

A translation of and select commentary on Victorinus of Pettau's
commentary on the Apocalypse

PhD submission

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Summary

This thesis comprises an introduction to the life and works of Victorinus of Pettau, a translation of his commentary on the Apocalypse and a select commentary on that work.

Statement

I, Zachary Cormac Esterson, declare that, except where indicated by specific reference, the work submitted is the result of my own investigation and the views expressed are my own.

Signed: _____

Zachary Cormac Esterson

I, Zachary Cormac Esterson, declare that no portion of the work presented has been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed: _____

Zachary Cormac Esterson

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Introduction to the life and works of Victorinus of Pettau

1. Victorinus, saint, bishop, exegete

1.1. A third century Pannonian bishop

Without giving specific dates, Jerome writes thrice that “Victorinus noster” was bishop of Poetovium,¹ a city in ancient Pannonia² (later Pettau in Styria, now Ptuj in Slovenia). Despite Victorinus’ being often dated to the third century’s end, *In Apocalypsin* may have been written under Gallienus between 258 and 260, nor is it among the author’s early works.³ Jerome tells us Victorinus “ad extremum martyrio coronatus est”.⁴ Ado and Usuard specify he died in Diocletian’s persecution, perhaps as early as 304.⁵ However, this is still a late date, and he may more likely have died in an earlier regional persecution, perhaps of Numerian, in 283-284.⁶ Victorinus’ date in the Roman Martyrologue is November second.⁷ But this is when his remains were transferred to Lauracium (Lorch, Austria) -whither citizens likely fled Poetovio’s destruction, in 472, saving their patron saint’s relics.⁸

¹ Hieronymus, *De uir. ill.* 74 (p. 40, l. 25 Richardson): uictorinus, petabionensis episcopus.

² Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 13-15.

³ For the date currently accepted, see Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis auf Eusebius*, vol. 2, 427; Zeiller, “*Les Origines chrétiennes*”, 66. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 11-12; 219-221.

⁴ Hieronymus, *De uir. ill.* 74 (p. 41, l. 2 Richardson): (Victorinus) ad extremum martyrio coronatus est.

⁵ Adonis Viennensis (PL 123, 389 C): E. IV NONAS NOVEMBRIS. (second Nov.) Natalis sancti Victorini Pitabionensis episcopi, qui persecutione Diocletiani martyrio coronatus est. Usuardus, *Martyrolog. Mens. Nou.* (PL 124, 645-646): IV Non. Natalis beati Victorini Pitabionensis episcopi, qui post multa doctumenta, ut sanctus Hieronymus testatur, persecutione Diocletiani martyrio coronatus est. “Coronatus est” suggests Jerome as a source. Et v. Adonis Viennensis (PL 123, 389). Dubois, *Le Martyrologe d’Usuard*, 334; Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen-Age*, 310; 223.

⁶ Bratoz, *Acta Ecclesiastica Sloveniae* 8, 361-363. Allard, *Les Dernières persecutions du IIIe siècle*, 322-325. L. c. Dulaey, *Sur l’Apocalypse*, 15.

⁷ Adonis Viennensis (PL 123, 389 C); Usuardus, *Martyrolog. Mens. Nou.* (PL 124, 645-646); Delehaye, *Martyrologium Romanum*, 91.

⁸ Saria, Poetovio, in: RE 21.1 (1951), 1176. Régerat, *Introduction to Eugippe, Vie de Saint Séverin* (SChr, 374, 63).

Dulaey thinks Victorinus' Latin suggests a Roman Pannonian provenance, not a Greek one, as often maintained. Despite Jerome's "Victorinus Petabionensis episcopus non aequè Latine ut Graece nouerat",⁹ Victorinus' *only* extant works are in Latin, nor do *any* traditions hold they were in Greek. Jerome's assertion may derive solely from his subjectively judging Victorinus' Latin style poor (though he must have known Greek, to read the Septuagint, *inter alia*), or poorer than the ideas he tried to convey.¹⁰ Moreover, Eusebius of Caesarea, familiar with the occidental Greek patristic corpus, mentions no Victorinus.¹¹ On the other hand, as a native from the neighbouring province of Dalmatia, Jerome may have been better acquainted with the situation.

Victorinus likely had no classical, rhetorical education,¹² unlike high Roman Poetovian society, to which fact he may allude in his exegesis of the letter to the church of Laodicea.¹³ There is little to no trace of secular literature in his work. Perhaps self-taught, he had clearly read biblical and Christian works extensively, perhaps partly in the library of bishop

⁹ Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 74 (p.40, l. 25 Richardson).

¹⁰ Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 74 (p.40, l. 26 Richardson): unde opera eius grandia sensibus uiliora uidentur compositione uerborum. Rufinus similarly implicitly criticises Origen's other translators and the grounds of linguistic deficiency: Rufinus, Praef. in libr. Orig. Periarch. III (CC SL 20, l. 34).

¹¹ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 16-17.

¹² Jerome calls Victorinus "beatus", rather than "eloquentissimus", which he says specifically of Hilary: Hieronymus, Praef. in Orig. Hom. XXXIX in Luc. 3 (A) (CB 49, 2, l. 6): praeterea commentarios uiri eloquentissimi hilarii et beati martyris uictorini. Cf. Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 74 (p. 40, l. 26 Richardson); and Hieronymus, Epist. 58.10 (CSEL 54, 539, l. 39): inclito Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intellegit eloqui non potest. Cicero makes a less flattering criticism of those who translate Greek philosophical ideas into Latin: Cicero, Tusc. Disput. I 3.6 (p. 219, l. 27-p. 220, l. 5 Pohlenz): fieri autem potest, ut recte quis sentiat et id quod sentit polite eloqui non possit. Perhaps, for Jerome, Victorinus' rudeness is more than offset by his martyrdom, which is contrasted explicitly with his lack of eloquence. Jerome compares him to the apostle Paul: Hieronymus, Com. in Is., Prol. (CC SL 73, 3, l. 82): ceterum apud latinos grande silentium est, praeter sanctae memoriae martyrem uictorinum, qui cum apostolo dicere poterat: etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia; moreover, Hieronymus Epist. 70.5 (CSEL 54, 707, l. 13): uictorino martyri in libris suis, licet desit eruditio, tamen non deest eruditionis uoluntas. If accurate, this evinces Victorinus' lack of formal, rhetorical education, assuming "eruditio" concerns secular studies (cf. Cicero, Brutus 133 (p. 40, l. 11 Malcovati): quamquam filius quidem non fuit in oratorum numero; sed non deerat ei tamen in sententia dicenda cum prudentia tum elegans quoddam et eruditum orationis genus.

¹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 3.3 (SChr 423, 62, l. 1-7): homines locupletes, credentes in dignitatibus collocatos...apud quos in cubiculo scripturae quidem tractantur...scilicet iactantes et dicentes se omnia cognoscere, praediti fiducia litteraturae.

Alexander,¹⁴ founded at the beginning of the century, which he appears to have visited, perhaps under Gallienus.¹⁵

1.2. The Poetovian Church

1.2.1. Poetovio: Founding, geography, situation and culture

The site of Poetovio is thought to be the oldest continuous settlement in what is now Slovenia. There is evidence of settlement from the Stone Age, and a Celtic culture from the Iron Age. The rocky promontory overlooking the Drava (*Drauus*), where stands the current castle of Ptuj, had been inhabited from the fifth millennium BCE. It first appears in Ptolemy as *Potobio*,¹⁶ and its form is probably related to other pre-Roman names such as the Venetic *Patauion/Patauium* (Padua¹⁷ -and neighbouring *Aemona* also has an Illyrian-Venetic ending);¹⁸ *Bato* is a commonly attested Pannonian Illyrian name.¹⁹ The *-ouio* suffix may be Celtic.²⁰ The largest local tribe, the *Iasi*, are generally classified as Illyrians, which group generally “disappeared into the Roman empire” and which fate may largely signify the history of Poetovio.²¹ Under Augustus, Poetovio appears to have hosted *XI Claudia*, implying

¹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. chron. l. 2 (SChr 423, 134).

¹⁵ Dulaey, Le fragment, 127-145.

¹⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, Res. Gest. XIV 19 (p. 33 Seyfarth/Jacob-Karau/Ulmann, 1. 1): Poetouionem oppidum Noricorum.

¹⁷ Grimm, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 1, 406: Poetovio, bei Ammian 14, 11 Petobio und gleicht eher dem venetischen Patavium.

¹⁸ Feldman, Reviewed work: Judaea Weeping: The Jewish Struggle against Rome from Pompey to Masada, 63 B.C. to 73 A.D. by George C. Brauer, Jr., CJ 69.3, 263-265.

¹⁹ Papazoglu, The central Balkan tribes in pre-Roman times: Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians, 221: “Bato” may have been a title meaning meant “warrior” or in Illyrian.

²⁰ Olmsted, The gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans, 341; under *Lectiones uariantes*, Migne gives spellings and readings alternative to his choice of “Pitabionensis” of “Pythabionensis” or “Petavionensis”; likewise “Poetabium” or “Poetavium” (PL 134, 647 A).

²¹ Wilkes, The Illyrians, 218.

its prior native existence. From the first century the Romans constructed a fortress. It is first mentioned in Latin by Tacitus as the winter quarters of the *Legio XIII Gemina*, stationed by Claudius or Nero to oversee the neighbouring Illyrian tribe of the *Colapiani*,²² and where, in 69, Antonius Primus persuaded the pro-Flavian legions to take the initiative against the forces of Vitellius.²³ From 95-101 CE it was the base of *XIV Gemina*, and was established by Trajan in 103 as *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*,²⁴ with veterans of the *Legio I, II Adiutrix*²⁵ and, perhaps, the *legio III Flavia*.²⁶ In 106, between the first and second Dacian wars, the province of *Pannonia* was divided into *Superior* and *Inferior*. Under Hadrian Poetovio acquired a stone bridge,²⁷ thus easily straddling both banks of the Drava.²⁸ From 170-174 the town is known to have hosted *uexillationes* of *II Italica*,²⁹ while under Gallienus it was headquarters of detachments of *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*.³⁰

By Victorinus' time, in the late third century, Poetovio had become an important route-hub in the *Prima* part of *Pannonia Superior*.³¹ The shortest route from Italy to Carnuntum on the imperial border passed through.³² It was a strategic fortress town overlooking the natural approach west through the Julian Alps, along the Drava, towards Northern Italy, *via Aquileia*; east, by a road on the southern bank of the Drava *via Mursa*

²² Pottery witnesses to the presence of *VIII Augusta*, until replaced by *XIII Gemina* in 44/45 CE: Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan provinces: Bowman/Champlin/Lintott* (eds.), *The Augustan Empire*, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69, 570-571, n. 66; 581.

²³ Tacitus, *Hist.* III 1.1 (p. 105, l. 2-3 Heubner): *Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decimae legionis convenerant.*

²⁴ *Codex inscriptionum Romanorum Danubii et Rheni*, ed. Steiner, *Der Verfasser*, 155: *Noricum, Pannonia I*, 3218, 3294; also, *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Poetoviensis* 3195, 3213.

