
$14^{9}$ after $\chi \in \hat{\imath} \rho \alpha$ om av̉тô 14. 92. [So a 23 : def 1]
$14^{15}$ add тồ before $\theta \in$ рíraı 29. 49. 91. 93. 96 al [so $3: \alpha 12=\tau$ ov̂ $\theta \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \mu \hat{v}$ (with $\mathfrak{\aleph}$ 38)]
$15^{6}$ ？om $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ before $\tau \alpha ̀ \sigma \tau \eta^{\prime} \theta \eta$ 1．12． 31 ［ceteri retain］
$16^{6} \mathrm{tr}$ є̈̀̀ $\omega \kappa \alpha$ aírois aíma 14． 92 ［the other texts vary］
 є́к $\tau$ ．ov’ $\rho$ ．2：def 1］

$18{ }^{1}$ om ä $\lambda \lambda$ ov 1．14． 92 ［retain $\alpha 23$ ：def 1］
$18^{13} \psi v \chi \hat{\omega} v$ for $\psi v \chi$ ás 14． 92 ［？ceteri］
 ＇ 7 transfert ad finem versus．＇In 4 the lacuna extends further，but without suffrage of 14．92．（See above）
$19^{5}$ add каí before oi $\mu \iota к$ роí 1． 49 al．［om a 3 ：def 1 2］
$19^{6}$ order $\eta^{\prime} \kappa о v \sigma a \phi \omega v \eta ̀ \nu$ ஸs 36 ．Note that several cursives with Prim

$20^{3}$ add кaí before $\mu \in \tau \grave{a} \tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha 1$ al $\mathrm{vg} \operatorname{cop}\left[\begin{array}{lll}\text { so } & a & 2\end{array}\right.$ ：def 3 ］
$20^{8}$ before $\tau \grave{\partial} \nu \Gamma \omega^{\prime} \gamma$ add кai with 79 And $^{a}$［so $\alpha 2$ ：om 1：def 3］
 another text：a retains］
 $\operatorname{def} 23]$
$22^{21}$ after $\pi a ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ add $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{c} \gamma \dot{\gamma} \dot{\prime} \omega \nu$ Q al plus ${ }^{40}$ cop（but the Berlin apograph of 4 lacks this addition）［ 12 deficiunt：＇upon all saints＇$\alpha$ ］

Omissions in 4 concurring with transpositions and substitutions in the Greek and Latin sources
 A 38 aeth after the same
$2^{15}$ om ó $\mu$ oí $\omega$ s ：1． $92^{\text {mg }}$ subst ő $\mu \iota \sigma \hat{\omega}:$ P 12．13． 17 shew a conflation ó $\mu$ oíws ô $\mu \iota \sigma \hat{\omega} \ldots$ ．． 38 （sed notatur foramen in codice）aeth plane om＇
$2^{19}$ om каì $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma a ́ \pi \eta \nu$ which $\mathfrak{N}^{*}$ et $^{\text {e }} \mathrm{et}^{\text {ec }} \mathrm{PQ}$ 8．14．28．38．87． 92 al am cop Or Prim set hefore and A C 48． 75 rg after каi $\tau \eta \nu$ $\pi i \sigma \tau \iota \nu$
$3^{14}$ om $\tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{s} \kappa \tau i \sigma \epsilon \omega \mathrm{~s}$ for which $\aleph^{*}$ subst $\epsilon \in \kappa \lambda \eta \sigma i a s$, and $94 \pi i \sigma \tau \epsilon \omega \mathrm{~s}$
$4^{5} \operatorname{tr} \dot{\omega} s$ after $\theta a ́ \lambda a \sigma \sigma \alpha: 1.94$ al aeth Prim anon ${ }^{\text {aug }}$ om $\dot{\omega}^{\circ}$
 am fu tol Haym Cyp Fulg after

 anonnule Prim have the conflation кaì iooì $\eta$ rooi $\gamma \eta$ ó vaós
$18^{\prime \prime} \operatorname{tr} \epsilon^{\epsilon} \pi^{\prime}$ av̉ $\eta^{\prime} v$ after $\gamma \hat{\eta} s: 14.92$ ．Prim om the same
$18^{11}$ om ои́кє́тє which P 49．79．91 associate with the sentence which precedes，A C Q 1.7 al with that which follows，and $\mathbf{N}$ with neither
 but in Q al（which here represent the cursive tradition wefore the intrusion of каi $\eta$ $\tau i \mu \eta)$ precedes
$20^{3}$ om arioìv before diôvvac；ㅈ 1．38．79．91． 96 al rg Tich Prim read av̉тòv $\lambda v \theta$ ท̂vą： $\mathrm{A} Q$ al $\lambda v \theta \eta ̂ v a \iota ~ a ข ̉ \tau o ́ v ~$
 which K transposes after криvəグ omitting oüтє $\pi$ óvos
$21^{8}$ om каi фоvєiซи which Tertullian transposes after каì mópvo七s

Omissions of 4 unconfirmed by Greek and Latin sources or by versions
$1^{1,2}$ This omission must be dque to the wearing away of the first lines of a page．That it is not supplied in 4 from another codex proves the relative independence of the tradition of 4 ．
 retain－perhaps an early interpolation］
$1^{9}$ om каì ن̌ $\pi ⿰ 丿 \mu \nu \nu \hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon} v$＇I $\eta \sigma o \hat{v}$［so 13 ：a 2 and late hand in 3 add］
$1^{11}$ om каì $\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi o v[\alpha 13$ retain：def 2］
$1^{14}$ om ${ }^{\omega}$ s $\chi \iota \omega$ ย［so 123 ：$a$ and late hand in 3 add］
 occurs in 1 and $3:$ add $\alpha 2$ and $3^{* *}$ ］

$1^{16}$ om $\hat{\epsilon} v \tau \hat{\eta} \delta v v a ́ \mu \epsilon \iota$ av́тồ［so ceteri－perhaps an early interpolation］
 aí̂vas $\tau \hat{\omega} v$ aíóv $\omega v:$ a 23 retain．［See p．119］
$2^{4} \mathrm{om}$ ö́ $\iota$ and $\dot{\alpha} \phi \hat{\eta} \kappa \in \mathrm{s}$［retain ceteri．An old corruption here pervades all the Arm texts，save $\alpha$ which is probably corrected］
$2^{10} \mathrm{om}$ єis $\phi v \lambda a \kappa \eta \dot{v}$ and $\theta \lambda i \psi \iota v$［ 1 retain and also 23 ，but here again an old corruption pervades all the texts，and $\alpha$ corrects］
$2^{16}$ om $\tau \alpha \chi$ v́［retain ceteri］


$3^{9}$ om $\epsilon \hat{i} v a \iota$ and $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \delta \hat{\omega} \nu$［om $\epsilon \hat{i v a l, ~ b u t ~} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \delta \hat{\omega} v$ retain ceteri （but $a$ adds $\epsilon i v a \iota$ ）］
$3^{12}$ om दُv $\tau \hat{\varphi} \nu a \hat{\varphi}$［ceteri $=\tau 0 \hat{v} \nu a o \hat{v}$ ］
$3^{12}$ om ä $\pi$ ó before $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$［so 23 ：deficit 1：a retains］
$3^{13}$ om $\tau i ́ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \mu a \quad \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \hat{\iota} \varsigma$ е́кк $\lambda \eta \sigma i ́ a \iota s$［ceteri retain］
$3^{14}$ om $\tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{s} \kappa \tau i \sigma \epsilon \omega \mathrm{~s} \tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \epsilon 0 \hat{v}$［ceteri retain］
$4^{1}$ om $\mu \epsilon \tau^{\prime} \epsilon \epsilon \mu \circ \hat{v} \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu$ ：Prim om $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \omega \nu$［ 1 retain，＇and said to me＇： a $23=$ Tisch］
$4^{5}$ om $\pi v \rho o ́ s$［retain ceteri］
$4^{7}$ om $\pi \epsilon \tau о \mu^{\prime} \boldsymbol{v} \varphi \underset{\varphi}{ }$［retain ceteri］
$4^{10}$ om $\tau \hat{\varphi} \hat{\omega}$（̂̂v $\tau \iota\left[\begin{array}{lll}\alpha & 1 & 3 \\ \text { retain：} 2 \text { omits］}\end{array}\right.$
$5^{2}$ от $\tau \grave{\partial} \beta \iota \beta$ 入iov каì $\lambda \hat{v} \sigma a \iota$［retain ceteri］
$5^{6}$ om $\dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \lambda \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \alpha[$ retain ceteri］

$6^{5}$ on $\lambda$＇́ $\gamma o v \tau o s$［retain ceteri］
$6^{12}$ om $\dot{\text { w }}$ before ai $\mu a$［om ceteri］
 retain ： 3 omits from $\epsilon \in \kappa$ onwards］
$7^{2}$ after $\dot{\alpha} \nu a \tau o \lambda \hat{\eta}$ s om $\dot{\eta} \lambda i ́ o v$［so ceteri］
$7^{4}$ om vi ${ }^{\omega} \nu$［retain a 13 3：om 2］
$7^{5}$ om＇̇ $\sigma \phi \rho a \gamma \iota \sigma \mu^{\prime}$ voo．So also in vs $8[\alpha 12$ retains throughout： 3 omits throughout except at end of vs 8］
$7^{13}$ om $\mu$ oí［retain ceteri，but recast the sentence］
$7^{14}$ om cioív［retain ceteri］
$7^{15}$ om $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta$ คóvov［retain ceteri］
 supply them］

## APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

 independently of 4 , and in doing so adds $\tau$. vio.]
$8{ }^{12}$ om $\mu \dot{\eta}$, фávŋ $\tau$ ò $\tau \rho i ́ \tau o v ~ a v i \tau \eta ̂ s$ [the ,other sources vary from one another, yet show no affinity with 4 . On old corruption pervades them all]
$9^{2}$ om '́к тov̂ фр́́atos and substitute $\theta \imath \mu \iota a \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu-p e r h a p s ~ d u e ~ t o ~ a ~$ corruption in the underlying Greek text [ceteri retain]
$9^{8}$ om $\eta \boldsymbol{\eta} \sigma \alpha$ [om ceteri]
$9^{9}$ om єíxov [om 1: a 23 retain]
$9^{10}$ om ov̉pás [retain ceteri]

$9^{16}$ om av่ $\hat{\omega} \nu$ [ 1 is corrupt : retain a 2 3]

$10^{6}$ om каí before $\omega \mu \sigma \sigma \epsilon \nu$ [ $\alpha 13$ retain: om 2]
 av̉тoîs (av่า $\hat{2} 23$ ) ceteri]
 ${ }_{\epsilon} \epsilon \xi\left(\omega \theta \in v\right.$ just before [ 1 retains: a 2 omit ${ }_{\epsilon} \xi \xi(\omega \theta \epsilon v$ which 3 renders differently]
$11^{9}$ om каi $\gamma \lambda \omega \sigma \sigma \omega \hat{v}$ [ceteri retain]
$11^{10}$ от रaípovaıv каí [retain ceteri]
$11^{11}$ om $\epsilon$ ék before tô̂ $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}[$ so 12 : add $\alpha 3$ ]

$12^{1}$ om av่ $\boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{s}$ after $\kappa є \phi \alpha \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ [retain ceteri]
$12^{3}$ om $\pi v$ vpós which $\mathbb{N C Q}$ Prim set before, and AP 28. 79. 96 vg Or anon ${ }^{\text {int }}$ Haym after, $\mu \epsilon$ ' $\gamma$ as [ceteri igneus $=\pi v \rho^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}($ with CQ 1 al cop syr)]
$12^{10}$ om $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu$ [retain ceteri]

 texts]
$13^{10}$ om second cis aix $\mu a \lambda \omega \sigma_{i}{ }^{\prime}$ [om ceteri]
$13^{12}$ om $\pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma a \nu$ [retain $\alpha 12$ : om 3. Note that $\alpha$ sets it after, 12 before, '́s $^{\xi}$ ovбiav]
 a 3 retain]
$14^{9}$ om av̉rov̂ after $\chi \epsilon i ̂ p \alpha\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { a } & 2 \\ 3 & \text { retain : def 1] }\end{array}\right.$
$14^{11}$ om av่ $\boldsymbol{\omega} \omega$ [retain ceteri (but $\left.2=\alpha v ่ \tau o v\right)$ ]
$14^{18}$ om $\tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{S} \dot{\alpha} \mu \pi \epsilon \in \operatorname{dov}$ [so 1: $\alpha 2$ retain: ? 3]
$16^{4}$ om $\tau \eta \geqslant \nu \phi \iota a ́ \lambda \eta \nu$ av́тov̂ [retain ceteri]
$16^{9}$ om $\mu$ '́ $\gamma \alpha$ [om 12: a 3 retain]
$16^{12}$ om $\dot{\eta} \lambda$ iov [retain ceteri, rendering otherwise]
$16^{18}$ om ov゙т $\omega\left[\begin{array}{lll}\text { om a } 25 & 5 & \text { def 1] }\end{array}\right.$
$16^{19}$ om $\operatorname{pr} \kappa \alpha i ́[$ retain a 2 3]





$18^{10}$ om $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \tau \epsilon s\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { a } 23 & \text { et dicent }]\end{array}\right.$

$18^{12}$ om каì $\mu \alpha \rho \gamma \alpha \rho \iota \tau \hat{\omega} v[$ retain a 2 3]
$18^{16}$ om каі̆ ко́ккєขоv каї кє $\chi \rho v \sigma \omega \mu$ е́v $\eta$ [retain a 2 3]

$19^{1}$ om $\pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{v}$ [so a 3: 2 otherwise]
$19^{4,5} \mathrm{om} \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta^{\prime} \nu$ to $\lambda^{\prime} \gamma^{\prime}{ }^{\circ} v \sigma \alpha$ inclusive [ $\alpha 3$ retain: in 2 the lacuna extends further, but begins here]
$19^{5}$ om $\eta \mu \omega \hat{\omega}$ [ $\alpha 3$ retain : def 12]
$19^{6}$ om $\lambda \epsilon \gamma^{\prime} v \tau \omega \nu$ [a 3 retain and 3 adds $\pi \alpha ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ which may have been lost before $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \lambda o v i \not a: ~ d e f ~ 12] ~$
$19^{7}$ om $\eta \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu\left[\begin{array}{lll}\alpha & 2 & 3\end{array}\right.$ retain: 2 explains the omission $=e k n$ which has dropt out in 4 before krkin = iterum]
$19^{9}$ om $\tau 0 \hat{v}$ үá $\mu o v$ [retain a 2 3]
$19^{10}$ om $\mu \mathrm{o}$ after $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota[$ retain a 2 3]
$19^{20}$ om oi dóo [subst them ceteri, recasting the sentence]
 ${ }^{\epsilon} \pi \pi^{\prime}$ 2]
$20^{4}$ om тồ $\theta \epsilon$ ôv каí [retain $\tau$. $\theta$. ceteri]
$20^{6}$ om $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ каí [retain ceteri]
$21^{6}$ after $\epsilon i \pi \pi^{\prime} \nu$ om $\mu$ ot [so 12 : add $\alpha$ ]
$21^{11}$ om $\alpha \dot{\imath} \tau \hat{\eta} s$ and $\lambda i \theta_{\varphi} \tau \iota \mu \omega \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \varphi$, ${ }_{\omega} s$ [retain a 12 2]

$21^{16}$ om $\tau \hat{\omega} \kappa \alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \mu \varphi$ [ $=$ mensurâ 12 : om $\alpha$ as part of a longer lacuna]
$21^{16}$ om $\chi^{2} \lambda \iota a ́ \delta \omega \nu$ [so 1 : retain a 2]


$22^{15}$ om каi $\phi \iota \lambda \omega \hat{\omega}$ [a retains $\phi \iota \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ but omits $\pi o \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$ каí: 1 renders otherwise. Note that A Q and Old Latin tr thus $\phi \iota \lambda . \kappa . \pi \% \iota$.
$22^{16} \mathrm{om}$ 'I $\eta \sigma o \hat{s}$ [retain $\alpha$ 1]
$22^{17}$ after $\lambda^{\epsilon} \gamma \sigma \sigma \sigma \iota \nu$ om ${ }^{\prime \prime} \rho \chi$ оv [a 1 render the passage кai $\pi \nu \in \hat{v} \mu \alpha$ каì

$22^{17}$ om $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon \alpha^{\prime} \nu$ [a 1 retain]
Variants of 4 unconfirmed by Greek or Old Latin sources
$1^{3}=$ Blessed they who listen to and do the things in it written
$1{ }^{4}$ John] From John [so 13 3]

$1^{6} \quad \theta \epsilon \hat{\varphi} \pi a \tau \rho i$ and om каí [so a 1: 23 add каí]


$2^{4.5} 4$ seems to be corrupt 'But I have against you. Remember thy love, the first, whence thou art fallen'
$2^{7}$ after $\pi v \in \hat{v} \mu \alpha$ add ${ }^{\circ} \gamma \iota \circ v[$ so 12 : om $\alpha 3$ ]
$2^{9}=$ but thou art strong to bear the blasphemy (of those) who say (themselves) to be Jews [an old corruption pervades 123 : a reproduces the Greek, but freely]
$2^{13}=$ and deniedst not my faith in the which thou opposedst, my witness faithful, who was slain by you [see p. 118]
$2^{14}$ after $\epsilon_{\epsilon} \chi \chi$ add $\lambda$ '́ $\gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ [so $\alpha$ and $3^{* *}: 1$ subst $\lambda \epsilon \epsilon \gamma \omega$ for $\epsilon^{\prime \prime} \chi \omega$ and of this variant 2 has traces, corrupting asem to haseal ê

 om $\pi \lambda \eta_{\eta} \nu 2$ : subst $\mu \not \lambda \lambda o$ for $\pi \lambda \eta^{\prime} \nu 3$ : and so subst $\left.\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \alpha \alpha^{a} a\right]$

 corruption psaks 'crowns' for spitaks 'whites': $\alpha 2=$ Greek]

$3^{5} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda \epsilon i \tau \alpha \iota$. So 4 if we correct arastzen to arktzen. 4 uses the plural in the first two clauses of this verse 'they who conquer shall wear . . . their names'
$3^{7}$ Daveió: тov̂ mapaסєíqov 4 [of Hades 123 (with 7. 16. 33. 45): of David a $3^{* *}$ ]
$3^{10}$ є่ $\pi \grave{\imath} \tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{\gamma} \gamma \hat{\eta} \mathrm{~s}: 4=\alpha v ่ \tau \hat{\eta} s$
$3^{12}$ ย゙т८: $4=\tau \iota \varsigma$

$3^{20}$ каì ảvoí $\xi \eta: 4=\alpha \nu 0 i \xi_{\eta} \epsilon \iota$ and om каí
$4^{1}$ iो $\pi \rho \dot{\omega} \tau \eta$ : $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho \dot{\omega} \tau \eta \nu 4$, rearranging the sentence after the Greek [the other texts render freely, especially 3]
$4^{5} \tau \grave{\alpha}$ é $\pi \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \nu \epsilon \dot{v} \mu a \tau \alpha$ : 'the seven parts of the Spirit' 4 [1 23 have powers for parts : $\alpha$ and $3^{* *}$ correct after the Greek]
$4^{6}$ крvбта́ $\lambda \lambda \omega$ : $\beta \eta \rho v ́ \lambda \lambda \omega 4$
 and $\dot{\omega}$ : a 23 om $\dot{\omega}$ s alone, but render freely]
$4^{9} \tau \hat{\varphi} \zeta \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \iota: \tau \hat{\eta} \zeta \varphi \hat{\eta}$ or $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \zeta \varphi \hat{\eta} s 4$ [all3=Tisch: 2 omits]
$5^{4}$ тò $\beta_{\imath} \beta$ रíov for av̉тó

58 after ápvíov add $\lambda$ '́ $\gamma$ ovtes 4
$5^{9}$ äסovo $\boldsymbol{c}$ : 'they were singing' 4 [so ceteri, but using a different verb]
$6^{1}$ ö $\tau \epsilon$ : каì ö $\tau \epsilon 4$ [öть ceteri (with Q al fere ${ }^{40}$ am fu tol omn ${ }^{\text {lachm }}$ )]
 vs 8 [ 2 renders $i$ mna, a $13 i$ verah nora, giving the same sense upon him]
 animal that he came' 4
$6^{9}$ ròv $\lambda$ ózov: Tò oैvoua 4 omitting the words added just before in MS. 1 only because of God and

$6{ }^{15}$ єis $\tau$ às $\pi \epsilon \in \tau \rho a s ~ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ ó óé $\omega v$ : 'into chasms of rock of the mountains' 4
$6^{16} \mathrm{tr}$ ' to the rocks and the mountains' 4
$6^{17} \sigma \tau a \nmid \eta$ invą: So 4 if we correct keal to kal, $\sigma \omega \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota$ to $\sigma \tau a \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota$, but the former is actually found in cursives 40. 48 and Are
$7^{11} 4$ renders $\tau \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho a s$ as acc pl and $\gamma \omega \boldsymbol{v}^{\prime} \dot{\alpha}$ as gen sing




$7^{15} \stackrel{\prime}{\epsilon} v$ av̉гoîs for $\epsilon \pi^{\prime}$ av̉rov́s 4 [so ceteri]
$7^{16}$ add кaí before ov่ [so 12: om a 3]
 illos as if the Greek were $\dot{\varepsilon} \delta \Delta k \dot{j} \sigma \eta$ airoús. Has not $\mathrm{A} \triangle \mathrm{IKHCH}$ become ПАICHEП in the MSS. ?]
 aquarum vivarum with syr: $3=$ ad fontem aquæ vivæ with cop : $\alpha$ has a conflation]
$7^{17}$ ó $\phi \theta \alpha \lambda \mu \hat{\omega} \nu: \pi \rho \sigma \sigma \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu 4$ as in Es $25^{8}$. Zohrap's Armenian text here agrees with 4
$8^{2} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}: \theta \rho o ́ v o v 4$ [ $\alpha 23$ have $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ : om 1]
$8^{3} \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ : add $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ (or? $\tau$ â̂s) 4
$8^{7}$ тò $\tau \rho i \tau \sigma v:$ 'the third part' 4 here and in verses $8-12$; but we cannot infer that $\mu$ '́ $\rho o s$ followed in the translator's Greek [ceteri]
$8^{11}$ 'to blood to wormwood' 4 (a conflation)
$8^{12} 4$ adds sixth before $\dot{\eta} \mu$ '́ $\rho a$
$9^{7} \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \phi a \nu o \iota: ~ s o ~ 4$, if we correct patkeratz to psakatz. It then renders similes erant aureis coronis
$9^{10}=$ 'and they had a likeness to scorpions,' omitting ov'pás and reading

$9^{11}$ Abaddon: Nabathdon 4
$9{ }^{17} \theta \epsilon \iota \omega$ ©́tıs : 'godlike' 4. [Here a 12 have 'flaming with sulfur': 3 transliterates thus, thiodi, and it would seem as if the author of 4, finding this reading in his text, corrected it from the Greek as we have seen]
$9^{20}$ таи́таเs: тои́т $\omega \nu 4$

$10^{5}$ єis тòv oưpavóv: ? є́ $\pi i$ i $\tau$. ov̉. 4
 € $\beta \delta$ о́ $\mu о v$


$11^{5}$ av̉тóv: av̉тov́s 4

$11^{14}$ before $\dot{\eta}$ ov̉aí add $\grave{i o o v}$ [ceteri]
$11^{15}$ add каı̀ aî̂vas after aî̂vas

$11^{18} \kappa \rho \iota \theta \hat{\eta} v a \iota: ~ к \rho i ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega s$
$11^{18}$ סov́doıs $\sigma o v: ~ \delta$. av̉тô̂
$12^{1} \tau \grave{\tau} \nu \sigma \epsilon \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \nu \eta$
$12^{3}$ before кєфа入人́s add é $\pi \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}$

$12^{9}$ ? om ó кадоv́ $\mu \in \nu=s$ : 'who is traitor ( $\kappa a \tau \eta \dot{\gamma} \omega \rho$ ) and Beelzebub and Satan'

$12^{13}$ add $\kappa \alpha i ̀$ before ${ }^{\prime} \delta \dot{\circ} \dot{\prime} \omega \xi \in \nu$
$12^{15}$ after $\gamma v v a \iota \kappa o ́ s ~ i n s e r t ~ \pi \hat{v} \rho$
$13^{1} \tau \eta े \nu \kappa є \phi a \lambda \eta{ }^{1} \nu$ for $\tau \grave{\alpha}{ }^{2} \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda a ́ s$ [ceteri]
$13^{5}$ the text of 4 is broken, for it omits кai ${ }^{\epsilon} \delta \dot{\delta} \theta_{\eta}$ av, ${ }^{\epsilon} \xi \xi$. $\pi o \iota \eta \hat{\eta} \alpha \iota$ and substitutes linel 'to become.' The Berlin apograph has 'to hear (lsel) blasphemies.'

$13^{14}$ ठıà тঠ̀ $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon \hat{\imath o \nu}$ ő
$14^{2}$ add $\hat{\eta} v$ before $\eta^{\eta} v$
$14^{3}$ ov̉סєis є́فv́vaтo : ov̉к є́ถ̀vvá $\mu \eta \nu$

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$14^{4}$
$14^{1 s}$ after $\pi v \rho o ́ s ~ a d d ~ \tau o \hat{v}$ Ovora⿱宀тךрíov［so 12 ：om a 3］
$14^{20}$ d́mó：©́s
$15^{1}$ Here 4 paraphrases $\tau \grave{s}$ є $\sigma \chi$ д́тas＇worse than all evil，＇but for the rest has＇a conflate text．
$15^{3} \tau \dot{\alpha}{ }_{\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \rho \gamma a$ for $\alpha i$ ódoí．So also in Dr Gwynn＇s old Syriac text［so 1］
$15^{8}$ after ó vaós add $\tau 0 \hat{v} \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$
$16^{12}$ after $\ddot{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \cos$ add $\tilde{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \boldsymbol{\lambda}$ os 4 ［ceteri］
 $\sigma$ т．т．Anpiov；the author of 4 inherited the same text as 1 ，and added the missing words in the wrong place：the other Arm．texts never had the omission］
$16^{14}$ тоьо仑̂vт ：єै $\chi o v \tau \alpha$（？due to an uncial corruption in the Armenian）
$16^{1+}$ бvvaүaүєîv：кaì бvvá $\not \epsilon \iota$（or ？$\left.\sigma v v a ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota\right)$
$16^{21}$ öт $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda a \iota ~ \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ ai $\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \alpha i$ aitīs and om $\sigma \phi o ́ \delta \rho a$
$17^{4} \mathrm{om} \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}$ and ai̛тīs and read ákaӨapта́тךs торvєias
$17^{5} \operatorname{tr} \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \epsilon ́ v o v$ övо $\mu$［so a 3］；below $4=\tau \hat{\omega \nu} \beta \delta є \lambda . к . \tau . \pi о \rho v \hat{\omega} \nu$

＇which has carried，＇perhaps due to a confusion of quce portabat．
with que portabit］
$17^{8}$ after $\epsilon i \delta \epsilon s$ add ő［so a 2 3］

$18^{2}$ ópvéov＇spirit＇or＇ghost＇［so 2］
$18^{\circ}$ бо́тє：áто́ботє［so a 3：＇shall be given＇］
$18^{8} \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \alpha i ́: \beta a \sigma \alpha \nu \iota \mu о$ í

 6．3．8．9． 6 Prim Haym： $23=$ Tisch］
$18^{10}$ каi т̀̀v $\beta a \sigma \alpha \nu \iota \sigma \mu o ́ v$ for $\tau o v ̂ \beta a \sigma \alpha \nu \iota \sigma \mu o \hat{v}$ ．So below in vs 15

$18^{15} \sigma \tau \eta{ }^{15} \sigma о \nu \tau \alpha \iota: ~ \epsilon \in \tau \hat{\omega} \tau \epsilon \varsigma$

$18^{17}$ тivv $\theta$ á $\lambda u \sigma \sigma \alpha v:$＇with tools＇［with a net $\alpha$ 3］
 $\sigma \alpha \mu \in \nu \quad a \quad 3$ ］

$18^{24}$ аíرата：$\pi \hat{\alpha} v$ aip $\mu\left[\begin{array}{lll}80 & 2 & 3\end{array}\right]$
$18^{24}$ tr $\alpha \chi^{\prime} \omega \nu$ к $\alpha i \pi \rho о \phi \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
$19^{5}$ aiveite is repeated twice
$19^{6}$ о̋ть：subst каí


$19^{7}$ Хаípшцєv：subst каi $\chi$ аípорєv
 agnus 4 ［so 2 which supplies venit and has nuptias suas］
$19^{8}$ before $\lambda a \mu \pi$ рóv add 入єvкóv［so a 3 ］


 seems to be right. It might easily be lost before $\pi \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \mu a$

 flation [so 3 but om кaì $\tau \grave{\alpha} \sigma \tau$. ov̉. : $2=\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ̀ s ~ o u ̉ p a v o v . ~: ~$ $a=4$ ]

 hip-a conflation
$19^{17}$ for $\frac{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\varphi} \hat{\eta} \lambda i ́ \varphi$ reads $\bar{\epsilon} \pi i ̀ \tau \hat{i} \dot{\eta}$. [so $\alpha: 2=$ ad solem]
$19^{18}$ for iva subst каí [so a $]$
$19^{20}$ тò Хápa $\chi \mu \alpha$ : т $\eta \nu \chi \alpha ́ \rho \iota \nu$
 $\sigma a y$ [so 2, and also a 1, but punctuating after av̇тô̂ and adding каí. Furthermore a 12 substitute they cast them for ${ }_{\epsilon} \beta \lambda$. and use another verb than 4] after $\delta р a ́ к о \nu \tau \alpha$ add $\mu \epsilon \prime \gamma a \nu$

$20^{6}$ before $\dot{\epsilon} \pi i ́$ add ö ó $\tau$, which so placed may easily have dropt out of the Greek texts

$20^{7}$ ढ่к $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ фvдак $\bar{\eta} \mathrm{s}$ : 'and shall go forth from his bonds'
$20^{12}$ add tov́s before $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \omega \bar{\omega} \tau a s$ [so a 1 : def 2]


$21^{2}$ каi $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu:=$ civitatem enim

$21^{6}$ єَ $\gamma \dot{\omega} \tau \hat{\varphi}: \kappa a i ̀ \tau \hat{\varphi}$ [so a 1: not 2]
 but uses another equivalent for $\delta \in i \lambda o i ̂ s . a$ and 4 have supplied the missing word independently of one another]
$21^{8}$ before roîs $\psi \epsilon v \delta \dot{\epsilon} \epsilon \iota v$ add 'drug-givers and ' [so $\alpha$; and also 12 , but before $\epsilon i \delta \omega \lambda o \lambda a ́ \tau \rho \alpha \iota s]$
$21^{10}=\tau \grave{\eta} v \pi_{o ́ \lambda \iota \nu} \tau \grave{\nu} v$ ä $\nu \omega{ }^{\text {e }} \mathrm{I} \epsilon \rho$. áyíav [so 1 but tr áyíav after $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota v$ : def 2: $a=$ cursives 1.31. 79.91.96]
 $\lambda i \theta_{\omega}[\alpha$ om ő $\rho$. $\epsilon i \rho$. which 1 places in preceding verse: $\alpha 2$ add ö $\mu$ o七os which 1 omits]
$21^{12}$ after ${ }_{\alpha}{ }^{\text {é }} \boldsymbol{\sigma} \sigma \tau \nu$ add óvó $\mu a \tau \alpha$ [ $\alpha 1$ om: ? 2]
$21^{16}$ after $\mu \hat{\eta} \kappa o s$ add $\left.\alpha v\right\rangle \eta \hat{\eta} s$ [so a 2: om 1]
$21^{17}=\hat{o ̂} \kappa \kappa \alpha \grave{\epsilon} \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \tau \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$
$21^{18}$ add ${ }^{\circ} \lambda \eta$ before $\dot{\eta} \pi o ́ \lambda \iota s$
$21^{20} \dot{\alpha} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \theta v v \tau \tau o s: ~ ' a g a t e ' ~ a n d ~ c o n t i n u e ~ t h u s ~ ' ~ t h e ~ t h i r t e e n t h, ~ p e a r l: ~ a ~ d o o r, ~$ which were of a single pearl'
$21^{21}$ after $\delta a v \gamma \gamma^{\prime} s$ add 'et prope apud portam refulgentior tanquam beryllus'-a conflation [ 1 and 2 subst for $\omega$ s v̋a入os $\delta \iota a v \gamma \eta^{\prime} s$ ]

$21^{25} \underset{\epsilon}{\prime} \sigma \tau \alpha \iota: ~ \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \nu$

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 Clearly ${ }^{\stackrel{\prime}{\epsilon} \tau \iota}$ was rendered as if ö ö


$22^{20} \tau \alpha \hat{\imath} \tau \alpha \cdot v a i ́: ~ \tau a i ̂ \tau a ~ \epsilon i ̂ v a i ~ b y ~ e r r o r ~[H e r e ~ 1=\tau a v ̂ \tau \alpha ~ \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha \cdot v a i ́: ~ a ~$ omits vai with Prim]
$22^{20}$ add ioov́ before ${ }^{\prime \prime} \rho \chi \circ \mu \alpha \iota$

## CHAPTER VI

THE BODLEIAN CODEX
The above collation exhausts the differences between Tisch and the Armenian MS. of Jerusalem. They are neither so numerous nor profound, but that we may rank 4 as a text closely akin to Tisch. Now the latter is a text based almost exclusively upon the great uncials \& A C P, rather more weight being given to N than other editors would accord. Tischendorf's B, which is not the same codex as B in the gospels, I have, following Tregelles, Gwynn, and others, called Q. It was written as late as the eighth century, and constantly sides with the mass of cursives against the great uncials. We may say therefore in general terms that 4 represents an uncial text. How closely the author or authors of 4 adhered to their Greek text can be inferred from $7^{1}$ where $\tau \epsilon \in \sigma \sigma a \rho a s$ is rendered correctly as the accusative plural and $\gamma \omega \nu$ ias as the genitive singular. The order of words of the original Greek is observed throughout.

But the text of 4 , though of the same class as the somewhat eclectic uncial text of Tisch, is pervaded by certain peculiarities which may be summarised as follows:-

1. Although Tisch has leaned to N in selecting his text, 4 is yet closer to $\mathbb{N}$ than he. In $18^{3}$ and $20^{2,3}$ it faithfully renders even blunders of $\kappa$, and in various other passages has variants added in N by the correctors, as witness $6^{15}, 12^{1}, 12^{6}$. Moreover, 4 shews a special affection for readings common to $\mathfrak{N}$ and $\mathfrak{N}^{c}$ and the Old Latin, as witness the remarkable variants at $10^{10}$ and $14^{8}$.

After x the Greek sources with which 4 commonly allies itself are in one set of variants 38 . and 79., and in another 7. 14. and 92. J.t is s.lso to be noticed that $\mathbb{N}$ often carries
with it in 4 the suffrage of the cursives 35 and 87 , as also of 14 and 92 . In quite a number of passages 4 reflects 7. 38. and 79. apart from the uncials, and it seldom departs from $\mathbb{N}$ to agree isolatedly with the uncials A C P without the accompanying suffrage of one of these cursives.

After $\mathbb{N}$ and this small band of cursives the determining influence of our text, where it departs from Tisch, is the Old Latin, as represented by Primasius, or Tichonius, or the anon ${ }^{\text {aug. }}$ A surprisingly large number of its readings are found only in these Latin sources, and not in any Greek text; and often the coptic text collated in Tisch associates itself with the Old Latin and Armenian.