²⁵ CIL 03, 04057 = AIJ 00373 = D 02462 = Schober 00084: *C(aius) Cornelius C(ai) f(ilius) Pom(ptina) Dert(ona) Verus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) deduct(us) c(oloniam) T(raianam) P(oetovionem) mission(e) agr(aria) II milit(avit) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) annor(um) L. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). Test(amento) fier(i) ius(sit). Heres C(aius) Billienius Vitalis f(aciendum) c(uravit). L. c. Boyanov, *Oescus – from Castra to Colonia*, *Archaeologica Bulgarica*, XII, 2008, 3, 73-74.*

²⁶ Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 213.

²⁷ AIJ 361: *pontem Draui fluminis restituendam curavit.*

²⁸ Grant, *A Guide to the Ancient World; A Dictionary of Classical Place Names*, 513.

²⁹ Hinnells, *Mithraic studies: proceedings of the first International congress of Mithraic studies*, vol. 2, 1975, 260.

³⁰ Siwmark, *Aurelian and the third century*, 176.

³¹ Mocsy, *Pannonia*, in: *PW Suppl.* 9, c. 516-776. Saria, *Poetovium*, in: *RE* 21.1 (1951), 1167-1184. Mikl-Curk, *Poetovio in der Spätantik*, in: *AV* 29, 1978, 405-411 (German summary 410-411). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 11-14.

³² Fink/Hoey/Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum*, in: *YCS* 7 (1940), 130.

(Mura),³³ to Greece and the Balkans; north, to the Baltic, whence came the Amber Road,³⁴ *via* Savaria; south, by its bridge across the Drava, towards Dalmatia and the Adriatic.

Poetovio's port gave access to the towns of *Pannonia Inferior*, *via* the river complex of the Pannonian basin, and thence into the Danube and the Black Sea.³⁵

Wilkes observes that the natives of Illyria vanish from the Greek record of Pliny, to reappear as "Roman Illyrians, army commanders and emperors repelling invaders and reconstructing the empire".³⁶ A second century sarcophagous inscription is dedicated to the parents of two brothers *P. Aelii*. These were *equi* and decurions of the colony of Poetovio, as well as prefects of the cohorts (probably *equitatae* in the circumstances) *II Hispanorum* and *I Germanorum* respectively, likely appointed under Antonius Pius, given other evidence.³⁷ The name *Aelius* suggests their father or grandfather acquired citizenship under Hadrian.³⁸ The *scriba*, *decurio* and *quartumvir* of the free town (*municipium*) of the Jasi, the largest indigenous group in Pannonia, whose territory bordered on Poetovio, also seems to have taken the name *Aelius* and his citizenship under Hadrian.³⁹ The *cognomines* of the two brothers *Aelii*, *Marinus* and *Marcianus*, may reflect a Latin origin, but *Marinus* is especially common in Celtic regions and *Marcianus* in Pannonia: they may have been indigenous.⁴⁰ Moreover, Romanization of local identity was probably less thorough than once thought.⁴¹

³³ Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan provinces*, 565.

³⁴ Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan provinces*, 566.

³⁵ Mommsen, *Wars on the Danube*, in *A history of Rome under the emperors*, Demandt/Wiedemann (eds.), 266.

³⁶ Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 218.

³⁷ [P(ublius)] *Aelius Marinus d[ec(urio) col(oniae) Poetov(ionensis)] / eq(uo) publ(ico) praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Hispanorum et / P(ublius) Aelius Marcianus dec(urio) col(oniae) eiusdem / eq(uo) publ(ico) praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Germanorum / parentibus pientissimis* Jevremov, *Cat* 1988 No. 132; *AE* 1993, 01 285: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=4218>.

³⁸ Kos, *A New Equestrian Family from Poetovio*, in: *ZPE* 95 (1993), 236.

³⁹ Schlejbal, *Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae)*, 108, http://biblio.irb.hr/datoteka/235573.SITULA_-_Aquae_Balissae.pdf (last accessed 14/09/2010).

⁴⁰ Kos, "A New Equestrian Family from Poetovio", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 95, 1993, 237.

⁴¹ Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan provinces*, 581.

The second century manufactory of the *Res publica* of Poetovio dedicates a statue of Minerva to the local sacred thermae of *Aquae Iasae*.⁴²

Poetovio is likely to have been embroiled in the Marcomanic wars under Marcus Aurelius. At least one legion billeted there, *V Macedonica*, is known to have participated. It is surely significant that Victorinus uses the term *uexilatio* (a term rare before the third century),⁴³ the type of mobile detachment crucial to the border wars of the late third century. These were supplied by *I Adiutrix*, whose veterans had part founded the colony.⁴⁴ The two chief legions, *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica* were probably supplemented by similar detachments from other legions, during the third century crisis: a further Poetovian inscription of the time mentions a P. Aelius Aelianus as *dux* of the detachments (*uexilationes*) from four legions stationed there.⁴⁵ Fitz identifies him with the P. Aelius Aelianus who dedicated an altar to Hercules in *Ulcisia Castra* in Lower Pannonia and is recorded as *praefectus* of *Legio II Adiutrix* and *protector* of Galienus⁴⁶ (and who may have become *praeses* of Mauretania in the 270s).⁴⁷ In the third century the military capacity of Poetovio must have rivalled any town in the empire. The town was seat of the customs authorities (*publicum portorii Illyrici*), located, doubtless, in the citadel perched on the hill dominating

⁴² CIL III,4117: Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante / L(ucio) Tullio Tusco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) / curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio Rufino proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum).

⁴³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.7 (SChr 423, 52, l. 1): nihil enim differt utrum quis uexillationi, paucorum militum numero, an per eam toto exercitui loquatur.

⁴⁴ CIL III 4057 (= ILS 2462 = AIJ no. 373): C(aius) Cornelius C(ai) f(ilius) Pom(ptina) Dert(ona) Verus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) deduct(us) c(oloniam) T(raianam) P(oetovionem) mission(e) agr(aria) II milit(avit) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) annor(um) L. H(ic) s(itus) e(st). Test(amento) fier(i) ius(sit). Heres C(aius) Billienius Vitalis f(aciendum) c(uravit)..

⁴⁵ Ael(ius?) (?Aelian)us 9 v.e., dux (in Pannonia) ? M/L III *militēs leg(ionum) iiii Pannon(icarum) qui sunt in uexil(ationibus) sub cura Aeli....i v.e. ducis* AE 1934, 223 Poetovio (Pannonia Superior). He commanded detachments drawn from the four legions of Pannonia. *PIR A 125*: Jones/ Martindale/Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*: A.D. 260-395, 18.

⁴⁶ Herculi Aug(usto) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Aelianus / praef(ectus) leg(ionis) II a/diut(ricis) protec(tor) Gallien(i) Aug(usti) n(ostri) a(gens) v(ices) leg(ati) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito): Jones/ Martindale/Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*: A.D. 260-395, 18.

⁴⁷ Aelius Aelianus, vir perfectissimus, praeses provinciae Mauritaniae, Diis Patriis Mauris et Conservatoribus, ob prostratam gentem Bavarum Mesegneitisium praedasque omnes et familias eorum votum solvit, viii 21486 = D 4495, Zuccabar, Mauretania: Jones/ Martindale/Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*: A.D. 260-395, 18 = CIL VIII 21 486 = ILS 4495.

the Drava,⁴⁸ likely in origin a Celtic earthwork.⁴⁹ Poetovio was itself a fortress, guarding the entrance to Italy, a concrete symbol of the might of the Whore of Babylon.

The colony was the centre of an agricultural region, prosperous in the late third century. Quarries were still worked for precious stones, and may have been the seat of the financial procurator for mining metal ore in Upper Pannonia.⁵⁰ The refining of metal used in votive statues, such as found at *Aquae Iasae*, may have influenced the use of the rare metallurgical term *aurichalum*, *copper ore* or *alloy*, in the exegetical motif of smelting, which appears in Victorinus.⁵¹ The city underwent restoration and change after invasion; workshops manufactured containers and terracotta lamps; factories, vases, bronze brooches and woolwork.⁵² It was a source of luxury goods.⁵³ However, the hoards of silver denarii discovered in Poetovio are thought less likely to reflect an authentic economy than its large military presence and, perhaps, a regional trafficking in slaves.⁵⁴ The merchandise of Italy and Gaul (*via* Aquilea), the Rhineland and northern provinces flowed through the customs authority of Poetovio, though by the end of the third century, most traffic is again with the east, *via* the Danube basin.⁵⁵

1.2.2. Society and religion in Poetovio in the late third century

⁴⁸ Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 211; Pavan, “La provincia romana della Pannonia superiore”, *Atti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 352 (ser. 8, memorie 6), 1955, 460. L. c. Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.1, n.30.

⁴⁹ Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan Provinces*, 575.

⁵⁰ Hirt, *Imperial mines and quarries in the Roman world: organizational aspects*, 27, 162 n. 286. Beck, *Mithraism since Franz Cumont*, in: *ANRW* 2.17.4 (1984). 2040.

⁵¹ Concerning the pure brazen feet of the “statue” of the son of man: Victorinus *Poetouionensis*, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 4): *Pedes eius similes aurichalco tamquam in fornace conflate. Orichalcum*, Lewis and Short.

⁵² Pavan, *La provincia romana della Pannonia superiore*, in: *Atti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 352 (ser. 8, memorie 6), 1955, 440-445. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 14; 2, 1.1 n. 34

⁵³ Berislav Schlejbal, *Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae)*, 21, http://biblio.irb.hr/datoteka/235573.SITULA_-_Aquae_Balissae.pdf (last accessed 14/09/2010).

⁵⁴ Wilkes, *The Danubian and Balkan Provinces*, 582.

⁵⁵ Saria, *Poetovio, c. 1182-1183. Mocsy, Pannonia*, in: *PW Suppl.* 9 (1962), c. 708-710. L. c. Dulaey, *Sur l’Apocalypse*, 17 n. 3.

The bulk of the colony would have originally consisted in veterans settled by Trajan from 103.⁵⁶ Keppie speculates that veterans were given the choice of a *missio agraria*, to settle land, or a *missio nummaria*, to found businesses.⁵⁷ Barracks and storehouses bordered the river. Three arterial roads crossed the whole, delineated by graves. The forum, baths, and a building that *may* have been a Christian basilica,⁵⁸ stood on the northern bank of the Drava. Poetovio possessed temples of the Capitoline gods, a number of Roman, or Romanized, gods, the imperial cult and sanctuaries of Mithras (four in all), Isis and Cybele.⁵⁹ The cult of *Nutrices* was likely of Celtic or indigenous origin.⁶⁰

1.2.3. The colonial population

Dulaey speculates that veterans of *XV Apollinaris*, returning to Carnuntum in 72, after ten years in Syria, where they had participated in suppressing the first Jewish revolt,⁶¹ could have been a source, or context, for Judeo-Christian traditions. The legend of the miraculous rain under Marcus Aurelius implies Christian soldiers were stationed in Pannonia.⁶² In any case, Pannonia boasted three full legions, of diverse origin.⁶³ Imperial functionaries surely included members of the *Classis Fuluia Pannonica*, some of whom may have been Christian; while merchants likely included Syrians, common in Aquileia.⁶⁴ By the third century, they and many

⁵⁶ CIL III 4057: v. s.

⁵⁷ Keppie, *Legions and veterans: Roman army papers 1971-2000*, 311.

⁵⁸ Lengyel/Radan, *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, 263.

⁵⁹ Saria, Poetovio, in: RE 21.1 (1951), 1182-83. Will, *Les Fidèles de Mithra à Poetovio*, in: Miroslavljević/Rendić-Miočević/Suić (eds.), *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua: zbornik radova posvećen Grgi Novaku, 633-638*. L. c. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 17, n. 3; Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 14; 2, 2.1 n. 37.

⁶⁰ Kos, *Pre-Roman divinities of the eastern Alps and Adriatic*, 153.

⁶¹ Maxfield, *The military decorations of the Roman army*, 190.

⁶² Tertullianus, *Ad Scap.* 4 (CC SL 4, 1130, l. 35): Marcus quoque aurelius in germanica expeditione christianorum militum orationibus ad deum factis imbres in siti illa impetrauit. Cf. Eusebius Caesariensis, *Hist. Eccl.* V 5.1-2 (p. 445-446 Lake). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 15; 2, 1.1 n. 48; Kovács, *Marcus Aurelius' rain miracle and the Marcomannic wars*, 87.

⁶³ Pavan, *La provincia romana della Pannonia superiore*, in: AANLM 352 (ser. 8, mem. 6; 1955), 510-533.

⁶⁴ Zovatto, *Antichi monumenti Cristiani di Iulia Concordia Sagittaria (Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana 2.8)*, 24-25. Brusin, *Aspetti della vita economica e sociale di Aquileia*, in: AAAS 1 (1972), 21 (inscription of the son of a veteran of Beirut). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 15; 2, 1.1 n. 49. Collar notes the presence of

Jews had settled in Pannonia. As part of the department of Aquilea, Poetovio was culturally influenced from Illyricum and Asia Minor. Dulaey speculates that, if Victorinus (a common name in Pannonian inscriptions)⁶⁵ was primarily culturally Greek (as Jerome implies), he may have descended from an oriental immigrant, profiting culturally and linguistically from Poetovio's cosmopolitan society.⁶⁶ Also possible is that he was a native Illyrian, speaking a native dialect,⁶⁷ able to read Greek, and his Latin a pigeon vernacular, acquired from soldiers of mixed background in the garrison town, perhaps reflected in his writings.

Surely oriental Christians, including freed slaves of prominent masters, evangelized. But Poetovio, like Pannonia, was likely as much Christianized from the north, including northern Italy –via Aquilea–, as from the east.⁶⁸ The first names in Pannonian Christian hagiography are as often Latin as Greek. But by the late third century, the church of Poetovio spoke a Latin close to that of the *Vetus Latina*.⁶⁹ By Victorinus' time, it was evidently well established, at every level,⁷⁰ since it now had a bishop.⁷¹ However, beyond Victorinus' work, Poetovian Christian evidence is later. Was Christianity first established in Poetovio under Gallienus;⁷² or earlier, under the Severini? The first evidence is martyrs' names from Diocletian's persecution, specifically the priests and bishops from spring 304.⁷³

Syrians in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, and that, despite dedications found there, Praetorium Latobicorum could not have constituted a main diffusion centre. Chief among candidates for this she holds Poetovio: Collar, *Networks and Religious Innovation in the Roman Empire*, 117

⁶⁵ Haussleiter, CSEL 49, xiii. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 14; 2, 1.1 n. 46.

⁶⁶ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 15.

⁶⁷ So thought Haussleiter: Haussleiter, *Victorinus*, in: RE, 615, I. 50-616, I. 3. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 1.1 n. 54.

⁶⁸ Occidental influences, including those from Africa, likely came *via* Aquilea. Speculating that thence came Alexandrian influences is dubious: Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 370-371.

⁶⁹ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 15.

⁷⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 3.3 (SChr 423, 62, I. 1-2): *homines locupletes, apud quos in cubiculo scripturae quidem tractantur...praediti fiducia litteraturae*; 3.2 (SChr 423, 60, I. 1): *humiles in saeculo et rustici in scripturas*.

⁷¹ Mocsy, *Pannonia*, in: PW, Suppl. 9 (1962), c. 750-751. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 221-222; 223-224; *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 18 n. 3.

⁷² Mocsy, *Pannonia*, in: PW, Suppl. 9 (1962), c. 750. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes*, 66. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 14-15. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 18 n. 4.

⁷³ Bratoz, *Viktorin Ptyjski in njegova doba*, in: AES 8 (1986), 355-368. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 15; 2, 1.1 n. 43.

2.1. Victorinus, exegete

Wholly absent from Eusebius, but mentioned by Jerome twenty two times,⁷⁴ Victorinus was widely known in antiquity: at Rome by Ambrosiaster, who cites Victorinus' earlier Latin biblical quotations (366-378);⁷⁵ by Helvidius, oddly, as allegedly refuting Mary's perpetual virginity;⁷⁶ by Patrick (without crediting him), who likely borrowed from his *Regula Fidei*,⁷⁷ and Augustine;⁷⁸ in Northern Italy, to Nepotian, nephew of Heliodorus, friend of Jerome (393-397);⁷⁹ in African Milevium, by Optatus, regarding an *Aduersus haereses*.⁸⁰ Victorinus even has a follower (*sectator*), at Braga, Spain, in a certain Avitus, as a bastion against Priscillianism, although, allegedly, somewhat inferior and contrary to Origen (414).⁸¹

In the fifth century, a pseudo-Hieronymic text cites Victorinus, while the *Degree of Pseudo-Gelasius* classifies "opuscula Victorini Petabionensis" as apocryphal, doubtless for his millenarianism.⁸² In the sixth century, likely both Cassiodorus⁸³ and the author of *De monogrammate*⁸⁴ know Victorinus, as must the commentators on Revelation who use him without citation: Caesarius of Arles,⁸⁵ Primasius and Apringius.⁸⁶

⁷⁴ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 18.

⁷⁵ Ambrosiaster, Com. in Rom. 5.14 (CSEL 81.1, 177, l. 24-25): nam hodie quae in Latinis reprehenduntur codicibus, sic inveniuntur a veteribus posita, Tertulliano et Victorino et Cypriano.

⁷⁶ Hieronymus, Adu. Helu. 17 (PL 23, col. 211, l. 22): de uictorino uero id assero, quod et de euangelistis, fratres eum dixisse domini, non filios mariae.

⁷⁷ Oulton, The Credal Statements of St. Patrick, 3f.

⁷⁸ Augustinus Hipponensis, De doctr. Christ. II 40 (CC SL 32, l. 29-31): Nonne aspiciamus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto Cyprianus doctor suauius et martyr beatissimus? Quanto Lactantius? Quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius, ut de uiuis taceam?

⁷⁹ Hieronymus, Epist. 60.10 (CSEL 54, 561, l. 15): sic minucius felix, ita uictorinus, in hunc modum est locutus arnobius.

⁸⁰ Optatus Mileuitanus, Con. Parm. Donat. II 9.2 (SChr 413, l. 7): Marcion, Praxeas, Sabellius, Valentinus et ceteri usque ad cataphrygas temporibus suis a Victorino Petauionensi et Zephyrino Urbico et a Tertulliano Carthaginiensi et ab aliis adsertoribus ecclesiae catholicae superati sunt.

⁸¹ Although somewhat inferior and contrary to Origen: Orosius, De error. Prisc. et Orig. (CC SL 49, l. 75).

⁸² Decr. magis. Grat. 1.15.3, (text. (pal.), 73 (p. 39, l. 22 Friedberg)): Opuscula Victorini Pictauiensis, apocrypha.

⁸³ Cassiodorus, Complex. in Apoc. 32.21.19 (PL 70, 128, l. 6): Cuius platea mundissimo auro constrata resplendet. Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.1 (SChr 423, 116, l. 1-5): ciuitas sancta, quam dicit descensuram de caelo quadratam...auro mundo, id est dilucido, similem. Cristallo, inquit, plateam eius stratam.

⁸⁴ Morin, Notes sur Victorin du Pettau, JTS 8 (1906), 456; 459.

⁸⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 356-358.

In the seventh century, the library of Isidore of Seville holds Victorinus' work,⁸⁷ while the Greek *De uiris illustribus* mentions him.⁸⁸ Jerome's mention of Victorinus is referenced by Raban Maur in the eighth century;⁸⁹ while Autpert Ambrose's⁹⁰ and Beatus' of Liéban⁹¹ eighth century references to Victorinus are reprised by Alcuin in later Caroligian times.⁹²

Thus Victorinus is mentioned at least forty one times in antiquity.⁹³

Jerome's five, early (pre-393), detailed allusions assume (*quasi*-)orthodox approval. Jerome sets "our Victorinus" among the Latin pillars of the church,⁹⁴ perhaps implying martyrdom, as well as founder status. Despite his reservations on stylistic grounds (expressed later), the Stridonian even edits Victorinus for an acquaintance's reading.⁹⁵

Victorinus' works are mainly exegetical. Jerome writes: "Victorinus Petabionensis episcopus non aeque Latine ut Graece noverat. Vnde opera grandia sensibus uiliora uidentur compositione uerborum. Sunt autem haec: commentarii in Genesim, in Exodum, in Leviticum, in Esaiaem, in Ezechiel, in Abacuc, in Ecclesiasten, in Canticum canticorum, in Apocalypsim Iohannis, Adversum omnes haereses et multa alia."⁹⁶ Jerome likely had read them all,⁹⁷ touching, as they do, the Law, prophets, Wisdom and New Testament (though not, interestingly, the *histories*).⁹⁸

⁸⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 360-362.

⁸⁷ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 353.

⁸⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 16.

⁸⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 16.

⁹⁰ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 364.

⁹¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 362-363.

⁹² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 365.

⁹³ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 15-16.

⁹⁴ Hieronymus, Epist. 18A.6 (CC SL 54, 82, l. 10): uictorinus noster; Epist. 36.16 (CC SL 54, 283, l. 6): uictorinus noster; Epist. 49.19 (CC SL 54, 384, l. 10): nostrorum quoque tertullianus, cyprianus, uictorinus, lactantius, hilarius.

⁹⁵ Hieronymus, Praef. in Orig. Hom. XXXIX in Luc. 3 (A) (CB 49, 2, l. 6): opuscula, e quibus etiam si parua carperem dignum aliquid memoriae scriberetur. On the sense of *commentarios* that appears, cf. Doignon, Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil, 162-164. For *opusculum* see Hieronymus, Com. in euan. Matth. praef. (CC SL 77, l. 91): opuscula, e quibus etiam si parua carperem dignum aliquid memoriae scriberetur. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 16-17; 2, 1.1 n. 73.

⁹⁶ Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 74 (p. 40, l. 27 Richardson).

⁹⁷ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 333-338.