As regards the agreements with the cursives 38 and 79 , it must be borne in mind that these are only cursives in name, and possess as sources of the text the weight of uncials. The cursives 7. 14.28.92, and perhaps 36, are also remarkable MSS., standing out in relief from the later cursive tradition, which therefore has had little or no part in the formation of this Armenian text.

In three passages $12^{11}, 13^{15}$, and $13^{18}$, our Armenian text is in striking accord with C. In the last passage-that which gives the number of the beast as 616 -the cursive 11, otherwise not prominent, accompanies C. I am inclined to regard the Armenian as dependent here on the Old Latin. In $13^{15}$ C is attended by 14. 28.79.

Bearing in mind the leading characteristics of the Armenian MS. 4 as reflected in the above collation with Tisch, let us approach the problem of its relation to the other Armenian sources $a, 1,2$, and 3 , for these, in spite of much variety, on the whole cohere in one group as against 4. Our chief problem is how to reconcile the presence of so large a Latin element in all the sources alike, with the extreme fidelity to a Greek original evinced everywhere in 4 , and very generally in $1,2,3$. It would seem as if the archetype which was the ancestor of all these Armenian texts, although in the main a translation of a Greek text of the uncial class, yet contained a large Old Latin element. It was a Greek text saturated with this influence. The Jerusalem text 4 is probably an eighth-century revision of this older Armenian text, and the reviser used a Greek text almost identical with $\kappa$. Doubtless he intended
to reconstitute the entire text according to his new source. Nevertheless his recension left in the text the many Latinisms which 4 contains. The sources 123 retain a larger proportion of the Old Latin heritage, because, though they have not altogether escaped the tender mercies of Greek revisers, they have never been so methodically submitted to them. Nerses of Lambron, when he set himself to make a fresh recension in the twelfth century, had inherited a text more akin to 123 than to 4 , and in consequence his recension exhibits more of their peculiarities than of those of 4. And between his recension and 1 there is, as I have shewn, a particuliar lien. In 1 there is a lacuna from $16^{17}$ to $19^{18}$. Throughout this lacuna the recension is absolutely identical with 3 and almost identical with 4 , although up to $16^{17}$ and after $19^{18}$ it is markedly different from 3 and 4 . We may conclude that the MS. on which Nerses based his recension contained the same lacuna as does 1 , and that subsequent copies of his recension filled up the lacuna from our existing codex 3 . It is impossible to regard 4 as a recension made later than the eighth century. A later recension than that would not be likely to adhere so strictly to the older uncial tradition.

If 4 were free from exclusively Old Latin influence, it might plausibly be argued that $a, 1$ and 2 were, as regards their Latinisms, texts later than it, on which a Latin corrector had been at work. But 4, though it contains fewer Latinisms, still has not a few. Indeed 1,2 and 3, and $a$ which is based on them, exaggerate all the characteristics in which 4 differs from Tisch. They contain fewer readings traceable to the later cursive tradition of Q , more of the peculiarities of $\mathfrak{\aleph}$, more of 38 and 79 , more of the Old Latin, especially of Primasius, beside many peculiar additions from which 4 is probably only free because they have been revised out of it. It is now time to substantiate these statements, and especially to tabulate the Latinisms of these other Armenian sources.

And, firstly, as regards the general character of the Bodleian Armenian text. Prof. John Gwynn in his edition of the Old Syriac version of the Apocalypse, Dublin, 1897, furnishes a table of all the passages in which the older uncials with the Old Latin sources range themselves over against the later cursive tradition. I have examined these passages in the

Armenian MS. 1 wherever it admits of comparison, and it admits thereof in over 500 passages; and I find but fourteen only in which it supports any of the cursives. I take no account of those in which $7.14 .92 .28 .35 .38,79.87$ are the cursives concerned, because, as I have said, these MSS. although of relatively late date, are exceptions from the massive of cursive tradition; and really possess, where they differ from the rest, the same weight as the early uncials. Nor do I reckon cases in which the cursives are supported by Latin evidence, or by Coptic or Old Syriac. The fourteen cases are the following :-

[^12]Next let us collect the additional Latinisms of the version, not found in 4, fixing our attention chiefly upon 1 , and signalising, where necessary, the assent or dissent of $\boldsymbol{a} 23$, and also the attitude in each case of 4 .
$1^{14}$ om $\lambda$ єикиi $1 ; 3$ also omits and preserves the text better than 1 and 2 , for it reads 'and his head and ( + his 2) hair as wool white and his eyes,' etc. 2 omits 'as wool white and his eyes' through the similar ending 'as . . . as.' 4 varies the order and introduces slight changes. 'But the hair of his head white as wool pure,' retaining
 גєикиi and $\lambda$ єикóv. The Arm is clearly right in omitting either $\lambda \in и к \frac{1}{n}$ or $\lambda \epsilon$ ккиi, but surely the one or the other should remain, for the writer seems to have had Isa. $1^{18}$ in mind: is Xúva
$\lambda \epsilon v \kappa \alpha \nu \hat{\omega}$. . . ©s épıov $\lambda \epsilon v \kappa \alpha v \omega$. This Haussleiter remarks, though he argues that Prim is right in omitting both. The words $\dot{\omega} \boldsymbol{\chi} \chi \iota \omega$ given in all sources except the Armenian are also a reminiscence of Isaiah, and this would account for their intrusion in the Greek and Latin texts, supposing the Arm to be right in omitting them. Nerses has added them in his recension, from which also they are added by a late hand in the margin of 3 .
$1^{17}$ All the Armenian sources except 4 have the Old Latin order : posuit super me dextram.
$1^{18}$ It has been pointed out that 4 omits this verse as far as aićv$\nu \omega$ inclusive, and this suggests that 1 which omits the words кai ioov
 Armenian tradition than 2 and 3 which render these words identi-
 $\nu \epsilon \kappa$ рós thus : ego vita et ego qui fui mortuus, 'I am life and I am he who died,' a 123 exhibit a certain affinity with Primasius who omits кaì ó g $\epsilon \nu$ and with the Fleury palimpsest which renders qui fui mortuus. The qui is also given in various MSS. of Prim.
[Haussleiter condemns the words $\kappa a i ̀ o j \zeta \omega \nu$ as a superfluous addition, and so they are if the words каì iठov̀ $\zeta \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon i \mu \iota ~ \epsilon i s$ $\tau o v ̀ s ~ a i \hat{\omega} \nu a s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ aícov $\omega \nu$ be original. The objection somewhat disappears, if $\kappa a i$ be omitted with $\aleph^{*}$ and the Armenian, and єं $\gamma \dot{\omega}$ єi $\mu \iota \dot{\eta} \zeta \omega \eta$ be substituted. It is probable that Origen had this reading, for commenting on this passage (Delar. tom. iv. p. 36) he writes $\dot{\alpha} \pi{ }^{2}$ ò $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ \pi \rho o \eta \gamma o v \mu e ́ v \eta \varsigma ~ \zeta \omega \hat{\eta} s ~ a u ̉ \tau o \hat{v}$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \zeta \omega \grave{\nu} \nu \tau 0 \hat{v}$ 'I $\eta \sigma o \hat{v}$. Tichonius in rendering: ego sum vivus, qui fui mortuus, confirms the Armenian. I suspect that in the east the earliest text was the Armenian and omitted кai ioov́, etc.; it insisted on the fact that he who was principle of life actually died (a fact much disputed among the Gnostics and Docetes), and so held the keys of death and hades (or ? paradise). In the west the earliest text omitted $\epsilon \in \gamma \dot{\omega} \epsilon \hat{i} \mu \iota \dot{\eta}$ $\zeta \omega \eta^{\prime}$ and laid stress on the historical fact of the resurrection by adding кai î ioù $\zeta \hat{\omega} \nu$, ete.

It is instructive to notice that in $2^{8}$ the Arm codex 1 omits кaì é $\zeta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ just as here it omits кaì iठov̀ $\zeta \omega \bar{\omega} \nu$, etc. That is, in both passages it emphasised the death of Jesus, but not his resurrection. The omission at $2^{8}$ is probably original, for the other codices supply it in different terms, 4 having kentanatzav $=$ 'was made alive,' 2 ekatz (read ekeatz) $=$ 'he lived,' and 3 keanqn = 'the life.']

[^13]thee I know' 1: 'the blasphemy which the Jews spake thou liearest,' 2, and 3 similarly. Whence the words 'unto thee' in 1 ? There seems to be some relation to the version used by Prim 'et blasphemaris ab iis qui se dicunt' etc.
$2^{16} \pi \sigma \lambda \epsilon \mu \eta \sigma \omega \mu \epsilon \tau^{\prime}$ ait $\boldsymbol{\omega} \nu v$ : the first hand in codex $a$ of the recension corrects 'with them' to 'with you,' a reading found in Prim tecum and Jerome.
$2^{21}$ om каí before ${ }^{\epsilon} \delta \omega \kappa \alpha$ with Prim.
$2^{24}$ оїтиєs оикк ${ }^{\prime \prime} \gamma^{\nu} \omega \sigma \sigma \nu$ : the $a$ text and MS. 3 render qui non cornoristis with Tichonius and also Quaest 102 which reads et ignoratis altitudinem.
$3^{4}$ тєрıтaтijovovıv: gnastzen 'shall walk' in 4: shrdjein 'were going around' in 1: shrdjetzin 'went around' in 2: shrdjestzin 'shall go around ' in 3. Prim has mecum ambulaverunt, but in his commentary as in vg umbulabant is read, which is a misreading of umhulubunt. Arm 3 here betrays an independent knowledge of the Greek as often. It retains the future, yet without following 4, since it uses the same verb as 1 and 2 . The recension $a$ uses the same verb, but has the present tense.
$3^{16} \mathrm{om}$ oüt $\omega$ sed quonium tepilus es with Prim. So MS. 3: 2 deficit. 4 omits sed and agrees with Tisch.
$3^{20}$ after $\mu \epsilon \tau$ ' ' $\mu \mathrm{\mu} \hat{v}$ add 'in my kingdom.' So 123 , but $\alpha 4$ omit. Prim adds in trono meo.
$4^{2}$ кaì iooò $\theta$ póvos: 'and I saw a throne that it stood in heaven' 1 , 2, 3 : 'and behold, a throne that it stood in heaven' $4: a$ omits the words that it stood, but has 'and I saw.' Thus 4 renders Tisch: the rest Prim who has et ecce vidi tronum positum in caelo, combining the Arm and the Greek texts.
49.10 Here 4 has the Latinism cum darent of vg or cum dederant of Prim, but adheres to the Greek tenses in the sequel, but the other texts, except for partial omissions, reflect the Latin and adhere to the imperfect throughout.
vg has cum darent . . . procidebant.
Prim has cum dederant . . . cadebant . . . adorabant (also in vg).
Then mittehant is in cl, demid, lipss al ${ }^{\text {lachm }}$. Haussleiter corrects to cadebunt and reads adorabunt in vs 10 . The thorough dependence of the Armenian text on the Latin is clear.
$4^{11}$ domine deus a 1: domine et deus noster 23 -Prim omits et with $a 1$.
$5^{6}$ 'in medio troni et in medio IIII animalium' Prim.
 All Greek solurees have ijpiss, so that Nerses may have restored it independently of 4 : ipuis is only found in the Old Latin vg Prim Cyp Vulg Matern.
 following the Old Latin of Prim who has regnabimus, which vg turns into regnavimus. Nerses ( $a$ ) corrects to $\beta u \sigma \iota \lambda \in i \in \epsilon v$ without any authority.
 veni 'come thou' with veni 'I have come.'
$6^{5}$ om кai ¿סov́ with Prim 12: a 34 retain.
$6^{6}$ om каí before $\tau \grave{\prime}$ é $\bar{\lambda}$ acov with Prim 1: add ceteri.
$6^{9}$ каì $\delta \iota \grave{\alpha} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu \alpha \rho \tau v \rho i ́ a v ~ a v ̉ \tau o v ̂ ~ w i t h ~ P r i m ~ a n d ~ C y p ~ e t ~ m a r t y r i u m ~ s u u m, ~$ 12: к. $\delta \iota \grave{\alpha} \tau . \mu$. $\hat{\eta} v \in i ̉ x o \nu 4$, with all the Greek sources: $a$ has the conflation av่тov̂ $\ddot{\eta} v$ єỉXov not found in Greek MSS. 3 has $\mu \alpha \rho \tau$. тô ápvíov rô áyíov shewing an independent knowledge of $Q$ and the Greek cursives which insert $\tau 0 \hat{v} \dot{\alpha} \rho v i ́ o v$ before $\hat{\eta} v \in \hat{i} X{ }^{\circ} v$.
$6^{11}$ є́סóӨ $\eta \sigma \alpha \nu \ldots \sigma \tau \sigma \lambda a i ̀ \lambda \epsilon v \kappa \alpha i ́ 1$, with Prim Cyp: datae sunt eis singulis stolae albae. Here 4 retains $\epsilon^{\circ} \delta o ́ \theta \eta \sigma a v$, but renders $\sigma \tau o \lambda \grave{\eta}$ $\lambda_{\epsilon v \kappa} \eta$, using a different equivalent for $\sigma \tau o \lambda \eta, 2$ renders in the singular throughout with all the Greek sources: a 3 have ${ }^{\prime} \delta \delta o ́ \theta \eta$ . . $\sigma \tau о \lambda a i ̀ ~ \lambda є v к а i . ~$
$6^{13}$ тồ oưpuvô̂ is rendered as if $\epsilon \kappa \kappa \tau$. oủ. by 123 with $\operatorname{vg}$ and Tert de caelo: a 4 omit $\epsilon \kappa$.
 illum and cop (Horner): 4 omits with all Greek sources: 3 subst 'to walk from the face (or presence) of him,' confusing kal with gnal and rendering évஸ́тьov differently.
 Prim renders et magno clamore (magna voce $f$ ) dicebant. Here $1=$ et voce magna dicebant, but the other Arm sources add $=$ ' and they cried out with great voice saying' ('and were saying' 4); but each has a different order, and 3 uses another equivalent for 'cried out,' than $\alpha 24$ use. They thus only agree in the words 'with great voice.' It would appear that 1 here represents the original Armenian version, and the other MSS. have corrected it with help of Greek MSS. The evidence for magna voce in Prim is very strong.
 Scorp 12 renders: et laverunt vestimenta sua et candidaverunt ipsum in sanguine. We have the extraordinary rendering 'and they whitened him' in the Arm MSS. $123: 4$ corrects so as to equal aircás, and a omits av̉тás. I conjecture that $\epsilon \in \lambda \epsilon \dot{\kappa} \alpha \nu \alpha \nu \tau a ̀ s$
 so that Tertullian rendered av่ $\boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\omega} v$ alone, and the Armenian MS. took the gen pl for ace sing.
$7^{15} \sigma \kappa \eta \nu \omega \dot{\omega} \sigma \epsilon$. Cyp and Prim have inhabitavit, an error for inhabitabit. All the Arm sources translate the error, except 4 which corrects to the future, and 3 , which renders inhabitat.

 tertiam partem arborem cremaverunt et omne faenum viride usserunt. Similarly a 123 render $\tau \grave{\partial}$ т $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ ítov as an accusative and as if $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau a$ Хо́ртоv ү $\lambda \omega \rho o ́ v ~ s t o o d ~ i n ~ t h e ~ t e x t ~ a n d ~ a l s o ~ к а т є ́ к а \iota є . ~$ Prim shews traces of a similar rendering, e.g. omnem faenum viridem in several of his MSS., and in comment: ignis missus in terram . . . tertiam partem terrae, arborum et faeni ac viriditatis incendisse dicitur. Arm 4 adjusts the text to the Greek codices.
 So all Greek MSS. Here a 12 exactly render Prim and the

Fleury MS.: multi homines mortui sunt ab amaritudine aquarum : 4 adjusts to the Greek: 'were destroyed (not died) from the waters, because they were made bitter,' and 3 like 4 renders the Greek, but in a different way, and probably independently.
 exactly render the text of codex $f$ of Prim (cp above on $7^{10}$ ): et capilli eorum sicut capilli mulierum. 4 corrects 'and they had hair as the hair of women.' It may be remarked that $u 123$ have the singular ' of a woman.'
 harl ${ }^{*}$ regem angelorum. $\quad a$ and 4 correct independently of each other.

 $\pi a \rho \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \in v$. Arm MS. 1 renders 'Behold woe the first has passed by, and woe the second is about to come after it quickly.' This recalls Hier Ezech 7: vae unum abiit et vae alterum veniet cito. Cop (Horner) has the same text, and also the Fleury MS.: Vae unum abiit et ecce secundum vae (desinit fol. 115 palimpsestr). a omits the words after it quickly, and 234 omit quickly. Note that


$9^{17}{ }^{\epsilon} \kappa \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau о \mu a ́ \tau \omega v$. All the Arm sources save 4, which adjusts to the Greek, render de ore, after the rendering of Prim Cyp vg and Syr (Gwynn).
 quibus nocebunt multos: $\alpha=$ de quibus nocebant iniustos (ер $\eta \delta<\kappa$ коvoav of cursive 38 and ? $\dot{\alpha} \delta \iota \kappa o v \sigma \iota v \dot{\alpha} \dot{\delta} i ́ \kappa o v s): 3=$ et in eo nocebunt : $4=$ et in iis tormentabant laedebant : $2=$ de quibus nocebant omnes All these readings belong to the sphere of the Old Latin which has nocebunt. Tichonius already corrects to nocent. Perhaps the cursive 38 here exhibits Latin influence.
$11^{9}$ for $\beta \lambda$ étovarv a 123 exhibit $\beta \lambda$ '́qovarv with Prim cop aeth et videbunt. 4 adjusts to the Greek.
$11{ }^{10}$ '́ßávioav : a 13 involve $\beta$ aravíoovol, 'they shall maltreat,' and so also 4 substituting a correcter equivalent, 'they shall torment' (or ? be tormented): 2 retains the past tense. Prim has cruciuverunt, but the Armenian appears to be a misreading of cruciabant as cruciabunt
 $=$ shall enter . . . they shall stand . . . shall fall. $a$ also has the first two futures, but then goes to the past 'did fall.' The rendering of Prim introivit or (in Haussleiter's MSS. f $G$ v ) intrarit explains the first, for the Vulgate has intrabit, but the Latin codices have steterunt and cecidit which do not explain the other two futures, unless the former was confused with steterint. The imperfect stabant would better explain the second future, and the third might arise out of cadelat and cadebit (see on vs $20^{4}$ page 101).
 and in vs $12 \dot{\alpha}$ кои́ซovтac (andibant $=$ audibunt ) and in $19^{20} \beta \lambda_{\eta} \eta \dot{\eta} \dot{\eta}$ rovтal for ${ }^{\varepsilon} \beta \lambda \lambda_{i} \theta \eta \sigma a v$. It has therefore been sulject to the same

Latin influence as the Armenian, and ultimately represents a Greek text which read $\eta_{\kappa \prime \prime v}$ av. The Arm 4 correets to the past tense all through verse 11. Cop (Horner) also has the futures in this verse.

 two former point to the confusion erit = erat, though vg and pr render factus est and in timorem sunt missi. The Armenian text here seems to repose on a Latin version different from these, in which oi $\lambda o \iota \pi o i ́$ was rendered as if $\tau \grave{2}$ خoutóv.
$11^{18}$ The rendering of Tichonius : tempus quo de mortuis iudicetur seems to underlie $\alpha 12$.
$13^{14}$ ös $\epsilon^{\prime \prime} \chi \epsilon \iota$. . каì $\epsilon$ €̌ $\{\eta \sigma \epsilon v$ : 'who shall have . . and shall live' 1 : 'who hath . . and shall live' 2: $4=$ 'who hath . . and lived' using another equivalent for lived: $\alpha=o ̋ s \dot{\alpha} \pi o ̀ ~ \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \omega \hat{\omega} \tau \hat{\eta} s \mu a \chi \alpha i \rho \eta s$
 texts there must lie a confusion of a Latin past and future, e.g. of convalebit with convalebat or of vigebit with vigebat.
 fluctuate from past to future tenses, thus $\alpha$ has: shall be led shall die . . shall slay; 1 has: shall be led . . shall destroy; 2 has : were delivered . . died . . slew ; 3 has : shall be led . . shall slay : $4=$ Tisch. The texts seem to go back to some form of Latin.
$12^{18}$ This verse is omitted in the Arm MS. 2. Versum 18 prorsus om. Primasius (Haussleiter).
 est eum. $\alpha$ and 4 correct to the plural, but independently, for $a$ retains the equivalent of 123 gayr zhet 'followed,' whereas 4 substitutes erthayr zhet.
$14^{13}$ ìva àvamaj$\sigma o v \tau \alpha \iota$. Here a 13 =quia requieverunt. But 24 $=$ quia requiescent or requiescant (read by Prim).
 Prim : et calcatum est in torculari. $\alpha 4=$ calcatum est torcular. 1 and $2=$ in torculari, but involve the sense calcabat or calcabatur. add $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ before $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \stackrel{\prime}{\epsilon} \theta \nu \omega \nu$ with Prim and the Fleury MS. all Arm sources except 4 and 3 which is missing here: 2 moreover reads $\beta a \sigma$. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ai' ${ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu$ каi $\beta a \sigma$. $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \stackrel{l}{\epsilon} \theta \nu \omega \prime \nu$ a conflation with Prim of $\mathbf{N}^{*}$ C 18.95 and of reliqui Latini.
 the Fleury palimpsest and demid: quia solus sanctus et pius es. Prim omits sanctus et. Syr $=$ sanctus es et iustus. Arm 4 omits каì örıos with all Greek MSS. Note that a 1 not understanding the use of arjani=övoos (common in the Armenian version of Philo), and taking it in the common sense of dignus have added 'of being worshipped': 2 omits this gloss : deficit 3 .
$16^{3}$ om ís veкpov̂ after aî 1 and 2 with Prim and Fleury MS. a and 3 supply mereal $=$ dead, and om $\omega$ s with cursives 1. 46. Arm 4 adds the words 'as if of the slain.'
$16^{16} \sigma v v^{\prime} \gamma \boldsymbol{\gamma} \gamma_{\epsilon v}$ : he will congregate 13 -a confusion of congregavit with congregabit which occurs here in vg and in some codices of

Prim．Gwynn＇s Syriac also has the future．Arm 24 restore the past tense．$\quad \alpha=$ congregabo．
 «́ка日ароías каì т $\bar{s} \pi$ ．à̉．So Cyp：et immunditiae et fornica－ tionis totius terrae．So Prim，only omitting the second et．Arm 3 seems to approximate still more to the Old Latin since it sulstitutes $\tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ for air $\hat{\eta} s$ ，but this may be due to contact with a Greek text，since $Q$ al ${ }^{30}$ substitute $\tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ ，and for the rest 3 differs from the Latin and $=$ et plenum erat abominabili et immunda fornicatione terrae．So $\alpha$ ，but omitting with 4 both aviтîs and $\tau \hat{\eta} \boldsymbol{\gamma} \hat{\eta}_{s}$.
 keeps the Greek reading．Prim has admirabuntur，misread as admirabantur．
$7^{11}$ i $\pi \dot{\pi} \dot{\gamma} \epsilon$ ．．＇is about to proceed＇in $u 23$ ．Here 4 restores the present tense．Prim ：in perditionem ibit ：am fu lips ${ }^{6}$ vadet．
 text here is clearly corrupt，for it is the wild beast that owned the ten horns．Here Arm 2 omits кaí and involves $\dot{\epsilon} \pi i$ or $\epsilon$ is тò $\theta$ ．；$\quad$ a and 3 equally om каí and involve $\tau о \hat{i}$ Enpíov． 4 omits каì тò $\theta$ ．

 Prim ：esse illos in consensu． 4 restores the Geeek idiom．
$18^{7}$ togoûtov ठ̀ótє，＇so much shall be given＇Arm 2．Cp Prim Cyp＇ in tantum datur．a $34=\tau о \sigma$ ．á $\pi$ óóoтє．
1812 ${ }^{12} \theta^{\theta} \omega v \tau \iota \mu i \omega v$ for $\lambda i \theta o v$ тıpiov Arm a 2 3： 4 corrects to the singular，substituting for ckantz the equivalent qari．Prim et lapidum pretiosorum．So both Old Syr versions．
 tuorum concupiscentia animae．Therefore read каi $\tau \hat{\eta}$ s ómópas vou ì $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \theta_{\imath}$ ри́c which is better sense．Here a 23 om $\dot{\eta}$ ö ötopa，but confirm Prim in rendering $\hat{\eta}$ є́ $\pi \iota \forall \imath \mu i ́ a . ~ 4$ renders the Greek．
$18^{14}$ iimij $\theta \epsilon v: 2=$＇shall depart＇－a confusion of abivit（Prim）with abibit． The other Arm sources retain the past tense．
$18^{14}$ Arm 2 renders $\dot{u} \pi \dot{\omega} \lambda o v \tau o$ correctly，but substitutes the past tense －they could not find＇for the future єippijovorv，－a confusion of invenibunt（a possible form in Old Latin）for invenibant．The other Arm sources with $Q$ and numerous cursives have＇thou shalt not find．
 have the future．Here Prim renders＂́k $\rho a \xi ু o v$ clamahunt where however，codices C F of his text have clamabant．＂${ }^{\epsilon}$ Bu． $\mathrm{\lambda}$ ov is rendered in Prim mittentes and in vg miserunt．Perhaps the Arm arose out of mittebant $=$ mittebunt $($ see p．101），or miserunt $=$ miserint ．
 $2=$＇I heard a voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said＇ －due to a misreading of turbarum in Prim as tubarum．The Old Latin is ：audivi vocem turl）arum ingentium clamantium voce magna in caelo dicentium．Here tuharum is read in the editio princeps of Primasius，and below in vs 6 the words そ̈коvба is ф由wiv ö $\chi \lambda$ $\pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{i}$ is rendered ：audivi vocem tubarum magnarum，and Beatus
already has the error in his commentary, which shews how old it was. In Arm 2 the words from $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \lambda$ ovía in vs 4 to $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \lambda$ ovíu in vs 6 have dropt out, so we cannot say whether it repeated the error tubarum for turbarum in vs 6 . The other Arm sources render ${ }^{\circ} \chi \lambda o \hat{v}$ in both passages, but in this entire section omitted in MS. 1, MS. a 34 exhibit an unusual affinity.
$19^{10} \pi \rho о \sigma \kappa v v \eta$ $\sigma \alpha$, Arm $2=u t$ adorarem of Prim.
$19^{15} \pi о \iota \mu \alpha \nu \epsilon \hat{\imath} . . \pi a \tau \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ ( $\pi a \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \iota$ in Arm 4). Prim has aget . . calcabit. Arm 2 has shepherded . . .trod. The latter is due to a confusion of calcabit with calcavit actually read in the codd $N n$ of Prim or with calcabat. For the other future it is less easy to account; vg and some MSS. of Prim read reget : $\alpha 4=$ shall shepherd . . shall tread: $3=$ shepherds . . trod.
 heaven simply. So Prim avibus caeli. a 34 render the Greek.
$19^{19}$ after $\dot{\epsilon} \pi i \iota \tau o \hat{\imath} i \not \pi \pi \pi o v$ add $\tau o \hat{v} \lambda \epsilon v \kappa o \hat{v} 123$ with Cop (Horner) and Prim super album equum. 4 omits with all Greek sources.
 Prim Tich
 and shall reign . . . shall not live. Vixerunt $=$ vixerint : regnabant = regnabunt (read here in very many MSS.) : a 2 render the Greek.
 $\phi a \gamma \epsilon \nu . . . \dot{\epsilon} \beta \lambda \eta \eta_{\eta} \eta$
$\alpha 1=$ they shall go up .. . . and shall invest . . . and it shall descend . . . and shall devour . . . he shall cast them. [Arm 4 has the first two futures and then returns to the past tenses. Augustin : ascenderunt . . . cinxerunt . . . discendit . . . comedit . . . missus est. The Arm may have arisen out of ibant = ibuntcircuibant $=$ circuibunt-ivit $=$ ibit-devoravit $=$ devorabit. The last case 'he shall cast,' is more difficult; but perhaps mittebat $=$ mittebit would account for it. An ignorant Armenian translator might imagine such a form.
$20^{15} \dot{\epsilon} \beta \dot{\lambda} \dot{\eta} \theta \eta: 1=$ he shall be cast. Augustin missi sunt. ? mittebatur $=$ mittebitur : a 4 keep the past tense : 2 deficit.
$21^{23} \quad$ द́ $\phi \dot{\omega} \tau \iota \sigma \epsilon$. See above p. 102.
$21^{24} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi a \tau \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma v \sigma \iota v . . . \phi$ '́ $\rho o v \sigma \iota v: ~ t h e y ~ w a l k e d . .$. were habited with light.
Prim ambulabunt . . . conferent.

 каi $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon$ v́бovoıv. So Arm 4.
Arm 1 $=$ were not . . . were not in it . . . they adored . . . they
> saw . . . night was not . . . there was no need . . . god illumined and they reigned.

Prim: neque ullum iam maledictum erit, sed tronus . . . in ea erit et videbunt . . . et nox iam non erit neque opus erit. . . . Deus lucebit . . . et regnabunt. Ticonius has egebunt.
Vg : et omme maledictum non erit amplius, sed sedes Dei et agni in illa erunt ; et servi eius servient illi. Et videbunt . . . et nox ultra non erit, et non egebunt lumine. . . . Deus illuminalit eos et regnabunt.

In the alove texts, if erat be read for erit, videbant for videlount, lucebat for lucebit, egebant for egebunt, illuminavit for illuminabit, we reach the Armenian text.

The rendering of $\lambda u \tau \rho \epsilon$ írovov by 'were worshipping' is due to the misreading in an Old Latin text of servibant for servibunt. Jerome adopts the more common form servient.
$21^{19}$ omı $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau \epsilon$ í $X o v s ~ a, ~ 1, ~ w i t h ~ P r i m ~: ~ 4 ~ r e t a i n s: ~ 2 ~ d e f c i t . ~$

$22^{9}$ Arm $1=$ quia conservus tuus sum. So Prim. 4 omits quia.
$22^{10}$ Arm 1 omits $\tau 0 \hat{v} \beta \iota \beta$ रíov with Prim.
$22^{11}$ Arm 1 omits ${ }^{\prime \prime} \tau \iota$ three times with Prim.
$22^{15}$ Arm 1 renders Prim : foris autem remanebunt. 4 alters to 'And there shall go forth outside,' which is found in no text. It follows that 4 had here the same text as 1 , but altered it.
$22^{21}$ Arm 1 omits this verse with Cop (Horner) and Prim : a 4 retain, but appear to translate it independently : defic 23.

By way of concluding this part of the enquiry, I give a number of salient readings in which the Arm MS. 1 varies from Tisch. In each case I signify the Greek and Latin sources with which it agrees, and add in square brackets, where necessary, the readings of the other Armenian sources a, 2, 3, 4 .

For the sake of brevity I refer to the Greek and Latin sources under the symbols used by Prof. John Gwynn in his edition of the Oid Syriac version of the Apocalypse, Dublin, 1897. They are as follows:-

## Abbreviations

> pr stands for the text embodied in the Commentary of Primasius, $g$ for that of the MS. 'Gigas' (Stockholm),
> $h$ for that of the Fleury Palimpsest (Paris),
> $r \cdot$ for the consent of $p r, a, h$ (or of $p r$ and $g$ where $h$ deficit),
> $a m$ for the text of codex Amiatinus,
> $c l$ for the Clementine, as printed,
> $v g$ for the consent of $\mathrm{am}, \mathrm{cl}$,
> arm for the text of codex Armachanus,
lat stands for the consent of $v t$ and $v g$ ．
The MSS．are N A C P Q，as in Tregelles，and in Weiss
The MSS．are numbered as by Tischendorf and Gregory ；＇MSS．＇ stands for the consent of these

By＇nearly all，＇＇most，＇＇many，＇＇some，＇＇few＇are to be understood ＇nearly all MSS．，＇etc．
$\Sigma$ stands for the commonly known Syriac versions
S for the Syriac text edited by Dr．Gwynn
Cop（Horner）for Dr．Horner＇s Coptic text，Oxford， 1904

## $1^{1}$ om ó $\theta$ єós．So Dion Alex

$1^{5} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ ．Tisch notes＇ita ipse＊ut vi in $\mathfrak{N} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \omega \nu$ ex－ $\lambda \in \omega \hat{\omega}$ restituit＇

$1^{12} \lambda a \lambda \in \hat{i} \mathrm{~A}$
$1^{19}$ om oû้ $1,38,97$
$2^{1}$ om $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \tau \alpha ́$ before $\lambda v \chi \nu \iota \omega \nu 38,69,97$

$2^{10} \mu \eta$ for $\mu \eta{ }^{10} \epsilon \nu$ A C Q， 38 few
$2^{17}$ фaүєîv ảmò $\tau 0 \hat{\imath}$ ģùdov P Tert Scorp 12：Exinde victori cuique promittit nunc arborem vitae ．．nunc latens manna
$2^{19} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{\pi} \pi \eta v$ каi $\tau \grave{\alpha}{ }^{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \alpha$ бov．From their place after $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha ́ \pi \eta \nu$ we judge the words $\kappa \alpha \grave{\tau} \tau$ ．${ }^{\prime \prime} . \sigma$ ．to have been intruded in the text of Arm 1．Epiphanius omits them，also cursive 12
$2^{22} \alpha ข ้ \tau \omega \hat{\nu}$ for $\alpha u ̛ \tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{~A}, 1,36,79$ ，etc．，pr，am，cl
$2^{23}$ av่тồ for $\mathfrak{i} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{Q}, 38$ ，cl，Cyp
$2^{24} \beta \alpha \lambda \hat{\omega}$ N $Q, 1,14,92$ ，few，pr，vg
$2^{27} \sigma v v \tau \rho \iota \beta \eta^{\prime} \sigma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \mathrm{P}$ Q，most，pr，vg

$3^{14}$ каì ท่ ふ

$3^{16}$ om каi ov̈тє ̧．ov̉rє $\psi .10, \mathrm{~m}^{32}$ ，Ambr，Ambrst，Prim Haym
$3^{18}$ after $\sigma v \mu \beta$ ov $\epsilon \epsilon$ ט́㇒ $\sigma$ o七 add ov̂v 38，cop．Prim deficit
$3^{19}$ after $\zeta$ そ＇$\lambda \in v \in$ om oûv $7,12,16,28$
$4^{3} \quad i \in \rho \in i ̂ s \mathbb{A}$ A，28， 79
$4^{7}$ before $\dot{\alpha} \nu \theta \rho \omega i ́ t o v$ om $\omega_{s} \mathrm{Q}$ ，most
$4^{8}$＇Lord of hosts．＇So ки́рьоя ó $\sigma a \beta a \omega ́ \theta$ 7，28，36，39，79，Eph ${ }^{348}$ And ${ }^{\text {a }}$
$5^{1}$ каí before китєбфра $\gamma$ ． $\mathfrak{N c}^{c}$ ，Origen
$5^{3}$ om оข้тє $\mathfrak{i} \pi о \kappa$ ．$\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \gamma \hat{\eta} \mathrm{s} \mathrm{N}, 12$ ，aeth
$5^{4}$ insert $\notin \gamma \omega$ Q，most，pr，vg
$5^{11}$ om $\omega$ sefore $\phi \omega \nu \eta \eta^{\nu}$ A P Q，1，79，lat
$5^{13} \hat{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \gamma \hat{\eta} 1$ ，few，pr
$5^{13}$ om каì vток．$\tau \hat{\eta} \mathrm{f} \gamma \hat{\eta} \mathrm{s}$ ， 95 ，few，some vg
$5^{13}$ before $\tau \hat{\varphi} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \nu i ́ \varphi$ om каí $\boldsymbol{\aleph}$ A syr amb
$6^{1}$ ö $\tau \iota$ for ör $\epsilon \mathrm{Q}$, most，am， cl
$6{ }^{1}$ om $\mathfrak{\epsilon} \pi \tau$ á P，1，28，79，few
$6^{8}$ om каì $\langle\delta o v \mathrm{Q}, 6,14,38$ ，many vg
$6{ }^{9} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \sigma \phi \rho$ ．$\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi \tau \eta \nu \approx 14,92, \mathrm{cl}$ ，demid
$6^{9}$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$＇́ $\sigma \phi \rho a \gamma \iota \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v \omega \nu ~ 7,16 *, 33$
$6{ }^{11}$ om ${ }^{\ell} \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \tau \varphi$ Q, many
$6^{11} \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \theta \omega \sigma \iota$ A C, $22, \mathrm{~g}, \mathrm{vg}$
$6{ }^{17}$ ob $\rho \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ aviтov̂ A P Q, nearly all, pr

$7^{10}$ тov̂ $\theta$ єô̂ A, 38
$7^{10}$ тô ápríov (not кaì тê á $\rho \nu v^{\prime}(\varphi) \mathbf{N}^{\text {c }}$
$7^{14}$ om $\mu \mathrm{ov} \mathrm{A}, 1$, vt

$7^{16}$ 'cold and heat': Cop (and Horner) umbra for $\eta^{\circ} \lambda \iota o s$
$8^{4}$ add $\pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ before $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma^{\prime} \omega \nu$ Cop (Horner)
$8^{-}$add ${ }^{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda$ os $1,28,36,38,79$, al, vg, am, fu, lipss, pr
$8^{9}$ om $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ देv $\tau \hat{\eta}$ Өa入á $\sigma \sigma \eta \mathrm{Q}$, many, $\mathrm{cl}, \mathrm{pr}$
$8^{39} \psi v \chi \eta{ }^{9} \nu$ for $\psi v \chi$ ás N cop aeth
$8^{13}$ om ย̇vós $\mathfrak{N}$
$8^{13} \tau \hat{\omega} v \sigma \alpha \lambda \pi i \gamma \gamma^{\prime} \omega \nu$ for $\tau \hat{\eta} s \sigma a ́ \lambda \pi \iota \gamma \gamma \operatorname{syr} \mathrm{Symb}$
$9^{2}$ от є่к т. катขov̂ т. ф $\rho$. $\kappa^{*} \mathrm{pr}$
$9^{4}$ om ov̉סє̀ $\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu \chi \lambda \omega \rho o ́ v \kappa, 38, \mathrm{pr}$
$9^{4}$ after $\mu \epsilon \tau \omega \dot{\pi} \pi \omega \nu$ add $\alpha v ̋ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Q most, pr, cl


 79, 97 etc. Syr, And, are
$9^{13}$ om $\mu$ íav 38, Cop

$9^{17}$ om ov̋т $\frac{13}{}$. Prim anon ${ }^{\text {aug }}$
$9^{18}$ om $\tau \rho \omega \hat{\omega} \nu ณ$
$9^{18}$ add $\epsilon \kappa$ before tô $\theta$ єíov P 1, 31, 79 etc. g, $\Sigma$
 notes : super $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ante $\sigma \tau о \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \aleph^{c}$ notavit ov, sed rursus abstersit, as if the exemplar of $\mathbf{N}$ had the singular
$9^{20} \operatorname{tr} \xi \in v ́ \lambda \iota v a$ before $\lambda i ́ \theta \iota v a \kappa$

 anon ${ }^{\text {nug }}$ exiet
$11^{5}$ tr aúrov́s after $\dot{\alpha} \delta \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota \aleph$
$11^{5}$ 'shall be thus destroyed' with Cop (Horner)
 (before ảyáßacvov)

$11^{15}$ om tov̂ кóт $\mu$ ov 28, and ${ }^{\text {a }}$ pr
$11^{17}$ om $\sigma o v \operatorname{\tau \eta } \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \eta \nu$ with Cop (Horner)

$12^{\text {b }}$ оm є́кє $\imath$ C, few, h, pr, vg

$12^{8}$ om єँт८ ณ, 7, 28, 79 Hier
$12^{9}$ om $\epsilon \beta \lambda_{\eta} \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu 49$, anon ${ }^{\text {ang }}$, Hier
$12^{12}$ om $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma a v \aleph$
$12^{14}$ om тov̂ $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ ádov Cop (Horner) Epiphan ${ }^{1043}$

$13^{2}$ ом $\sigma$ то́ца before $\lambda$ '́ovтоs 38 , aeth faciebit underlies these texts.