⁹⁸ Though perhaps included within Jerome's "multa alia".

Eleven years before *De uiris*, Jerome quoted *In Genesim* to Pope Damasus, implying it used Hippolytus (Dulaey importantly speculates that Jerome, pressed for time, while claiming to cite Hippolytus, *actually* uses Victorinus).⁹⁹ Isidore of Seville also cites Victorinus on Genesis.¹⁰⁰ A *Liber Victorini in Leuiticum* appears in a library catalogue of the monastery of Saint-Nazaire of Lorsch,¹⁰¹ and there are Levitical exegeses in *De fabrica mundi* (twice)¹⁰² and *In Apocalypsin* (once).¹⁰³

Jerome admits consulting Victorinus for his commentary on Isaiah, especially Is. 6.6.¹⁰⁴ Expositions of Ezekiel survive in *In Apocalypsin*, which resemble those earlier of Origen and Hippolytus, and which figure among those of Jerome, chiefly of Ez. 31.5 concerning Babylon/Rome and/or Antichrist.¹⁰⁵ Jerome likely employed Victorinus, unacknowledged, in

⁹⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 51-67.

¹⁰⁰ Isidorus Hispalensis, Quaest. in Vet. Test., in Gen. 25.30 (PL 83, col. 264, l. 10).

¹⁰¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 16.

¹⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): septem anni remittendi debiti, lucerna cum septem orificiis (Leu. 24-25).

¹⁰³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 15 (SChr 423, 112, l. 1): Semper enim ira Dei percutit populum contumacem septem plagis, id est perfecte, ut in Leuitico dicit, quae in ultimo futura sunt, cum ecclesia de medio exierit (Leu. 26.21); cf. Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 12): Denique sanctos non ad aliud compellet nisi ad circumcisionem accipiendam (concerning Leu. 12.3), si quos poterit seducere.

¹⁰⁴ Chiefly that forceps and seraphim signify both Testaments conjoined; or even Father and Son: Hieronymus, Com. in Is., Prol. (CC SL 73, l. 82); cf. Epist. 18A.4 (CSEL 54, 78, l. 2); Epist. 18A.6 (CSEL 54, 82, l. 10); connected with Com. in Is. III 6.2 (CC SL 73, l. 61). For both seraphim as Old and New Testaments cf. also Com. in Is. III 6.2 (CC SL 73, l. 64): quidam latinorum etc. Likewise predecessors' viewing the forceps of Is. 6.6 as both covenants: Hieronymus, Com. in Is. III 6.6 (CC SL 73, l. 43): quidam nostrorum etc. Victorinus' quasi-binitarianism may have borrowed Origen's heterodox exegesis of the two seraphim of Is. 6.2 as Father and Son, to be reviled in Hieronymus, Epist. 84.3 (CSEL 55, 123, l. 22). Cf. Origenes, De princ. I 3.4 (CB, 53, l. 4). Cf. Jerome may refute or confirm Victorinus' interpreting the burning coal of Is. 6.6 "ut plerique existimant": Hieronymus, Com. in Is. III 6.6 (CC SL 73, l. 15); partly reprised by Jerome: Com. in Is. XIV 56.8 (CC SL 73A, l. 23). Cf. Jerome's hexameral understanding of the seraphim's six wings: Com. in Is. III 3.6.2 (CC SL 73, l. 45).

¹⁰⁵ Jerome takes from (Origen as well as) Victorinus the identification of "Babylon" and "Assur" with Pharaoh, Antichrist and his minions; from the latter more the giant cedar's of Babylon representing might, main and multitude: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 14.2 (SChr 423, 110, l. 110): Hanc quidem Babylonem propter diffusionem populorum dicit in Apocalypsi et in Esaia; Ezechiel autem Sor eam nominauit. Cf. Hieronymus, Com. in Zach. III 11 (CC SL 76A, l. 29): hunc locum ...ad contrarias referunt fortitudines, de quibus et in hiezechiele sub nomine assur, et pharaonis dictum sit. Further, Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 6): Ait enim Esaia: Ecce Assur cypressus in monte Libano. <"Assur", deprimens, "cypressus" excelsus ramosus, id est populus multus; "in monte Libano">: in regno regnorum; formosus in germinibus, id est fortis in exercitibus. Aqua, inquit, nutriuit illum, id est multa milia hominum, quae subiecta erunt illi. Abyssus auxit illum, id est ructuauit eundem; is echoed in Cf. Hieronymus, Com. in Zach. III 11 (CC SL 76A, l. 29): ecce assur cypressus in libano...quae tam de assur, quam de pharaone dicuntur, uel ad contrarias fortitudines, uel ad superbos quosque et principes dici arbitrantur; Lib. interpr. Hebr. nom. (CC SL 72, 2, l. 21): assur dirigens; Com. in Ez. X 31 (CC SL 75, l. 206): quae plerique in consummatione mundi futura intellegunt, et regem pharao...comparari regi assyriorum potentissimo, id est antichristo; quod si ille corruerit, utique alii rectores tenebrarum istarum et principes mundi facilius corruant. Cf. (et re Ez. 28.2) Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. X

his commentary on Habbakuk (389-392), since one interpretation resembles that of *In Apocalypsin*.¹⁰⁶ Jerome consulted Victorinus for his commentary on Ecclesiastes of 388,¹⁰⁷ as is evinced by an exposition which betrays prior Origenian and eschatological/millenarian influence (even as does another *Ecclesiastical* exposition in *In Apocalypsin*),¹⁰⁸ and much else of the Poetovian.¹⁰⁹ Of Victorinus' nine known works, eight are on biblical books expounded by Origen, two by Hippolytus. Jerome implicitly defends Victorinus' using Origen's more (*quasi*-)orthodox typological interpretations.¹¹⁰ Jerome also mentions Victorinus concerning his commentary on Matthew, in 398 (as does Cassiodorus, c. 560),¹¹¹

31 (CC SL 75, l. 309): ut assur intellegatur antichristus; X 31 (CC SL 75, l. 129): per quae nonnulli intellegunt non de rege dici assyrio, sed de contraria fortitudine quae in sermone tyri inter cherubim dicitur esse generata (cf. Ezek 28, 12-16); VII Praef. (CC SL 75, l. 26): sed et graecorum commentarios fratrum tantum uoce cognoscimus. Clearly alluding to a commentary on, or compilation of, prophetic texts drawn from Ezekiel elsewhere, the Poetovian takes their essential meaning as read: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 4); 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 12).

¹⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 15): Hoc tenet ecclesia catholica et antea praedicata et postea consummata et merito uolat et tollitur a terra, uiuum animal. "uiuum animal" is both *Christian doctrine*, predicated on Old Testament prophecy, and *the church*. Cf. Hieronymus, Com. in Abac. II 3 (CC SL 76A, l. 112): sunt qui duo animalia, duo intellegant testamenta, nouum et uetus, quae uere animantia sint, quae uitalia, quae spirent et in quorum medio dominus cognoscatur; Com. in Abac. II 3 (CC SL 76A, l. 112): sunt qui duo animalia, duo intellegant testamenta, nouum et uetus, quae uere animantia sint, quae uitalia, quae spirent et in quorum medio dominus cognoscatur. in medio annorum notum facies. Cf. Origenes, De princ. I 3.4 (CB 53, l. 4); and Hieronymus, Com. in Is., Prol. (CC SL 73, 3, l. 82), where the seraphim of Is. 6.6 are so interpreted, as reprised by Jerome: Hieronymus, Epist. 84.,3 (CSEL 55, 123, l. 22). Hieronymus, Com. in Abac. II 3 (CC SL 76A, l. 107). Cf. also Hippolytus Romanus, who so associates the cluster of grapes on pole between the two spies to Canaan of Num. 13.23 with Hab. 3.2 (ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ), considered as a prophecy of Christ hung between the two thieves. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 65-67; 2, 1.4 n. 116f.

¹⁰⁷ Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 74 (v. s.); Com. in Eccl. 4.1 (CC SL 72, l. 218-242); 4.7 (CC SL 72, l. 105); 4.9 (CC SL 72, l. 135). Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.1 (SChr 423, 86, l. 14). Cf. also Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Metaphr. in Eccl. Sal. (PG 10, 1016, l. 36); echoed in Hieronymus, Com. in Eccl. 12.3 (CC SL 72, l. 126).

¹⁰⁸ Jerome writes Victorinus publicized Origen and Hippolytus to Latin readers: Hieronymus, Com. in Eccl. 4.13 (CC SL 72, l. 218). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 17-18, n. 76-77; 81-89.

¹⁰⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 51-57; 61-63.

¹¹⁰ In 396, in a letter to Vigilantius, Jerome defends the right of the Western Church to use the good in Origen: Hieronymus, Epist. 61.2 (CSEL 54, 577, l.18). Jerome may be distinguishing Victorinus from the Latin occidentals proper, classifying him, originally anyway, as ethnically Greek. Jerome defends his, and implicitly, Victorinus', using Origen: Hieronymus, Epist. adu. Ruf. 14 (SL79, l. 6). Jerome perhaps protests too much, since these did not so much translate as exploit Origen, as Jerome later clarifies: Epist. 84.7 (CSEL 55, 130, l. 6). A study of the *In Apocalypsin* and *De Fabrica mundi* confirms this view. Augustine would write that such as Victorinus despoiled the for his wisdom the *Aegyptus*, likely a reference to the Alexandrian Origen: Augustinus Hipponensis, De doct. Christ. II 40 (CC SL 32, l. 29-32). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 6.2 n. 41.

¹¹¹ Cassiodorus, Inst. I 7.1 (p. 28, l. 4 ed. Mynors): Mattheum...de quo et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit (the same expression appears about a commentary on Ecclesiastes: Instit. I 5.3 (p. 24, l. 1 ed. Mynors): de quo libro et Victorinus, ex oratore episcopus, nonnulla disseruit (though "ex oratore" suggests a conflation with Marius Victorinus)).

and counter-cites him against Helvidius.¹¹² Matthaean exegeses appear in *De fabrica mundi* as well as *In Apocalypsin*, and further fragments may survive in Chromatius and Gregory of Elvira.¹¹³ Most exegeses are figurative and spiritual, affirming continuity and unity of Old and New Testaments.¹¹⁴ Optatus of Milevium alludes to Victorinus' *Aduersus haereses* (364), implying the author's (*quasi*-)orthodoxy, as does a pseudo-Hieronymic text (430-450).¹¹⁵

2.2. Victorinus' extant works

Victorinus' three extant works are the *Chronological Fragment* (untitled), *De Fabrica Mundi* and *In Apocalypsin*.

2.2.1. Chronological Fragment

Lines on the chronology of the Incarnation, as well as several commentaries, are attributed to a Victorinus in an eleventh century manuscript of Bobbio, preserved in the Library of Ambrose of Milan.¹¹⁶ A fifth century Paduan manuscript attributes another version to

¹¹² Hieronymus, *Adu. Helu.* 17 (PL 23, 201; 197; 199). Et cf. Hieronymus, Praef. in Orig. Hom. XXXIX in Luc. 3 (CB 49, 2, l. 6).