$14^{3}$ от каі $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta v \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu \mathrm{C}$

$14^{6}$ катоєкои̂vтаs for каӨךนе́vovs $\mathrm{A}, 14,28,79,92$

$14^{12}$ after ' $\eta \eta \sigma o v ̂$ add $\chi$ риттov̂ 28, 79
$14^{13}$ after $\lambda \epsilon$ боv́ध $\eta$ s add $\mu \circ \iota 1,28,36,38,79$, etc. cl, pr
$14^{18}$ add $\delta$ before ${ }^{\prime \prime} \chi \omega \nu$ A C, g, vg
$15^{3}$ ai ó ooo : 1 and 4 subst $\tau \alpha{ }_{\alpha}{ }^{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \alpha$ ovo with Syr (Gwynn) om $\epsilon^{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad{ }_{\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \omega \nu$ avj $\hat{\omega} \nu \mathbb{N}$ [retain 3, and also 4, but changing the order]


$16^{21}$ om $\omega$ ¢ 43 pr

$18^{21}$ 入íOov í $\sigma \chi v \rho o ́ v \aleph^{*} 40$

$19^{17} \tau o \hat{v} \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda o v$ for $\tau \grave{\partial} \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \alpha 1,36,49,79$, lips ${ }^{6}$ and
$19^{20}$ каì oì $\mu \epsilon \tau^{\prime}$ av̉тov̂ $\psi \epsilon v \delta о \pi \rho о \phi \eta ́ \tau \alpha \iota ~ A, ~ 34, ~ 41 ~$
$20^{1}$ add ${ }^{\circ} \lambda \lambda \lambda_{0} \nu$ before ${ }^{\alpha} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda o \nu \kappa, 16,39$, Tich, Haym
éní for ỏ óívo before $\tau 0 \hat{v}$ Oqpíov 14, 92, pr ad bestiam



In verse 7 the Arm omits the words inserted in verse 5 ,viz. : ка̀
 It would appear then that these sources and the Armenian had a common archetype out of which these words had dropt, and the Armenian has reintroduced them from the margin in the wrong place, viz. in verse 5 , where the sequence $\pi o \iota \eta \sigma a \iota . \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \eta \sigma \alpha \iota$ reveals a suture. Q, al pler, And, Are adding $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu \circ \nu$ before $\pi o \iota \eta \sigma \alpha \iota$ in verse 5 ; and 14,92 , cop, substituting $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota$, also shew. an affinity with the archetype which dropped the words in verse 7. Thus $\boldsymbol{N}$ alone seems to have escaped the lacuna in verse 7.
 $N$ P Q 1, 28, 79, 95, vg, pr, anon aug
$20^{8}$ om $\tau \alpha ́$ before $\mathfrak{\epsilon} v \tau$ tais $\aleph, 14,87,92$, few.

$20^{11}$ tr ó oŕpuvòs каì $\mathfrak{\eta} \gamma \hat{\eta} 91,96$, tol Ephr, Aug, pr
 Cop (and Horner) Promiss, pr, Haym
$21^{5}$ add $\mu \circ \iota$ after $\lambda \in ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \aleph P$, many, cl
 iustificetur. So also $a$ MS. $4=$ Tisch.

$22^{16}$ Arm 1 omits the stop after $\pi \rho \omega \iota v o{ }^{\prime}$ and alters ví $\mu \phi \eta$ to ví $\mu \phi \iota o s$, identifying Jesus with the spirit. A similar error pervades Horner's Cop 'and the star which riseth in the morning, and spirit and the bride (? bridegroom). And they say'

Salfent Readings of the Bodleian Codex, unattested or only attested in other Armenian Sources
$1^{3}$ The omission of the words: For the time is near, may be original, since $\alpha 2$ restores them independently of 4 . And the same holds good of the omission in $1^{5}$ : By his blood.
 omit каì iтоцо́vŋ ${ }^{\prime} v$ 'I $\eta \sigma o v$, which $\alpha 2$ and 3 in mg add rendering itopóvy by hamberuthean. If we suppose this word to have been confused with hamartsakutheamb=$=\pi a \rho \rho \eta \sigma$ ias, we can explain the gloss. Such passages as 1 Jo $5^{13.14}, 2$ Cor $7^{4}$, Acts $2^{29}$ would suggest it.
$1^{10}$ The Arm in a 123 =fuit in me spiritus sanctus-a paraphrase which has a montanist ring : $4=$ Tisch. Note also how constantly, e.g. $2^{29.36}, 3^{13}, 14^{13}, 21^{10}, 22^{17}$, the Armenian sources add the epithet 'holy.' The same tendency is olservable in codd DE of Acts.
$1^{11}$ Phrygia is sulstituted in cod 1 for Philadelphia, in $3^{14}$ for Laodicea This MS. in $3^{6}$ translates Philadelphia by 'the lovers of the brethren,' so the substitution is no verbal confusion. Can it be a montanist or antimontanist touch ? Laodicea was in Phrygia.
$2^{2}$ after kukor's add oüs which might easily drop, out in a Greek text.
 This last is due to a confusion in an uncial text of unim =hubeo with arnem facio.
 gloss suggested by the resemblance of ekeatz=lived and ekeletzo $=$ of the church.
 paraphrase of all the Arm sources save 4? The omission of : And I will give, etc., may be original, since the three sources $\alpha 3$ and 4 restore the words independently of each other.
$2^{10} \mu^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \lambda \lambda_{\epsilon \iota}: 12=\theta \epsilon{ }^{\prime} \lambda_{\epsilon \iota}$
$2^{11}$ 'shall not be afraid of' $123: a=\dot{\alpha} \delta \iota \kappa \in \hat{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \iota: 4=$ Tisch
$2^{14}$ mopveigrat: 12 add with daughters of the gentiles-a gloss omitted by a 34
$2^{24}$ roîs doumoîs: roîs $\pi \iota \sigma \tau o i ̂ s ~ i n ~ 123: ~ a ~ o m i t s: ~ 4=T i s c h . ~ T h i s ~$ may be a genuine Greek variant.

$3^{1}$ After ővo $\mu a$ add $\mu^{\prime} \boldsymbol{v}^{\prime} \nu \mathbf{v} 13$ : om 2: a 4 restore the Greek text independently of each other. fóvov so placed might drop out in Greek texts.
$3^{2}$ See above, p. 118.
$3^{3}$ The reading of 1 and 2 is explained by a confusion of $\eta \xi^{\omega}$ with " $\bar{\epsilon} \xi \omega$ : 3 omits : $\alpha$ restores the Greek independently of 4.
$3^{5} \quad a 1$ involve ${ }^{\prime} \dot{\xi} \alpha \lambda \epsilon \epsilon^{\prime} \phi \theta \eta$, but the texts 234 agree with Greek.
$3^{8}$ after סv́vapıv add харítos-? a gloss.
$3^{17}$ тípıa for $\lambda є v к \alpha ́$ in 1 alone.
$3^{20}$ See above, pp 80, 81.
$4^{6} \kappa \rho v \sigma \tau \alpha \dot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda_{\varphi}\left[\lambda_{\epsilon v \kappa \hat{\varphi}]}\right] \cdot \kappa \alpha i . \quad$ Here $\alpha 123$ add $\lambda \epsilon v \kappa \hat{\varphi}$ which so placed might drop out of Greek texts. $\lambda \omega \kappa \alpha \iota:: \lambda \epsilon v \kappa \omega$.
 owing to similarity of letters, but a 234 omit.
 reading, since it accords with $8^{3}$. The reading $\phi$. $\chi \rho$. may be due to a wrong analogy with $15^{7}$.
$5^{9}$ For the paraphrase 'unto adoption' cp. Eph 15, which probably suggested it
$6^{3}$ foll. For the substitution of $\chi \lambda \omega \rho o{ }^{2}$ for $\pi v \rho \rho o{ }^{\prime} s$ I cannot account.
$6^{4}$ The words i̋va $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} \lambda o v s \sigma \phi \dot{\alpha} \xi \omega \sigma \iota$ dropped out of an Armenian text are restored in the wrong place in 1 and paraphrased : 2 further corrupts 1: 3 omits: $\alpha$ restores independently of 4 .
$6^{8}$ 'he had death' in a 2 3-due to a confusion of an $u n$ er=nomen erat with uner $n a=$ habebat ille.

 a 34 -? an Armenian gloss.
$6{ }^{12.13}$ See above, p. 79
$6{ }^{15}$ See above, p. 80
 ing equivalent of i $\sigma \chi$ v́s
$8^{3}$ a $123=\tau \grave{s} \pi{ }^{2} \rho o \sigma \epsilon v \chi$ ás : $4=$ Tisch.
$8^{4} \quad a 123$ subst 'which are the prayers' for $\tau \alpha i ̂ s \pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon v \chi \alpha i ̂ s, ?$ from analogy of $5^{8}: 3=$ Tisch.


 omit rov̂ $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}: 4$ adds it: 3 having cognisance of the Greek text renders $\epsilon^{\epsilon} \gamma^{\prime} \mu \iota \sigma \epsilon \mathcal{V}$ over again, but with another equivalent: $4=$ Tisch. This seems the genuine variant of some text which read ${ }_{\epsilon} \gamma \dot{\gamma} \mu \tau \sigma \epsilon v$ for $\epsilon^{\prime \prime} \lambda \eta \phi \epsilon \nu$.
$8^{9} \quad \alpha 123$ render $\boldsymbol{\nu \epsilon}{ }^{\prime} \nu \tau \omega \nu$ instead of $\kappa \tau \iota \sigma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$. Prim piscium
$8^{9}$ omit каi $\tau \grave{̀} \tau \rho i ́ \tau o v ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda o i \omega \nu$ perhaps rightly, for as Haussleiter remarks p. 212: Was in einer Übersetzung fehlt, dürfte in der Regel auch in Original gefehlt haben: denn an sich verfolgen Übersetzungen nicht den Weg der Kürzung, sondern umgekehrt
(wofür auch die Versio africana Beispiele liefert) den Weg der erlauternden Umschreibung.
$8^{12} 12$ omit $\tau$ ò $\tau$ pícov twice : a 34 add. See preceding note.
$8^{13}$ ф $\omega \stackrel{\eta}{ }$ s for évós a $12: 34 \mathrm{om}$.
$9^{6} \quad 123$ add the gloss $\dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{o} \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \omega \nu$ and 12 add $\dot{\alpha} \kappa \rho i \delta \omega \nu$ as well : a 4 omit
$9^{11}{ }^{11}$ ă
 то̀̀s ádíкovs.

$10^{5} \alpha 1$ and to some extent 23 have repeated in place of $\epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \kappa \tau \lambda$. the words of vs 2: $4=$ Greek.
 being attested by 1 and 4 must be original, although a 23 omit it. These words could drop out of the Greek texts through homoioteleuton, and as 4 leaves them, its author probably read them in his Greek MS.
$11^{7}$ 'All the days ( $\mathrm{v}=$ times) of their testimony' (prophecy in 2). So a 123 , perhaps through influence of the preceding verse.
$11^{11}$ тò̀s $\theta \epsilon \omega \rho \frac{v ̂ v \tau a s ~ a: ~ \pi a ́ v \tau a s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ к а т о \iota к o ̂ ̂ v \tau a s ~}{} 12$ : av̉тоv́s $3: 4=$ Greek. Printed Arm text of Venice $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha s$ тov̀s катактєívovtas, from Zohrapean's MS.
$11^{13}$ for $\epsilon \pi \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon V$ a 123 involve $\kappa a \tau \epsilon \pi o ́ \theta \eta$ or $\kappa a \tau \epsilon \pi i \eta$, a likely variant.
 Here $a 2$ have a meiosis. The words $\dot{\epsilon} \pi i \quad \tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma_{\eta}$ as involving the
 (Euseb. H.E. vii 25) would certainly be removed from Greek texts.
$12^{4}$ 'as far as the seventh part.' So 12 and 3 (which omits 'as far as'): $\alpha 4=$ Tisch.
$12^{9}$ a 123 substitute Beelzebul for $\delta \iota \alpha ́ \beta o \lambda o s: 4$ uses its favorite equivalent ' betrayer,' by which it also renders $\kappa a \tau \eta \gamma \omega$ $\rho$.
$12^{9}$ after ${ }^{\circ} \lambda \eta \nu 12$ add ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ} \lambda^{\prime} \epsilon \omega \nu$. Has not this dropt out of the Greek through similarity with the preceding word? Cp. $2 \mathrm{Ti} 4^{17}$ ' $\epsilon$ рv́r $\theta \eta v$ є́к бто́цатоs $\lambda$ '́ovтоs : $a 3$ are deficient : 4 omits
 а́рє́өкєьン $\theta \epsilon \hat{\varphi}$.
$12^{12}$ a 123 involve $\kappa a \tau \epsilon \beta \lambda \eta^{\prime} \theta \eta$ for $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \beta \eta$, which the next verse proves to be the truer reading.
$12^{17} 123$ omit $\tau \hat{\omega} v \lambda o \iota \pi \hat{\omega} v$, and as Hippol read $\dot{u} \gamma i \omega v$ the text cannot have been fixt : $a$ restores the Greek independently of 4.
$13^{6} \quad 1$ and 2 paraphrase the Greek
$13^{7}$ has not 1 mistaken $\phi v \lambda \eta \eta^{v}$ for $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta} v$ ?
 iтоктєvєi: 3 paraphrases 1:2 conflates. Note the fluctuation of tense (died, slew in 2 against shall die of $a$ and shall destroy in 1) indicative of a Latin background.
$13^{12}$ Eँ $\omega \mathrm{s}$ ô $\theta \epsilon \rho \alpha \pi \epsilon v \theta \hat{\eta}$ a 123 -a genuine variant
$13^{14}$ каì 入є́

perhaps a gloss，though similarity of ending would account for its dropping out of a Greek text： 34 omit
$13^{18}$ In the codices of the twelfth century recension the number of the beast fluctuates．
$\beta$ assigns 666 in Armenian letters and adds letters which signify ＇ 100 and 200 ＇：$\gamma$ has 666 in letters：$\delta$ has 666 in the text but in a later hand：$a$ has 666 written out．The Venice codices resemble $\beta$ ．I believe Nerses corrected to 666 and then facsimiled the Greek numeral in his codex．The Bodleian codex 1 has 151 in Armenian letters．In 3，which is a MS．of Nerses，no number is given in the text，but what seems the first hand adds 666 in margin．MS．2，which is recent，alone gives it in the text．There is no doubt but that 616 given in the Jerusalem codex is the original Armenian reading．
$14^{3}$ after $\chi \iota \lambda \iota \alpha ́ \delta \epsilon s 12$ alone add the gloss based on $14^{1}$ ：a 34 omit．
$14^{4}$ The text of 12 arises out of a confusion of gneal bought with greal written ： 3 also must have shared it，for the corrector erases and inserts the reading of $a$
$14^{10}$ каì av̉тós：тotov̂tos in $\alpha 123$
$14^{12} \widehat{\omega} \delta \epsilon \kappa \tau \lambda .123$ have the same paraphrase，if such it be；for the Coptic（Horner）has a similar rendering，＇But he who will endure with the saints，they＇etc．$\alpha$ and 4 render the Greek．
$14^{13}$ Here again 12 have the same gloss，which a 34 omit；and they also agree in adding $\pi о \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \iota \rho a \sigma \mu \omega \nu$ каí before ко́т $\omega \nu$ ，while a 34 omit．
$14^{15}{ }^{15} \kappa \mu a \sigma \epsilon \nu$ for $\epsilon$ є́ $\eta \rho \alpha{ }^{\prime} \nu \theta \eta$ in $\alpha 123: 4=$ Greek
 a gloss ：def $\alpha: 4=$ Greek
$14^{18}$ a 123 omit the words $\pi \epsilon \epsilon \mu \psi o v$ to $o \mathfrak{g} \dot{v}$ каí－perhaps rightly．
$15^{1}{ }^{1}$＇Xovtas： 1234 render by the verb nshanakem which means to ＇signify，＇＇betoken，＇＇mark with a sign，＇but hardly to＇seal＇ for which in Rev．and in rest of N．T．the Armenian uses knqem． The Greek and Latin texts have no variant here．Note that 4 conflates this with a literal rendering of ${ }^{\epsilon}$ Xov $\chi \alpha$ s
 corruption，and $\alpha 2$ add ка⿱̀兀一 є́vétıov тov̂ ápvíov：def 3 ：om 4
$15^{3} 2$ conflates the reading of 1 with the $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ aicóv$\omega \nu$ of $\aleph^{*}$ C 18．95．vg．
$16^{3}$ after ${ }^{\epsilon} \gamma$＇́vєтo a 12 add $\tau$ ò vi $\delta \omega \rho: 34$ om－？a gloss．

 seem a mere gloss
$18^{23}$ after $\tau \hat{\eta} s \gamma \hat{\eta} s$ a 23 （def 1）add qui oblectabantur or oi $\mu \epsilon \gamma a \lambda \hat{v} v a \nu \tau \epsilon s$ which owing to similarity with $\mu \epsilon \gamma \sigma \tau \hat{\alpha} \nu \epsilon$ s may have been lost in the Greek．
 this with the variant $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \phi \rho \alpha \gamma \iota \sigma \mu^{\prime} \epsilon_{\nu} \omega v$ read in the cursive 38.
$19^{3}$ Before єïр $\boldsymbol{q}_{\kappa \alpha \nu}$ a 23 add $\eta_{\eta \epsilon \epsilon \sigma a v ~ к \alpha i ́,-p e r h a p s ~ a ~ g l o s s, ~ a s ~ m u s t ~ b e ~}^{\text {b }}$ סó $\xi \eta$ s which they add in $19^{4}$ after $\theta$ póvov．
$19^{10}$ and $22^{9}$ ．The addition of $\alpha 12 \mu \grave{\eta} \pi \epsilon^{\prime} \sigma \eta \mathrm{s}{ }^{\prime \prime} \epsilon \pi \rho \rho \sigma \sigma \theta \theta^{\prime} v \mu o v$ seems to be a gloss
$20^{9}$ a 12 add каì тòv бтратךүóv aỉтढ̂v Saтаvâ，omitting каì ó $\delta \iota \alpha ́-$ Bodos in vs 10.
$20^{11}$ See above，p． 79.
2012 The reading involved in 1 and 2 ：$\hat{\omega} v \tau \grave{\alpha}$ óvó $\mu a \tau \alpha$ aú $\tilde{\omega} \nu \quad \gamma^{\epsilon} \gamma \rho a \pi \tau \alpha \iota$ $\hat{\epsilon}_{v} \beta_{\iota} \beta \lambda^{\prime} \dot{\varphi} \varphi \zeta^{\zeta} \omega \hat{\eta} s$ does not seem a mere gloss，but a rendering of an original which had the Semitic split relative pronoun．
$20^{12}$ om є́к $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho a \mu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu 1$ and 2，perhaps rightly．
$21^{2}$ after кєкоб $\mu \eta \mu \epsilon \quad \downarrow \eta \nu 1$ and 2 add каi $\epsilon \in \delta o ́ \theta \eta$
$21^{3}$ omit $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta$ s a 12
 by Rom $6^{9}$
$21^{4}$ Here again 1 and 2 seem to merely gloss the words ov̉к ëन $\sigma a \iota$ to $\dot{a} \pi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta a v . \quad a$ restores the Greek independently of 4
$21^{6} \quad 1$ and 2 use the same paraphrase．
$21^{7}$ גaós for viós in 1
$21^{9}$ the reading＇ends＇in a 12 is due to confusion in an uncial Armenian text，katarads with haruads．

$21^{10}$ after $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ add $\tau 0 \hat{v} \pi \alpha \nu \tau о к \rho а \tau о ́ \rho o s ~ 12 ~$
$21^{21}$ Here 4 conflates the reading of 12 with a fresh translation of the Greek．

 addition is certainly genuine text：$a$ and 4，as revisions，both omit it．
$21^{23}$ For $\phi$ aiv $\omega \sigma \iota \nu \stackrel{\text { év a }}{ } 12$ subst $\phi \omega \tau i \oint(\omega \sigma \iota v$ ，which the Coptic（Horner） also seems to render．
$22^{2}$ The gloss after $\dot{\epsilon} \theta \nu \omega \nu$ is confined to 1 ，but 2 and 3 are lost here．
$22^{6}$ Here 1 seems to paraphrase．
$22^{7}$ Before т $\eta \rho \omega \hat{\nu} 1$ adds áкои́шv каí
$22^{8}$ a 1 omit $\epsilon \mu \pi \rho o \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \delta \hat{\omega} \nu$ and have a shorter text
$22^{9} \pi \rho \circ \phi \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu: \pi \rho \circ \phi \eta \tau \circ v ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ in 1.

$22^{15}$ Version transfers oi $\pi$ ópvo九 after ciòw入o入áтрuє：a omits： 4 $=$ Tisch
 falsiter ：$\alpha$ от каi $\pi о \iota \omega \hat{v}$ ： 4 от $\phi \iota \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ каí
$22^{16} \gamma^{\epsilon} \operatorname{vos}^{\prime}$ тồ $\Delta a \beta i ́ \delta$ ．Version has＇A $\delta \dot{\alpha} \mu$ for $\Delta a \beta i \delta$ ，which a 4 retain




## CHAPTER VII

CODICES 2, 3, $\eta$, AND $\kappa$

The first of these sources has been almost sufficiently characterised, though but incidentally, in my description of codices 1 and 4. It is a codex so much later than the twelfth century that it may easily have been contaminated in places from manuscripts of the recension. Here and there it may have been. Yet on the whole it presents the older form of text, notably in the section $16^{17}-19^{18}$, where at $19^{1}$ it alone has kept the error of the Old Latin ' of trumpets great in heaven.' Here the other sources have the correction 'of a multitude in heaven great.'

The Armenian text probably repeated this error at verse 6 of the same chapter, where $\kappa$ intrudes the word ' of a multitude' in place of the epithet mighty before ' of thunders.' A reviser who had the Greek before him must have added ' of a multitude' in the margin against the word ' of trumpets' (tubarum in Primasius), and the correction has slipped into the text at the wrong place.

Although codex 3 is in the main an older text, yet there are places where it seems to have been corrected by Nerses. Thus in $2^{1}$ the words ó крат $\hat{\omega} \nu$ тov̀s $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \tau \grave{a} \dot{a} \dot{a} \sigma \tau \in ́ \rho a s$ are sufficiently rendered in the other texts by 'he who holdeth stars seven,' but 3 and $\eta$ (which here as elsewhere copies 3 ) read 'the able (or strong) one who holdeth stars seven.' Thus o к $\kappa a \tau \omega \hat{\nu}$ is rendered a second time, and wrongly.

Among the peculiarities of this codex 3 may be mentioned the following :-
$1^{2} \quad \epsilon \in \mu \alpha \rho \tau \dot{\rho} \rho \eta \sigma \in \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu \alpha \rho \tau v \rho i ́ a \nu ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \lambda o ́ \gamma o v, ~ w h e r e ~ P r i m ~ r e n d e r s ~ p r e d i-~$ cavit verbum
$6^{i} \quad$ transliterates the word $\rho o \mu \phi$ aía

$9^{8}$ The rendering 'I saw them' instead of oi ódóvtєs may be due to a hasty misreading of the latter as $\epsilon \hat{i} \delta o \nu$ av̉тov́s
$9^{12,18}$ Here 3 directly renders the Greek codices Q 14
$9{ }^{15}$ For ${ }^{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \dot{\theta} \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu 3$ involves ${ }^{\hat{\epsilon}} \lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho \omega \dot{\theta} \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$
$9{ }^{19}$ reads $\hat{\eta} v \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$ é $\xi=v \sigma i ́ a$ with Prim and cursive 38
$9^{21}$ renders $\phi \omega \nu \omega \nu$ by mistake for $\phi o ́ \nu \omega \nu$
$10^{9}$ add $\eta^{\nu} \epsilon \omega \gamma \mu^{\prime}$ 'vov after $\beta \iota \beta \lambda a \rho_{i} \delta \iota o v$
$11^{1}$ omit $\epsilon \dot{\sigma} \tau \eta \dot{\prime} \kappa \epsilon \iota$ ó $\ddot{a} \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda$ os with Primasius and the better Greek sources.

 $\sigma \omega \sigma \iota v$ тो̀v $\mu a \rho \tau v \rho i ́ a v . ~ S o ~ a l s o ~ 2 ~$
$11^{11}$ Perhaps 3 read av่тíka for av่тஸ̂v
$11^{18}$ кaı pós is misread as кv́pıos
$11^{19}$ omits кai $\sigma \epsilon \iota \sigma \mu$ ós with $Q$ and many cursives
$12^{11}$ renders クु $\gamma a ́ \pi \eta \sigma a \nu$ tais $\psi v \chi \alpha i$ is
$12^{15} \quad \dot{0} \pi i \sigma \omega$ is rendered 'in front of.'
$13^{15}$ olu $\delta o v ̂ v a \iota ~ w i t h ~ C ~$
 The rendering quia loquebatur . . et faciebat ut qui non adorabant may be due to a Latin original misread. The eighth century Bodleian Codex of Primasius reads adorabant.
$14^{7} \quad \kappa v ́ \rho \iota o v$ for $\theta \epsilon o v^{\nu}$ with $Q$ and many cursives.
$14^{18}$ om $\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi o v . .$. óg$v$ and subst 'come thou.'
$14^{20}$ om $\epsilon \kappa \kappa \hat{\eta} s \lambda \eta \nu o \hat{v} 2$ and 3, with Primasius and the Fleury MS.
 6. 8. 14 .
$16^{5} \quad \mu$ óvos for ő őtos
$16^{8}$ om ' $v \pi v \rho^{\prime}$, which Prim also omits and Q (with 20 cursives)

$16^{9}$
add oi äv $\theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma \iota$ after $\epsilon \beta \lambda \alpha \sigma \phi \eta^{\prime} \mu \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ with Q and cursives' unto the glory of God' 3 with $\alpha$.
$16^{15}$ ioò̀ $\left.\epsilon \rho \chi о \mu u \iota\right]$ ös "' $\rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota 3$ with Prim 'qui venit subito ut fur.' $\aleph^{*} 38.47$ read $\epsilon^{\epsilon} \rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$.

It would appear, therefore, that the Paris codex 3 preserves a text which at some time or another has been retouched from a Greek codex of the type of $Q$, and that the reviser often misread his Greek. But in any case such a revision, so far as it can be traced in this codex, was perfunctory. For the rest this codex 3 preserves many ancient readings, especially of Primasius, absent from the other sources. In a vast number of passages it agrees with 2 , and sometimes with 4 against codex 1 , and in such cases must generally preserve the oldest form of Armenian text.

## Codex $\eta$

This codex is accurately reproduced in the text of Zohrap, and in the reprint of the London Bible Society. It belongs to the same family as $a \beta \gamma \delta \in \kappa \lambda$, but in the first few chapters it constantly shews the readings of 3 , as I have remarked above. It may be an early and tentative form of the recension.

## Codex $\kappa$

The same remark holds good also of $\kappa$, which like $\eta$ preserves not a few variants of the older text found in 1, 2, and 3 , but specially in 1 . Its text is often a conflation of the normal recension $a$ with the texts 1,2, or 3. And a nice problem arises in regard to the relation of this codex to other texts of Andreas. On the one hand it contains, as I have said, especially in the earlier chapters, a number of variants found in the pre-Nersesian texts. On the other hand it
shares with another codex of Andreas, $\lambda$, which has next to none of these older variants, certain errors and lacunæ, e.g. at $1^{16}$ elanein for erevein, $2^{1}$ ashtidsanctz, and at $1^{9}$ a lacuna which embraces from $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \theta \lambda i \psi \epsilon \epsilon$ to the end of the verse as well as a line of commentary. It is therefore necessary to suppose that $\kappa$ presents the text originally appended as lemmata to the Armenian commentary of Andreas, and that $\lambda$ and other texts of Andreas were generated by the removal of these remains of the earlier text, absent from the normal text of the recension found in $a \beta \gamma \delta$ and most other codices.

In sum it would appear that in $\eta$ and $\kappa$ we have two rival, but earlier stages of the recension, or rather essays at recension; and the two are not based upon a single ulterior text, but on two such, of which the one, namely that on which $\eta$ rests, was identical, or almost so, with 3; while the other, on which $\kappa$ rests, was more akin to 1 and 2 , though not devoid of many features now met with in 3 or 4 alone. This hypothesis is, I admit, a difficult one, for it is hard to conceive how two texts preserving such different elements of the earlier text can both be stages leading up to the same ultimate text a. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to modify it, and suppose that the development of the recension was as follows:-

First, the recension $\kappa$. This may have been attached to the version of Andreas made in A.D. 1179 ; for one of the colophons of Nerses assures us that he then revised the text of the Apocalypse from a Greek MS.

Second, the recension as we have it in a emerged later on in 1198, and was obtained by removing the older readings which in $\kappa$ are not yet discarded.

Third $\eta$ was generated partly by a fusion of $a$ with the existing codex 3, partly by a wholesale correction of 3 from a. As I have said above, p. 70 , the codex 3 has in a hundred passages had its older text effaced and that of $a$ written over it. May not the text $\eta$ have been prepared from this codex so rewritten? At the same time in the section $16^{17}-19^{18}$ the text of 3 was substituted for that of $\kappa$, which, however, already closely approximated here to that of 3 .

I do not feel alsolute confidence in either solution. The problem is intricate, and perhaps insoluble without further knowledge, which is not ours at present. Luckily the matter
is not of first-rate importance. So much is clear; that $\eta$ and $\kappa$ are in all but a very few passages identical with the $a$ texts, and their retention in those few passages of variants belonging to the codices $1,2,3,4$, corroborates the view that these four codices preserve a text both older than $a$ and independent of $i t$.