¹¹³ Chromatius and Gregory both treat Mt 17.4, the former explaining the three tents of the Transfiguration as the three types of accommodation of the blessed in the world to come, the latter as the three decks of Noah's ark: Chromatius. *Tract. in Matth.* 54A (CC SL 9A, l. 283); et v. CC SL 9A Suppl., l. 635). Gregory of Elvira seems to have been acquainted with Victorinus' treatment of the number seven in *De fabrica mundi* (Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1)): Gregorius Illiberitanus, *De arc. Noe* (CC SL 69, l. 34-59); as well as Victorinus' expounding of the seven spirits of Is. 11.2-3 (Com. in Apoc. 14.2 (SChr 423, 46, l. 6-9)); Gregorius Illiberitanus, *De arc. Noe* (CC SL 69, l. 60). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 63-67.

¹¹⁴ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 20.

¹¹⁵ Optatus Mileuitanus, *Con. Parmen. Donat.* I 9.2 (SChr 412, l. 7); Pseudo-Hieronymus, *Epist.* 37.7 (PL 30, 272). The author probably wrote in Southern Italy 430-450. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 36; 2, 2.2 n. 122; 126

¹¹⁶ *Bibl. Ambros.* H 150 f, fol. 137v-138r. L. c. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 134.

Victorinus *via* Jerome.¹¹⁷ Dulaey maintains that Jerome did indeed retain the more universal substance of the Poetovian's interpretation, and that specific dates of the Ascension, birth of John Baptist and the Annunciation of the Bobbio text, absent from the Paduan, are interpolated.¹¹⁸ The Bobbian author explains, like the Poetovian, the typological significance of the dates of the events of Christ's life. Interpreting dates thus is common in antiquity, but the fragment assigns the annunciation and resurrection the same date (25th March/VIII Kal. Apr.), as does the *De fabrica mundi* (ch. 9), also attributed to Victorinus Poetoviensis. Such similarities strongly suggest common authorship.¹¹⁹

Further, the *Chronological fragment* maintains Jesus was born under the consulship of Sulpicius Camerinus (begun 9 CE) and C. Poppaeus Sabinus, and died under that of Valerius Messalla Corvinus with emperor Nero (his third consulship) in 58 CE. Thus Jesus was forty nine when he died, that is, a week of weeks (a *Shavuoth* or *Pentecost*) of years. Jesus' lifespan attains "old age" (*occasus*, after forty six years), and comprises its full seven stages, of seven years each, seven being the number of the humanity of the Word.¹²⁰ The assertion of forty nine years for the age of Jesus scarcely occurs outside the fragment, perhaps because too obviously contrived.¹²¹ The dating of Jesus' birth to year 9 CE appears first among the *Alogi*, who also rejected both Gospel and Apocalypse of John(s), according to Epiphanius of

¹¹⁷ Padua, Bibl. Uniu. 1473, fol. 164. Von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri*, 136-137. Morin, *Notes sur Victorin de Poetovio*, in: *JTS* 7 (1905-1906), 458-459.

¹¹⁸ v. Dulaey, *Le fragment chronologique de Victorin de Poetovio et la culture greque aux confins de l'Empire dans la seconde moitié du IIIe siècle*, in: *SEA* 42 (1993), 127-145.

¹¹⁹ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 21.

¹²⁰ v. Dulaey, *Le fragment*, 140-141.

¹²¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Frag. Chron.* (SChr 423, 134, l. 2-7). Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 22.

Salamis, in Asia Minor, from about 170 CE.¹²² Jesus' living into his forties appears in Irenaeus, which belief he also derives from Asia Minor.¹²³

The *Fragment* purports to recount a chronology of the life of Jesus that Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem (early third century), made from “exemplaribus apostolorum” – *transcripts*,¹²⁴ allegedly of the apostles themselves. The dating of the passion to April 25th corresponds to an older Quartodecimanian tradition which Epiphanius says was current in Cappadocia, whence came, originally, Alexander himself.¹²⁵ Contemporaneously, Clement of Alexandria and Irenaeus were compiling diverse traditions concerning the sub-apostolic age, before they were lost.¹²⁶ Thus it is entirely possible Victorinus indeed transcribed authentic traditions, having (more significantly) visited Jerusalem, attracted by its libraries. Could this explain his acquaintance with the allegory of Origen, who had abode at *Caesarea Maritima*, provincial capital of *Syria Palaestina*, and that of other Greek exegetes?¹²⁷

2.2.2. De fabrica mundi

2.2.2.a. Authenticity and literary genre

¹²² Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. 4 (p. 158, l. 19 Holl 1): τριακοστὴ πρώτη ἄλογοι οἱ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου μὴ δεχόμενοι. L. c. Dulaey, *Le fragment*, 135-136. Cf. Irenaeus, who says similarly of the Montanists: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.96 (SChr 211, l. 245).

¹²³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 22.5 (SChr 294, l. 134). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 39.

¹²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. Chron. (SChr 423, 134, l. 2). Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *exemplar* I. A., 682.

¹²⁵ Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. 27-28 (p. 245, l. 5-246, l. 1 Holl 2). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 136-137; 2 2.5 n. 78.

¹²⁶ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 39.

¹²⁷ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 22-23.

First editors Henry Wharton and William Cave attributed this anonymous tenth century text, preserved in London, *via* St Augustine's in Canturbury,¹²⁸ to Victorinus of Poetovo.¹²⁹ It is millenarian,¹³⁰ and converges with four exegeses of the *In Apocalypsin*.¹³¹ It probably antedates the commentary, given that its exegesis of the twenty four elders of Apoc. 4.4¹³² is traditional, that of the commentary more evolved.¹³³ The manuscript title *Tractatus* might suggest a sermon in ecclesiastical Latin,¹³⁴ but the text evinces little oral style and few edifying themes. The work's constituting a unity does not exclude its being the beginning of the *Commentary on Genesis* of which Jerome writes, for a commentary may be composed of several discrete parts. However it does not appear to be a commentary on *Genesis* in particular, while Jerome's term "genesis" is unlikely to have had the mere sense of "creation".¹³⁵

2.2.2.b. A type of Hexameron?

Jerome seems to have regarded the text as a treaty on the number seven, as are certain passages in *Ad Fortunatum* of Cyprian.¹³⁶ It could be a kind *hexameron*, focusing on the archetype of the primordial week, and the seventh day, rather than the six days of mundane creation. However *hexamerones* before Victorinus differ from those afterward, such as the *De*

¹²⁸ Lambeth Palace MS 414, vol. I.16, f. 70-74a:

<http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk:8080/Archives/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqSearch=RefNo==MSS/414'&dsqCmd=Show.tcl> (last accessed 27.11.2010).

¹²⁹ Cave/Wharton, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria*, 73.

¹³⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 11): *ut uerum illud et iustum sabbatum septimo miliario annorum obseruaretur.*

¹³¹ Haussleiter, CSEL 49, xxvii-xxx. L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 24-26

¹³² Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 10 (SChr 423, 148, l. 6).

¹³³ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 23.

¹³⁴ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *tractatus* B. 2., 1882.

¹³⁵ Daniélou considers this treaty an integral whole: Daniélou, *Les origines du christianisme latin*, 114-116.

¹³⁶ Hieronymus, *Epist.* 49.19 (CSEL 54, 384, l. 10). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 28; 2, 2.2 n. 67

opificio of Lactantius, or those of Basil and Ambrose.¹³⁷ The earlier tradition culminates, in detail and at length, in the crowning creation of man in God's image. They ignore arithmology, or the archetypal value of the primordial week, which characterise *De fabrica mundi*.¹³⁸ A traditional *hexameron* stops at the sixth day, whereas the seventh, Sabbath day *only* concerns Victorinus. If Hippolytus' work on the *six* days of the creation largely inspired Ambrose's, it likely little influenced Victorinus.

However, Anastasius Sinaïta (late sixth century) derives another hexameral tradition from the post-apostolic Papias, Pantenus, Ammonius and Clement of Alexandria, that the work of six days represents the complex of Christ and Church.¹³⁹ Papias' inclusion among Alexandrians may imply a longstanding Hellenistic Jewish (oral?) tradition.¹⁴⁰ Philonian arithmology in *De opificio mundi* probably exploits the Pythagorean sort.¹⁴¹ The substance of any of these Victorinus likely only knew indirectly, if at all, *via* Irenaeus and Clement. second-third century Candidus wrote a *Hexameron*,¹⁴² while Melito of Sardis' work *On the Creation* does not survive, though Dulaey speculates it was Alexandrian in outlook.¹⁴³ Anastasius Sinaïta records Justin treated the sixth day, *qua sixth*, as the completion of man's mind and five senses.¹⁴⁴ Man is the completion of creation, at the sixth hour of the sixth

¹³⁷ Hieronymus, Epist. 84.7 (CSEL 55, 130, l. 8).

¹³⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 1 (SChr 423, 138, l. 7).

¹³⁹ Anastasius Sinaïtus, Hexam. VI 1 (OCA 278, I, l. 321-325) (= Papias, *fr.* IX). Clement interprets the sixth, seventh and eighth days whereby it is the eighth day that is truly the Christian Sabbath/seventh day, and the seventh is only yet the sixth, and therefore a day of work: Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 16 (38.6; l. 5-6 Stählin).

¹⁴⁰ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 27.

¹⁴¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.2 n. 63. In the second-third century Hebrew Jewish work, the *Sepher Yetzirah* or *Book of Creation*, the seven double letters of the Hebrew alphabet find expression in the septennials of creation, week and planets: Seph. Yetz. 1,4; 4,3-4 (p. 16; 21 Westcott); Gershom Scholem, *The Name of God and the Linguistic Theory of Kabbala*, 67. Et cf. Le Deaut, *La nuit pascale*, 214f. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 27; 2, 1.2 n. 58-63

¹⁴² Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. V 27 (SChr 41, l. 7): τὰ τε Κανδίδου εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον.

¹⁴³ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. IV 26 (SChr 31, l. 7): περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 27.

¹⁴⁴ Anastasius Sinaïtus, Hexam. VII 3.1 (OCA 278, l. 170-174).

day,¹⁴⁵ even as Christ appears on the sixth Day (Millennium) of history,¹⁴⁶ and suffers at the sixth hour.¹⁴⁷ This even as Christ, man and God, comprises six parts: the sextuple complex of the four elements, that compose all living flesh, and the sun and moon, signifying, variously, Christ and the church; Adam and Eve;¹⁴⁸ an intelligent soul and divinity. The gnostic Marcus had said similarly, according to Irenaeus.¹⁴⁹

2.2.2.c. The numerology of the *De fabrica mundi*

Victorinus omits the first three days of creation, even as Philo holds four as the first number worthy of detailed treatment.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the number three holds no interest for Victorinus whatsoever, making no explicit symbolic appearance in his extant works.¹⁵¹ Thus the *De fabrica mundi* proceeds from the beginning of creation, when is created light, replete with the twelve hours of day and night respectively,¹⁵² straight to the fourth day, when are created sun, moon and stars, by which all time is counted,¹⁵³ and its significance. For Ambrose, the fourth

¹⁴⁵ Anastasius Sinaitus, Hexam. VII (OCA 278, l. 96-97).

¹⁴⁶ Anastasius Sinaitus, Hexam. VII (OCA 278, l. 154).

¹⁴⁷ Anastasius Sinaitus, Hexam. VII (OCA 278, l. 228-230).

¹⁴⁸ Anastasius Sinaitus, Hexam. IV (OCA 278, l. 650-705). This echoes echoing Philo's stipulating four as the perfect and six the generative numbers.

¹⁴⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 14.5 (SChr 264, l. 127-145). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 27-28, n. 53-66.

¹⁵⁰ Philo Iudaeus, De opif. mund. 49-52 (p. 45-49 Schwickerti). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 27; I, 2 n. 77.

¹⁵¹ Perhaps necessitating qualifying of Dulaey's classifying Victorinus as trinitarian, albeit not quite binitarian (Bruce, The Earliest Latin Commentary on the Apocalypse, in: EQ 10 (1938): 358; Oulton, The Credal Statements of St. Patrick, 14; 16) either. Both Hanson and Dulaey think Victorinus' was a poorly evolved theology of the Spirit, Hanson that he was virtually subordinationist: Hanson, The Doctrine of the Trinity Achieved, in: SJT 38 (1983), 36: 51. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 234-235.

¹⁵² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 2 (SChr 423, 138, l. 1-4).

¹⁵³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 2 (SChr 423, 138, l. 8-10); cf. Tract. de fabr. mund. 10, (SChr 423, 148, l. 1-10); Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70-72, l. 24-33).

day is the fulchrum of the week, and perhaps for Victorinus too: on that day is completed the material world and historical time,¹⁵⁴ before the coming of created life.¹⁵⁵

2.2.2.d. Fourth day of the week/*Tetras*, its significance as a fast day

But Victorinus' examination of the number four / fourth day of the week is premised on answering a very specific liturgical question: why it is necessary to fast on the fourth day of the week (*tetras*). "Tetras" is repeated four times in all: the introduction asks why (*quare*) fast on the fourth day,¹⁵⁶ and the conclusion answers with sundry reasons (*ob, ideo*).¹⁵⁷

Superpositio (the prolonged fast) recurs, like *tetras*, from introduction to conclusion, delimiting the lesson.¹⁵⁸ Dulaey discerns a tripartite argument unfolding about a partly chiasmic middle, on the theme of *Christum Dominum filium Dei*.¹⁵⁹

In part one, after the introduction, Victorinus firstly treats *four* as the number of the material world subject to time:

2.2.2.d.i. the cosmic tetrad, comprising

¹⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 2 (SChr 423, 138, l. 6): Quarto die fecit duo luminaria in caelo, maius et minus, ut alterum praeesset diei, alterum nocti - solis et lunae -, cetera que sidera posuit in caelo ut lucerent super terram et discernerent tempora et annos et menses et dies et horas per stationes.

¹⁵⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 4 (SChr 423, 140, l. 5-6). Perhaps the centrality of four in the number seven is implied in the centrality of the four elements in material creation, but this is not explicit. Cf. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De Abr. II 9.65 (CSEL 32, 1, 619, l. 15): unde mysticum aliquid magis requiramus, eo quod tetras omnibus numeris apta sit et radix quaedam decimae ac fundamentum, hebdomadis quoque media.

¹⁵⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 1-15).

¹⁵⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 17).

¹⁵⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 28.

¹⁵⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8).

a. matter: the four elements.

b. time: the four seasons, marked/made by the light of sun and moon and stars, created on the fourth day (Ch. 2). Both phrases, joined by *quoque*, repeat *tetradem faciunt*.¹⁶⁰

Part two (1. 12-18) is delineated, before and after, by “ut ex ea re longius enarrem”¹⁶¹ and a reference to what is aforesaid (“quae supra memorauimus”).¹⁶² Victorinus adduces tetrads from scripture-as-Christ the Word; and the life of Christ and the Church, in a semi-chiastic form:

2.2.2.d.ii. the tetrad of the Revelation of Christ, consisting in¹⁶³

a.i. The four creatures before the throne of God, embodying

a.ii. The four Gospels, symbolised by

b. The four rivers of Eden (proceeding from the one source),¹⁶⁴ which are also

c. The four generations (proceeding from Adam)

¹⁶⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 4-6): Mundus itaque iste ex quattuor elementis constat: igne aqua caelo terra; haec igitur quattuor elementa tetradem faciunt. Sol quoque et luna per anni spatium quattuor tempora efficiunt: ueris aestatis autumnus hiemis, et haec tempora tetradem faciunt.

¹⁶¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8).

¹⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 15).

¹⁶³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 1-13).

¹⁶⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 35).

c'. The four generations specifically from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to Moses, Moses to “usque Christum, Dominum filium Dei”, reprised by

a'. The four living creatures as individuals, in the form of man, calf, lion and eagle *i.e.* the Gospels as individual entities, reprised by

b'. The four rivers' names: Fison, Geon, Tigris and Euphrates *i.e.* as rivers different (despite a common origin).

2.2.2.d.iii. Conclusion: why *Tetras*, the day of the arrest of Christ, man and God, is a fast day¹⁶⁵

“Christus/Dominus filius Dei”, Christ the divine, is reprised by “homo/Christus Iesus auctor eorum quae supra memorauimus”, Christ the mortal author of human salvation.¹⁶⁶ Fasting is explained “ob captiuitatem eius” and “ob maiestatem operum suorum” (“operum” evoking, perhaps, the *work* of the fourth day, the completion of the material world of the four elements) as is creation of the sun, moon and stars that mark time, “<ut> tempora

¹⁶⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 15-17).

¹⁶⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8 and 17).

...salubria...laeta...tranquilla decurrant".¹⁶⁷ Thus four is the number of the world and Word, made *flesh*, in history, and *comprehensus*,¹⁶⁸ on the fourth day.¹⁶⁹

An indirect Alexandrian Jewish influence is likely, since Philo, in expounding the allegorical meaning of the fourth day of creation, had said four was the number of solidity, since the basic solid shape, the triangular pyramid, has four points; consequently it was the number of that first *comprehended* by the external senses. It was also the source of the perfect decad, since it was the sum of four and its precedents; the first square, hence the measure of justice and equality; and the *generative* number, by virtue of the four elements, created on the preceding three days,¹⁷⁰ and the seasons by which animals give birth; and the number of time itself, since it is by the luminaries that time is counted.¹⁷¹ Likewise, the cycle of four seasons, from spring onwards (when, in Judaism and Philo, the world began), represent time's arrow in iconography, pagan and Christian.¹⁷² Clement of Alexandria saw four as representing the world, whose four "feet" upon which it "walked" were the four seasons of time's motion, as

¹⁶⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 17): Itaque ob captiuitatem eius tetradem, ob maiestatis operum suorum et <ut> tempora humanitati salubria, frugibus laeta, tempestatibus tranquilla decurrant, ideo <aut stationem> aut superpositionem facimus..

¹⁶⁸ Lewis Short, Latin Dictionary, *comprehendo* I. B. 1. *arrest* I. B. 4. *conceive* II. A et B. *comprehend intellectually*, 395. Philo writes that *four*, in its capacity as the number of primal solidity, the triangular pyramid, first acquaints our perception with three dimensions: Philo Iudaeus, De opif. mund. 49 (p. 46 Schwickerti) ἤγαγεν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἡμᾶς τριχῆ διαστατοῦ σώματος τοῦ φύσει πρώτον αἰσθητοῦ.

¹⁶⁹ Dulaey says other authors conceived of Christ's baptism, his manifestation to men, as being on the fourth day, likely with analogous reasoning: Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2 n. 81.

¹⁷⁰ Fire (light: first day), water (their separation: second day); sky (second day); earth (third day). The third element is called *caelum*, not *aer*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 4): u. s..

¹⁷¹ Philo Iudaeus, De opif. mund. 51-52 (p. 47-48 Schwickerti): four is also the beginning of the perfection of the decad; 47 (p. 44-45 Schwickerti): the sum of all numbers preceding four is ten; 45 (p. 42-43 Schwickerti): the creation of the luminaries on the fourth day was the cause of the alternating of the seasons, and the coming and going of living things and the generation of faith in God as their source, not man; 60 (p. 54-55 Schwickerti): four is the number of time, hence number itself, by virtue of the heavenly bodies; a notion reflecting Platonic and Stoic discussions on the origin of time. Victorinus claims the sixteen thousand *stadia* of Apoc. 14, 20 represents the surface of the world between its four corners, since *sixteen* is the square of *four*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 14.4 (SChr 423, 112, l. 7-10): Per stadia mille sexcenta, id est per omnes mundi quattuor partes. Quaternitas est enim conquaternata, sicut in quattuor faciebus quadriformibus et rotis. Quater enim quadringenteni mille sexcenti sunt.

¹⁷² Le Deaut, La nuit pascale, 224. Daniélou, Bible et liturgie, 391; DACL, s.v. *saisons*, c. 572-582. The seasons are four Gospels: Zeno Veronensis, Tract. 1 33 (CC SL 22, l. 27). Augustine echoes Philo's belief that four is a generative number: Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 252A.1 (PL 38, 714, l. 21-29). Four is emblem of temporality, for the year is quartered; there are four biblical winds; four figures the secular, since there are four seasons or cardinal points (as also for Philo): Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 270 (PL 38, 1240, l. 18-29). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 32; 2, 1.2 n. 86.

well as the elements from which it was composed.¹⁷³ Irenaeus opposes the allegedly artificial gnostic numerical division of the year with the alleged natural one of *four* seasons, *inter alia*.¹⁷⁴ Based on Le Deaut, Dulaey says that Palestinian Judaism sees the fourth day as “the absolute beginning of the world and history.”¹⁷⁵ But she may have misread Le Deaut’s associating of the four nights by which the Palestinian Targum expounds Ex. 12.43, “the night of watching”, later joined with the four redemptions of the Babylonian Passover seder.¹⁷⁶ While the first night’s redemption is associated with the first day of creation,¹⁷⁷ the fourth’s redemption is the coming of the Messiah, the *end*, not the beginning of history.¹⁷⁸

For second century gnostics, the seven vowels orbit the initial “I” of Jesus’ name, as the week the fourth day.¹⁷⁹ Clement of Alexandria similarly associated the value of the fourth commandment with the septenniad of the seventh day,¹⁸⁰ as well as the seven vowels and planets.¹⁸¹

2.2.3. The fifth-sixth day

¹⁷³ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 11 (87.4; p. 475 Stählin 2): Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα ἡ ἐν τῷ ναῷ πηχῶν ἐγεγόνει ἕξ, καὶ πόδες οἱ τέσσαρες ἀνὰ πηχὺν ἕνα ἡμῖς; the four colours of the threads of the Temple veil represent the four elements: Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. V 6 (32; p. 347, l. 3 Stählin 2); four rows of stones on the high-priest’s breastplate symbolising the seasons: Strom. V 6 (38; p. 352, l. 4 Stählin 2).