That the English reader may be able to form his own judgment on these points, I herewith tabulate the readings in which $\eta$ and $\kappa$ diverge from the normal $a$ text. In each passage he must refer to the critical apparatus printed in pages 3 to 60 , in order to ascertain the readings of $a$ from which $\eta$ and $\kappa$ deflect. And he must not forget that except in the passages tabulated $\eta$ and $\kappa$, and I may add $\lambda$, shew a text identical with $a$. I have generally added in brackets after the variants an indication of the older texts to which $\eta \kappa \lambda$ adhere :-

> Table of the variations from the normal $\alpha$ text of the manuscripts $\eta, \kappa, \lambda$

## Chapter I

1 retain whatever $\eta-$ om his before angel $\kappa \lambda$ __ 'to his servant John who witnessed the witness of the word of God and the witness of J. C.' $\eta$ (3)
2 retain shall read out or listen to . . . and shall keep $\eta$
3 retain From John and which are $\eta$
4 'John saith to the seven' $\kappa$ _ 'peace from God the existent' $\eta-$ seven of the spirit $\kappa \lambda(4)$ _om is $\kappa \boldsymbol{\lambda}(3)$
5 'from the dead' $\kappa \lambda$
6 whom for $\operatorname{him} \lambda(3) —$ om and might $\kappa —$ add now and $\eta(3) —$ add Amen $\eta(\beta 3)$
7 om with the clouds of heaven $\kappa \lambda$ ——' they shall see all races and they' $\kappa \lambda$ __ they shall see him all races, and there shall see him extremes of earth, and they who pierced him all upon earth, and they shall mourn over him. Yea, amen.' $\eta$
8 'I am Qê' $\eta-\mathrm{om}$ Lord $\eta$ (3 4)
9 'oppression' $\eta(3) —$ retain by name $\eta$
9 om of God $\eta 3 \_10$ dominica die $\eta(34)$ _add after me a great $\eta$ (cor 3 )_retain the voice $\eta-11$ retain which are $\eta$
11 Thivatira $\eta$ (3)
13 'of the seven' $\eta(3)$-retain garment and om down ....feet $\eta(1,3)$
15 'Libanan refined fiery' omitting amidst a furnace $\kappa \lambda$
16 om hand $\kappa \lambda$ ——a sword two-mouthed $\eta$ ——appeared] $\kappa \lambda$ subst proceeded elanêin (by error)

17 retain to me $\eta \lambda-$ 'I am first and I am last, and I am' $\eta$ (3)-_ 'the same who' $\eta .18$ 'now and ever and to æons' $\eta-$ add Amen $\eta \kappa \lambda$ (3)
20 om of after and $\eta$ _- angels of the seven churches' $\eta$ _' and the seven angels are the seven churches' $\kappa \lambda$

## Chapter II

1 he] the able one $\eta(3)$ ___retain stars seven in his right hand $\eta$-_ candlesticks] $\kappa \lambda$ have in common the corruption ashtidsanatz $=$ 'degrees ${ }^{\prime}$
2 retain I know . . . thy toils and thy patience . . . bearest not who call . . . and are not and Hebrews and they lie $\eta(3)$ om and toils $\kappa-\quad 0 m$. and thou foundest, etc., $\eta$ (3)
3 retain and in tribulation $\eta$ (13)
5 add now $\eta$ (3)—_om will $\kappa$
7 retain of hearing $\eta \kappa$ and holy $\kappa \ldots$ read he that shall be found, etc., $\kappa$ as in 2
8 'angels' $\kappa-\kappa$ adds or ên with 2 but otherwise agrees with $\alpha 1$
9 retain for $\kappa$ _-_ who affirmed themselves to be Jews and saints' $\kappa$ -retain synagogue $\kappa$
$10 \mu^{\prime} \mathcal{A}^{\prime} \lambda_{\text {Ets }} \kappa(\gamma)$ 'cast some of you' $\kappa$ _retain stand thou firm and $\kappa(1,2,3)$
11 retain holy $\kappa(1,2)$ _- 'he that shall be found victoriously (cp. 2) let him not fear unjust the second death' $\kappa$ (by conflation)
13 'and where thou dwellest' $\kappa \lambda(\gamma)$ _- 'But thou holdest my name, and hast not denied my faith in that day, who were witnesses faithful concerning me, they who also died among you in the tempting in which Anthipatros my witness faithful was, since my witness faithful is every one having faith who was slain among you' $\kappa$ (which in the rendering of Andreas' commentary as in the above text substitutes Anthipatros for Anthipas).
14 retain with the daughters of the gentiles $\kappa$
16 'only do thou' $\kappa(3)$ ___ against $\mathrm{him}^{\prime} \kappa(23)$
17 retain of hearing $\eta \kappa$ and holy $\kappa$ __́_'and I will mingle him in the number of saints in whom is written a name of him (nora for nor new) in the writing which no one knoweth' $\kappa$
18 'likened' $\kappa$
20 om much $\kappa$ __Zezabel $\kappa \lambda$
21 om and they repented not $\kappa \lambda$
22 retain evil $\kappa$
23 'slay with sword with death' $\kappa$-_search hearts and reins and I requite you each' $\kappa$
24 retain that do believe $\kappa$ _-_' however I will not cast on you another burden, what ye have' $\kappa \lambda$
29 retain of hearing $\eta \kappa$ and holy $\kappa$. Here ends collation of $\lambda$.

## Chapter III

1 om and $\kappa$
3 'how thou receivedst and heardest, and ' $\kappa(24)$

4 retain But $\kappa$
6 retain of hearing $\eta \kappa$ and holy $\kappa$ ——' to the faithful churches' $\kappa$
7 'of the Philadelphians' $\eta(3) —$ retain and the true $\kappa \_$_retain my word $\kappa$
13 retain of hearing $\kappa$
15 after lukewarm add and neither hot nor cold all the a texts
16 'Thou art about to be vomited out of my mouth, and I will judge thee out of thy mouth' $\kappa(1,2,3$, and conflation)
19 'take zeal and repent' $\kappa(1)$
20 'thy' $\kappa(\gamma)$
20 'I go in to him and he with me,' and om the rest $\kappa$
22 retain of hearing and holy $\kappa$

## Chapter IV

1 retain all this $\eta$ ——of the first which $\eta(3)$ _retain time $\eta$
2, 3 For these verses $\eta=3$
5 tr of flaming fire $\kappa$
6 retain there was $\eta$ _om and round the throne $\eta$ _ and they were full of eyes before and behind $\eta$
7 had the face of ] like unto $\kappa(4) — \kappa$ inverts the order of the third and fourth beasts
8 retain about and within they were full of $\eta —$ om And $\eta(3)-$ Holy three times $\eta$
8 om God $\kappa$
9 retain glory and $\eta \kappa$
retain praise $\kappa$
10 retain they laid $\eta$ $\qquad$ 'saying' $\eta$
11 'worthy art thou, Lord our God holy' $\eta$ ——retain and power $\eta-$ 'didst fashion' $\eta$

## Chapter V

1 'and sealed' $\eta$
3 nor . . . earth] in $\eta$ corrector queries these words
3 retain and to look into it $\eta$
4 om it after see $\kappa$
5 retain weep $\eta$ _- 'to open the book and to loose the seven seals' $\eta$
6 retain I saw $\eta —$ retain in the midst $\eta —$ rr a lamb slain stood $\kappa$ ——which had' $\eta$ _ eyes seven' $\eta$ _retain which are $\eta$
8 'before him' к
9 om And $\kappa$-_unto adoption of God' $\kappa(23)$
10 'kings and priests' $\eta$
13 'on the throne is the lamb' $\kappa$

## Chapter VI

1 'the lamb opened one of the seven seals, the first, and ' $\kappa$
4 after sword add wherewith he shall harm the habitants of earth $\kappa$ (cp. 1)

6 retain which were saying $\kappa$ —_retain shall not be $\kappa$
7 om a voice $\kappa$
8 add reddish before shlorhos $\kappa$, but otherwise agrees with a
11 'all souls of men sealed' $\kappa$ __until these shall fulfil their time their' $\kappa$ —_'are about' $\eta$ __retain And then etc $\kappa(1)$
12 'and there was' $\kappa$
14 om book $\kappa$
15 'and captains' $\kappa$

## Chapter VII

4 om that they were $\eta(4) \longrightarrow o m$ of tribe $\kappa$
15 om and he that . . . in them $\kappa$

## Chapter VIII

4 read that is for which are $\kappa(23)$, and into for from (with 2)
5 retain the trumpets $\kappa$
8 'a mountain great, fire burning' and om with $\kappa$
10 add of waters $\kappa(24)$
12 retain the trumpet $\kappa-\quad$ 'angel trumpeted' $\eta$ _—after night likewise add and day was not $\kappa$ (cp. 3)

## Chapter IX

1 om to earth $\eta$
6 om the earth . . . therein $\eta$ __'in that day' ' $\kappa$ _- 'they shall desire' $\kappa$
11 'Algabon' $\kappa$
19 retain of the horses $\kappa$
20 'which see not, neither hear, nor can walk' $\kappa$

## Chapter X

2 om foot bis к
9 retain for the book $\kappa$

## Chapter XI

7 'the beast goeth' and om that $\kappa$ __ 'and shall make' $\kappa$
8 'of their cities' street great' $\kappa$ _—om after the spirit $\kappa$ _-retain and Babylon $\kappa(1,2,4)$
11 retain shall fall $\kappa(1,1,3)$ _'all who behold them' $\kappa$ (cp. 4)
12 retain from heaven $\kappa$
15 retain Jesus $\eta$
18 and season] unto the season $\kappa$
19 'of the covenant of God' $\kappa$

## Chapter XII

3 'upon his head' $\kappa$
5 om of heaven $\kappa$
10 'before Gorl and our Lord, by day and night' $\kappa(2)$
12 om all $\kappa$
16 om earth before opened $\kappa$

## Chapter XIII

2 add was $\kappa(2,3,4)$ ' as the mouth of ' $\kappa(3,4)$
3 om whole к
5 om to work but retain to war as far as victory $\kappa$ __forty and two $\kappa$ (1, 3)
$10 \kappa$ retains shall destroy . . . of God as in 1
13 caused] lit. gave ; к adds command
14 'which were given' $\kappa(4)$ __retain And there $\kappa(1,2) \_$_-_which hath the wounds of the sword and shall live, which up top of the sword lived' $\kappa$
16 retain order and poor and free $\kappa$-_'give $a \operatorname{sign}$ on' and om them $\kappa$
18 'For the number was a name of man, and number of his name is this $666^{\prime} \kappa$

## Chapter XIV

Collation resumed of $\lambda$
1 om who had . . . foreheads $\lambda$
3 retain who were standing . . . earth $\kappa(1,2)$
4 'and in every hour they go after' $\kappa$ ——'these were chosen of men in sight of God and of the lamb and wrote upon their forehead name of God father of the lamb' $\kappa$ (a conflation of $\alpha$ with $1,2,3$ )
5 retain mouth $\eta$
6 'And I saw and behold' $\kappa$--_'gospel (or tidings) eternal of life, and he came, gospels' $\kappa(1,2,3)$
7 'God the maker of' $\kappa$
9 'shall worship' $\kappa$
10 'cup of ire of God' $\kappa$
11 'worship' $\kappa(4)$ - 'worship the image and received stamp and writing of number of his name' $\kappa$
$12 \kappa=1$, only reading receive for have and 'they are saints who'
$13 \kappa=1$, but reads that it with $\gamma 4$, failen asleep with $a$, season with 2 , transposes labour and trials
15 om with voice . . . saith $\kappa$
16, 17 Verse 16 is omitted in $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \eta \kappa \lambda$ Andreas; verse 17 in $\alpha \eta$
17 om which is $\kappa$
19 om on the earth $\kappa(3)$ _retain therefore $\eta$

## Chapter XV

1 'which had seven wounds the last to betoken the end' $\kappa$
3 om God $\kappa$
4 'fear and worship and glorify' $\kappa$
4 retain to all the world $\kappa$
5 retain that $\kappa$ _behest of' $\kappa(2)$
7 'And from the midst' $\kappa$
8 'was able' $\kappa \ldots$ ' temple of God' $\kappa$

## Chapter XVI

3 om dead $\kappa$
5 add of the waters $\kappa(24)$ _'_ which exists and who is and is holy'
7 om a voice $\eta$
9 retain nor gave glory $\kappa$
12 om from $\kappa<$ om great $\kappa$ _ $h e$ dried up his' $\kappa$
14 to kings all of earth $\eta$
17 add the end of all earth $\kappa$ (2)
21 'blasphemed God in themselves and in heaven' $\kappa$
'and violent exceedingly' $\kappa$

## Chapter XVII

3 'in spirit holy' $\kappa$ (cp 2)
5 om of earth $\kappa$
8 'and is not' $\kappa$ ———are not' $\kappa(2)$
10 'and the other hath not stood' $\kappa$
13 om they give $\kappa$
16 'shall see naked the' $\kappa$
17 will] add and to make her naked and desolate $\kappa$ __' until there be fulfilled the mystery of the word of God ' $\kappa$
18 'sawest naked' $\kappa$ _-_'kingdom over kings of' $\kappa$

## Chapter XVIII

1 after from heaven add from the throne of God $\kappa$
1 and earth] for earth $\kappa$
2 'of all devils,' $\lambda$
3 'of her' and om fornication $\kappa$ __have fallen] do drink $\kappa$
4 and of . . . receive] retain $\eta$
5 'her sins have touched even heaven' $\kappa$
7 'sorrow and torments' $\kappa$
'and I will not be a widow nor desolate, where also I shall not ever see sorrow' $\kappa$
8 'all plagues, death' $\kappa$
8 'burnings with fire' $\kappa(2)$ _-_judged them' $\kappa$
9 'smoke of burning of her torments' $\eta$
10 'And afar' $\kappa(2)$
12 'byssus and purple and blue and scarlet and gold-thread' $\kappa$ - om 'all vessel ' prima vice $\kappa$ ___'vessels precious wooden' $\kappa$
13 tr sheep and cattle $\kappa(2)$
14 'shall depart' $\kappa(2) —$ _om is gone from thee $\kappa$
15 retain standing $\kappa$
17 'from places to places' $\kappa$-_' and sailors who in seas find enjoyment and whosoever with net work' $\kappa$
20, 21 For these verses $\kappa=2$
22 om heard $\kappa$
23 'And light of torch shall not appear in thee, and sound of mill shall not be heard in thee, and voice,' etc. $\kappa$
om because . . . nations $\kappa$
24 'of all sealed written in the' $\kappa$

## Chapter XIX

1 multitude] add of peoples $\kappa$
2 'that harlot' $\kappa(2)$
4 'down on their faces' $\kappa(2)$
6 'of waters many, as voice of a multitude of thunders' $\kappa$ _L_Lord God and om our к
8 'white and pure and gleaming. For byssus pure and white is righteousness of the saints ' $\kappa$
12 retain as $\kappa$
14 of heaven] of them $\kappa$-retain white $\eta$
15 'shepherd the races of men with' $\kappa-$ 'fury and of wrath' $\kappa(3)$ —God] Lord $\kappa$
16 om a writing $\kappa$
18 om and flesh of mighty ones $\kappa$
20 'receive the seal of the beast and the worship of his filthy image' $\kappa$ _them] him $\kappa$

## Chapter XX

2 'dragon great' $\kappa(4)$
4 'other thrones' $\kappa$
9 retain and their . . . astray $\eta \kappa$
10 retain unto . . . æons $\kappa$
11 'great and white' $\kappa$
$15 \kappa$ subst for this verse: This is death the second, which is a lake of fire $\kappa$

## Chapter XXI

6 from springs] a spring $\kappa$
9 'and he spake' $\kappa(24)$
10 'the city great and holy of the mountain, Jerusalem, and the mountain of peace, that it came down' $\kappa$
11 retain there was $\eta$
12 'very great and lofty and they had' $\kappa$ __names of several' $\eta$
16-18 In $\eta$ first hand writes breadth. And as far as precious over a rasura
20 add emerald before chrysoprase $\kappa$ _add chalcedony before amethyst $\kappa$
22 add the only begotten of God altar of holiness $\kappa$
23 'her lamp was the lamb of God' $\kappa$

## Chapter XXII

2 'a tree' $\kappa$
9 om Do . . . God $\kappa$
16 'I root and seed from David' $\eta$
20 'Amen. Come thou, Lord Jesus' $\kappa$

## CHAPTER VIIl

## THE ETSCHMIADZIN CODEX

A collation of this codex, which I almost despaired of obtaining, when I wrote in Chapter II. upon the Sources of the Text, reached me in the month of August 1906, not too late for me to add it here. It turns out to be a text almost identical with codex 2, with which it shares not a few corruptions. It is certainly a text uncontaminated by the Nersesian revision, and therefore of prime importance in determining the physiognomy of the earliest form of the version. It is very striking to observe that in $19^{1 \text { and } 6}$, it renders the Old Latin turbarum. This form of reading I have not found elsewhere, except in the Old Syriac text edited by Dr. Gwynn (see above, p. 126), which elsewhere shews little or no trace of Latin influence. It may be observed in passing, that the Old Coptic fragment published from a fourth century papyrus by Clédat in the Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, for 1899 p. 263, displays, like the Armenian, many signs of Old Latin influence, e.g. in $3^{9}$ it renders $\gamma \nu \omega \sigma \eta$ read in $\approx$ alone of the Greek codices, but rendered in Primasius and the Armenian codex 4. ${ }^{1}$ Very definite traces of the Old Latin are present in it at $4^{9}$, where it has the sense cum darent (or cum dederant) . . . cadebant . . . adorabant . . . mittebant. Here is a problem similar to that which besets the Armenian version.

In matters of orthography, the Armenian Codex 6 is one of the oldest I have come across, rivalling the ninth century Paris codex and the uncial Ritual of San Lazaro. With the latter it displays the form Qoov for Qow; like the former, it

[^14]has, except in rare instances, the short ĕ instead of the long ê. Nearly all its corruptions are of the kind which arise in transcribing an uncial.

With the aid of this codex the pedigree of the Armenian MSS. may be drawn out as follows:-


It should be added that Nerses inherited codices almost identical with $1,2,3,6$, and rarely shews a knowledge of the type 4.

## A Collation of Codex 6 with Codex 1

The following table presents the variants of Codex 6 from the English text as printed on pages $3-60$; and for purposes of this collation, the matter italicised in those pages is regarded as belonging to Codex 1 , although it really represents matter omitted therefrom. In printing the variants of Codex 6, I often italicise the words altered or added by it. An asterisk signifies that the variant of 6 may have arisen out of the text of Codex 1 , or vice versa, by a simple and obvious corruption.

## Chapter I

1 of which things what is about
2 whatsoever he saw, and blessed is he etc.
3 near] mauteal 6: maut ê 4: mertseal a $23^{*}$

4 and peace from God who is unto coons and before wons, who came and which is to come and from the seven power (sic) of the Spirit before
5 of the dead
6 om and his_om to him——om of æons
7 om of heaven_and there shall see him all races of earth. Yea, amen
8 om and he saith——the Lord God
9 kingdom and with much boldness unto Christ Jesus. I was_was] êi 146 : elê and $23-$ _om Christ (after Jesus)
11 om which are-in Pergamon and in Thivatir and in Sardia and in Philadelphia and in Lavodikea
12 And I turned to see the voice or who spake with, and in turning I saw
13 om garment
14 And his head and locks white as snow and his eyes ( 6 renders hair by wars 9 : the other sources except 1 which omits use the equivalent her)
15 om refined . . . furnace-as of and om voice
16 om sharp
18 of æons Amen
19 thou sawest and what
20 in my right and the seven

## Chapter II

1 om hand -of the candlesticks and om seven
2 and toils and om thy _call om and were not_false apostles_om and borest them
3 om and hast toiled
4 But I say also unto thee that thy love first thou didst quit
5 thy tower out
6 this do thou
8 write: Thus-saith he who is beginning and end (note that $\gamma 126$ and Arethas use katarads to render end in this passage : $\mathbf{3}$ uses hetin: 4 ar yapayn : $\alpha \beta$ and most codices of Nerses' redaction wakhtsandead and lived and om for our, etc.
9 om and labours_but thy poverty for riches shall be, for the trials and the blasphemy which do speak the Jews I hear, that they reckon themselves and are not, but
10 trials and it is for you to suffer tribulation days ten
11 He that shall
12 angel_om saith
13 om thy works and__om set-_thou holdest_-faith and in this day every one who was a witness faithful, for my sake they died among some] 6 has the corruption ar $i$ kolmaus of 2
14 Here again 6 shares with' 2 the corruption haseal e-Baalamom for them
15 Thus he saith and thou-of Nicolaus]. Here again 2 and 6 misread the proper name and corrupt into $i$ kolmans $=$ into regions

16 om therefore and subst with 2 the phrase ibatz $=$ 'outright,' which must be a corruption of the word baytz ='only' of 3 __against him with
17 om of hearing —om holy-He that be found victorious, I will give him food the manna budding forth (with 23 ) and I will give him the writing of holiness, and I will mingle him in the number of saints (him) in whom is written a name new which no one knoweth save only he that receiveth
18 angel of the T. church-_whose are eyes
19 Thou knowest thy works and love and faith and stedfastness of thy patience, that
20 But there is also to say_om much _-declares_teaches
21 of their fornication and they repented not
22 tribulation, and they repented not of
24 learned] heard
26 and shall keep until the goal my works, I will give him
27 shepherd him with——shall he__as also I

## Chapter III

1 Sardicans '] Adrians'_-hath seven graces of
2 watchful] zvarthun with 123 _which thou didst set in thy
3 receivedst, and as thou heardest, and keep --...om I come . . . unto thee-and thou art-robbed, of whom one knew not in what hour the robber will come. But thou
4 who were not defiled in their-whites, that they might become worthy to be found victors, they shall receive garments of white, and I will not efface their names
7 angel -holy one, true
8 om before-shut it_om of grace
9 = ecce do synagogæ——Judæans] Jews_—my feet
10 I have kept-when he shall come
11 om behold—hold thy powers, let (so 2 by a corruption into zôruthiuns of zorunis)
12 om $p r$ and -the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, and I will give them my name, the new of J.'—of my God _my name new
14 angel_of the Laodiceans, and om church_tr true and faithful —om of God
17 and will become_om and weak_-poor] aldjam an uncial corruption of allkhat = poor
18 advise] converse *__precious] white__body] nakedness
19 om and I . . . chasten thee
20 and will $s u p$ with him
21 down with my father on his throne-and om of glory

## Chapter IV

1 the dome] a door or doors_om which before spake_om to me
2 and in the hour there was a spirit holy
3 of $a$ stone

4 om were sitting-om they had
5 out of the thrones-voices dread and wonderful and seven-om which are_and seven power (sic) of the Spirit of God__glass like to the whiteness-before and behind_-tr and the third beast like an eagle flying and the fourth beast like unto a man
8 om upon six__and said] saying__om God
10 and said] saying
11 worthy is the Lord our God__power] praise

## Chapter V

1 om that he had_om seven
2 to open and shut the book
3 om was found who-om nor . . . earth
4 om and loose its seal
5 om there-om and he is worthy
6 and it] which——powers of God which
8 the four beasts-and they] who-_harps and censers-which are
9 om $p r$ and-a hymn new they gave and say, worthy art thou to take-tr and tongues after Gentiles
10 om And hast . . . reign
11 And I saw and heard voices of angels around the throne_om many —of them thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads
12 they were-riches and wisdom and praise and honour and glory and praise
18 throne, is the Lamb_om exalted—om of æons

## Chapter VI

2 came a conqueror that
4 om another
4 om to take before a great_om all
5 I saw that there went forth a horse (and om and behold another)
8 and there went forth a horse (and om I saw and behold)
8 om authority
9 tr the fifth seal_all slain because of the word (and om because of God and)
10 and not exact
11 was given them a robe
12 wholly to blood (and om became)
13 om leaves of
14 heaven] Arm erkin: 2 and 6 have the corruption erkir $=$ earth
14 om book-tr mountains and islands
15 magnates] rich ones
17 stand] 6 has the corruption keal

## Chapter ViI

1 And after_corners] regions kolms in 6 which over line is corrected to holms = winds-om And they held the four winds of the earth ——om a wind

2 om and sea, And
3 earth and sea and trees_after God add on their foreheads (by conflation)
6 tribe] stock bis_om of the sons of Joseph etc.__om of the tribe of Manasseh etc.
7 of the house of Shmavon (and so in the next two clauses)
8 of the seed of Zabulon 12,000 sealed. Of the seed of Joseph 12,000 sealed. Of the seed of Benjamin
9 om and and all-om and after number
10 they were crying and were saying_om of the Lamb
11 they fell down before the throne on their faces and were__and said] saying
12 Amen, and_om and thanksgiving
14 And I said_made them white
15 om pr And_om on the throne
16 thirst more, nor

## Chapter Vili

3 at the altar-om unto him
4 incense, that is prayers-into the hands of the angels
5 om great-om great
6 to sound the seven trumpets
7 after trees om it burned up
8 sounded trumpet-the second part
9 and which have (om things)—and were destroyed and add and the third part of ships was swallowed up
10 sounded trumpet-fountains' waters
11 om was-om and the third . . . bitter
13 dwelling] fallen with 2 __when there shall be fulfilled a voice-_ hereafter and in

## Chapter IX

1 saw that a star was falling from heaven to earth
2 om and . . . abyss
3 om and their stings
4 all trees_seal of God upon-_foreheads
7 of horses-om and their . . . man
9 and they had breastplates
9 om the sound
10 om $p r$ and-scorpion, and in their tails was authority
11 Albagoyn
12 two woes are to _om quickly
13 om of gold
15 year] om with 3——the second part
17 om on them
17 tails] hyacinths - head bis
18 men, and by fire and smoke and brimstone
19. serpent-had on their heads whereby they were destroying all

20 om who_strokes] wounds_-but those who repented_order and of brass and of stone and of wood_-tr nor hear nor walk

## Chapter X

1 om strong-come down
2 a book opened and he set-upon earth
$3,4 \mathrm{om}$ with their . . . write
4 a voice of God from
5 feet-om his other upon-_om and before raised
6 by the living to æons of æons-_om heaven . . . and the-earth and all that is_-them] it-that time other no more abides
7 days
8 spake with me and said to me_tr open after book
9 om $p r$ And_-om to me-it is sweet
10 hands -om it after swallowed_om it was . . . ate it
11 and saith to me the angel _ $t r$ unto peoples and Gentiles

## Chapter XI

1 worshippers
2 om that
4 om of all earth
5 they] he
6 om earth . . . over
7 om and when . . . finished
7 testimony] prophecy-then] and
8 of their city
9 om them-om all before tongues_-that it remains
10 shall be glad and they rejoice -so as to] and they _ _bring] send -tormented (and om shall)
11 a spirit living of God_om stand erect
13 tr And there was etc.-_men about seven-_om great
15 Seventh angel sounded trumpet-in heaven-it the kingdom all_om and of his_upon earth] over all——of æons. Amen
16 before God on their thrones
17 om God-who art unto æons and who is, who hast taken thy power great
18 is come thy wrath and season of the enemy, of judgement condemned, to give-om and after great
19 om which is bis-_there were-earthquake

## Chapter XII

2 shreaked] travailed_-om and in many
3 om exceedingly
4 seventh] second-from heaven
5 om and . . . throne
6 was prepared for her there a place by God, that they may there feed her
7 om against them
9 and the
10 in heaven that it said

10 who were accusing them before God and our Lord day (and om Jesus Christ)-they appeased not the
12 therefore the heavens were glad -om unto you-_wrath much, he saw that much time he abode
14 om two-she was fed-a time and times and half
15 om many
16 water] river
17 om with the woman and_-who kept__God which is_of God J. C.

## Chapter XIII

1 om great__ which had_-his horns] him_-a name, blasphemy
3 om was
4 thus: And he gave his kingdom unto the beast, because they were worshipping the beast and were saying 'Who are like unto the beast or who can war with him
5 a month] authority__to work war great * against__add authority to make before victory
6 om holy
7 om there was . . . authority ——om and tongues and peoples
8 For there worshipped him all
9 whoever hath-let him
10 shall die_from God
14 And he led
14 with signs which was (sic) in his hand in the sight (and om to do) __make] cast *__which hath the__that he shall
16 om freemen - $a$ sign
17 shall be able_-if not they who have the sign of writing, the name of the beast, which is number of his name
18 reckon the name and number- $t r$ is of a name of man, and the number of his name is this, a thousand a hundred one.

## Chapter XIV

1 om who had his name and__of their Father__om was
2 om voice
2 many, and_om of thunder . . . were voice-of $a$ harper
3 before his throne (and om of God)_learn] see (a rendering of tióévat as if i i $\delta i \hat{i}$ ) -songs] erss ? for eress $=$ faces by corruption of ergs $=$ songs_-around the throne on-who are
4 om and are-_hour following after_-These were written of men and were written upon their foreheads the signs of God father and
5 falsehood] guile
6 in mid heaven, who had -who being come
$7 \mathrm{om} p r$ and_and he said_worship God who_-and all wellsprings of waters
8 drunkenness, through wrath of her fornication. She made drunk ${ }_{d}$
9 or receives writing of his sign
10 from the unmixedness of ire

11 was not _not by day and not by night _ worship the beast's image and the beast or who receive-_of his name
12 and receive not his seal in themselves, they have received, saints who keep the behests of God_om Christ
13 that it said__do die_and attain not_from all labours (and om many trials and)-_om alone
14 om and after saw
15 another] an $-o m$ Thou . . . cloud
16 and he cast who was sitting his (and om upon the cloud)_all the dwellers
17 heaven, having he also
$18=$ cuius erat auctoritas eius-and voiced-om unto
19 om And the angel . . . thereof

## Chapter XV

1 other signs in heaven marvellous. Angels-to betoken-was ended
2 tr of the image and of the beast-om of the number of his name.
3 his lamb_om How_true are Thy ways, King of all Gentiles (and om Lord . . . and)
4 om and glorify__om holy_alone in holy ones art worthy om of worship_has been manifested before all the world of earth
6 angels seven and they had behests of seven
7 and from amidst_om of gold
8 was able] dared-by the seventh angel

## Chapter XVI

1 from the temple-seventh angel
2 the bowl golden first_plagues upon earth and upon men_and were worshipping him (and om his image)
3 om dead_and every soul living, which were_-was destroyed
4 fountains] wellsprings-they became
5 Righteous the existent and he is holy
6 and therefore blood gavest thou to drink
7 om almighty just and true] for in truth
9 gave him glory (and om to God)
10 om became
11 om pr And_anguish] days* (so also 2)__om and before in pain -om of their works
12 om great_om his before water_from the rising
14 worked] had__king of the earth and to gather_a day of the Lord our God
15 speaks in the night_may not be made naked and walk about
16 they will-Armakedôn
17 heaven] the temple and_-pass the end of all
18 om And there . . . thunders - and there was an earthquake, etc. (as in 2)
19 and 20 as in Cod 2
21 hail very great of the weight of one (and the rest of verse as in 2)

## Chapter XVII

1 om a certain_who had (habebat) a cup (om seven)_-come hither -_she who
2 earth] the world _wine of drunkenness of her
3 desert, and there was on me a spirit holy_a woman seated__om and full was he __with a name-_heads] crowns
4 the woman having arrayed herself in__om and with precious stones -had in her hand a cup golden, full of all po!lution and all filth of fornication
5 a name of mystery-B. great, mother of fornication and all pollution of her earth
6 and of the (om with blood) witnesses of Christ, and
7 I tell a_=et bestiæ quam sedet super eam fœmine et illa portam habet- $t r$ horns ten
8 thus: the seven heads and ten horns of the beast which thou sawest, which were and are not prepared to go up
8 wonder, the dwellers of earth, who are not written in__world, whom thou sawest, the beast which was and is not
9 a man wise in understanding will comprehend that there are seven mountains which the woman sits upon them
10 and they are seven kings. The five are fallen and one hath (or holds) yet and another is-come, a little time hath he
11 beast which thou sawest which is and——seven and of the five, and unto perdition is about to proceed
12 Sawest, they too kings (om ten)_-their kingdom-received, but they receive, and stand rulers in one season; and they receive authority with the beast-These in concord come, and power and authority to the beast they give
14 These with the beast * do war and the lamb conquers them; for the lamb is Lord of lords
15 And the waters-where sat - peoples
16 sawest, and the beast, they shall hate * the strumpet, and desolate shall they make her naked
17 hearts, to make her naked desolate, and to give-_the kingdomfulfilled the mysteries and words of God
18 =et quam nudam vidisti eam est-_earth] kings

## Chapter XVIII

1 an angel that he was descending from above from the throne of God who had
2 out in might of his voice and said_before Babylon insert second _-om prison . . . hated and_-guard-house] jail of guarding-_ om every
3 Since from wine of her wrath have drunk all-_om of earth-_ fornicated and enjoyed riches on earth and by might of her wellbeing were enriched
4 from their midst, my people (Codex 6 like 2 substitutes their, them for her in this entire passage)-and of the plague of their sins that

5 For their sins have reached have touched
6 And he requites them as also They requited, and they shall receive twofold-and the cup which they mingled, shall be mingled to them. And as much as they were glorified and waxed wanton, So much shall be given to them torments and sorrow. For they say in their hearts, For ever we will reign and will not be widows and unmarried, and sorrow never will we see
8 come upon them plagues all death, sorrow, and burning of fire. For strong is the Lord who judgeth them
10 And they shall stand and shall bemoan over her kings of earth who with her fornicated and they shall expel (haladsestzen) a corruption of hedsestzen 'they shall sigh' of $\alpha 2$ ) when__smoke of their furnace
10-24 In these verses Codex 6 agrees with 2 except in the following particulars: In 10, 16, 19 the word woe is repeated thrice-In 10 day for hour
11 for both be dragged (due to a corruption) read shall bellow_-buy] here 2 and 6 have the corruption augnestze for gnestze
12 for not any one read Thy hoards-read and all ivories and all vessel precious of wood-retain and of iron
14 and all well-being (or ease) and gleaming beauty is lost from them
16 om and scarlet-For day read in 4, 6 is read hour in $\alpha$, but in 2 is the conflation hour day
17 and all pilots from places to places and sailors who in the sea were enjoying,* afar off
20 her judgment
21 and an angel took a millstone doughty and hurled it
22 of harp-singers and of songs_trumpet, henceforth no more is heard in her
23 And voice of millstone shall be heard no more in her, and light of torch shall not appear there, and voice of bridegroom, of the bride henceforth no more is heard in her. And her glorious ones
24 sealed in heaven in the land of life.