¹⁷⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 24.5 (SChr 294, l. 168-192). Irenaeus ridicules heretical numerology (Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 24.1-3 (SChr 294, l. 1-105), including heretics’ stressing the sun’s creation on the fourth day: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 18.2 (SChr 264, l. 45); but he adduces *five* as a sacred number, through its scriptural prevalence: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 24.4 (SChr 294, l. 115-156).

¹⁷⁵ Le Deaut, La nuit paschale, 222-226; Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.2 n. 83. However Le Deaut’s thesis has been criticised by such as Leonhard: Leonhard, The Jewish Pesach and the origins of the Christian Easter, 422; 362.

¹⁷⁶ Leonhard, The Jewish Pesach and the origins of the Christian Easter, 434.

¹⁷⁷ Leonhard, The Jewish Pesach and the origins of the Christian Easter, 434.

¹⁷⁸ Leonhard, The Jewish Pesach and the origins of the Christian Easter, 322-323, 401, 434; Margaret Barker, The risen Lord: the Jesus of history as the Christ of faith, 68 n. 22 (v).

¹⁷⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 14.7 (SChr 264, l. 170); reprised by Hippolytus Romanus, Refut. om. haer. .VI 48.2-3 (PTS 25, l. 4-7); et v. Sagnard, La gnose valentinienne, 378 et seq. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.2 n. 85.

¹⁸⁰ Clement associated the *fourth* commandment with the septenniad of the Sabbath, and others: Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 16 (140; p. 503, l. 1-4 Stählin 2).

¹⁸¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 16 (141; p. 503, l. 6 Stählin 2); VI 16 (143; p. 504, l. 1 Stählin 2).

Next (ch. 4), Victorinus expounds the fifth day as that in which earth and sea bring forth animals; then the sixth, as the day of Adam's creation, and that *before which* God made angels and spiritual beings (though Victorinus does not specify the time of their beginning, either). Further, the sixth day is the *parasceue*, the "day of preparation",¹⁸² before the seventh Day of the Millennium (ch. 5), symbolised by a lengthy fast over the Jewish Sabbath,¹⁸³ before breaking bread.

2.2.4.a. Substitution of sombre Christian Sabbath fasting for a festive Jewish one, now abrogated

Fasting is necessary, Victorinus argues, (ch. 5-6), to annul the Jewish Sabbath (*sabbatum resolvere*), lest Christians be thought Jews,¹⁸⁴ preparatory to eating the bread of the Eucharist on the eighth, Lord's day.¹⁸⁵ Thus one also observes a true, Christian Sabbath, prefiguring the Millennial Seventh Day, prelude to the Eighth of Judgment and eternity.¹⁸⁶ Christ has abrogated the Jewish Sabbath, declaring through Isaiah that he hated it; then abolishing it "in his body".¹⁸⁷ Christ, by Moses, bade ("praeciperet") breaching the Sabbath, through commanding circumcision on the eighth day, which often falls on the seventh day. Further,

¹⁸² Originally before the Sabbath (Jn 19.31). Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 4 (SChr 423, 140, l. 6): Hic dies sextus parasceue appellatur, praeparatio scilicet regni.

¹⁸³ In Jerome's version, omitted from the one assumed more pristine, the sixth day is also that of Christ's passion, and the fast commemoration of it.

¹⁸⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4): Et parasceue superpositio fiat, nequid cum Iudaeis sabbatum observare uideamur, quod ipse dominus sabbati Christus per prophetas suos odisse animam suam dicit, quod sabbatum corpore suo resoluit.

¹⁸⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 2): Hac die solemus superponere, idcirco ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus.

¹⁸⁶ Stressed by "uerum illud sabbatum" repeated: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 144, l. 17): Quapropter, ut memorauit, uerum illud sabbatum est septimum miliarium, in quo Christus cum electis suis regnatus est; 6 (SChr 423, 144, l. 11): Esaias quoque et ceteri collegae eius sabbatum resolverunt, ut uerum illud et iustum sabbatum septimo miliario annorum obseruaretur; where "obseruaretur" picks up the preceding "obseruare": 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4).

¹⁸⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4).

he abolished it figuratively in Moses' raising his arms cruciformly, overlooking the battle with the gentiles (*allophyli*).¹⁸⁸ Joshua also bade break the Sabbath before Jericho, by marching around it for seven days, as did Matthias the Maccabee, when fighting the gentiles (*allophyli*) on the Sabbath.¹⁸⁹ These motifs orbit, septiformly (see below), David's penitence on the eighth day, prefiguring *Dominicum* (ch. 5-6):

1. The Christian Sabbath is a/the fast, prolonged, that

a. hunger increase anticipation of the Eucharist on the Lord's day¹⁹⁰

b. Christians be in nowise conflated with Jews on their Sabbath, because

2. Christ has

a. declared through the prophets he hates the Jews' Sabbath and

b. has abolished the Jewish sabbath in his body ("corpore suo resoluit").¹⁹¹

3.(Christ by) Moses signifies the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath when he

a. bade ("praeciperet") circumcision on the eighth day, the Sabbath regardless;

¹⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 7): Prius autem, cum ipse Moysi praeciperet ne circumcisio diem octauam praeteriret, quae die sabbato plerumque incurrit, sicut in euangelio scriptum legimus, Moyses, prospiciens duritiam populi istius, idcirco die sabbati leuauit manus et se ipsum crucifixit in proelio quod ab allophylis sabbato, ut caperentur et seueritate legis ad deuitandam disciplinam formarentur; 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 6): Die enim sabbati praecepit filiis Israel, ut muros ciuitatis Hiericho tubicinibus circuissent et bellum allophyllis indicarent.

¹⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 8): Matthias autem princeps Iudae sabbatum resoluit; nam praefectum Antiochi regis Syriae sabbato occidit et allophylis sua persecutione subiecit.

¹⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 2).

¹⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4-6).

- b. foreseeing contemporary Jews' hardness of heart,
 - i. raised his arms cruciformly, thus
 - ii. compelling the Israelites to fight the gentile Amalekites on the Sabbath, so that
 - iii. the gentiles are educated to also violate the Jewish Sabbath by the paradox that so violating the law is also to most strictly observe it, thus evading punishment for failing to observe it ("seueritate legis ad deuitandam disciplinam")!¹⁹²

4. David prayed lest he be judged on the Eighth Day of Judgment, following the seven millennia of history.¹⁹³

5. Moses' successors violated the Sabbath, thus:

a. Joshua stormed Jericho,

b. Matthias the Maccabee fought the gentile Syrians¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 7).

¹⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 1-3): Et ideo Dauid in psalmo VI pro die octauo Dominum rogat, ne in ira neque in furore suo arguat eum aut iudicet. Hic est enim reuera futuri illius iudicii dies octauus, qui extra ordinem septimanae dispositionis excessurus est.

¹⁹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4): Iesus quoque Naue successor Moysi et ipse sabbatum resoluit. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 6). Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 8).

6. whose namesake Matthew the Evangelist quotes Isaiah and his fellow prophets' abolishing the Jewish Sabbath, in order that

7. the true and legitimate Sabbath, in the seventh Millennium, may be observed.¹⁹⁵

2.2.4.b. The Septenniads

The seven heavens reflect the seven days of creation (ch. 7). The spirit whereby God established (“firmati”: a double sense meaning “physically establish” and “affirm” by his word) them is divisible into seven spirit entities, whose seven names (“nomina”) Isaiah gives (Is. 11.2).¹⁹⁶ Each of these is equivalent to each of the seven heavens, replete with meteorological phenomena: the spiritual elides with the physical, and *vice versa*. The name (“cognomen”) of the author of creation is equivalent to the “word” of God that created light (Gen. 1.3); who is called (“uocatur”) “wisdom”, the chief of Isaiah’s seven spirits, whose is the highest heaven.

Victorinus argues logically: seven millennia correspond to seven days of creation correspond to seven heavens correspond to seven spirits of the Word, which is the pattern of all. Each day corresponds to each heaven, because the pre-existent, creator Word’s seven names unfold in creation’s week. Victorinus plays on the double sense of *firmare*: 1) the Word *establishes* the (seven) heavens and *affirms* them by the (septuply named) Spirit of his

¹⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 10): Et apud Matthaem scriptum legimus [---]; 6 (SChr 423, 144, l. 11).

¹⁹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 3): Nomina sunt eorum spiritus qui supra Christum Dei requieverunt, ut apud Esaiaem prophetam cautum est: Et requiescit super eum spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et uirtutis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et repleuit illum spiritus timoris Dei.

mouth),¹⁹⁷ drawing from Ps. 33.6.¹⁹⁸ Further, even as the Word (and the seven Spirits?)¹⁹⁹ Incarnate recapitulates the seven days of creation, so seven governs Christ's life.²⁰⁰

Victorinus then arranges twenty biblical septuplets (ch. 8), in four groups of five, on the following themes, according to Dulaey: 1) the Word-Spirit 2) the Church 3) apocalyptic consummation 4) ecclesiastical salvation.²⁰¹

Christ recapitulates Adam, the former suffering on the day the latter fell; literally recreating him by means of the holy septenniad; in the Incarnation: “natiuitas”;²⁰² reprised by “natum esse”, and developed by “in carne esse conuersum”. Nine repetitions of “ea die...qua” establish correspondences between creation week and the Incarnation.²⁰³ The structure unfolds thusly:

¹⁹⁷ Thrice “ergo”: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 1-8): Summum *ergo* caelum sapientiae, secundum intellectus, tertium consilii, quartum uirtutis, quintum scientiae, sextum pietatis, septimum timoris Dei. Ex hoc *ergo* tonitrua mugiunt, fulmina extenduntur, ignes conglobantur, trabes ardentes apparent, sidera radiant, comae horribiles coruscant, nonnumquam accedit etiam sol et luna: inuicem uisitantur atque illa ultra formidabilia lumina, radiantia in acie aspectu eius, efficiunt; 6 (SChr 423, 144, l. 16): *ergo* in oculis Dei singula milia annorum constituta sunt: septem enim habeo oculos Domini; once “igitur”: 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): Nunc igitur de inenarrabili gloria Dei et prouidentia uideas memorari: tamen, ut mens parua poterit, conabor ostendere); twice “sic enim”: 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 1): Sic enim cautum est: Verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum; 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 16): Sic enim dicit Pater eius: Eructatum est cor meum uerbum bonum.

¹⁹⁸ Ps. 32.6 (LXX; p. 31 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.

¹⁹⁹ Victorinus seems to regard Christ as the Spirit Incarnate: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6): ea die spiritum sanctum Mariam uirginem inundasse, *qua* lucem fecit; ea die in carne esse conuersum, *qua* terram et aquam fecit.