## Chapter XIX

Verses 1-18, Codex 6 agrees with 2 except in the following particulars:
1 For of trumpets great read of crowds. Thus turbarum is rendered instead of tubarum. Both forms of the Old Latin reading therefore are present in the form of the Armenian text represented by Codices 2 and 6. It is further to be noted that they use the equivalent jolowurd for turba, whereas a 34 use bazmuthiun which answers to multitude
2 And the Lord hath sought
3 they praised and (with a)
5, 6 Amen, Alleluiah. And a voice from the throne went forth, saying, Praise our God, all ye servants of him and fearers of his name. And I heard a voice of crowds many, as a voice many, and the sons of thunder were exalting and saying, alleluiah, because he hath reigned
our Lord God. (Here again turbarum is rendered in verse 6 from the Old Latin, from which also the order of the words is derived.)
7 because there is come again to his marriage the lamb and a wife who is made ready, hath been given to her (or him)__I retain he saith to me-order just and true of God
10 retain and worshipped_and he said to me, But fall not (om see, Thou art evil, and he said)-om thy before brethren-_testimony of Jesus
11 and in righteousness he judgeth. And his warriors as a flame of fire _retain written, which
13 with sprinkling of
13,14 word of God, of heaven, and there came after him horses
15 press of wine of wrath and fury of God
17 stood before the sun
18 of the king and of the flesh of the horse, who was mounted upon him _om men_om of great and small

Chapter XIX. 19 foll.
(Codex 6 collated with Codex 1 as translated, p. 51 foll.)
19 om I saw—_om all—_their] his_the horse
20 taken by him the_-prophet-before them, whom——of fire full of burning sulphur
21 om and all

## Chapter XX

2 om and before Satan——sealed him__lead Gentiles astray
4 and they sat_souls of them of the_om unto_dead no one lived
6 resurrection] kingdom (as in 1 and 2)-_they were-_om Jesus Christ
8 forth and shall lead__om all after races_-om all after them
9 breadths -and the cities visible, and there came down-and devoured them and the captain
10 astray. He cast them - fire of sulphur
11 great white (om and)-upon it sitting (om the throne)_-afraid] destroyed (as in 1 and 2)
12 and I saw the rejected (merjeals as in 1 and 2) and the mighty ones and the dead who-_om of their . . . opened-works several
13 her dead who was in her, and death and hell were delivered up into a lake of fire. This is death second, is the lake of fire, and whoever _-cast] delivered

Chapter XXI
1 om heaven and_this sea
2 om I saw_om new_-Jerusalem] add appeared__om the bride - decorated, as a bride she was given

3 And there shall dwell the Lamb with men, with them, and they his people with him, and he is their God
4 care] add no longer shall guard them
5 write, these words are
6 said_—om and Qê from the beginning__om and now—_om And -a spring
7 whoever be found victor_-om and they . . . people
8 om and fornicators_om and before sorcerers_om and all liars . . . ones-is the lake of fire burning with sulphur
9 seven, end, with the-I shew
10 tr great and lofty in-city great, the upper
11 and it had-And they were in sheen likened to precious stones, jasper which in barna (vox nihili !) scintillates, illumines.
12 and her walls, her towers lofty-according to the names of the twelve
13 side are (in each clause)
14 walls] doors (or gates) _om foundations
15 om that-and he had a_om and her portals
16 For] And__om and_om of her__om her before length__om and height
17 om thereof - which are angels
18 of the wall-om precious, of
20 tr chrysoprase with jacinth
21 om And before one-more sheenlike white as beryl
22 Temple of her-om Son-om is
25 are not shut-For night there is
26 but only in the likeness of illumination and a costliness
27 Life of the Lamb (and om Son of God)

## Chapter XXII

1 water of life crystalline bright
2 which bore fruit-om all
3 were not there, and the throne-of his Lamb, which was
4 and they beheld_om was
5 and night no more was there to them, and
5 they were reigning] the king
6 and they said unto me-om who-showed his prophets, and whom he sent by means of his angels to show to his servants what is to be in after time
7 om Behold . . . quickly _of this prophecy
8 when I heard and saw-before the angel-for I also am-om and brother-om and of those
10 om again__after iniquity om and he ... filthy_—ufter righteous om and he . . . holy
12 Behold there cometh the reward-giver quickly, and rewards several before him, and he requites each according
13 I am first and I am end. I am beginning and I am completion. Blessed who fulfil his law, and they have authority to eat of the
tree of life, and they enter by the portal of the city of light. And there shall go forth without
15 Sorcerers and fornicators and idolators and slayers and adulterers and all
16 I Jesus Christ send my_witness in every hour in
17 the Spirit holy, the bride of him, and I am to come, and whosoever
19 shall destroy of the words of this prophecy, he shall withdrawcity holy, which
20 Codex 6 ends with the words $I$ come quickly, and adds without break this colophon :

Of John evangelist and disciple of the Lord, the Revelation of Jesus Christ, to give (? given) in Patmos island. To God glory. Jesus Christ through the prayers of John the Evangelist have mercy on Marcus and John the Elder and on myself the sinful Simeon.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE LATIN ELEMENT IN THE ARMENIAN VERSION

The question arises: Are we to regard this element as original? In other words: Was the Armenian version of Apocalypse made in the first instance from an Old Latin text, and subsequently revised and remodelled from Greek codices? or, oppositely, was it first translated from Greek and afterwards contaminated from Latin manuscripts?

For a direct Latin influence cannot be denied, and it is not enough to suppose that the Latinisms are due to the use by the first translator of a text so primitive as to have contained many readings which passed into the African Latin, but have disappeared from our existing Greek sources. Such an hypothesis would account for only a few out of the many Latinisms scattered broadcast throughout the Armenian texts.

Let us take a few crucial examples.
$19^{1}$ 'I heard a voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said.'

Prim: Audivi vocem turbarum (tubarum) ingentium clamantium voce magna in caelo dicentium.

First as to the text of Primasius. The antiquity of the error tubarum for turbarum is proved by this that just below, in verse 6, the Old Latin texts render oै $\chi \lambda o v \pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{v}$ by tubarum magnarum, so old a commentator as Beatus here reading tubce magnoe. The original Latin translation was turbee in the singular, and it was only after the corruption tubre had arisen that the plural tubarum arose, either in verse 6 or in verse 1. In the latter place, therefore, turbarum is an emendation of tubarum.

It is true that the other Armenian sources $a, 3,4$ (1 is
here defective) render correctly by 'multitude.' None the less, the Latinism before us coheres with all the other Latinisms of the Armenian. If they be original it is original, and conversely.

Now we cannot conceive of an Armenian corrector who, already possessing the true text of this passage, would have introduced this error from a Latin codex, or have made a recension from the Latin at once drastic and undiscriminating.

So codex 1 renders foris autem remanebunt at $22^{15}$, and omits verse $22^{21}$. What reviser in his senses would have made such changes? Where and in what age shall we look for an Armenian filled with such superstitious awe and respect for a Latin text which he casually came across? From about the year 430 the Armenians were incessantly revising from Greek codices the translations they had made from Syriac of the Bible and other books; but there is no case on record of their revising from a Latin version a book which they knew to have been written in Greek. And they were well aware that Revelation was a Greek book, and after the year 500 or 550 it could not be difficult to obtain Greek copies from which to revise an older and imperfect version. Why should they prefer a Latin text?

No one, therefore, who weighs well the evidence, will, I think, hesitate to allow that these Latinisms are due to the use of a Latin original by the first Armenian translator; no one will affirm that they were imported by some one revising from a Latin copy a version originally made from Greek.

The further questions arise: Why should the first translator have used a Latin text? and How shall we explain the circumstance that, apart from the palpable traces of Latin influence, the Armenian if laid alongside of the Greek reads like a translation thereof?

The answer to the first of these questions is probably this, that between 350 and 450 Greek texts of Revelation were rare in the Eastern half of the empire. The best minds in the Greek church, men such as Eusebius Pamphili and Dionysius of Alexandria, denied its Johannine authorship. Living in an age when Old Greek was still the language of everyday life, they were too conscious of the contrasts of style which separate it from the fourth Gospel to accept the
view that a single author wrote both. Having to accept John the Apostle as author of one or the other, they decided in favour of the Gospel. In the West, on the other hand, where both documents alike circulated only in a Latin dress, men were unconscious of these contrasts of style; and so found no difficulty in accepting both as writings of the Apostle John. And it also weighed with the orthodox doctors of the Greek world that Revelation was the favourite Scripture of the Montanists and Millenarists, from under whose feet they cut away the ground when they denied its apostolicity and excluded it from the canon, into which it was not finally received before 692. Into the canons of the Armenian and Syrian churches, already separated from the Greek, it was not admitted before the year 1200 .

Thus it may well have happened that a Latin copy was easier to find, even at Edessa, between 350 and 500 than a Greek. It is useless, however, to speculate as to where the Armenian translator picked up his Latin copy.

I admit that I know no other example of a Latin Scripture being translated by Armenians in the fifth century. Still there must have been many Armenians, even among the translators of that age, who understood Latin. Their diplomatic relations with the court of the emperors ${ }^{1}$ were continuous and sustained from the time when King Tiridates, in company with the chief Armenian bishops, Gregory, Aristaces, and Albianus, visited Constantine at Sardika, soon after a.d. 312. The memory of their visit lived in Armenian tradition, and in the version of the Gospels Jo $19^{20}$ the word $\dot{\rho} \omega \mu a i \sigma \tau i$ ' is rendered 'in Dalmatian,' and the scribes of the text before us seem to have been more familiar with the name Sardica than with Sardis.

Following, therefore, in my conjectures, the line of least resistance, I conclude that this version was made early in the fifth century, if not in the fourth, from an Old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual, Greco-Latin codex, which may have been furnished lyy a Montanist congregation. ${ }^{2}$ Just as Mesrop

[^15]and his fellow-translators, between 400 and 460 , revised the older Armenian version of the Gospels and Epistles ${ }^{1}$ made from the Old Syriac, using the newest Greek manuscripts, so they revised and remodelled their text of Apocalypse, only, it would seem, in a more perfunctory manner; for the traces of the Old Latin are more prominent in it than of the Old Syriac in the rest of the N.T. Being excluded from the Armenian canon, the text of Apocalypse suffered much at the hands of scribes, and to this fact is due the enormous variety of readings. Of the text thus already remodelled, and in many places retranslated from Greek in the fifth century, two further revisions, equally from Greek MSS., have survived. The one was made probably about the year 700 from a codex almost identical with Aleph, and this is found in the Jerusalem manuscript; the other, the Nersesian recension $a$, was less thoroughgoing, and effaces far less than the other the lineaments of Mesrop's fifth-century text. Throughout all recensions alike, however, the primal Latin character of the version abides.

The only other explanation of the singular welding together in the Armenian of an Old Latin with a Greek text, is this that two versions were made, one from Latin and one from Greek, and were subsequently fused together in a single text. Or the original translator may have used a bilingual codex, like D, and have translated now from the Greek and now from the Latin, and a corrector may have subsequently gone over his work and corrected in the margin mistranslations due to a misreading of the Latin. The MSS. of a later age contain, some of them the marginal readings, and others the incorrect text. But this is an improbable hypothesis, and quite fails to account for the many omissions which the Armenian has in common with the African Latin.

[^16]?

# THE SCHOLIA AND EPISTLE TO THEODOSIUS OF CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA 

I

The Armenian Texts

1. Sans Lazaro codex 448 is a large folio, of smooth cotton paper, written in a large cursive hand inclining to uncial forms by Nerses of Lambron in the year 1175 A.D., from ' a dirty and blackened exemplar,' as his colophon fol. 466 informs us. Nerses not so much copied, as corrupted and interpolated the text; and after devoting many hours to a transcription of the many and intricate variants of his codex, I was obliged to discard the great majority of them as worthless conjectures of his own. I have, therefore, seldom cited this codex except where it has the support of the Greek and Latin texts, or of other Armenian MSS. Only in the letter to Theodosius have I printed all his variants. The contents of this codex are the same as codex 4 . The second half of it consists of the pseudo-areopagite.
2. San Lazaro 308, is a small square neatly written bolorgir or cursive manuscript, written on cotton paper early in the fourteenth century. I collated the first and last folios of the Scholia, and the whole of the letter to Theodosius. Its text is allied to that of 3 by common lacunæ and errors. The contents of this codex are the same as those of No. 3.
3. Bodley MS. Arm. e. 20, a small square volume, bound in red leather with clasps in 1671 according to the initial colophon. It consists of 214 folios of cotton paper, neatly written in bold cursive in the year 1394 by one John, called in his colophon at fol. 213 'a searcher after the word of the

Lord Jesus,' from an exemplar found in a chest of books in the old school in the Hermon Wanq (Monastery). The scribe bids us pray for himself, his brother Lazar Hamshirak, who found the book, for Paron Amir Mulqan, and others. The contents of the volume are :-

1. The Scholia in 36 chapters, fol. $3-37$.
2. Letter to Cyril from Tiberius and the Brethren, f. $37 \mathrm{v}^{*}$.
3. Letter of Cyril to Tiberius, f. $40 \mathrm{v}^{\mathrm{o}}$.
4. To Theodosius the Emperor, on Easter, f. $48 \mathrm{v}^{\text {o }}$
5. To the Empress Eudoxia.
6. To the Sisters of Theodosius.
7. To Theodosius in the Faith, and upon his return from Ephesus.
8. Dialogue with Hermias (Jeremias), that Christ is one.
9. To Secundus (Successus), I. and II.
10. To Acacius of Melitene.
11. To John of Antioch.
12. Against Nestor, I. and II.
13. Colophon of a Monophysite, f. 172.
14. To Anastasius, Martin, John, and other orthodox fathers from Cyril, f. 173.
15. Exposition of the Nicene Faith, f. 175.
16. Sermon of Theodotos, Bishop of Ancyra, on the Birthday of Christ, f. $182 \mathrm{v}^{\mathrm{o}}$.
17. Of the same on Epiphany, f. 190.
18. 64 Qucestiones on the Sonship, f. 195.
19. List of 77 Heresies, f. 198 (by John of the Medsoph Wanq and Thomas).
20. David the Philosopher against Heresies, f. $200 \mathrm{v}^{0}$.
21. Of the same, by request of Anastasius Catholicos of Armenia, f. $205 \mathrm{v}^{\circ}$.
22. Of the same, by request of Ashot Patrician, f. $208 \mathrm{v}^{0}$.
23. Of Theodorus called Dakon, disciple of the same David, against Diphysites, f. 210.
24. Bodley Arm. e. 36, written on 198 folios of paper in neat large cursive, written by Sargis the Elder in A.D. 1689, in Persia, in the city once called Shôsh, but then Aspahan, in the suburb known as Djulfa (Dschulayu), in the Bethlehem Monastery, in the reign of Shaypemani, and in the bishoprick of Stephan, and Armenian prefecture of Sir Eliazar.

The contents are the same as those of 3 as far as the end of the Sermons of Theodotus of Ancyra, after which follows a Sermon of Cyril on the Virgin, fol. $191 \mathrm{v}^{\circ}$, and then the volume ends.

Besides these MSS. I consulted in places the edition of
the version printed at the press of Karapet in Constantinople in A.D. 1711. This rare volume I found at San Lazaro.

I have printed the Armenian text just as it is found in MS. 4, from photographs of which the printers set it up direct. Though the latest of the codices used by me, it contains the best text, and must have been copied from a good uncial exemplar. In the printed text I have left, without removing them, many of the orthographic peculiarities of the codex, especially in the matter of the division of words. These anomalies would naturally shock an Armenian reader, but I think it is not useless for scholars, who will see how in an Old Armenian MS. single words were divided by the scribe into two or more, and distinct words run into one another. For it must not be forgotten that in Armenian as in other tongues the sentence or phrase precedes the single word. The first codices written after the alphabet was invented in the fifth century were almost certainly written continuously, and the division of words found in a modern Armenian book follows the analysis of grammarians perhaps of the eighth century. I have added at the end of the Armenian text a fairly full table of the readings of the codices; but their variants seldom involve any modification of the sense, and as a rule I have translated that reading which responds to the Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts, ignoring the rest, for it is of no use to set before the English reader variants which have only arisen within the sphere of the Armenian tradition.

The version is extremely literal; the order of the Greek is preserved, and the Armenian word or formula once assigned to a Greek one is adhered to throughout. The style of translation and the technical terms used are identical with what we find in the translations of Aristotle and Porphyry which I edited in 1892 for the Clarendon Press Anecdota series. These translations are attributed to one David the Invincible, who was the author of several of the pieces found in codex 3 . In my Anecdoton I adopted the traditional view that he worked in the fifth century; but the fact that one of the treatises in codex 3 is addressed to Anastasius who became Catholicos about 661, and another to Ashot the Patrician who was fighting the Khazars and Mussulmans in 683, proves that my date was two centuries too early. He was the same David
who lived some years at Constantinople, and was sent by Constans II. in 648 to Armenia, with a letter for the Catholicos Nerses the Builder.

The date of the version of Cyril's controversial works enumerated above is 6244 of the world, the 14th Indiction, and the second year of Anastasius Emperor, that is A.D. 715. There are also preserved in Armenian the glaphyra of Cyril, or commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings, and the commentaries on Luke, Isaiah, Joel, Zachariah, Hebrews. The version of many of these commentaries is assigned to the fifth century, and they are probably not later than the sixth. In the commentaries on the Pentateuch the text is often abridged.

In rendering the Armenian into English I have striven to be as literal as possible, sometimes I fear doing violence in my attempt to the genius of our language. There is hardly any book which better than the Scholia sums up the dogmatic contests and contrasts of the age of Nestorius, and there is no other work of Cyril which had more vogue among the Monophysites of Armenia and Syria. Two-thirds of the Greek text is lost, and for that reason I selected it for translation. Apart from its dogmatic interest, it merits attention on philological grounds. All too little of the Armenian literature of the seventh and early eighth centuries has been printed, and even when as in the case of these controversial works of Cyril an edition has been published, it is sure to be rarer and more difficult to procure than a manuscript of the same.

Of Saint Cyril Chief Bishop of the Alexandrians, on the Incarnation of our only-begotten Lord, Jesus Christ.

Help me holy Spirit, God.
How Christ shall be understood. ${ }^{1}$
The name Christ has not the force of a definition, nor does it signify the essence of any, whatsoever it be, as for example ${ }^{2}$ a man or a horse, or ox, ${ }^{3}$ but it rather makes revela-

[^17]${ }^{3}$ or ox] own 3.
tion of a thing inwrought concerning something. For with oil were anointed some in antiquity, as it then seemed good unto God; and token of kingship was unto them that anointing. There were anointed also prophets with the holy Spirit according to the intelligible <order of > things, so as thence to be named 'Anointed.'

In psalm saith the blessed David, as in the person of God, and says: Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no Ps.cr. 15 harm. The prophet Ambacum also saith : Thou wentest forth Hab.ii. 15, for the salvation of thy people, to save thy Anointed ones. ${ }^{\text {LXX. }}$ But in regard of our Saviour Christ, we say that there was an anointing; yet not by symbolic oil ${ }^{1}$ wrought, nor through grace prophetic, nor yet that which is understood as it were in the being designed for the achievement of such and such a thing, as for example was realised, we say, in the case of Cyrus, ${ }^{2}$ of Persians and of Medes the king, who mustered an army against the Babylonians, God in all way strengthening him unto this. For it is said: Thus saith the Lord to his Is. xlv. 1 anointed one Cyrus, whose right hand I held. And though the man was an idolater, he is called Anointed by reason of his being so anointed unto kingship by the decree from above: he was designed ${ }^{3}$ by God, mightily to ${ }^{4}$ subdue the Babylonians.

But rather this, because on account of Adam's transgression, sin hath reigned over all. And then the human race was Rom. v. 14 amerced of the holy Spirit and was therefore in all peril. It needed afresh, through the oil of God unto what was from the beginning to mount up, and be accounted worthy of the Spirit. The only-begotten word of God was made flesh, and appeared to those on earth with Body of earth, and then became free from sin ; that through him alone by the glories of sinlessness, man's nature being crowned, should be rich in the holy Ghost, and so be reformed toward God through sanctification. ${ }^{5}$ For so also into us passes the grace, taking its beginning from Christ, among us the First-born. And this teaching us, the blessed David sang in psalm unto the Son, Thou lovedst Ps. xliv. 8 righteousness and hatedst iniquity, therefore God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness more than thy fellows. ${ }^{6}$

[^18][^19]The Son therefore is anointed in human wise like us with the praise of sinlessness. There having been made illustrious in him man's nature, having become worthy of the portion of anointing of the holy Spirit, ${ }^{1}$ no more departing, as in the beginning, but rather with love carried in us. This is what indeed is written, that the Spirit came down upon Christ and abode upon him. Christ therefore is called the Word of God, who because of us together as are we is Man and in servant's form; and he is anointed in human wise according to the flesh but anoints in divine wise with his own spirit them that in him have believed.

Emmanuel is the Word God named, having taken hold of the seed of Abraham, and by proximity become a sharer with us of flesh and blood. Now Emmanuel is interpreted, with us God. And we confess that there is with us the Word God, not locally (for where is not the Godhead, which fills all ?) But neither running our course ${ }^{2}$ along with us has he been seen by way of taking care, for thus unto Jesu Navea it is
Josh. i. 5 said, As with Moses, so will $I$ be also with thee. But because he was made in our fashion, that is to say, in becoming man, he transmuted not his own, inasmuch as he was immutable in nature, God. ${ }^{3}$

But for this reason <is> he who saith, As I was with Moses, so will $I$ be also with thee, nevertheless is not named Emmanuel. Let the very same be the reason, even if he be said to be with any other of the saints. We therefore declare that the Word from ${ }^{4}$ God became with us at that time
Bar. iii. 37 according to which Baruch said, He did appear on earth and conversed with men, and Found out all the way of instruction, and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved, for he himself is our God, and there shall not be accounted any other in comparison with him.

For until when he came, God according to nature was not with us. For there is no comparability between God and manhood, and much asunder is the difference of natures.

Accordingly the divine David in the Spirit summons unto

[^20]relationship or proximity with us, to wit in mystical wise, the word God, because he was not as yet become with us, saying in the Spirit, Why, O Lord, hast thou stood afar, has despised Ps. x. 1 in season in time of tribulation? It follows that he no longer stood afar, but became With us, since he remained that which he was, and laid hold of the seed of Abraham, as also I have said; received the form of a servant, and appeared as us, a man upon earth.

Christ then and Emmanuel signify to us the same Son, both this <way> that he was anointed together with us ${ }^{1}$ in human wise, in his human body receiving the Spirit, as in himself also first; for he is set forth a second beginning of the race, who also doth anoint himself as God with the holy Spirit those who have believed in him. But the other <way>, because he became with us according to the reason above stated by us, and unto this the prophet Isaiah assures us saying, Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they Is. vii. 14 shall call his name Emmanuel. For when the holy Virgin conceived out of the holy Ghost, and bare according to the flesh a son, then too was he called Emmanuel; for the Incorporeal became with us by carnal birth; and this then it was which by the voice of David <was foretold>, Our God shall Ps. i. 2, 3 openly come, our God, and shall not be silent. The same do I deem, I myself who speak am at hand. For having spoken Isa, lii. 6 through the prophets as incorporeal, he came, he the Word, also in the body.

## What is Jesus?

By the force of reflection to be necessary that by us the Son of God be declared one, he is naught else than the Christ, that is to say the Emmanuel. The name Jesus, however, was in its turn as it were out of the fact. For he, it says, shall Mt. i. 21 save his people from their sins. For just as the name Emmanuel shows that the Word of God by means of his birth from woman became with us; and Christ, that having become man, he is said to be anointed as we in human wise: so also Jesus, that he saved us, being his people-which specially proves him clearly to be God in truth, and by nature Lord of all. For creatures are not said to be a common man's, but it

[^21]is fitting rather that all things be said to be the OnlyBegotten's own, although he became man.

But haply some one will say : The people of Israel is called ${ }^{1}$ Moses'. And to this we say : The people was named God's, and that was so in truth. But inasmuch as he was carried away into revolt, and made the calf in the desert, he was dishonoured of God ; and no more did he deign to name him his people, but spoke of him after that as a man's. But we not so, for we are the Son's own, so far forth as he is also God, and through him all things came into being. For thus
Ps. e. 3 saith David, He hath made us and not we ourselves. We are the people of his hand and the sheep of his pasture. Who Jo. x. 27 said of us indeed, My sheep hear my voice and follow me. ib. 16 And again, And other sheep are mine, who are not of this fold; and them also must I bring hither, ${ }^{2}$ and they shall become one flock and one shepherd. He bade too the blessed Peter, ib. xxi. 15 Simon, son of Jonan, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, shepherd my sheep.

## Why the Word God is called Man:

The Word then from God the Father, who by nature is God, is named man, as having participated in flesh and blood identically with us. For he appeared thus on earth, without being changed from whatever he was, but becoming through assumption of the humanity that is as we, perfectly realised according to its definition. Notwithstanding he remained and is defined ${ }^{3}$ in the manhood God and Lord of all, as by nature and truly begotten of God the Father.

And this is proved to us well and clearly by the all-wise 1 Cor. xv. Paul. For the first man, he says, ${ }^{4}$ was from earth, earthy, 47 but the second ${ }^{5}$ from Heaven, whom the holy virgin bare, the flesh made one with the Word. But with special propriety is Emmanuel also said <to be> from Heaven; for the Word begotten by him, ${ }^{6}$ from above and from the substance of God and Father, came down unto us when he became man. And is from above. And thus did John bear witness about him Jo. iii. 31 , and say, He that cometh from above is high above all. Christ
viii. 23 viii. 23 accordingly ${ }^{7}$ himself saith to the people of the Jews, Ye are

[^22]from below, but I am from above. And again, I am not of this world, who also appeared part of this world as man, but was withal also high above the world as God. And we recall clearly the saying, No one hath gone up into Heaven, save he Jo. iii. 13 that hath come down from Heaven, the Son of Man. And we say that the Son of Man came down from heaven, according to the union of the economy, the Word attaching to his own flesh the prerogative of his own glory and divine-seeming excellence.

> Wherefore the Word of God is said to have been emptied.

Being full ${ }^{1}$ by nature and in all respects all-perfect, the Word of God, and dispensing out of his fullness to his creatures his own things, was, we say, evacuated, being no wise injured in his own nature, nor by obligation of existing being altered, suffering any confusion, and, in the humiliation, descent in any respect whatever. For immutable and unalterable is Himself also even as his Begetter, neither became he capable of passion after the manner (or custom) of sorrow. But when he was made flesh, that is, man-according to the saying, I will pour forth of my Spirit on all flesh, he makes ${ }^{2}$ Joel ii. 28 his own the poverty of humanity. And this because he <was> man wholly, albeit he remained God. And next, what? He accepts the form of a servant, he who in his own nature is free, as Son. And being himself Lord of glory, he is said to receive glory. Himself being Life, he is said to be quickened; ${ }^{3}$ and he receives authority over all, who is also King of all with God; and to the Father he became obedient, the cross enduring and the rest. But this befitted the measure of the manhood. Nevertheless he makes them his own in the flesh, and fulfils the economy, remaining whatsoever he was.

## How Christ is one.

Jo. i. 3 things through him were made, and without Him was made nothing. And the blessed Gabriel gives tidings to the holy Lk. i. 31 virgin, saying, Thou shalt conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call ${ }^{1}$ his name Jesus. When therefore the blessed Paul saith that all things were made through Christ Jesus, the blessed ${ }^{2}$ evangelist reconfirms the force of the thought, and heralds the Word of God creator and maker of all things, ${ }^{3}$ a thing true, and the Angel's voice seals the fact of the birth in very truth of Jesus Christ of the holy Virgin. ${ }^{4}$ Nor do we conceive as without manhood the Word from the Father, but we say that he was completed one out of both as God made man, the same by the Father as Word begotten divinely, and from woman humanly as man: not as called to a second beginning of existence then when he is also said to have been born after the flesh, but as he is and ${ }^{5}$ exists prior to all ages and times. But there having come that time at which it was necessary to fulfil the economy, <he was> born also of a woman after the flesh. Consequently, even if some others were anointed, being called homonymously with him Christs, yet one is he through whom all, Jesus Christ. Not as if a mere man was made creator and maker of all things; but as if God Heb.ii. 14 the Word, through whom all came into existence was also made through nearness to us sharer of blood and flesh, and was manifested ${ }^{6}$ man, in no wise forfeiting the remaining ${ }^{7}$ whatever he was; for so indeed being made in flesh, he will be understood befittingly <to be> of all things creator and maker.

## How Emmanuel is One.

Once at the close of the ages is the Word of God said to Heb. ix. 26 be made Man, and as saith the divine Paul, by the sacrifice of himself is manifested. And what was the sacrifice? For he offered his own body for us, for an odour of fragrance to God Hel, ix. 12 and Father, and entered into the sanctuary once, not by the blood of rams and steers, but by his own blood; for he became an occasion thus to believers in him of eternal salvation. Consequently many were saints before him, but not one of

[^23]them was named Emmanuel. For what reason? Because the time was not yet come when he was to become ${ }^{1}$ ' with us,' that is, to become according to our nature, because of the flesh, who is superior to all creatures. One therefore is Emmanuel, since once the only-begotten was made man, when from the holy Virgin he underwent fleshly birth. For it is said also to Jesus Navea, ${ }^{2} I$ will be with thee, but he was not Josh, i. 5 Emmanuel. He was with Moses, but neither was he named Emmanuel. Consequently whenever we hear the name given to the Son, With us God, let us reflect and bear in mind, that not so was he with us in the close of the age, as one might even speak of his being aforetime also with the saints. For to them he was a Succourer, but With us he was made. And when he was made With us, forfeiting not his own <nature>; for verily he is superior to change as God.

## How we assert the Union to be.

The fact of union is completed in many manners: for some severed in disposition and will, and sundered from one another, are said to be united in the way of friendly rencounter, laying aside from their midst the differences. United we call also things joined one with the other, that is, gathered together in other modes, either by juxtaposition or minglement. Therefore when we say there was united with our nature the Word God, the mode of union is seen to be above man's understanding. For it is not after any one thing of those mentioned, but is ineffable wholly, and to no one of those who are known, but to him alone who knoweth all.

And no marvel is it, if by such considerations we are humbled, when if we explore also how they be, things which are relative to ourselves, we confess their apprehension to be beyond us. For in what manner shall we regard man's soul in relation with his body? Who is there who could tell? But if it is needful for those who are accustomed to comprehend small things and them scantly, and have strength to utter <them>, to follow and track out matters so very subtle and above the understanding and phrase, we assert it to be befitting to understand-without ${ }^{3}$ the phrase being in all

[^24]ways of truth, such to be the union of the Emmanuel, as one would consider also a man's soul to have towards its body. For the soul makes its own everything that is the body's, though in its own nature it is unsharing of the same's affections, physical as well as those which come upon it from without. For the body is moved to physical desires; and the soul which is within it, is in sympathy because of the union, but co-sharer it is in no wise, not but that it regards as its own gratification the fulfilment of the longing. Even though the body be smitten by a sword, and be, perhaps, scraped with iron, it is associated in pain, because its own body is tortured, still it will itself in its own nature not suffer aught of these adventitious things.

However for this reason ${ }^{1}$ also we predicate of Emmanuel the union, because it was needful that there should share in the pains of its own body the soul united therewith, in order that escaping from torments, it might carry easy <and> upright the rudder of God. But in the case of the God Word it is monstrous to say that it co-percipient of the torments; for the godhead is impassible, and is not of us, but has been united with the body which possesses the rational soul. While it suffered, he himself impassibly was cognisant of things coming to pass within it, and he was suffering away, ${ }^{2}$ as God, the weaknesses of the body, but making them his own as being <affections> of his own body. Thus also he is said to hunger and labour and suffer for our sake.

Consequently the union of the word with humanity will be compared not incónsistently with our own scope; for just as the body is heterogeneous to the soul, and yet the single man out of the two is realised and spoken of ; in the same way out of the complete hypostasis ${ }^{3}$ of the God Word, and out of humanity perfectly constituted according to its own verbal definition, one <is> Christ, the self same subsisting in sameness, God at the same time as man. And, as we have said, the Word makes his own the <affections> of its own body, because his is the body and not another's. He causes his own body to share in the energy of his own divine-seeing power, so far forth as to be able to make alive the dead and heal them that are in sickness.

[^25]However if we must adduce examples from God-inspired writ, and as it were in a sort of similitude to exhibit the manner of the union, come let us speak as for one. ${ }^{1}$

> About the Coal.

The blessed Isaiah says, T'luere was sent to me one of the Isa. vi. 6, 7 Seraphim, and in his hand he had a live coal, which he had taken ${ }^{2}$ with tongs from the altar; and he saith to me, Behold, this hath touched thy lips, and it shall take away thy iniquities and shall purge thy sins. ${ }^{3}$

And we declare the coal to fulfil for us the type and image of the incarnate word, as if as soon as it touch our lips, that is whenever we confess faith in the same, then it shall exhibit us also from all sins pure and of our old transgressions free.

However it is (allowed) to see, as if in an image, in the coal, united with the manhood the Word of God, not casting away the being whatever he was, but rather elementarily changing that which it has approached ${ }^{4}$-that is to say has unified-into its own glory and energy. For in the same way as fire touching closely wood, and clothing itself therewith, seizes upon it, and it does not relinquish the being wood, but it rather alters it into the appearance and power of fire and inworks all that is thereof <to be> its own, and comes to be reckoned as one therewith, so shall be understood also as regards Christ. For being united ineffably with manhood, God hath preserved it whatsoever it was, and has remained also himself whatever he was. But being united once for all, he is reckoned as one therewith, having made his own what is its, uniting also thereunto the energy of his own nature.

That ${ }^{5}$ the bodiless godhead became body, keeping a rational soul, and that by sundering them one from the other, we utterly and in all ways dissolve the plan and mystery ${ }^{6}$ of the economy understood in Christ.

In the Soing of Songs our Lord Jesus Christ introduces himself saying, ${ }^{7}$ I am flower of the plain, lily of the vallies. Song of Now as smell is something without body, and uses as its body LXX. Sol. ii. 1,

[^26]that in which it is, and yet the lily is considered to be of both one; but the defection of the one ruins entirely the plan regarding it, for in the subject is the smell and the subject is body--even thus let us understand also in regard to Christ the nature of Godhood, that His own hypercosmic transcendency scents with sweet odour the world, in the humanity as if in a subject; and by nature bodiless becomes after an economical union even in a body, through the desire to be known by means of body, since it has energised through the same activities proper to God. Consequently the bodiless will be properly understood through its own body, just as the reality of the fragrance is in the flower as its subject, and the togetherness of both is called a lily.

That <the word> having arrived at true union with the humanity, the substances ${ }^{1}$ have remained unconfused.

There was raised, God willing, in the wilderness the holy Tabernacle, and therein in manifold manner was figured Emmanuel. The Lord of all said therefore to the divine Exod. xxv. Moses, And thou shalt make an ark of Witness out of unrotting 10, 11 wood, of two cubits and a half its length, and of a cubit and a half its breadth, and of a cubit and a half its height; and thou shalt overlay it with gold within and without. The unrotting wood then will be truly a type of the incorruptible body, for unrotting is cedar; while gold, as a material surpassing others, will signify to us the transcendency of the divine essence.

And mark how the whole ark was overlaid with pure gold without and within. For there was united with a holy body ${ }^{2}$ the Word being God; and this I deem is it that also without the ark with gold was lined and overlaid. That he also made his own the reasonable soul within the body, this will shew the fact that he enjoined as necessary the gilding it on the inside as well. And that the natures, that is the substances ${ }^{3}$ have remained unconfused, we shall realise from this. For the gold spread over the wood remained just what it was, and the glory of the gold enriched the wood, yet it ceased not from being wood.

And that the ark is taken for a type of Christ, one may

[^27]be persuaded of by many arguments. For it used to go before the Israelites, seeking rest for them. Christ also somewhere saith, $I$ will go and prepare for you a place.

Jo. xiv. 2
§ 12

That the Word being God was made man, and that not a man merely through bare conjunction honoured is called to equality of glory with him, that is to authority, as by some is opined.

The divine Paul saith the mystery of godliness to be great; 1 Tim. iii. and such is the fact in truth. For there was manifested in ${ }^{16}$ flesh the Word, being God; was justified also in Spirit, since also not in any manner does he appear holden by our infirmities, albeit after us he was made man, for he did no sin. He appeared also to the angels, for they were not ignorant of his generation after the flesh. He was preached also unto the Gentiles, as God made man, and so was believed on in the world. And of this divine Paul will assure us thus writing:

Wherefore remember ye Gentiles, named uncircumcision, Eph. ii. 11. from the so-called circumcision in the flesh, made by hands, ${ }^{12}$ that ye were at that time without Christ, and estranged from the polity ${ }^{1}$ of Israel, and exiled from the covenants of promise. And any hope ye had not, and ye were godless in the world.

The Gentiles were therefore in the world and godless, without Christ ; but because they recognised him as God by nature, and recognised truly, they too came to be recognised by him, confessing the faith. He was uplifted also in glory, 1 Tim. iii. it is clear in divine fashion. The blessed David saith in ${ }^{16}$ Psalm : God hath been uplifted in praise. He was uplifted Ps. xlvii. 5 absolutely in body, and not in the naked godhood, for God was incarnate.

We believe, therefore, not as it were in one of ourselves made divine according to grace, lest we be caught unawares, led into the perversity of anthropolatry; but rather as it were in God appearing in human form; and made as we in very truth, remaining withal in the manhood God. For the Word being involved ${ }^{2}$ in the taking on of flesh, was not involved in a laying aside of the being just what he was; but is conceived of, the same self God, at the same time also man.

And the account of faith is thus, and let it be so very rightly. But if any one should say, What is there absurd, tell me, if a man as ourselves be understood to have laid hold of the Godhood, rather than God be made man? We assert that there are ten thousand considerations which are opposed, and which, as it were, by a nod hint at the necessity of our valiantly opposing, and not believing it so to be.

For come, before ought else, let us reflect upon the mode of the economy with flesh, and let us examine the nature of our condition. Human nature was emperilled, and was caught in the last ills, and was condemned to death; and was involved in the toils of sin, was gone astray and was in darkness; God by nature and in truth it knew not. It was worshipping creatures and not the creator. How then, indeed, was it to be rescued from such ills? Say we this, that it was lawful to lay hold of the divine nature, of which it knew not at all, who or what possibly might be that highest nature's dignity, it which was holden of unlearning and darkness, and by the soil of sin defiled? How was it possible for it to be able to attain unto the all-holy nature and to receive glory, which no one can receive, without having received. Suppose that by knowledge, for example, and by knowing alone, we assert it to lay hold thereof, who is there that demonstrated at all? Rom. x. 14 How shall they believe, except they hear? Not but what even this is not to lay hold of the Godhood, and to seize the befitting glory thereof. Consequently it is more meet, and very reasonably so, to suppose, that God the Word through whom is the all, desiring to save the lost by abasement unto us, lowered himself to what he was not, in order that the nature of man might become what it was not, eminent in honour of divine transcendency, even through the union with him; and it was rather lifted up to what was above nature; that is to say he sent down, to what was outside the nature, the unchangeable, as God. It behoved that the Incorruptible should lay hold of the nature which is under corruption, that he might liberate it from corruption. It behoved that he who knew not $\sin$, should be made conformal with those who were under $\sin$, in order that he might make $\sin$ to cease. For as wherever there be light, there will be absolutely without work darkness; so when incorruption is at hand, is
it necessary entirely for corruption to flee away; and, as he that knoweth not sin, has made his own that which is under sin, for sin to be brought to nought.

But that the Word, being God, was made man, and not rather as man made God is Christ conceived of, I will from the holy Scriptures also endeavour to shew. Now there hath said the blessed Paul, He who is in the form of God esteemed Phil. ii. 6 not robbery the becoming equal to God; but emptied himself, ${ }^{11}$ taking servants' form, being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man; he humbled himself to become obedient even to death and to death of the cross. Wherefore God also the more exalted ${ }^{1}$ him, and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus Christ every knee should bow of beings heavenly and earthly and infernal; ${ }^{2}$ and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord unto the glory of God the Father.

Whom then shall we really say was in the form of God and equality of the Father, esteeming these things not for robbery; but rather descended into emptiness, and into servants' form, having humbled himself, in likeness also to become as ourselves? Now if he was mere man alone of a woman, how was he in such a form and equality of the Father? Or how had he fulness, that he be conceived of as emptied? Being in what heights, is he said to have been humbled ? ${ }^{3}$ And how was he made in the likeness of men, who was such by nature, even if he is not perhaps said to be made aught? And where was he emptied, having received the fulness of the Godhead? Or how was he not made high, unto transcendent glory proceeding ?

Consequently we say not man made God, but rather that he was made in abasement because of our manhood, who was in the form and equality of the Father, the God Word. For he was emptied, How ? ${ }^{4}$ By reason of the likeness to us, who was full and complete ${ }^{5}$ as God. He is humbled on account of the flesh, who is also filled with the divine transcendency of elevation, for he hath a throne that is on high. He was made in the likeness of men, who is withal conformal with his begetter, since he doth limn out his essence. How-

[^28]ever, since he was once made as we, he is said to ascend with flesh too into the Godhead's glory, who had fully the same, as his own continually. Yet in a manner he ascended into it because of the manhood, because he is believed to be Lord of the universe even with the flesh.

And there boweth to him every knee, and that not at all to the grief or dishonour of the Father, but rather to his glory. For he rejoiceth and is glorified in the son's being adored, albeit he was made like us. It is written also again, that he Heb ii. 16, taketh hold not of angels', but taketh hold of Abraham's seed, ${ }^{1}$ whence it behoved him in all ways to be like the brethren. Lo, the Word, being God, takes hold of Abraham's seed ; and not some man of those ${ }^{2}$ like us, took hold of the Godhead. He himself therefore is likened to us and was manifested a brother as man, and not we to him according to the Godhood's nature. And again, forasmuch ${ }^{3}$ as the children partook through nearness of blood and flesh, he also himself through his death became consort of them, that through his death he might destroy the holder ${ }^{4}$ of the power of death, that is, the devil, and might Heb. ii. 14, reseue them who through fear of death were all their lifetime 15 subject to bondage. Lo, again, he himself through nearness partook with us of blood and flesh; and the thing hath a reason apposite, instant, and at the door, it being written ${ }^{5}$ Rom. vii. 3 again, For what was impossible for the Law, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sent his own son in the likeness of the flesh of sin, and for sin's sake, also condemned $\sin$ in the flesh. ${ }^{6}$ Mark again, that not man is shewn advancing up to Godhood, and ascending to the honours thereof; but God rather sent his son in the likeness of flesh of sin, that he might annul sin. Consequently the Word being God, let himself down ${ }^{7}$ into emptiness, being made man ; and Christ is seen to be no man simply laying hold of the glory of becoming God.

[^29]
## That the Word of God made man is Jesus Christ.

Desiring to investigate the mystery of the economy with flesh of the Only Begotten, we say this, holding true glory ${ }^{1}$ and right faith, that the Word himself which is from God the father, true God from true God, light from light, was made flesh and was made man, descending from heaven, suffered and rose from the dead. For thus defined the great and holy synod the symbol of the faith.

Investigating and desiring to learn afresh, what really is the Word's being made in truth flesh and man, let us see that it is not possible to take <him> as it were in a connection which regards equality of honour or of authority or of sole homonymity of sonship; but rather to be made man as we, together with his keeping unchangeable and unalterable and rescuing afresh in his own nature him that was made ${ }^{2}$ in the assumption of flesh and blood economically.

One accordingly is he who before becoming flesh is named by the divine writ, Only-Begotten and Word and God, Image, and brightness and Impress of the Essence of the Father, Life, Glory, Light, Wisdom, Power, Arm, Right-hand, Exalted, Mighty, Magnificence, Lord of Sabaoth, and by other such names, truly God-befitting. But after the becoming man, Man, Jesus Christ, Propitiation, Mediator, First fruits of the Sleeping, First-begotten of the dead, Second Adam, Head Col. i. 18 of the Body the Church: the original names also following him, since all is his, those which are first and those in the last times of the age.

One accordingly is he who even before becoming man <was〉 true God, and in becoming man remained just what he was and is and shall be. We must not therefore formulate apart the one Lord Jesus Christ, into man peculiarly and God peculiarly; but we say that Jesus Christ is one and the same; knowing the difference of flesh and of Godhood, and keeping them unconfused one with the other.

When therefore Holy Writ says that, in Christ dwelled all Col. ii. 9 the fulness of the Godhead bodily, we do not therefore say so as that in another Christ, in a man, ${ }^{3}$ the Word dwelled apart

[^30]and alone, nor sundering from each other things united, do we conceive of two sons; but this rather, in that holy writ calls by the name Christ, and as it were in part sometimes the manhood of the Word of God, which he having as his own, made to be in the order of a temple. For it has been written Job iv. 19, also about human souls, Him verily who dwells in houses of LXX. clay, whereof we too are of the same clay. Do we then, because he names human bodies houses of clay and asserts the soul to dwell in them, also sever in two the single men? And how is it not wholly without blame, that in a man also be said to dwell his spirit? So that even though the form of speech passes into such modes, unable to be otherwise, it beseems not therefore that the nature of things is thereby injured, but rather to conceive that they also forthwith hasten unto the truth.

When then we see any of those things which have not been allotted their nature one like to another, woven together into unity by composition, and forthwith the one perhaps is said to dwell within the other, we must not define them apart into two ; the concurrence into unity not being in any one way prejudiced, even if each one of the things united be specially named by us whatever the two several are. For as I said, in man is said to dwell his spirit; and yet not only the spirit specially, but also the body, is called man. Which thing in some sort the wise Paul signified to us, saying, For
2 Cor. iv. though our outward man perish, yet our inner man is renewed 16 day by day. When therefore any one saith that our inward man dwelleth in our outward man, he saith true; nevertheless he is not seen to have divided the one into two. The prophet Isa. xxvi. 9 Isaiah also saith somewhere, By nights riseth eurly my spirit to keep dawn with thee, $O$ God. Is it then as if some one else than himself, his spirit, were said to keep the dawn with God? And how is it not absurd to say any such thing? Consequently it is necessary to observe the figure of speech, and not marvel at the reasonable, but rather explore the force of the things signified with respect to the aim beseeming each several thing.
Lk. ii. 52 If however it be said that Jesus waxed in age and wisdom and grace, the fact will belong to the economy. For the Word of God permitted his human qualities to come to be by
the habit of its proper nature; and as it were gradually and little by little he broadened out the manifestation of his own Godhood, and along with the age of the body to encrease what is Its own, so that no <thing> strange should be seen, which in excessive unknownness should disturb some men. While even thus they said: How knoweth this man letters, Jo. vii. 15 since he hath never learned? Consequently bodily is the increase, and the advance in grace and wisdom befits the measures of the manhood. Himself however, the Word from God, in his own nature we pronounce to be all-perfect; not in need of advance, not of wisdom, not of grace. But he rather imparts to creatures both wisdom and grace, and the things in which they may be well off. If however it be also said that Jesus suffered, the suffering will be of the economy; but it is said to be himself, and very properly, for his own was that which suffered, and he was in the suffering body, he that knows not suffering,-since he is impassible as God. So far forth however as came the gross daring of the drunken ones, he would have suffered, ${ }^{1}$ if it had been possible to suffer. Consequently in so far as there hath been made even as we the Only Begotten, as often as he is called man by the Godinspired scriptures, we, bearing in mind the economy, shall acknowledge him to be God according to nature and so Christ.

Examples from God-inspired Seripture to show that the Word of God remained even after the incarnation God.

God saith somewhere to the divine Moses, And thou shalt Ex. xxv. make a mercy seat of pure gold, of two cubits and a half the ${ }^{17-20}$ length thereof, and of a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold of beaten work, and shalt put them on the two sides of the mercy seat; and there shall be of the cherubim stretched out their wings, to hold a shelter over the mercy seat, and their faces shall look to one another, confronting the mercy seat.

A type, therefore, will it be, and a very sure one the Word of God remained in the manhood God and in his glory and transcendency, even though he was made like us economically. For a propitiation through faith was Emmanuel made Rom. iii. 25

[^31]unto us. And as to this will the wise John persuade us, 1 Jo. ii. 1,2 Little children, this I write unto you, that ye sin not. If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is Propitiation of our sins. But also Paul Rom. iii. 25 saith, Whom God appointed, a propitiation through faith in his blood. However, manifest are the cherubim standing round about the mercy-seat, forming a shelter with their wings one over against the other, trembling, bowing unto it, and with fixed gaze eying steadily the things dominical. For to God alone is turned the glance of so great a multitude of supernal powers, insatiably having God in sight. So the Isa. vi. 1 prophet Isaiah saw the Son on a throne lifted up and exalted, the cherubim, he says, stood around him bringing offerings as unto God.

## Another.

There was sent of yore the divine Moses to rescue Israel from the torments of the Egyptians. And since it was necessary to persuade those who were under the yoke of servitude and of a customary vassalage, that God called them, he was bidden to work signs. For the working of signs is ever powerful unto belief. Moses therefore says to the God Ex. iv. 1-5 of all, If they shall not believe me nor harken unto my voice, for they may say, God hath not appeared unto thee, what shall I say to them. And the Lord saith to him, What is that in thine hand? And he saith, A rod. And he saith, Cast it upon the ground. And he cast it on the ground and it became a serpent, and Moses fled therefrom. And the Lord said to Moses, Stretch forth thy hand, and lay hold of his tail. And he stretched forth his hand, and laid hold of his tail, and he became a rod in his hand. And He saith, Let this be a sign to thee, that they shall believe that the Lord God of their fathers hath appeared unto thee, Gord of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Jacob.

Mark then in these <words> the Son from God in nature, and truly, as some rod of the Father, for the rod is an emblem of kingship. For together with the son hath he authority
Ps. xlv. 6 over all, which the divine David saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a rod of equity, a rod of thy kingship. But he cast it on the ground, that is, he clothed it in an earthly
body, for he sent him upon the earth through the becoming man ; for then, verily, did he become like unto our wickednesses, it is clear that of wickedness the serpent is emblem.

And that what I have said is true, thou wilt be instructed from this. For our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as image and figure of the economy in the flesh, accepteth the brazen serpent, which Moses lifted up, in order to undo the serpents' bites. For he says, As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so Jo. iii. 14, must be lifted up the Son of Man, that everyone who believes in ${ }^{15}$ Him may not perish but receive life eternal. For as the serpent made of brass was the cause of salvation to those in peril, for they were saved who looked on it, so also our Lord Jesus Christ to those who see him in the likeness of bad men, so far forth as he was made man, yet are not ignorant that he is God quickening, <will> be the producer of life, and able to become a refuge, I say from bitter and venomous beasts, from opposing powers.

And this is therefore a figure, that Moses' rod ate up the rods of the others, which the wizards cast down on the ground. Accordingiy, the rod was cast down on the earth, yet it did not remain a serpent, for lifted up it became again just what it was. For if, as I have said, there was in likeness as we, the rod of the Father, that is the Son, by whom he rules the universe, yet having fulfilled well the economy, he was lifted up into heaven ; and became afresh in the Father's hand as it were $a$ rod of equity and of kingship. For he sat down on the right hand of the Begetter, and was made in his own transcendency, possessing the supreme throne even with flesh.

> Another.

The Lord God said again to him, Put thine hand into thy Ex. iv. 6, bosom, and he put his hand into his bosom, and took forth his ${ }^{7}$ hand out of his bosom and his hand became as snow. And he said again, Put thine hand into thy bosom, and he put his hand into his bosom, and brought it forth out of his bosom, and it was turned again to the colour of his flesh.

The hand, and the right hand of God and Father, him that is of the same by nature, divine Scripture names the Son. It introduced him for certain, saying : I by mine hand founded Isa. xlviii.

Ps.xxxiii. 6 the heaven. Which also the blessed David saith, By the word of the Lord the heavens were established. See then that in Moses' bosom being hidden his hand had not yet suffered leprosy; being brought forth it was forthwith made leprous. And again being put in however and thence issuing forth, it no longer appeared leprous. For it was turned, he says, forthwith to the colour of his Alesh. Therefore as long as was in the bosom of the Father the word from the same, ${ }^{1}$ he with the Godhead's purity appeared beauteous. But when ${ }^{2}$ he was made as it were outside, as touching the incarnation I mean, Rom.viii. 3 that is the becoming mau, he was even made in the likeness of Iss. liii. 12 the flesh of $\sin$ and was numbered among the iniquitous. ${ }^{3}$ 2 Cor.v. 21 Which the blessed Paul said,-Him who linew not sin, he made sin for us, that we might be made Righteousness of God through him. This I think is shown by the leprosy. For the leper was unclean according to the law. But since he again became in the bosom of the Father, for he was taken up after the resurrection from the dead, the hand issuing forth again will appear pure. For there shall come verily in due season our Lord Jesus Christ in the Godhead's glory and purity, though retaining the existence as we without laying it aside. Saith therefore also the blessed Paul about Christ, Heb.ix. 28 that once for all he died for taking away of the sins of many, and a second time he shall be manifested without sin unto them that look unto him for salvation. Consequently whenever holy writ names Christ Jesus, let him not be conceived of as man by himself, not united in very truth with the word; but let us rather thus hold him fast, that Jesus Christ who became man is very 'Word from God the Father.'
§ 17 That Christ was not a God-elal man, and that in a man there dwelled not the Word Goil, but rather that he was made flesh, that is perfect man, according to Scripture.

Those who have faith in Christ undefiled, and by not a few testified unto correctness, say that the Word himself who is from God the Father, descended into emptiness, taking a servant's form, and making his own a body born of the Virgin Mary, was made as we, appeared also a son of man. He is

[^32]also God according to the Spirit, but according to the flesh the selfsame is man. As also the divine Paul called out to the people of the Jews, saying, Manifoldly and in many ways Heb. i. 1,2 spake to our fathers through the prophets, but in the close of the days spake with us through the Son. And how shall God and Father be understood to have spoken in the close of the days through the Son? For he spoke to them of old the law through him. This even the Son himself says, that his are the words which <were> through the wise Moses. For he says, Think not that $I$ came to undo the law or the prophets. I Mt. v. 17, came not to undo, but to fulfil. But I say unto you, not one ${ }^{18}$ jot, which is a sign-point, shall pass away from law and prophets, until all shall come to be. Heaven and earth shall Mt. xxiv. pass away, but my words shall not pass.

And besides this by the voice of the prophets, I that speak Isa. lii. 6, am at hand. Consequently when he was made in flesh, then LXX spake the father to us through him, as saith blessed Paul, in the end of these days. But lest we should be unbelieving that he himself it is who even before all the ages is Son, he added immediately, Through whom he made also the aeons, effulgence Heb. i. 2, 3 of glory and image limning forth his essence, the Father's, he declares him to be.

Man he was made truly, through whom God and Father made the aeons; and not as some opine, was he made in a man, so that by us he be conceived of as a man having God dwelling in matter. For if they say here that this is so, and believe it, then truly will the blessed evangelist John appear superfluous saying that the Word was made flesh. For what Jo. i. 14 need is there of the Word from God being made man and being said to be made flesh, unless he was made flesh signifies the being made as we; and the force of the being made flesh proves him to have been made man as we, remaining also above us, nay more, above all creatures.

And it is due, as I think, to bring forward examples from sound reflection of what I have said, and to carry conviction that the only-begotten was made man and is God even with flesh, and 〈was〉 not dwelling in man, rendering him God-clad, like others who were made partakers of his Godhead.

Thoughts.

God says somewhere of us, I will dwell in them and walk in them and I will be to them a God and they shall be to Me a people. And our Lord Jesus Christ Himself too saith, Lo I will come and if any man open to Me we will enter Bотн I and the Father and we will make our abode in him. We are also called temple of God, for we (he says) are the Temple of the Living God, and again Know ye not that your bodies are a Temple of the Holy Ghost Which is in you Which ye have of God? But if they say thus that He is Emmanuel, as each one of us has had God indwelling in him, let them confess it openly, that when they see Him worshipped by us and by the Angels, in Heaven and upon earth, they may blush as thinking otherwise, and ignorant of the drift of the holy Scriptures,
cf. 1 Tim. but also not having in them the faith which they delivered to

## vi. 3

S. Luke
i. 2 us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word.

But if they say: He is therefore God and glorified as God because the word begotten of God the Father merely dwelt in Him, and not because He was made Man, let them hear oppositely from us, If to them who have God indwelling in them, it suffices that they become truly gods and be adored by all, all will be gods and to be adored, for he dwelleth also in the holy Angels, and we have Him dwelling in ourselves too, through the Spirit; but it is not right to say that on this account they are gods and to be adored who have Him in them. Not therefore for this is Emmanuel God and to be worshipped because the Word of God dwelt in Him as in a common man, and in one considered as we and by himself and existing apart and in part, but because He was made flesh, i.e. Man, for He remained therefore God and one to be worshipped.

Speaking of the Christward Mystery, he says, Which of other races was not made linown unto the sons of men, as it had now heen revealed unto Hes saints, unto whom God willed to matie linown what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles which is Christ in you the hope of glory,

Whom we preach. If therefore He is God-clad and not truly God, how is He the riches of the glory of the Mystery which is told to the Gentiles? or how is God at all proclaimed?

Another.
For I would that ye knew what conflict I have for you and Col. ii. for them at Laodicea and as many as have not seen my face ${ }^{1,2}$ in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted, being instructed in love and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding to the acknowledgement of the Mystery of God of Jesus Christ. ${ }^{1}$ Lo he calls the Mystery of God the Mystery of Christ and wishes to assure certain in understanding unto the acknowledgement of it. Of what understanding therefore was there need to those who would learn the Mystery of Christ, if they were about to hear that God dwelt in a man? But there is need of exceeding understanding to know Emmanuel, that the Word being God was made Man.

## Another.

For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in 1 Thess. Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to Godward d. 8 is reported. Lo again he states that their faith was Godward, of which Christ saith, He that believeth in Me receiveth ever-s. John lasting Life: and the word of the Lord he calls the preaching ${ }^{\text {vi. }} 47$ of Him.

> Another.

For yourselves know our entrance in unto you, that it was 1 Thess. not in vain, ${ }^{2}$ but after that we had suffered many things before ${ }^{\text {ii. 1, } 2}$ and been reviled as ye know in Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God. Lo speaking in God, he made mention of the Gospel of God, that he preaches Christ to the Gentiles.

Another.
Call to mind brethren our labour, working day and night Ib .9 that We might not be burdensome to any of you, we preached the Gospel of God among you: and again, For this cause I thank 1 Thess.
${ }^{2}$ The Arm has 'according to any one thing' instead of 'in vain.'

God without ceasing, because when ye received from us the word of hearing of God ye received it not as the word of men but as it is in truth the Word of God which worketh in you which, have believed. Does he not plainly call the preaching about Christ the Gospel of God and word of God? How is that not plain to all?

Another.
For the grace of God saving hath appeared to all men, teaching us to deny ungodliness and wordly lusts that we should live soberly and uprightly and piously in this world, and await the blessed hope and manifesting of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Lo our Lord Jesus Christ is most positively called God and Great: for He it is Whose manifesting of glory we await, being diligent by means of upright life and unblameable. But if he be a God-clad man, how is He also great God? or how is the hope in Him a blessed one? if so be that the Prophet Jeremiah is true in saying, Cursed he that putteth his trust in man. For neither God did he anywhere name him (as I said before) to them that teach him God-clad. And what hinders that all others be gods and to be worshipped who had God in them? But blessed Paul calls Christ God Great and that hath a blessed manifesting, he who is found saying of the Jews, and of Emmanuel, Whose are the fathers and the covenant and the promises, of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ Who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen.

But that by Divine revelation he did make his preaching, will be clear in that himself saith, Then fourteen years after, $I$ went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas and took T'itus with me also; but I went up by revelation and set forth to them the Gospel which I preached privately to them who seemed to be somewhat, lest haply I had run in vain or should run. Preaching <Him> to the Gentiles as God, every where calling the Mystery about him Divine. He went up to Jerusalem by revelation and communicated with them who seemed to be somewhat, i.e. with the holy Apostles, lest perchance he should run in vain or had run. When he had gone down from Jerusalem and was again back among the multitude of the Gentiles, did he then correct ought of his former <teaching>?

And did they not persevere in confessing that Christ is God? as indeed he writes to certain, I marvel that ye are so soon removed Gal. i. 6, from him who called you, unto another gospel which is not ${ }^{7}$ another, save there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ : and he says again, But though we or an Angel Ib. 8 from Heaven preach any gospel unto you more than ye have received, let him be anathema. And leaving all others that had God indwelling them, he preached Jesus Alone as God?

## Another.

It is written of Christ, When He was at Jerusalem in the S. Jolm feast day, many believed in His Name, when they saw the signs ${ }^{\text {ii. }} 23-25$ which He was doing, but Jesus Himself trusted not Himself to them, because He knew all men and because He needed not that any one should bear witness of him, for Himself knew what was in man. If He were a God-clad man, how were not the many deceived who at Jerusalem believed on His Name? Why did He Alone know the things which are in man when none else knoweth them? for God alone is said to have fashioned our Ps. hearts. Or why doth He Alone forgive sins? for He saith, xxxiii. 15 That the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins. Why is He s. Matt. Alone apart from others the Co-sessor of God and Father? ${ }^{\text {ix. }} 6$ why do the Angels worship Him Alone, and did He teach us to deem as our common Father Him who is in Heaven, for His alone was he?

But you will say that words of this sort are to be attributed to the indwelling Word. And how ought He not according to the measure beseeming Prophets, Himself too to have said, Thus saith the Lord? But when He would ordain the things that are above <the Law>, putting on Himself dignity of a Legislator, He used to say, I say to you.

How says He that He is free, and whatsoever was due to of. s. God? It is because He is Son in truth. And how if He Matt. was a God-clad man, was He free by Nature? For the Godhead alone is free and under authority of none? for he not only takes to himself the praise of all, but received as it were by way of debt religious service. And if Christ is the end of the Law and the Prophets, yet is a God-clad man, how is it not true to say that the end of the prophetic preachings has brought upon us the depravity of man-worship?

Again, the Law set forth, Thou shalt worship the Lord Thy God and Him only shalt thou serve. And it led us unto Christ, as unto a knowledge transcending theirs who were before in the shadow: Shall we therefore, repudiating the worshipping of God, worship matter which has God in it? for where were it best to conceive him, tell me? in heaven or in a man? in Seraphim or in earthly body?

If He were God-clad man, how by nearness partook He with us in flesh and blood? If the indwelling sufficed for participation of nearness with us in the same things, and if His so participating was the being made man: He indwelt in many of the saints too: He was therefore not once, but full often, made man. And how is He said once in the end of the world to have appeared for putting away of sin by the sacrifice of Himself? how do the Divine Scriptures preach to us one Coming of the Word? Temple of God, and how is Christ in us also? as a Temple in temples? or rather as God in the temples through the Spirit? If he were a God-clad man, how is His Body alone Lifegiving? for such should have been the bodies of others also, wherein indwelt the God of all things.

And the Divine Paul wrote somewhere, He that despised Moses' Law died without any mercy at the hands of two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, that he is worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God and hath deemed polluted the Blood of the new Covenant? Yet Divine were the Commandments, the Law spoken through Angels: how then will he be thought worthy of sorer punishment who hath deemed polluted the Blood of Christ? or how is the faith Christ-ward higher than the cult of the Law? But (as I have said) Christ is not as one of the saints, a God-clad man, but God in truth and He possesses glory in surpassing excellence, because, being God by Nature, the Word of God was made flesh, i.e. perfect man; for we believe that the Body which was united to Him is endowed with reason and ensouled, and wholly true is the union.

[^33]> How ${ }^{1}$ we must understand The Word was made Flesh and dwelt in us.

The blessed Paul affirms that the Only-Begotten Word of God took hold of Abrahan's seed, and also that through near- Heb. ii. ness He partook with us of flesh and blood. We remember ${ }_{\mathrm{Ib} .1}^{16 .} 14$. too the word of John, for he says, And the Word was made S. John i. Flesh and dwelt in us. Was it therefore the aim of these ${ }^{14}$ men, being spiritual, to teach this, that the Word of God was capable of change, to undergo the mutation which belongs rather to the creature? so that that too which He was not, He should haply become, or by His own suggestion be brought thereto, that is, be driven from what before seemed to Him good into an alteration of nature. God forbid: for He remains Himself, not admitting into His Nature change, unknowing to suffer a shadow of turning: for That Supreme and Heavenly s. James Nature is ever fixed in what it was.

How the Word has been made Flesh it is needful to see. First then the Divine Scripture full often calls man flesh and as it were taking from a part makes declaration of the whole animal, and does the same sometimes no less from the soul alone, for it is written that all flesh shall see the salvation of God, as s. Luke moreover the Divine Paul saith, I conferred not with flesh and $\frac{\text { Gai. i. i. } 16}{}$ blood, and the hierophant Moses calls out to Israel, Thy fathers Deut. x. went down into Egypt seventy and five souls. And one would ${ }^{22}$ not therefore say that bare and fleshless souls made their descent into Egypt, nor again that to soulless bodies God gave bounteously of His salvation.

As often therefore as we hear that the Word was made into Flesh, let us conceive of man out of soul and body. But the Word being God was made perfect man taking a body endowed with soul and mind, and having united this to Himself in truth, in what manner he himself knows (for speculations of this kind are utterly unattainable by our mind), was called son of man. Yet if one must say somewhat, looking as in a mirror, the human mind indicates that the Word was united to the Body having a reasonable soul, much as is the soul of man too to its own body, which is of other nature than it, obtaining thus participation and union with it, so as to appear not to be other than it, in that by composition

[^34]one living thing is effected out of both, it nevertheless remaining (as I mentioned before) in its own nature. Hence we say that not by mutation or change has the Word of God been made <Man>, nor yet that It was diminished in any way of being God; but that taking flesh of a woman and united to it from the womb, He proceeded forth man, the Same being Man and God; for not as casting away the Ineffable Generation out of God the Father, did He endure that of a woman, inviting a beginning so to say of being, but rather permitted to His own Flesh to be called into being in accord with the law of its own nature, in regard I mean to the mode of its birth: nevertheless the human nature hath in Him something special, for he was born of a Virgin and hath Alone a mother incognizant of marriage. And he says that made Flesh He also tabernacled in us, that through both He might shew that He was made man and let not go His own, for He hath remained whatever He was.

And tabernacling in us He is full surely conceived ${ }^{1}$ of as one thing in another, to wit, the Divine nature even in the human, not undergoing confusion or any commingling or passing into what it was not. For that which is said to indwell in another, becomes not that which it is wherein it dwells; but is conceived of rather as one thing in another. But in respect of the Nature of the Word and of the Manhood, it herein indicates to us only the difference of diversity. For one Christ is conceived of out of both. Preserving well therefore (as I said before) the inconfusion, he says that the Word tabernacled in us. For he knows that the OnlyBegotten Incarnate and made Man is One Son.

But see (I pray) that the Divine Evangelist is wisely minded to crown the whole nature of men, for he said that the Word dwelt in us, not saying that the Incarnation of the Word took place for any other reason (as seems to me) sare that we ton, enriched by the participation of Himself through the Holy Ghost might gain the benefit of adoption. Therefore we believe that in Christ took place an union consummate and true: but even though He be said to dwell in us, Himself will make His indwelling in His body not by relation. ${ }^{2}$ For

[^35]in Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, i.e. not by Col. ii. 9 participance or relation only, as in us simply, as when light shineth in or fire infuseth into contiguous things its innate heat, but (so to say) that Very Divine and deathless Nature is to be understood as that which is making for Itself a dwelling by means of a true (as I said before) Union of the Temple which is out of the Virgin: for thus Christ Jesus both is and is conceived of as One. ${ }^{1}$

And that our speech is overcome in its utmost possible expression, I will not deny ; but the Mystery of Christ will not in justice be by reason of that incredible, but let it be deservedly more marvellous: for the more it overpasses all mind and speech, the more must it be put beyond all marvel.

But we do not at all say that the Word made Flesh, i.e. Perfect man, is comprehended by the weight of the body (for to think that were most silly), for we believe that thus too It fills (as It is wont) Heaven and earth and the things yet lower: for all-sufficing is the Godhead and all things are little to Him. ${ }^{2}$ But how is He wholly both in each and in all, is hard to say and to understand not easy, yea rather is wholly impossible.

But there hath been given Him this too (as I suppose) that He is without Body and admits not of division in Himself ; yet is the Body called by us the own of the Word, not in the same way as laughing is proper to a man or neighing to a horse, but because it was made His by true union, to possess and accomplish the uses thereof as an instrument unto whatever was its nature to work, save only what belongs to sin.

Yea and if God being the Word be haply said to have been sent, let not any one of you be terrified, thinking, Whither shall the Unembodied advance? For whither shall He be borne who fills all things? but it is rather to be known that the mode of mission is of another kind: not by change from place to place of the sent, but assuming the priestly ministry, which we say was also given to the holy disciples by Christ the Saviour of all. As the Divine Paul too, says of Christ, Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, look Heb. iii. unto the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ. ${ }^{1}$

[^36]2 So codex 1: all great things are even little to him cet.

Note how when he shews Him ministering as priest in human wise, albeit He is by nature God, then does he also attribute to Him the office of the Apostolate: but it is nought unreasonable (as I said) if the Word be said to be sent by God the Father, for it is to be confessed that He fills all things and from no one of beings is He far away : but we interpreting things Divine by human words, are wont to understand economies of the Immortal Nature by bodily outlines.

Again though the Holy Ghost fills all things, the blessed Gal. iv. 6 Paul writes, And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father: the Saviour Himself too saith somewhere, It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but when $I$ depart $I$ will send Him to you. We must therefore from all turn away and run unto reverend and sure knowledge, for so doing shall we profit ourselves.

How then the holy Virgin Mariam is conceived of as Mother of God.
The Word out of God the Father was begotten in ineffable way (for beyond all understanding is His Generation, and as befits the Unembodied Nature): yet is That which is begotten conceived of as the Own Offspring of the begetter and Consubstantial with Him, therefore is It called also Son: the Name indicating to us the naturalness as it were even of throes and Parturition. And since the Father is ever living and close at hand, it must needs be entirely that He on account of Whom He is Father co-exist and have co-Being Eternally with Him. The Word therefore was in the beginning and was God and was with God (as saith the wise Evangelist), but in the last times of the world for us men and for our salvation was made flesh and was mude Man: and he lessened not at all aught what He was, but having His own Nature unchanged and existing ever in the excellences of Godhead, was humbled for us economically unto emptiness, and not despising the poverty that befits human measures. For being Pich He became poor for our sake (as it is written), that we by His poverty might become rich. He was made therefore Man and is said to have endured the Generation after the flesh which is from a woman, because of His taking of the holy Virgin the Body that was united to Him of a truth :
whence we say that the holy Virgin is Mother of God, as having borne Him in human wise, that is after the flesh, albeit that He had His Generation before the ages out of the Father.

And this, that some suppose that the Word was then called to a beginning of being when He became Man, is utterly impious and exceeding discordant. For the Saviour Himself pronounces against them to be unwise, saying in regard to Himself, Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was s. John I am: and how was He before Abraham Who was born after viii. 58 the flesh many ages after him? The Divine John too, I deem, suffices to convict them saying, This is He of Whom Ib. i. 30 I said, After me cometh ${ }^{1}$ a Man Who was made before me, for He was before me.

Leaving therefore as exceeding foolish to contend about what is superfluous, come let us rather go on to what we say is profitable. Let not some be troubled, when they hearing the holy Virgin called Mother of God, nor let them fill their souls with Jewish unbelief, yea rather with Gentile impiety. For the Jews attacked Christ saying, For a good work we stone Ib. x. 33 Thee not but for blasphemy because Thou, being a Man, makest Thyself God: but the children of the Greeks, hearing that God hath been born of a woman, mocked at the doctrines of the Church.

But they shall eat the fruit of their own impiety, and shall hear of us, The fool will utter folly and his heart imagine Isa. xxxii. vain things. But the plan of our Mystery, albeit to the Jews ${ }_{1}^{6}$ Cor. i. it be an offence, to the Gentiles folly, yet to us who know it, 23 verily admirable salvation is it, and far removed from the being to be disbelieved. For if there were any whatever who should dare to say that this flesh made of earth had become mother of the bare Godhead, and that there was born out of her the Nature which is over the whole creation, the thing would be madness and nothing else: for not of earth has the Divine Nature been made, nor indeed could that which is subject to corruption become the root of incorruption, nor that which is subject to death bear the Life of all things, nor yet the Unembodied be the fruit of the sensible body, that which is subject to becoming [bear] that which is superior to becom-

[^37]
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ing, that which hath its beginning in time, that which is without beginning.

But since we affirm that the Word of God became as we and took a body like to our bodies, and united this of a truth unto Himself, in a way namely beyond understanding and speech, and that He was thus too made Man and born after the flesh, what is there absurd therein or worthy of disbelief? albeit the human soul (as we have already full often said) being of other nature than the body, is yet generated with it, just as we say that it too has been united therewith. Yet will no one (I deem) erroneously suppose that the soul has the nature of the body as the beginning of its own existence, but God inplaces it ineffably in the body and it is born along with it; yet do we define as out of both the animal, i.e. man. Therefore the Word was God but was made Man too; and since He has been born after the flesh by reason of the human nature, she who bare Him is necessarily Mother of God. For if she have not borne God, let not Him who is born of her be called God; but if the God-inspired Scriptures call Him God, and God Incarnate and made Flesh, and it was not possible in any other way to be Incarnate, save through birth of a woman, how is she not Mother of God, who bare Him?

But that He is truly God Who was born, we shall know from the God-inspired Scripture too.

Behold a Virgin shall conceive in the womb and bear a Son and they shall call His Name Emmanuel. How then (tell me) is that which is born of the holy Virgin called Emmanuel? Emmanuel (as I already said) signifying, that the Word out of God which is in truth God was made by reason of the Flesh in nature as we. But he is Emmanuel, for He emptied himself, having undergone a generation like to ours, and so was made with us. Hence He is God in flesh and she truly Mother of God, who bare Him carnally or after the flesh.
Another.

But they were willing if they should have been burnt with fire ; for a boy has been born to us, and a son given unto us,
whose rule is upon His Shoulder and His Name is called The Messenger of the Great Counsel. Hearest thou that He is called a Boy because He underwent a Birth like us? But this Boy by star appeared whom did the sky point out, did the Magi worship coming from the uttermost limits of the earth, did the Angels bear good tidings of to the Shepherds saying that a Saviour was born, him naming Peace and the Good will s. Luke of the Father and the Messenger of the Great Counsel: for He ${\underset{\mathrm{Ib}}{\mathrm{Ib}} \mathrm{ib}^{\mathrm{i} .11} 11}_{11}$ made known to us the Good-will of the Father, Who in Him was pleased to save them that are under heaven, and through Him and in Him to reconcile the world unto Himself: for being reconciled to Christ, we are reconciled to God: for God is He truly, with God and Father. Who therefore is the Counsel of the Father Whose Messenger He has been to us? Himself will teach saying, For so God loved the world that He S. John gave His Only-Begotten Son, that every one that believeth in iii. 16 Him should not perish but should receive everlasting life. The Only-Begotten Son then is He Who was born of the holy Virgin, for the Word Himself was made Man, and God made flesh, and thus appeared to those on earth. As finally He says, He that believeth on Me receiveth everlasting life. And Ib. vi. 47 that through Him and in Him we believe on the Father, He hath set forth saying, He that believeth on $M e$, believeth not on Ib . xii. Me, but on Him That sent Me.

## Another.

Hear $M e$, ye isles, and attend ye nations: after long time Isa. xlix. shall He be established, saying, The Lord from the womb of $M y^{1}$ mother called My Name. The Word being God, was not ignorant that He should undergo the birth from a woman Incarnate for our sakes : and He knew that He shall be called Christ Jesus, God the Father afore proclaiming unto all that are under heaven, the New Name of His Son which is blessed Isa. 1xv. upon the earth. And note how He mentions His own Mother ${ }_{\text {LXX }}^{15,16,}$ who bare His Body. Hence if He knows that He is Very God, she who bare Him after the Flesh shall be called Mother of God, and rightly so: but if He be not God, and some daringly, yea rather indecently will so think: let them deprive the holy Virgin herself of the being Mother of God.

Solomon praying says, And now, O Lord God of Israel, let Thy word be credible which Thou spakest unto Thy servant David: shall God in very deed dwell with men on earth? Observe that he marvels at the Incarnation of the Word, for the thing seemed incredible: for then did God dwell with men upon the earth when He was made Man. Else how is it wonderful or how worthy of marvel, that God was not cast down from his own creatures embracing them that is, and holding together in being the things which had been already made, bringing into being those which have not been yet made? But verily it is a miracle and marvel that the God of all things made Man dwelled on earth with men, according to the promises given to the Divine David. For it is written Ps. cxxxii. The Lord sware unto David truly and was not false to him, And what swore he? Of the fruit of thy belly shall I set upon thy seat. But he, albeit he believed that the Almighty God would never falsify His Promise, yet was careful to search out
$\underset{\substack{\text { Ps. cxxxii. the place itself of the Birth and indeed says, If I go up upon } \\ 3-5}}{ }$ 3-5 my bed, if I give sleep to mine eyes or slumber to mine eyelids or rest to my temples, until I find a place of the tabernacle for the Lord, for the God of Jacob. Then after that, when he had been informed through the Spirit, and knew the place of the Birth after the flesh of the Only-Begotten, then did he Ib. 6 preach it and say, Lo we heard of it at Ephratah, that is, in Bethlehem, we found it in the fields of the wood. And that in saying Ephratah, he means Bethlehem, the Prophet will Mic. v. 2 prove saying, And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratah. But note how that Him, Whom he believed from heaven to have been born as we in Ephratah, he names the God of Jacob, Whose dwelling was in the Tabernacle: for there did the holy Virgin bear Jesus.

And elsewhere does he name Him the God of Abraham, Ps. xlvi. saying, The princes of the people are gathered together unto
the God of Abraham. For, instructed in the knowledge of
things to come, did he see with the eyes of his mind alone
and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the princes of the
perple, i.e. the holy Angels standing around our Lord Jesus
Christ.

Seeing therefore that He is named God of Abraham and God of Jacob, Who is born of a woman, why is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

> Another.

The Prophet Habaccuc says, O Lord, I have heard Thy hear- Hab. iii. ing and feared, <I have thought on Thy works and shuddered.> ${ }^{2,3}$ In the midst of the two living creatures shalt Thou be revealed, in the coming near of the time shalt Thou be shewn, while my soul was troubled shalt Thou in anger remember mercy. God shall come from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. How shall He be known in the midst of the two living creatures? for when He had been born of a woman and had lived even unto the time of the Precious Cross, by the grace of Heb. ii. 9 God (as saith blessed Paul) did He by His body taste death for every man. But since he was by Nature God, He rose again unto everlasting life. He therefore was made known, Who for us endured the Precious Cross, in the midst of the two living creatures. And Himself says somewhere to the Jews, When ye have lifted up the son of man, then shall ye know s. John that I am. But how, calling Him also God, does he prophecy viii. 28 that He shall come from Teman and from mount Paran? And Teman is interpreted South: for Christ was manifested from the south, not from northern regions, but from the southern Judæa, wherein Bethlehem is.

Since therefore He who has been named Lord and God, cometh out of the southern Judea, for He was born in Bethlehem, how is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

> Another.

In Genesis it is written, And Jacob was left alone, and Gen. there wrestled with him a Man until the morning: but he ${ }_{24-26}^{\text {xxii. }}$ saw that he could not prevail against him and he took hold of the flat of his thigh as he was wrestling with him and said to him Let me go for it is morning. But he said, I do not let thee go except thou bless me. And after a little he says, He blessed him there: and he called the name of that place, vision Ib .29 .31 of God: for I saw (he said) God face to face and my soul is preserved. And the sun shot forth on him when he passed the vision of God: and he halted on his thigh. Mystic is the
sense of that which is written, for it appears to signify that similar is the wrestling of the Jews which they used in regard to Christ, wrestling with Him, nevertheless they were overcome, for they were themselves to win a Blessing from Him, if through faith they effect conversion to Him at the last times. But note this, it was a man who was wrestling, and Jacob calls him vision of God: nor that alone, for he knew Heb. i. 3 that He is God in truth. For I have seen (he said) God face to face and my soul is preserved. For Emmanuel is by Nature God, yet is He called also The Face of God: for He is the Image of the Father's Essence: thus did He call Himself to

Gen. xxxv. 1

Ib. xxxii. 24 the Jews, saying respecting God the Father, Nor have ye seen His vision and ye have not His Word abiding in you for Whom He sent Him ye believe not.

But that Very God is that Man Who was wrestling with Jacob, holy Writ will give proof, for it says, And the Lord said unto Jacob, Arise, pass on to Bethel and dwell there, and make there an Altar to God that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother. For returning from Mesopotamia and being then in fear of Esau Jacob passed over his children and all his goods, and 'he was left alone and there wrestled a man with him.

Yet does he tell that to him was given ${ }^{1}$ the princedom and honour and kingship : for he says that all peoples and families and languages shall serve Him. Since therefore even being in the human nature which is as we the Only-Begotten Word of God hath the creature serving Him and the Princedom of His Father as his own, and the holy Virgin bare Him after the flesh : how then shall not the holy Virgin be conceived of as Mother of God?

> Of the Passion of Christ, and that it is profitable that we speak in one manner and another of One and the Same, nor do we divide Christ asunder.

Blessed Paul sets forth to us the Saving Passion, for he saith, By the Grace of God for us all tasted He death, and also, Heb. ii. 9 He delivered to us in the first place that which he received, 1 Cor. xv. that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures and ${ }^{3,4}$ that He was buried and that He rose again the third day: moreover the most wise Peter also saith, Christ suffered for us 1 s . Peter in the Flesh. Seeing therefore we believe that One is our ${ }^{\text {iv. } 1}$ Lord Jesus Christ, i.e. God's only-begotten Word manifest in human form or made man as we, in what manner then can we attribute Passion to Him and still hold Him impassible, as God?

The Passion therefore will be after the Economy, the Word esteeming as His own and taking to himself the things which pertain to His own Flesh, by reason of the Ineffable Union, and remaining unsuffering in His own Nature, for God is Impassible. And no wonder, since we see that the soul itself of a man, although its body suffer somewhat, in no way suffers in its own nature, yet is it not conceived of as external to the suffering, in that what suffers is its very own : and albeit in nature it be impalpable and immaterial, yet is that which suffers not foreign to it. Thus will you understand in regard to Christ too the Saviour of all.

But I will apply myself to examples by way of figure, that the Only-Begotten shared with us in suffering as having received into His intimacy the dust-formed Body, yet remained free, unsusceptible to suffering in His own Nature as God. The God of all then was bidding the most wise Moses to work miracles, that Israel may believe thee as having been sent

[^38]from God, and that they should be set free from the hands ${ }^{1}$ Exod. iv. of the oppressors. And he says thus, And thou shalt take of
the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land, and the water which thou shalt take from the river, shall be blood upon the dry land. But we say that the water is an image of life, and that the Son proceeding out of the Father as out of a river, by reason of being of the Same Essence, is by Nature Life, and therefore quickens all things. But when (He says) thou shalt have poured it forth, it shall be blood upon the diy earth. Hence, when He was made flesh, i.e. when He girt Himself with flesh from the earth, then is He said to have suffered death in it like to our death, albeit He is by Nature Life.

Now in Leviticus the Law intimated that the leper is polluted and impure, nay, more, it bade that he should be put forth of the camp, and shewed how his disease should be cleansed. They shall take, it says, for him that is cleansed two live birds and cedar wood and scarlet woven and hyssop, and the priest shall command and they shall kill one bird in an earthen vessel over living water, and the living bird shall he take and shall bathe it in the blood of the bird that was killed over the living water and he shall sprinkle upon him who is cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and he shall be clean. Us then there rendereth clean and washeth away the soils of our uncleanness and driveth off the mortality of fleshly desire the Precious Blood of Christ and the purification through holy Baptism. But note this (for letting alone subtilty we will for the present make mention of what the force of the Scripture advanced has useful to the mystery): he compares Christ to two birds, not as though there were two sons, but as one out of two, the Godhead and the manhood, come together into union. And the birds are clean, for our Lord Jesus Christ did no sin, but the Word is holy, in Godhead and in Manhood: It, however, likens Him to flying things, by reason of His being high above the earth and from above, for Christ is the Man out of Heaven, albeit the holy Virgin bare His Flesh. How then is He from above, out of Heaven? For God the Word from above and out of the Father, taking flesh from the holy Virgin and declaring it His own, as though

[^39]having brought it down from above and out of Heaven, said, None hath ascended up into Heaven, save He That came down s. John from Heaven, the Son of Man: for He ever attachẹs to His iii. 13 own Flesh that which is His own, and once united to it is accounted one with it.

Yet see, when the one bird is slain, the other is dipped in his blood, yet not slain. And what is this? For the Word was alive, even while His Flesh died, and He was participant in the Passion, through ownness and union with it. Therefore the self Same is living, as God, but like as He made His body His own, so did He receive into Himself in all ownness the sufferings too of His Body, Himself suffering nought in His own Nature. It is therefore helpful and necessary unto profit that in regard to Christ there be by us received the after one manner and another; arranged in respect of one and the same person, it would not permit Him to be severed into two, albeit the things done be said to be, it may be, in no ways harmonising with one another.

As how shall I say? We say that the only-begotten, God the Word is born out of a woman after the flesh, albeit Himself has given to the not-beings to be, and called into becoming the things which are not yet at all. How then doth the Same both undergo birth and call into being. After one manner and another. For He was born, so far forth as He is conceived ${ }^{1}$ of as Man like us, and He calleth into being the things that are not, in so far as He is God by Nature; it is written of Him, The Little one waxed and grew strong, filled s. Luke with wisdom and grace, albeit He is by Nature all-Perfect as God, and out of His own Fulness imparteth spiritual gifts to the saints, and is Himself Wisdom and the Giver of grace. How then waxeth the Little one and is filled with wisdom and grace? After one manner and another. For the self Same, as Man alike and God, makes His own the human, by reason of the union, and is all-Perfect and Giver of wisdom and grace as God, And He was First-born and Only-Begotten, but if one should wish to examine the force of the words, the First-born will of course be He Who is First-born of many brethren, but the Only-Begotten as Sole, no longer First-born among many brethren. Yet is the Same one and other; how

[^40]then? After one manner and another. First-born among many brethren by reason of the human nature, but the self Same again Only-Begotten, as Alone Begotten of the Alone God the Father.

He is said to have been sanctified through the Spirit and He sanctifies those who come near to Him; He was baptized according to the Flesh and was baptizing in the Holy Ghost: how then doth the Same both sanctify and is sanctified, baptizeth and is baptized? Again after one manner and another; for He is sanctified humanly, and thus is He baptized: but He sanctifies Divinely, baptizeth also in the Holy Ghost.

Himself raising the dead, was raised from the dead; and being Life by Nature is said to be quickened. And how this ? Again after one thing and another. For the Same was raised from the dead and is said to be quickened after the Flesh, yet quickens and raises the dead as God. He suffers and does not suffer, after one manner and another: for He suffers humanly as Man, He is impassible Divinely as God.

He hath adored with us, for Ye worship (He says) what ye know not, WE worship what we know: yet is He to be adored also, for to Him every knee boweth: and this again after one manner and another. For He worshippeth as having assumed the nature that payeth worship, He again the Same is worshipped as surpassing the nature that worshippeth so far forth as He is conceived of as God. Yet must we not chap. viii. sever the worship unto man and God separately, nor yet as being together with God as by equality of dignity, while the Persons ${ }^{1}$ are dissevered, do we say that the man is associated in worship with Him (for the thing were replete with impiety): but there is to be worshipt One Word of God Incarnate and made man, according to the belief that He was united to a body as we by a reasonable soul. For nowhere did the God of all set two first-borns to be obliged to be worshipped by us and the holy Angels (for One is He who
Heb. i. 6 was brought into the world): and if we look more carefully into the mode of this bringing in, we shall understand it to be the mystery of the Economy with flesh. For he is brought into the world then when He was made Man, albeit He was in His own Nature far removed from the earth and

[^41]believed to be essentially in the Excellence of Godhead: for Other is He than all things as their Maker. Therefore outside the things by Him made is He by Nature, in that He is God by Nature. One (as I said) is to be worshipped then too when He was made among many brethren: for then is He for that reason called First-born.

One ${ }^{1}$ did the blind from the birth when wondrously healed worship: for Jesus (it says) finding him in the temple S. John said, Dost thou believe on the Son of God, and he said, Who ${ }_{\text {dib. ix. }}^{\text {v. }} 145$ is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him? But Jesus shewed Ib. 36 Himself in the body to him <and says>, Thou hast both seen Him s. John and He That speaketh with thee is He. Seest thou how He ${ }^{\mathrm{ix} .} 37$ applieth the singular number, forbidding God and man to be conceived of separately? yea rather if one were at all to call Emmanuel man, it will signify not bare man, but much higher, as the Word of God united to our nature. As One did the disciples worship Him, when beholding Him wondrously walking on the waters they worshipped saying, Truly S. Matt. Thou art the Son of God.

When therefore we say that man is co-worshipped with God, we bring in a coarse severance. For the word, With, except it be said of the one by composition, will always full surely persuade us to conceive of two. For like as no one will be said to live with himself, nor again to eat with nor to pray with nor to walk with himself (for the with joined to the word introduces a declaration of two persons) : so if one say that the man is co-worshipped with God, he will without question say two sons and severed one from another: for the plan of union, if it be conceived of as equality of dignity, that is of authority, will be convicted of being untrue. And this will be shewn by us in lengthy words.

Against those who say the human things befit God the Word by reference only.
Some haver and prate concerning the Economy with flesh of the Only - Begotten and, dragging down to our unstable perceptions the Mystery venerable and great and of a truth thrice dear to the powers above, whereby also we are saved, become traders for profit in the beauty of the Truth, whereas

[^42]they ought, not to try and prop up their own things and whatever seems to them right, but rather with subtil and keen eye of the mind to look into the aim of the Sacred Writings and thus to go on the right road, and incorruptibly <follow > what our holy fathers have searched out, who made radiant by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, defined for us the Symbol of our faith, saying that the Word from God Himself Which was in mode ineffable God begotten out of the Essence of the Father, by Whom all things were made which are in Heaven and which are in earth, for us men and for our salvation came down, was made flesh, was made man, suffered and rose and ascended into heaven, will in his season come to judge quick and dead.

But there are certain boasting much of their learning who because they hear these words, mock, and deem that those things which are so rightly said, are mad ravings: whereas the Holy Spirit as we anyhow believe flashed the knowledge of the Truth into the counsels of the holy Fathers. As if it was for them to think what is higher, and were also able to make <us> understand, they deem that not the Only-Begotten Son of God Himself, the Word Which is out of the Father's Essence, suffered in His own Flesh for us humanly, albeit so far as He is conceived of as God He have in His own Nature impassibility; but putting ${ }^{1}$ as man alone and by himself him that was born of the holy Virgin, and then attributing to him to what extent it seems to be good to them, a glory, they say that he was united to the Word of God the Father. And explaining the mode of the union, they say that there was given him by the same equality of dignity, that is of authority and to be called by like name both Christ and Son and Lord. But if the man taken from him be said to suffer ought, it must (they say) be referred to him who is the Word from God, in that he is connected to Him by equality of dignity, while in their severed natures each is whatever he is separately.

And I will state more clearly the force of their opinions, so far as I can, bringing forward instances from the Sacred Writings. Christ hungered, was wearied with the journey, slept, entered into the boat, was buffeted with blows by the

[^43]attendants, was scourged by Pilate, there spat on him also the soldiers, and pierced with the spear His Side, offered vinegar mingled with gall for Him to drink: and He tasted death, suffering the Cross and other drunken transports of the Jews. All these things they declare to have befallen indeed the man, but to be referred to the Person of the Very Son. But we believe, as in One God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, so too in One our Lord Jesus Christ His Son. And we refuse to divide Emmanuel into man by himself and into the Word by Himself: knowing that the Word became truly Man too as we, we say that Himself the Same is God of God, and in human wise Man as we of a woman. And we again assert that by reason of the ownness He suffered humanly the infirmities of the flesh, yet reserved intact to His Nature its impassibility, in that He was not Man alone, but the Same therewith also God by Nature. And like as the Body was His own, so too His the true and blameless passions of the body; moreover the things which by the frowardness of some were put upon Him He suffered without suffering Himself of His own will, and not that He might only be like us, but because (as I said before) He had reserved to His Nature superiority to all these things. For if we should say that through conversion or mutation from His own Nature He had passed into the nature of the flesh, it would be in all ways necessary for us even against our will to confess that the ineffable and Divine Nature was passible. But if He remained unchanged albeit He was made man as we, and it be a peculiarity of the Heavenly Nature that It cannot suffer, then $\mathrm{He}^{1}$ became passible through the union with it:-He suffered then through the suffering Body, in that it is said to be His own body, and He remains himself Impassible in that it is truly His property to be unable to suffer.

And if Emmanuel is glorified through suffering, as Himself says when about to suffer for us the Precious Cross, Now is the Son of Man glorified, why do they not blush, S. John attributing the glory of the Passion to a man having con- xiii. 31 nection only with him in Equality of dignity? for as they deem, He connected with Himself according to the Will and

Good-pleasure a man simply and made him equal to His own glory, and permitted that by like name he should be styled Christ and Son and God and Lord:-hence neither is the Word truly Incarnate nor was He at all made man. And consequently to call the counsellors under the sun liars, does no harm whatever? for let them say, yea rather come forward, prepared to prove that the mode of connection which is conceived of by them has the force of incarnation, and that that is that the Word was made flesh; or if they think that these things are not so, why do they conceive of a mode of unconnected connection, the truth being neglected? whereas it would be fitting that they should say that the Word of God the Father was united to our humanity, for thus in His own flesh is He conceived to have suffered appropriately what belongs to man, but so far as it appertains to the Nature of the Godhead to suffer nothing, He is free from all our habit of vexation, as God.

And that by their so-called reference which I know not how they invented, they drag down Emmanuel to ingloriousness and liken Him barely to one of the holy Prophets, and set Him amid the measure of the many, that I may clearly prove, I will again bring forward examples from the Divine Scripture.

There once murmured in the wilderness against Moses and Aaron the people of Israel saying, Would we had died, stricken by the Lord in Egypt when we were sitting at the flesh pots and were eating bread even to fulness. And there- upon the divine Moses says what are we? not against us do you murmur, but against God. And in those times even God Almighty used to reign through the holy Prophets over the people of Israel, but they in this too, short-sighted, approached the divine Samuel and say, Lo thou hast grown old and thy sons walk not in thy way, and now set over us a king to judge us as the other nations. The Prophet felt this grievously. shall have spokien to thee, for not thee have they rejected, but Me they have rejected that I should not reign over them.

And somewhere too has Christ said to the holy Apostles, He who receiveth you receiveth $M e$ : and He promiseth that He will address the merciful before the divine Tribunal, Come,
ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you s. Matt. from the beginning of the world, acknowledging as His own ${ }^{x x v} 34$ their righteous ways towards those to whom they had dealt kindly, He says, In that ye did it to one of these least, to Me s. Matt. did ye it.

Lo in these clear instances is clearly recognised the mode of reference of what kind it is. The people of Israel were murmuring against Moses and Aaron and the matter had reference to God. Man as we was Moses and so too Aaron. In the same way too will you conceive as to the others whereof we have just made mention, yet were they (as I said before) holy men and worthy of admiration, nevertheless men as we. Is it then in this way, come let them tell me, that the man connected (as they call it) with God the Word, had had reference of his sufferings to Himward? And then how is he not as they a mere man evidently and alone and nought else? Hence Emmanuel is not truly God, is not OnlyBegotten nor Son, nor God by Nature.

Why then is no one of the rest honoured by God the Word with equality of dignity or of sway, but they boldly contend that this man alone obtained all things equal through unfailing resemblance? specially seeing that God, the Saviour of all men, judgeth not according to the person but righteous s. John judgement, as Himself says. Why then doth He sit Alone in vii. 24 the tribunal? how will he come to Judge, with Angels bringing offerings? why is He Alone worshipped as well by us as by the powers above ?

But yea, say they, and we see that thou also dost the same; thou confessest that He suffered, attributing the sufferings to his flesh, but keeping Him impassible as God.

But we, good sirs, (shall we say) having first united to the Word the human, have to the flesh allotted the sufferings, and have kept Him impassible as God; for though He hath become as we, yet are we cognizant withal of His God-befitting Excellence and of His Supreme dignity.

Hence with faith confessing the Union as a foundation, we confess that He suffered in the flesh, and that He remained again superior to suffering in that He possesses Impassibility in His own Nature. But if we are diligent to divide asunder into God and Man, severing the Natures one from another,
and then say that in reference only does the Word of God reckon His own what have befallen His Body; He That is
S. Matt.
i. 23 born of the holy Virgin, Emmanuel, which is, interpreted, With us is God, will haply have donned but the measure of Moses and Aaron.

Thus even though He say through the holy Prophets, Isa. 1. 6 My Back have I given to blows, My Cheeks to buffets, My Fuce I turned not from the shame of spitting in My Face, and again, with His wounds were we healed, and Himself hath been wounded because of our sins), yet do we know that He is Impassible by Nature. For if (as I just said) Himself is Man alike and God, with reason do the Sufferings belong to His Manhood, His own, on the other hand, as God is it to abide superior to suffering.

Thus minded shall we be pious and through such right They bored My Hands and My Feet, they told all My Bones, and again, They gave for My meat gall and for My thirst they gave Me to drink vinegar: we allot all these things to the Only-Begotten Himself, Who suffered for us Economically in the flesh (for
 thoughts advancing, we shall attain unto the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus our Lord through Whom and with Whom to God and Father be glory with the Holy Ghost unto æons.

## CYRIL ON EASTER

## Of the Lord, the Holy Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, to the Pious Emperor Theodosius

Divine writ saith somewhere, the beginning of Wisdom is the fear of God.

With the wisdom which is from God, what could be of equal weight? Or how can that not be a great good and worthy of possession, which hath for root the fear of God, and issues in a sweet and much to be desired conclusion? For it is written, The fear of the Lord is for life unto man, Prov. xix. the fear of the Lord is glory and boasting, the fear of the ${ }^{23}$. Lord is lightness of heart, and shall give joy and gladness and long days.

All these are centred on thy all-blessed head, 0 Christloving emperor Theodosius, who storest up the fear of God in thy soul as a treasure casketed, unstealable, and holy: and this in emulation of the glory and renown of thy parents, so that naught is to be seen which is not thine. For I will forbear just now to assert superiority, ${ }^{1}$. though with it will hereafter crown thee. For it is written, Their sires are the boast of sons,- of whom ye are images worthy of the beholding, and as it were retain exact from an exemplar ${ }^{2}$ a splendour both ever-apparent and everlasting. For whatever qualities in general after the manner of this world's excellence adorn the illustrious selves of sovereigns, and in especial also with others that are Christward, with reverent piety, with firmness of faith, with fixity in beneficence and inflexibility in justice, these exercising everywhere in word, and wondrously illustrious and many-sided, thou displayest thy prosperity and loveliness.

[^44]So are your arms well tested everywhere, and hostile chiefs, ${ }^{1}$ all that are outside your yoke, shaken with terrible and intolerable fear fall on their knees-despite ${ }^{2}$ of their innate ferocity, and wild untamed manners. Now ${ }^{3}$ it is a legislator's part to inculcate in all his subjects everywhere, even among those who no wise ${ }^{4}$ deserve his zeal, and kindly deeds, the faith which is correct and without reproach, faith I mean, in our Lord Jesus Christ. And the sovereign's right hand writes laws ${ }^{5}$ whereby the divine nature is honoured, and filthy and detestable heresies are overthrown; while the mouths of the God-haters who invented these are muzzled. For it was a duty to drive away out of the Saviour's flock the wolves, and not only must the shepherds confront the insurgent and launch and brandish over the insurgent, as it were a rod or fiery torch, the might of the truth, but emulate also that piety of your ruling highness, which is diffused unto the ends of the earth and verily is celebrated by all with fairest renown.

Being possessed of so God-loving a disposition, you have felt anxiety, both to reform correctly and see clearly the might of Christ's mystery, which from the first was made known before the coming into being of the world, as the all-wise Paul declares.

For there has been manifested in the last times of the age what of old was shewn forth in figures and types which had reference thereto, and aforetime was described by means of the law of Moses, even the birth from the woman after the flesh, . . . of ${ }^{6}$ the prophetic preachings. For he was born after the flesh from a woman, in order to consecrate our birth. And in the flesh suffering according to Scripture, he annulled death, and will liberate from corruption man's ${ }^{7}$ nature. For death was weakened by him, and in that it was impossible for the life's flesh to be overcome thereby, it followed that his death consequently after the flesh (or body) came to be for

[^45]us salvation. For he rose again, is named ${ }^{1}$ elder born from the dead, and the fruit of them that slept; and he renewed for us this present path and <we are> alive and through him alone directed, ${ }^{2}$ that we too together with him and through him may abide incorruptible. For as the all-wise Paul writes, as by Adam all are dead, so also by Christ shall all be made alive; and as we put on the image of the earthy, we shall also put on the image of the heavenly. And that the death according to the flesh (of all and) ${ }^{3}$ of our Saviour Christ, came to be release from death, and quickening of the dead, ${ }^{4}$ and quittance of corruption, and salvation of those on earth, one will learn afresh and without any lengthy sweating by exploring the holy and inspired Scripture. For the divine Abraham was commanded to slay his one and only beloved son, a man who had lived unto old age, and had no hope of being able to become a sire of other children; but he was old having passed beyond affectionateness ${ }^{5}$ and ${ }^{6}$ from sparing his son because of God's will. And for as much as the child was near to suffering death, for the father had taken in his hand the sword, he was in marvellous manner saved by the ram running in between and undergoing his slaying. So also were we also rescued from our ${ }^{7}$ own death befitting and due by Christ taking it on himself. And he was slain for our sake; and he suffered because of our sins, as saith the prophet Isaiah. And because of our iniquities he was given over and by his stripes were we healed. And this again unto us under another type did Moses fore-shadow, ${ }^{8}$ in the legislation of God foreshewing the force of the mystery as it were in a parable and shadow. For he commanded to bring forward two steers equal in stature ${ }^{9}$ and similar of aspect and in no one respect unlike each other. And the name of the one was Lord, but the other was Released. And then the lot having fallen ${ }^{10}$ into ${ }^{11}$ the priest's hands they slew the one of which the name was Lord, and released from the slaying the one released, that

[^46]is the other which from being released from the slaying is named Released.

But it was for a sign, as I have said, a pattern and type of the Lord's slaying which we affirm him to have suffered after the flesh, in order that we might be released and utterly quit of ${ }^{1}$ death and corruption. And that it was at the hands of the priests, their order (or lot) passing sentence, that he suffered slaying for our sake, this shall be confirmed by the writing of the blessed evangelist John: The chief priests and Pharisees having met in the court say, What shall we do, for this man worketh many signs. But a certain one of them, Caiaphas who was high-priest of that year, saith to them, Ye know naught neither consider that it is better that one man should die for the people, and all the race be not destroyed. See then how by the priestly utterance the sentence of death is passed upon Christ. It is better, he said, that for the salvation of all one man should die. And clear and sure is the mystery of Christ through the slaying of the sheep also. For those who were of Israel slew the lambkin in quitting the land of Egypt, and overcame the Destroyer by smearing the blood on the entrances of their dwellings, and they ate of its flesh. Let us acquaint ourselves with the mystery's force and value, how great a thing it is; and as by this type the shadow delivered the ancients and the figure of the mystery rendered paramount to death those who through the same were alive-to how great possessions then is the truth's in value and force equal? For Christ saith somewhere, Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life eternal.

The ${ }^{2}$ feast of the holy pascha was held ${ }^{3}$ according to the law of Moses on the fourteenth day of the first month, I mean according to the Hebrew custom, of the new ${ }^{4}$ month, when everything was burgeoning in the plain, plants and shoots and blossoms and the growths of fruits. Thus is to be understood also the season of the saving passion; for Christ rose from the dead raising upright the whole nature of man, so as to burgeon forth in fair blossoming and new life, I mean in the way of incorruptibility and holiness, and unto the beginnings

[^47]of an evangelical fruitfulness and of a life marvellous and transcending the law.

For man's nature was withered and ruined by sin; but recovered its sap and vigour through Christ by an economy. ${ }^{1}$ The mystery of Christ is now held in the new month, and on the fourteenth day according to the revolution of the moon. And it is important to state the reason why, for as early as ${ }^{2}$ the holy fathers certain writers have composed learned and true disquisitions on the matter. For as, ${ }^{3}$ they say on the fourteenth day is apparent ${ }^{4}$ the ${ }^{5}$ fulness of the revolving moon, so it is important that ${ }^{6}$ in ourselves a fulness of ideal light should accrue and pass on into so venerable and holy a festival. And I praise the utterance, for it makes clear that another thing also is not incomplete in its profitableness on the fourteenth day -the slaying of the lamb. For to the sun must be likened in an especial degree our Lord Jesus Christ. For thus spake God and Father about him, And I will make to shine upon you that fear my name the Sun of Righteousness. For he is light not of men only, but also of angels and all rational creatures. And it is not without plausibility to liken the law of Moses to the moon, as also having a moderate light, I mean ideally, and not the transcendent brightness of the mystagogy; but it suffered eclipse in the angelic sheen and in the preaching of the holy apostles being not ${ }^{7}$ equal in splendours.

It is not therefore superfluous to understand the law of the moon according to this season. ${ }^{8}$ And the lamb was slain on the fourteenth ${ }^{9}$ day only,-does not then this circumstance proclaim aloud that Christ is the fulfilment of the law. For the moon having waxed until the fourteenth, then ceases to increase, and its return to a state of eclipse begins. It dwindles little by little, and is reckoned to be utterly spent and at an end. For Christ having suffered death in the flesh

[^48]for our sake, the uses of the legal cult and rite figuratively received their fulfilment, in as much as in dwindling to their eclipse they made room for the victory of Christian traditions. And this I hold for true, that namely which was uttered by the psalmist foretelling of Christ, There shall shine forth in his days righteousness and much peace until the moon shall be ended. ${ }^{1}$ For the letter is removed by Christ shining out among us; and when the Gospel's preaching revealed his splendour, there was cancelled and removed for ever the light of legal precept. For this exists as it were through the writing and the figure, and is to be compared to the moon, and recedes before the splendour of the larger truth. But the truth is Christ and the things that are his. The all-wise Paul therefore says, When the perfect cometh, that which is partial shall be done away with. Now the fulfilment of the law is Christ and that feast which we in connection with him celebrate in the first month on the fourteenth day according to the lunar cycle. And according to the Hebrew custom the first month and the Spring solstice begin twelve days before the calends of April according to the sun's course. Now it is necessary that it be perceived by us that ${ }^{2}$ the fourteenth of the moon is not ${ }^{3}$ reckoned in the twelfth month, but at the beginning of the Spring solstice, and of the first month according to the Hebrews. And unless this be scrupulously observed we miss the time when Christ endured the sufferings on the cross. By observing therefore the day on which he was betrayed, and he was betrayed on the fourteenth of the moon, in the first month, we are also left right in the day of the resurrection, that is, the Sunday. For this reason we break the fast at eventide of the Sabbath, and feast on the dawn of Sunday, on the assumption that Christ arose at early morn. If, however, it be said that the mystery of the resurrection is effected in the depth of night, <we answer>, But depth of night and early dawn run together into one and the same point of time.

Accordingly, your first glorious consulate having ended in the 119th year from Diocletian, ${ }^{4}$ from that (year) having taken it, we have compiled a table for the subsequent 109

[^49]years' period of the number (i.e. date) of the moon, ${ }^{1}$ indicating with scrupulous accuracy the cycle of the moon in each several year, and the day on which Christ was betrayed, I mean the 14 th, and also the day of his resurrection, that is the Sunday. For the Saviour of all rose from the dead in the depth of night on the evening of the Sabbath, that is to say at early morn at the dawning of Sunday, according to the assurance of the holy evangelists. But since it was useful to write out complete the 19 years' cycle (or revolution) with continuity, we have been obliged, in your first glorious consulate, which was in the 119 th year of Diocletian, to anticipate ${ }^{2}$ by four years. For these <years> must not be reckoned with the number of those 110 years which follow them, but they are only written. Wherefore, as I have said, the 19 years' cycle appears in full in the canon, for every canon involves a cycle of 19 years. ${ }^{3}$

[^50]
## APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

TEXT OF BODLEY MS. ARM. E. 2.
CH. 1.


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## VIII















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## XIII
















































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## X VI


















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## XIX











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## X XI































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## XXII































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## COLLATIO CODICUM

## HOS CODICES CONTULI

$\alpha=$ British Museum Codex Addit. 18549, A. D. 1278.
$\beta=$ British Museum Codex Addit. 19730, sæculo decimo tertio a Thoro (Theodoro) quodam exaratus.
y Codex apud Bibliothecam Societatis quae vocatur British and foreign Bible Society Londini conservatus. Is codex Testamenta vetus novumque amplectitur, optimae notae, A. D. 1667 exaratus. Ecce Colophon huius Codicis: $\boldsymbol{\eta}$





 Tим, umupufinin d

Nota bene! Littera $\alpha$ simpliciter in collatione posita prae se fert consensum codicum $\alpha \beta \gamma$.

A Collation of the Mss. $\alpha \beta \gamma$ with the Armenian Text printed by the British \& Foreign Bible Society, Gilbert \& Rivington, London, 1892.

## Ch. 1








5. Ntinting $\gamma$ "/pitumgin $\beta \gamma$ :
 om wits $\alpha \gamma$ :


















 $\cdots$ пи"

 M15 $\alpha$ :
19. untumilhtuq:




Ch. 2








4. om mon $\alpha$ alone $q^{\prime \prime 5} \boldsymbol{r} \alpha$ alone qummingin $\beta \gamma$ :
5. om urfdif $\alpha$ :
6. uentif $\alpha$ :


9. ${ }_{2} 5$ 角
10. $1_{1}$ mith


13. Ih dhum 5 fif s. aif sume.] om $\alpha$ alone which adds in mg scholion usiph

14. mespr $\boldsymbol{m} \mid+m \boldsymbol{m}_{\boldsymbol{L}} \quad \beta \quad$, and $\alpha$ adds it in mg in an old



16. Tmumu] first hand corrects to $\delta h_{\eta} \alpha$ alone:






25. om m m $^{\prime} \beta \gamma$ :
26. after funflat om k:
27. \{mituugh $\beta$, \& so always:
28. Tmpuu] Gufin $\beta$ :
 dur $\| \Rightarrow n \eta$ :

$$
\text { Ch. } 3
$$


3. ๆtwimeamis $\mu^{\prime \prime} \boldsymbol{f} \gamma$ :

5. |omumm/uistayly $\beta$;




9. before unur om $\boldsymbol{h}_{\boldsymbol{\prime}} \alpha$ :

 qunp by erasure of minn : $\beta$ om smpm:



18. after fuic" $\boldsymbol{q}^{\prime \prime} \beta$ leaves a lacuna of three letters:
19. $q^{\prime \prime} I^{\prime \prime \prime} \beta=$

21. after " $\quad$ "ul $\xi$ " om $k \alpha \beta$ :
 mu! $\beta=$

## Ch. 4






 etc.

 first band: $\beta \gamma$ retain:













Ch. 5




3. ${ }^{6} r^{\prime} r_{1} r^{\prime} \alpha=$











Ch. 6










14. hellilise $\gamma=$

Ch. 7



9. Apw $\alpha \beta=$
10. before qumisfis add mamis:
14. Le unturf \& om $g_{\text {Sum }} \gamma$ :
17. dtithumg] juiging $\alpha=$
5. before simplup om $\boldsymbol{L}_{\mathrm{s}}$




 Lue \& omit after lophg $\alpha$ :

Ch. 9








 mimers lunfuris in modern hand.


15. $2 \boldsymbol{2} \boldsymbol{l}^{\prime \prime \prime} \alpha$ alone:
16. थ年保 $\beta$ :


20. myuguins $\}+k \beta$ before $\{$ mmish. omit $k \alpha \gamma=$

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\text { Ch. } 10
$$

1. Werk qupitr a alones
 adds fo dujth ifhd wer which a late hand adds poulogmins $\gamma$


 f. whfur $\alpha \gamma$ :





$$
\text { Ch. } 11
$$


4. $\alpha / \int b t i k q \alpha=$








15. shumeu/l] om $\alpha \gamma$ :
16. "p, R Gumb占 $\alpha \beta$ :
17. $n$,
19. ist nf $h \beta$ npmumeifl $\beta$ :

$$
\text { Ch. } 12
$$




5. add mink before mime $\beta$ om unn $\alpha \gamma$ ulamis $\beta \gamma=$



14. before uint five letters erased in $\alpha$ alone:




4. piny $\eta^{\text {f/iun: }}$
7. Le cumeum - โenyur] om $\alpha$ :



15. Le Liphlr umityt $\gamma$ :





Ch. 14
 quibucis $\beta \gamma$ :


4. Lrprewgst $^{2} \alpha \beta$ :


7. om $b_{1}$

9. 1 иш" nolio lumeuf $\alpha$ :
10. puntmith $\alpha=$
11. Lungu] Suniu" $\alpha$ :
12. umuntrglis $\gamma$ :
13. $n \boldsymbol{n}]$ q/ $\gamma=$


16. $\alpha \beta \gamma$ omit this verse.
17. $\alpha$ alone omts this verse $L_{m}, u / h_{u} \gamma_{4}$



## Ch. 15







7. It दltinquileng iaj $\beta$ :

From Ch. 16

1. onwards $\gamma$ is not collated $\& \alpha$ carries conseusus of $\beta$.

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\text { Ch. } 16
$$






10. 1 , julumb $\alpha=$


15. ${ }^{1} / \boldsymbol{p}^{2} \ell^{\prime \prime} \alpha$ :




Ch. 17



8. โungul huptiming $\alpha$ :
9. lif hom $\alpha$ :
10. ${ }^{1} / 12 i s$
12. $\eta^{\prime \prime \prime \prime}$ a lozminip added by later hand over line in $\alpha$ alone.

17. $k b_{l}$ ind $\alpha$ alone before $\mu$ add $k \alpha$ :
18. 5 \% $\boldsymbol{p}^{m} \eta^{m}, p^{\text {in }} \alpha$ alone.

$$
\text { Ch. } 18
$$


2. flo $\alpha$ " $\eta^{n y}$ misurfly $\alpha$ :



 $\alpha$ alone.
8. भtwin $q^{\text {quu }} \alpha=$
 quifuring $\alpha$ :

12. furing $\alpha$ :
 om le $\beta$ :
14. om int $\boldsymbol{I}^{\prime} \beta$ Luu] $+\omega_{J l} \beta=$
15. after $k_{l} l^{\prime} l_{n} l^{\prime}$ add $l_{k} \alpha$ alone.

15,16 minitml munghis \& om: he $\alpha_{1}$

 before \&umeuri.e $\alpha$ alone.
18. add $h$ before,$m u t \cdot m / \beta=$


22. om wimehumuluminuy a alone.



5. $n_{p, p]} n_{p} \alpha=n_{j}, \boldsymbol{p} \beta$.
6. "pmunfinliy $a$ :
9.

14. un/

Ch. 20




6. metivglis $\alpha$ afius $\alpha$ :
 $\alpha$ alone.
7. nimg fore $\alpha=$


12. qifhourlhou a qritatifngit $\alpha$ :

15. h np mp $n_{\&} \alpha$ :

$$
\text { Ch. } 21
$$

2. after "pmb" ada $k$ a:
3. Gumentris $\alpha=$


4. $2 r^{m, m} 4^{6}$ tioug ar in recent hand over rasura $\alpha$ alone.
5. minh
 5p] [1x:

6. In lit et sec vice om $\alpha$ :
 ters erased) $\alpha$ alone:



7. om $l$, Tufin, $\beta=$ om $p \alpha=$

Ch. 22

8. $\eta^{m \prime \prime}$ /ifin $\alpha$ :

9. before $h_{\text {ul }}$ om $h=\beta=$
10. q/'mg" "ujmillil $\alpha$ :
11. "rpitimgin ligt $\alpha_{2}$





12. Ip pmith - uminumigmeugt, om $\alpha \beta$ throngh similar en-

13. 4...intin $\alpha$ alone bitu $\alpha$ :
14. om iltru, $\alpha$ :

## CORRIGENDA

Ligne Page Verset

| 26 | 3 | 18 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11 | 7 | 4 | kptrgntitp. corr. kiphgmisp |
| 13 | 7 | 5 |  |
| 22 | 8 | 8 |  |
| 23 | 8 | 8 | "ul, corr. пu4l |
| 25 | 8 | 9 | wutup it. corr. wutifor |
| 28 | 8 | 11 |  |
| 7 | 9 | 14 |  |
| 28 | 9 | 6 | après qumm\% q/ifump ajouter a/nq |
| 8 | 10 | 11 |  |
| 8 | 10 | 11 | après "urlumunu: omettre le premier u |
| 27 | 11 | 9 |  |
| 18 | 12 | 17 | quarthouji an lieu de qumutifougio |
| 32 | 14 | 17 | (dernier mot) थrumbu au lieu de थp ${ }^{\text {unhu }}$ |
| 10 | 15 | 20 | ynng au lieu de 4 rrog |
| 17 | 16 | 2 |  |
| 17 | 17 | 11 | amempg au lieu de memerp, |
| 27 | 17 | 14 |  |
|  | 19 | prem |  |
|  | 19 | secon |  |
| 23 | 19 | verse |  |
| 14 | 21 |  | meropgh au lieu de mehtogl |
|  | 22 | ligne | uatrième lisez 6 au lieu de 5 à la marge |
| 26 | 24 | verse | de chapitre XVI au lieu de "rpajo lisez "rt'mg' |
|  | 26 |  | au lieu de my" "plug lisez my"nth |
| 23 | 30 |  |  |

## COLLATIO CODICUM

## 1818if cowen

## CODICES

1 = Codex Bodley Arm. E. 2.
$2=$ British Museum Orient. 5304.
$3=$ Paris Bibliothéque Nationale Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.
A collation of Codices 2 and 3 with Codex I.

| Prm | $=$ Prior Manus. |
| ---: | :--- |
| Rcm | $=$ Recens Manus. |
| Vtm | $=$ Vetus Manus. |
| Præm | $=$ Præmittit. |
| Cet | $=$ Cetera. |
| Sbst | $=$ Substituit. |
| Ras | $=$ Rasura. |
| Sec | $=$ Secundus. |
| + | $=$ Addit, addunt. |
| Add | $=$ Addit, addita. |
| Om | $=$ Omittit. |
| Scr | $=$ Scripsit. |
| Cor | $=$ Corrigit, Corrector. |
| Ref | $=$ Refinxit. |
| Tr | $=$ Transfert. |
| Supras | $=$ Super rasuram. |
| Suplin | $=$ Supra lineam. |
| Mg | $=$ In Margine. |

Uncis inclusa sic $[\ldots]=$ qure in cod 3 supras addit corrector, uel in margine, uel supra lineam.



 ind 3 - lín, om 2-dum. lul', jus. 3:

 2: + $\boldsymbol{t} \boldsymbol{l}$ [ $\boldsymbol{q}^{n} \boldsymbol{l}^{\prime}$ humhu] 3:

 52 et cor 3 ubi tamen mpr spatium scribendi reliquerat.

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 In Cod I propter abscissam paginæ partem infer


 Tufin (" ,


















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## VIII

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 Surqur sup lin scr prm, Sfint del cor 3:
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 3 - qumgints - post inj add ithrij \& om $\boldsymbol{k}$ ints 3 -



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## XV I

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 3 - $2 m \mu^{5}$ om 3: vocis $2 m p p^{t}$ add $p$ infra lin 1 -
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## TEXTUS CODICIS 2.


















## XVII





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## COLLATIO CODICIS 3.

Is codex cap. 16,17 usque cap. $19^{16}$ textum im-

















## COLLATIO CODICIS 2.









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## 148



























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## 151



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 - 14 pr $\boldsymbol{k}$ tr post lis. 3 - 16 minfinpulin om 1: wit


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 1, 3-27 om alth 1, 3-28 tr mp umiligh 3: m mp






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p. $113,1 \& 2$ om ceteri -3 gигрииquitis $1,3-4$























## 155


 3－15 pr $\boldsymbol{\ell}$ om 1，3－5 om 3－36 pr $\boldsymbol{k}]$ 4uи 3 －
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## 158

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## ADDITIONAL ERRATA

| Line | Page |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 29 | Fif for hif |
| 15 | 2 |  |
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| 3 | 36 | п17454 |
| 8 | 58 | huf hus |
| 6 | 125 | їиf for urf |
| 4 | 132 |  |
| 25 | 135 |  |
| 17 | 146 | quetroult |
| 20 | 156 | codicis |
| 4 | 158 | thus: 6 om $\leqslant 1$ |
| 30 | 158 | thus: 29 inj sop 1 |
| 2 | 159 | hile for $k / \beta k$ |

Collatio Codicis qui in Bibliotheca apud Etschmiadsin adservatur. Is codex in catalogo Karinian p. 126, numerum 922 habet, A. D. 1278 exaratus, itemque literis maiusculis. Cum textu Zohrapensi patres Armeni eiusdem monasterii maxima erga me benevolentia contulerunt.

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## 188













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[^0]:    —wherewith . . . earth] om. a 3-wherewith . . . all]=cui non habitat 2, a corruption of some kind-all . . . earth] one another, and there was given him a sword great 4.
    5 that . . . come] that he came 4-and behold] add a 34 - another] ' $a$ ' a 34 : that there went forth $\alpha 2$ (confusing $e l$ with $a y l$ )-_'black' sev in 3 is over ras. of ashikhet 'reddish'--mounted] seated a 2: thereon] upon him 23-had . . . hand] had in his hand a yoke 4.
    6 which were] om. 4-one] a 4 (bis)-shall not be] thon shalt not a $3^{* *} 4$ : he shall shall not 2-penny] denarion a 123 : daheken, i.e. Daric 4.
    7 heard]+a voice a-saying, Come thou 4.
    8 I saw and] ? first hand in 3, and a 4-another] there went forth 2 (see vs. 5) -redlish] a reads shlorhus, i.e. $\chi^{\lambda \omega \omega}$ ós, interpreted polluhih in margin of $a$ and $\gamma: 3$ also has shloros with the explanation, equally in the text 'which is white and black ': 4 renders sartak-a late word-sitting] mounted 34 -had death ] habebat ille mortem 3, ille being above line in first hand: nomen crat eins mors 4-om. with 4-to destroy, ete.] 3 has order ynartam partem terre gladio destruere et fame et morte, and transliterates the word poupaia, but N.B. the Latin may have read here as in $2^{12}$ and ${ }^{16}$ the word rumphea: 4 cm . to destroy and subst. over-earth] + to slay 4- $l r$. with sword and famine a 4 , cp. 3-of the earth] added in 1 in first hand outside the line: of the world a.
    9 tr. the fifth seal 23 all sealed] of all men slain $\alpha \beta$ : of all men sealed $\gamma$ : of the slain (spanemothis) 4-word] name 4-testimony of the lamb holy, and they cried out with voice great saying 3 (cor. erases holy) - thereof] + which they had a 4 -who, etc.] and they cried out with woice great, saying 4.
    10 and not exact 2 -exact vengeance] male requital 4.

[^1]:    _om. only 4 -standing . . . Sion] om. a 34 -who were sec. loc.] om. a 4 : who are 2-virgins and] om, a 34 -liberated] written 4 (by confusion of gneal with greal).
    4 were not, etc.] fornicated not, for they are virgins. These are they who follow the lamb 4-and are virgins] = virgines facti 3-Anil in . . . follow] These follow $a$ : These ever shall follow 3-om. shall $a 2$ and 4 which, however, used hetevin, where $a 2$ have zhet erthan_wrote ...father] were chosen of men in sight of God $a$ and $3^{* *}$ (over a rasura of two lines, where the first word of the underwriting is of men)--These . . . men] These were written of men and wrote 2-These are they who were bought of men, first-fruits of God and of the lamb 4. (Thus 4 is here free from the confusion of Gneal= bought, with Greal=written, which has played havoc with the other texts and which in the preceding verse besets MS. 4 itself.) Name of] sign of God 2-and] add $\alpha 2$.
    5 mouths $\alpha$-falsehood] guile 2_For they are $\beta$ And. 4 : that they might be $a \gamma$ _-blemish] + before God 2.
    6 from] amidst a $23^{* *} 4$-and he] who 2: for he 4-eternal] om. 4-and being come 13 : om. a 4: $3^{* *}$ erases: who being come 2 -to gospel $3^{* *} \alpha 4$ : Add 'upon earth and' 3-to gospel to those who were sitting on earth and over all races and stocks and tongues and peoples 4-races] + and tongues $\alpha 2:+$ and stocks and tongues and peoples 3-tongues] + which are dwelling on earth $a$.
    7 And] om. 3: For 4: tr. after great 2-tr. he said with voice great a $34-1$ God] the Lord 3-to him] om. 2: tr. after glory a-is come]+is arrived 4 _-before . . . made] God who made 2: the maker of a 4-and sea a 34 all] om. $a 3^{* *} 4$-which . . them] so 3 first hand: fountains of waters $a 23^{* *} 4$.
    8 tr . angel second a-came] om. 4 -and said] saying 4-It is fallen] twice a 2: once 3 and 4 (which adds it is lost)——B. the great a 3-or render 'from wine's drunkenness': from wine of her wrath 4 -and from . . gentiles] have fallen all races 4 -and] om. a 2 -and] om. a (not And.), 2 of her f.] 2.

[^2]:    7 by one] in the midst 12 (through a corruption, see on vs. 6) : and one of the . gave 4-bowls] goblets 4 passim--of gold] om. a 2.-fury] wrath 4-of the living God $\alpha$.
    8 temple of God 4_-from the] of the $a 23^{* *}$ __and of his a 2 __power $a 3^{* *} 4$ _was able] ventured 2 : is able $a$--shall be] were 2 .
    $1 \mathrm{in}]$ from $\alpha-\mathrm{a}$ great tongue from heaven saying 4-upon earth] om. 4.
    2 angel] om. 34 his bowl a 3 -the first] om. a 34 : golden 2 -strokes] wounds verý great and 4_-grievous] and sufferings 2 adding on earth andhave] had a 234 -writing] stamp a 34 -his image] him 2.
    3 the second a $24-\mathrm{om}$. angel 4 -om. from a 4-his bowl 3--into the sea a 4 —the water . . . to ] it became 34 -waters were $\alpha$ and corrector's hand in 1 -dead $a 3:=$ sicut trucidatorum 4-living soul which was $a$ : animals $24-$ all animals died which were in the sea 4 -was destroyed $a$.
    4 om . angel $34-\mathrm{om}$. from his bowl $4-\mathrm{om}$. from a $2-\mathrm{it}$ ] they 2.-
    5 of the waters] 24 - that he] who a-Righteous art thou, the existent, thy existent, thou holy, for this hast thou judged 4-exists and which is, holy 2: exists and is and holy 3 (holy over a rasura of alone) : exists and is and holy in his works $a$.
    6 tr . blood of prophets and of saints 3 -ome the blood sec. loc. 34 -the impious

[^3]:    ․ therefore］om． 34 －the holy one］om．a 234 －hath］hast thon 2 ：also hath he 3 ：hath he $a$ ：and thou hast 4 －acc．．．．deserts］＝digui sunt 34 ： $=$ secundum meritum $a:=$ secundum merita corum 2 ．
    7 heard］＋a voice $a$－out of］om．a 4－tr．true and just 4．－works］judge－ ments cetori（is thy judgement 3）．
    8 angel］om． 34 －poured］here and in vs． 10 carl is used in 1 instead of ehel of the other MSS．used elsewhere－om．from 4－scorch］burn up 4.
    9 they］men 3－greatja 23 －the name of om．a－hath］had 4－nor ．．． （iod）unto the glury of God a 3：to give him glory 4－God］him 24.
    10 angel］om． 34 －om．from 234 －for，etc．］from violent anguish 4.
    11 and in ．．．bitterness］om．4：in bitterness of prain 2－－of their works］a 34.
    12 om．from 4－were ．．．waters a－dried up］ 4 uses a synonym－that he might prepare 1234 （I render a）－from the sumrise region 4.
    13 that．．．．forth］om． 34 －dragon］beast 4－－heast］dragon 4－r $t r$ ．unclean three 3－unclean］abominable 4.
    14 are spirits of devils which have signs and go forth over against 4－－to all the kings of the $a-0$ ver against the kings 34 －and they gather 4－the day a 3 －the Lord］Goil 3 ：the Lord God a－on ．．．Lord］of the great God 4 －Almighty］our God 2.
    15 For ．．．Lord］om． 34 －－speaks $2-\mathrm{I}$ come］$=$ venio ego ：who cometh $3-$

[^4]:    1 In chs. xvii., xviii., xix., the MS. Paris Suppl. $51(\epsilon)$ is collated and agrees with $a$ wherever the contrary is not specified-a certain] om. a alone -om. and befiore he $a$-and saith $a$ : and said 2 -come hither and $a 2$-the] this 2.
    2 earth] the world 2-wine of ] + drunkenness of $\alpha 2$.
    3 he took carried me a 2: 4 has tarapart which appears to be a corruption of the text read in 2 which I render-in spirit] and there was upon me a spirit holy 2 - he] his mouth $\epsilon$-a name a 2 - he had] and the beast which I saw had a -crowns seven and heads ten 2.
    4 clothed) arrayed 2 -and bedecked] gildings embroidered 2 _tr. and pearl after stones $23: \beta$ omits - having] and had 2 -abomination] disgusting $\alpha$ and all impurity of her fornication 2 -fornication $]+$ of earth 3.
    5 her] their $\epsilon$-name in mystery a ( $\epsilon$ om. in)-tr. B. the great $\epsilon 23$-mother of harlotry and of all abomination of earth $\epsilon 2$-abominations] harlots $\alpha$ harlots] disgusting things $a$.
    6 the saints a-blood of + all a-of Jesus] om. a alone and Andreas: subst. of Christ $\beta \in$ marvelled when I saw that wonder great 2.
    7 hath carried a 2 -the seven $a$ - the ten $\alpha$ - ir. heads seven and horns ten 2.
    8 And the beast $a$-and was not $a$-about] ready 2 - the abyss] hell $a$ they wondered $a-w h o$, etc. J dwellers of 2-was not $a$ : are not 2 -their

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Not all MSS. give the names.
    ${ }^{3}$ i.e. Cross.
    ${ }^{2}$ i.e. Mabug.
    ${ }^{4}$ Gah $=$ steep.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ The same date is given in the colophon of an old, but undated MS. of the commentary of Andreas, now in the library of San Lazaro as follows: "This commentary upon the divine Revelation was translated in the year 628 of the Armenian era. And it was corrected and punctuated with grammatical art ly the hand of myself, the humble Nerses, a lover of learning and Catholicos of Armenia, and by the hand of Costantius Metropolitan.'
    ${ }^{2}$ The recension may have only attained in 1198 the form in which the bulk of the MSS. exhibit it. The presence of many archaic variants in the MSS. $\eta$ and $k$ suggests that in these we have preserved to us earlier and, so to speak, inchoate, forms of the Nersesian Recension.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ It extends throughout the general Epistles, the Paulines, and half of the Aporalypse. At a later time I hope to publish it in its entirety. Acts, 2 Peter, and the Euthalian apparatus are left untranslated.

    In this corlex the Greek text has not influenced the Armenian, for example in chs. i. and ii. it is identical with Tisch. except in the following variants :
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ I have subsequently had the good fortune to receive from the Patriarchate of Valarshapat a careful collation of this codex with the text printed at Venice by Zohrap in 1805 (from the MS. $\eta$ ). A translation of this collation is given in ch. viii.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ For example, Nerses writes thus: 'This Revelation of the divine Evangelist John, was honoured in the teaching of our holy fathers for purpose of testimonies, yet it slipped away leecause of the scandal imputed by some who distorted its meaning.' But as in the sequel he cites Dionysius Areopagita, Ireneus, Gregory Theologus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril, Methodius, Hippolytus, and Origen, among those who used the Apocalypse, we cannot understand 'our holy fathers' of the Armenian fathers alone. He perhaps merely repeats the Exordium of the Commentary.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ I transliterate the citation of Gregory of Narek and add the text of the MSS. of the Apocalypse :

    Hiatzmamb fakheav erkin ev erkir . . ev telfi otsch gtav.
    MS. 1 has AHE . FAKHTSCHÊN ERKINQ, but for the rest agrees. $a$ has the same, but omits AHE. MS. 4 omits the detail, absent from Greek texts, that they were afraid, but has the singular verb FAKHEAV='fled,' and also the singular ERKIN. Thus one of the texts makes up what the other lacks.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ I add in square brackets the readings of a 123 , which, when they agree among themselves, I indicate by cet or ceteri. Thus 'so cet' or ceteri indicates agreement of a 123 with MS. 4. I have arranged the variants rather as they belong together by affinity of tradition, than in order of chapter and verse. The references to textual sources are from Tischendorf. Def $=$ Deficit.

[^12]:    $2^{13} \pi$ âs $\mu \alpha ́ \rho \tau v s$ тıoтós with 152 (=Vatic. 370) and Gwynn's Old Syriac ( 4 has áv $\boldsymbol{\alpha} \epsilon \mathrm{imas}$ : $2=1: 3$ erased : $\alpha=$ Tisch)
    $3^{2} \quad \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \rho$ with $Q$ many (but the Arm is another text altogether)
     'of David' $\alpha$ and $3^{* *}$ )
    $6^{9}$ '̇ $\sigma \phi \rho \alpha \gamma \sigma \mu \mu^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu$ with $7.16^{*} 33$ (but 4 has $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \phi a \gamma \mu$.: so 23 : $a$ texts fluctuate)
    $6^{11}$ om $\epsilon^{\kappa} \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \tau \varphi$ with Q al ${ }^{25}$ (so a 2 3, but 4 retains)
    $10^{6}$ om $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ai $\omega \nu \omega \nu$ with 1. 12. 47 And (so $a 34: 2$ retains)
    $11^{19} \sigma \epsilon \iota \mu{ }^{19}$ with 34. 35. 87 (but a $24=\sigma \epsilon \iota \sigma \mu$ ós: 3 om)
    $15^{6}$ om $\epsilon \kappa$ кov̂ vaov̂ with Q al ${ }^{30}$ (so 23 : a 4 retain, though in different places, so that they have inserted it from the Greek independently of each other)
    $16^{3}$ order ${ }^{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \theta a \lambda . \dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \in \theta a \nu \epsilon \nu($ so $u 23$ )
    $21^{65}$ after $\delta \omega \dot{\sigma} \omega$ insert $a v ่ \tau \hat{\varphi}$ with Q. 2. 8. 29.31.94.97 al ${ }^{15}$. Note that Tisch inserts it in his text, while admitting the weakness of the evidence (4 omits: 2 inserts)
    $21^{9}$ after $\hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$ add $\pi \rho o ́ s \mu \epsilon$ (so a 2: 4 omits)
    $21^{12}$ om viêv with 1. 7. 79. 91. 96 ( 4 retains: a 2 om)
    $21^{13}$ sequence: East, West, North, South, with 91 aeth
    

[^13]:    $2^{5}$ om ô̂v Prim Cyp Syr (Gwynn). Arm 3 seems to involve vîv.
    $2^{9}$ т $̀ \nu \beta \lambda \alpha \sigma \phi \eta \mu i \alpha \nu: ~ ' t h e ~ b l a s p h e m y ~ w h i c h ~ t h e ~ J e w s ~ w r o u g h t ~ u n t o ~$

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ At $3^{18}$ it omits $\mu \epsilon T^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon} \mu \mathrm{v} \hat{1}$ with the same codex. At $4{ }^{5}$ it renders 'out of the thrones' with Armenian codex 6, but here the Armenian plural may be explained simply as a corruption of the singular.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cp. Euseb. H. E. ix. 8.3 of the Armenians: ä $\nu \delta \rho a s \epsilon \xi \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi a i \omega \nu \phi(\lambda$ ous $\tau \epsilon \kappa a i$ бvццд́хоus 'P $\omega \mu$ aicv. See Dr. Simon Weber's Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903, p. 189 foll.
    ${ }^{2}$ The prominence given in the history of the evangelisation of Armenia and Georgia to female saints, and even to their claims to baptize, long ago led me to

[^16]:    suspect that the early Christianity of these regions was largely the work of Montanist missionaries, so that in this respect also held good the remark of Herodotus vii. 73, that the Armenians are 'colonists of the Phrygians.'
    ${ }^{1}$ I am not sure that an Old Latin influence is not to be detected in the Armenian version of the Paulines.

[^17]:    1 This clause is supplied from $4 . \quad{ }^{2}$ for example] lit. 'aught.'

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ by symbol, with oil 124 .
    ${ }^{3}$ designed] lit. taken in hand.
    5 and so . . sanctification] om 23.

[^19]:    ${ }^{2}$ Cyrus] + both 3.
    ${ }^{4}$ to subdue 1 : he subdued cet.
    ${ }^{6}$ more . . . fellows] 1 adds in mg.

[^20]:    1 ? read $\tau o \hat{v} \chi \rho \iota \sigma \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \tau \hat{\varphi} \mu \in \tau a \lambda a \chi \in i ̂ \nu$
    ${ }^{2} \sigma \nu \nu \tau \rho \in \chi \hat{\omega} \nu$ or $\sigma \dot{v} \delta \delta \rho о \mu \circ s$.
    ${ }^{3}$ as God.
    4 from] of 1 .

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ with us] or as we (in Arm. MS. with, ŭnd, and as, ust, are often confused).

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ is called 1: om ceteri. ${ }^{3}$ and is defined] om 1 .
    ${ }^{6}$ by him] om 1 .
    ${ }^{2}$ add and they shall hear my voice 1.
    4 he says] on 234 . 5 seeond] add Lord 1.
    ${ }^{7}$ om accorlingly 1 .

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ thou shalt call $1 . \quad{ }^{2}$ om blessed $4 . \quad{ }^{3} \pi \rho$ for $\pi \iota \rho$.
    ${ }^{4}$ Here the Syriac adds the words Yet we do not suy that J. C. was mere man, which the Latin and Arm. omit.
    ${ }^{5}$ is and] was and $1:$ even (and om is 3) $\quad{ }^{6}$ manifested] made 3.
    7 om the remaining 1.

[^24]:    1:om become 34 .
    ${ }^{2}$ om Navea 1.
    ${ }^{3} \mu \grave{\eta}$ ©̆ $\nu$ for $\mu \epsilon(\omega \nu$.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ for this reason] thus 1 .
    ${ }^{2} \dot{d} \pi \sigma \pi \dot{d} \sigma \omega$.
    ${ }^{3}$ or essence.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ évl for ${ }^{t} v \iota$.
    ${ }^{2}$ had taken] held 4.
    ${ }^{4}$ ? $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma \alpha \phi \theta \epsilon \nu$ for $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \lambda \eta \phi \theta \epsilon \nu$.
    ${ }^{6} \mathrm{om}$ and mystery 3.
    ${ }^{3}$ sins] add from thee 13.
    ${ }^{5}$ That] $a d d$ of 3.
    7 saying] add to us 3 .

[^27]:    ${ }_{2}^{1}$ substances] so Latin and Syriac versions, but the Greek has $\tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\eta} \nu \omega \mu \dot{\nu} \nu a$.
    ${ }^{2}$ or flesh (the Arm. word is the same).
    ${ }^{3}$ goyuthian.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ glorified $1 . \quad 2$ and infernal] om in text 1 , but add in mg. corr.
    ${ }^{3}$ humbled] emptied $4 . \quad{ }^{4}$ How ? om $1 . \quad{ }^{5} \mathrm{om}$ and complete 1.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ but . . . seed] om 13 thro' similar ending. ${ }^{2}$ om of those 1.
    ${ }^{3}$ Forasmuch, ete.] In order that children may partake of flesh and blood, he himself by nearness became consort of them 13 .

    4 holders 4.
    ${ }^{5}$ he writes 3 .
    ${ }^{6}$ also ...flesh] whereby condemning sin in his flesh 4.
    ${ }^{7}$ let . . . down] humbled 1.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. orthodoxy. $\quad 2$ lit. in quo or qua factus est assumptione.
    ${ }^{3}$ a man 1: flesh cet.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Codices 34 have this scholion: It was impossible for the Divine Word to suffer ; but in the flesh he suffered, for we were saved by God possessing our body.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ om from the same 1 . When 1 ; since cet.
    ${ }^{8}$ iniquitous] lit. the unlike.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Syriac supplies the fresh section-number 26 here: the Armenian and Latin give no break.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Codex 3 numbers this chapter as 26 , codex 4 as 21.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reading imani with 1 : i marmni ceteri.
    ${ }^{2} \sigma_{\chi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu,}$ the Greek word $\sigma \chi \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \epsilon t$ is rendered in the Armenian translation.

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ As One] lit. uniquely.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reading ga or with 1 for wayr of 34.

[^38]:    

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ om the hands of, 2,3 .

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ Read imani for imarmni.

[^41]:    ${ }^{2}$ goyatzuthiun, lit. substances.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ After One add son, 2, 3, 4.

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reading edeal instead of eleal.

[^44]:    1 The MSS. (except 1) add the scholion in mg: 'that thou art superior.'
    ${ }^{2}$ or 'from an exact exemplar.'

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ lit. heads.
    2 lit. because of.
    ${ }^{3}$ The sense of this sentence is at best conjectural. All the MSS. (except 1) have in the mg . the scholion: ' of the emperor he says that he wrote a book of sentences and gave this law to the world.'
    ${ }^{4}$ nowise 4 : in any way ceteri.
    ${ }^{5}$ om laws 2, 3, but all the MSS. except 1, add in mg. this scholion: 'He mentions the law written by the king.'
    ${ }^{6}$ The anacolouthon suggests a lacuma in the text.
    ${ }^{7}$ man's 13 : the body's 24.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ is named 1 : is said 24 : om 3.
    ${ }^{2}$ directed] or 'reformed.' The grammar is defective.
    3 The words bracketed are unintelligible.
    ${ }^{4}$ and . . . dead] om. $14 . \quad{ }^{5}$ фi入oбтop ${ }^{2}$ ia.
    ${ }^{6}$ Some words nust have dropt out here.
    7 our own] one 1 .
    ${ }^{9}$ or age.
    ${ }^{8}$ fore-write 4.
    ${ }^{11}$ into] from 23.

[^47]:    ${ }_{3}^{1}$ quit of lit cast out of.
    ${ }^{3} \mathrm{om}$ was held 1.
    ${ }^{2}$ The] prom. Likewise also 1.
    ${ }^{4}$ new] norotz.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1} 1$ connects the words by an economy with what follows.
    ${ }_{2}$ As early as] or descending direct from. ${ }_{3}$ For as] And it is 1
    ${ }^{4} \mathrm{om}$ is apparent 1.
    ${ }^{5}$ of the 123.
    ${ }^{6}$ The rest of this sentence is difficult, but the general sense must be as I render it.

    7 om not 2 .
    8 Season] manner 1 which connects with what follows omitting $A n d$.
    9 The MSS. except 1 have the scholion :-The 14 th of the Hebrews was according to the month and not the moon, but we according to the moon's 14 th, and not according to the months.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ ended] removed 12.
    ${ }^{3}$ om not 2.
    ${ }^{2}$ that] unless 1.
    ${ }^{4}=403 \mathrm{~A} . \mathrm{D}$.

[^50]:    ${ }^{1} \mathrm{om}$ of the moon 1.
    ${ }^{2}$ anticipate] or set down beforehand.
    ${ }^{3}$ The meaning of the last line is this.
    Counting from the era of Diocletian Aug. 29, 284 A.D., six paschal cycles of 19 years, or 114 , bring us to A.1). 398. Thus there was a gap of 4 years between the expiration of the 19 years' cycle and the year 403 , from which, as the year of his first consulate, Theodosius II. wished the new calendar to begin. Cyril, to maintain the continuity of the ecclesiastical calendar which ran in successive cycles of 19 years, reckoned 4 dead years before A.D. 403 , and compiled it for 110 years from A.D. 403, that is for 114 or six cycles from 398.

[^51]:    