²⁰⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 148, l. 17): Humanitatem quoque suam septenario numero consummat: natiuitatis, infantiae, pueritiae, adolescentiae, iuuentutis, perfectae aetatis, occasus; Iudaeis quoque humanitatem suam etiam his modis ostendit: cum esurit, sitit, cibum potum que cepit, cum ambulat et secessit, cum super ceruicale dormiuit. For Irenaeus and Victorinus Christ encapsulated all stages of human life. Irenaeus saw five stages (which tradition was also known to Theodore of Seville): Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 22.4 (SChr 294, l. 103): infantes et paruulos et pueros et iuuenes et seniores. Irenaeus likely suggested to Victorinus the change of five stages to seven, having already added birth: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 22.4 (SChr 294, l. 103): Omnes enim uenit per semetipsum saluare: omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; and death: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 22.4 (SChr 294, l. 117): deinde et usque ad mortem peruenit, ut sit primogenitus ex mortuis, ipse primatum tenens in omnibus, princeps uitae, prior omnium et praecedens omnes. Victorinus merely recapitulated what Irenaeus had written: Adu. haer. III 18.7 (SChr 211, l. 176): Quapropter et per omnem uenit aetatem, omnibus restituens eam quae est ad Deum communionem. Quoting the Elegies of Solan, Clement also saw human life's comprising seven septennials: Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 16 (144.1-6; p. 505-506, Stählin 2).

²⁰¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1). Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 227-228.

²⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 3): Vt Adam illum per septimanam reformauerit atque uniuersae creaturae suae subuenerit, natiuitate filii sui Iesu Christi domini nostri factum est. Re this sense of *natiuitas* v. Braun, Deus Christianorum, 319-321.

²⁰³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6): Quis itaque lege Dei doctus, quis plenus spiritu sancto, non respiciat corde, ea die Gabrihel angelum Mariae uirgini euangelizasse, *qua* die draco

first day: annunciation to Mary / fall of Eve; conception of Christ / creation of light

(second day omitted)

third day: transformation into flesh (gestation)/creation of earth, water

fourth day: transformation into milk / creation of stars (Milky Way?)

fifth day: transformation into blood / creation of animals

sixth day: transformation into flesh (birth): Adam made from earth; Birth of Christ /

modelling of man; Passion of Christ / fall of Adam

(seventh day omitted)

eighth day: Resurrection of Christ/creation of Light

The recapitulations of creation week in Christ's life explain the focus on *Tetras*; the omission of second and seventh days; and repetition of the two fleshly transformations into gestation and birth.²⁰⁴ Dulaey thinks the creations of third, fourth and fifth days a mystical fetal existence of Adam,²⁰⁵ later formed (*fictum*) on the sixth day.²⁰⁶ Christ then fulfils the seven stages of human life, manifesting his humanity and divinity in seven acts, true man (*humanitas*, twice)²⁰⁷ and God (*dominus*). The week of creation recapitulated-Incarnated and the seven week-years of everyman climax in Christ's theophany on the Kinnereth and amid

Euam seduxit; ea die spiritum sanctum Mariam uirginem inundasse, *qua* lucem fecit; ea die in carne esse conuersum, *qua* terram et aquam fecit; ea die in lacte esse conuersum, *qua* stellas fecit; ea die in sanguine, *qua* terra et aqua fetus suos ediderant; ea die in carne esse conuersum, *qua* die hominem de humo instruxit; ea die natum esse Christum, *qua* hominem finxit; eadem die esse passum, *qua* Adam cecidit; ea die resurrexisse a mortuis, *qua* lucem fecit; 4 (SChr 423, 140, l. 7): Adam enim que ad imaginem et similitudinem suam consummauit. Cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III 9 (CC SL 1, 391, l. 16): quia solus christus in carnem ex carne nasci habebat, ut natiuitatem nostram natiuitate sua reformaret.

²⁰⁴ v. Chapman, Papias on the Age of our Lord, 46-47, who assumes Victorinus uses Papias slavishly. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.2 n. 59; 96.

²⁰⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 35.

²⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6).

²⁰⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 148, l. 17).

the sick.²⁰⁸ Sevenfold creation is restored by the septuple spirit of the Word Incarnate.

Reprising the division of night and day wherewith which the text began, the twice twelve hours of the day, each an angel-elder-witness, precede the creation of other angels and man,²⁰⁹ likely to the glory of God the creator.²¹⁰

Stylistically, though chiasmus may betray some acquaintance with Graeco-Roman literature, it probably betrays oral, Christiano-biblical traditions.²¹¹ If lacking formal, classical education (Jerome's "licet desit eruditio"), Victorinus may have had what Dulaey calls a "Semitic" education, whence such an hexameral tradition could have originated,²¹² or, more simply perhaps, a literary formation solely within Judeo-Christian literature. As aforesaid, Jerome accurately categorized the text as an essay on the number seven,²¹³ among which like monastically copied works, many British or Irish, it was also preserved.²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 148, l. 22): Cum autem freta orta procella pedibus ingreditur, uentis imperat, aegros curat et clodos reformat, <caecos illuminat, surdos auditione et mutos> eloquentia instituit, uide eum Dominum se esse nuntiare eis.

²⁰⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 148, l. 1-6): De duodenario numero, dies, ut supra memorauimus, per duodenas horas bifarie diuisus est lucis et noctis. Per has namque horas menses et anni et tempora et saecula computantur. Constituti sunt itaque sine dubietate diei angeli duodecim, noctis angeli duodecim, pro numero scilicet horarum. Hi sunt namque XXIII testes dierum et noctium, qui sedent ante thronum Dei, coronas aureas in capitibus suis habentes, quos Apocalypsis Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae seniores uocat, idcirco quia seniores sunt et aliis angelis et hominibus. Have they an Origenian *pre-existence*?

²¹⁰ Ps. 19.2 (LXX; p. 18 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγούνται δόξαν θεοῦ ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα.

²¹¹ Lund, Chiasmus in the New Testament, viii; 93. Meynet, Quelle est donc cette Parole? Lecture rhétorique de l'Évangile de Luc, 111-126. Welsch, Chiasmus in Antiquity, Structures, Analysis, Exegesis, 211-249.

²¹² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 36

²¹³ Hieronymus, Epist. 49.19 (CSEL 54, 384, l. 10). Jerome may allude to Victorinus' exposition of Gen. 4.24 (Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): septem uindictae de Cain) among similar works, by Jews and Christians, on the sevenfold vengeance on behalf of Cain and Lamech: Epist. 36.4 (CSEL 54, 271, l. 21): de eo autem, quod aquila posuit septemplexiter et symmachus ebdomatos siue septimus ulciscetur, *maiorum nostrorum ista sententia est*, quod putent in septima generatione a lamech interfectum cain. Jerome continues to treat the hebdomad elsewhere: Epist. 36.4-9 (CSEL 54, 271, l. 21-275, l. 4). Pseudo-Jerome's *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae* addresses the sacrament of the sevenfold church: Pseudo-Hieronymus, Epist. 12 / Tract. de sept. ordin. Eccl. (PL 30, 150 B): Sique fiet ut in ueritate consistens, septiformis Ecclesiae sacramentum nosse merearis, quod in omnipotentia Dei cum sua ueneratione consistit, id est, in Patre, et in Filio, et in Spiritu sancto, in archangelis, in angelis, in sapientia, in hominibus; associates the fifth ecclesiastical class of Levites and deacons (Epist. 12.5 (PL 30, 153 A) with the seven angels and candelabra of Apoc. 1.20; and seven of every pure animal of Gen 7.2: Epist. 12.5 (PL 30, 153 A-B): Et hi sunt, quos in Apocalypsi legimus, septem angeli Ecclesiarum, hi sunt septem candelabra aurea, hi uoces tonitruorum, hi in similitudinem Noe sacramentorum iustitiae praecones, non habentes in se maculam aut regum.

²¹⁴ Reynolds, " 'At Sixes and Sevens'—And Eights and Nines: The Sacred Mathematics of Sacred Orders in the Early Middle Ages", in: *Speculum* 54.4 (Oct., 1979), 671-673. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 36.

2.2.5. Summary: a typology of history and its phenomena.

Three numbers, in varying combinations, rule the world:²¹⁵ *four, six and seven*. They each manifest threefold: in the primordial week, the economy of the Incarnation and the life of the church.

On the fourth day (*Tetras*/Wednesday) appeared the visible world, with solar, lunar and sidereal divisions of time. In the previous three days God had created light and angels,²¹⁶ including, presumably, the twenty-four witnesses of the hours,²¹⁷ though this is little elaborated and perhaps a gloss.²¹⁸ Four is the number of the material world –composed from four elements– and of time -in rhythm with the four seasons. It is thence also the number of the revelation of Christ the Word of God to the world, in its four Gospels –represented by the four animals of the Apocalypse and by the four rivers of paradise. These diffuse the revelation throughout space and time, in four historical epochs which await the revelation of the Word. The fourth day is the Word incarnate, “apprehended”/“comprehensus” by men: in the Church, one commemorates the arrest of Jesus by a fast of supplication on the fourth day (from Tuesday evening to Wednesday evening).

On the sixth day that man was created: six is the number of man. Thence it is on the sixth day (Friday) that Christ is born (who “recreated”/”reformauerit” Adam in himself) and dies, since Adam too fell on Friday, as held tradition. Hence this day also is a fast day.

The seventh day belongs to God: he rests upon, blesses and sanctifies it. Seven is the divine number, that of the Word and the Spirit. By these God has created the world, the latter having a septuple nature comporting with seven heavens. Seven also governs the life of the Word, beginning with his birth -the stages of gestation recapitulate the creation of the six

²¹⁵ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 28-36.

²¹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 4 (SChr 423, 140, l. 4): *Prius tamen angelos atque archangelos creavit, spiritalia terrenis anteponeus.*

²¹⁷ Dulaey, *Sur l’Apocalypse*, 218.

²¹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 10 (SChr 423, 148, l. 6): *v. s.*

days, then his life, which also comprises seven stages.²¹⁹ It is the number by which Jesus manifests his double nature, human and divine: Victorinus detects in the Gospels seven acts of Christ revealing his body was like to ours²²⁰ while seven miracles reveal his being master of creation.²²¹

By extension, seven is the number of the Church and its salvation.²²² Seven, which presided over creation, also dictates the end of the world. It is the “true Sabbath”, the seventh Millennium when Christ rules with his saints a restored world.²²³ The seventh day (Saturday) is also a fast day, as David had already understood; this day prepares for the Eucharist on Sunday, and the entry into the world of the resurrection, hence it is also eighth in number.²²⁴

Additionally, for Victorinus, twelve is the number of witness and praise: twice twelve are the hours and witnessing angels, the elders of Revelation, comprising twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs (The twelve patriarchs represent the twelve tribes of Israel, whose descendants comprise the one hundred and forty four (twelve times twelve) thousand believers of Israel, who join the Church in the last days (fulfilling, doubtless, Paul’s prophesying “all Israel will be saved”: Rom. 11.26), witnesses before the Throne, assimilated to the Hours.

Many ancients treated arithmologica,²²⁵ including the Alexandrians, Philo, Clement and Origen, and the Gnostics, evincing Pythagorean influence. All treat *seven* and, sometimes, the tetrad. Victorinus and Cyprian, whose *Ad Quirinum* inspired him (as

²¹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 148, l. 17): v. s.

²²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 2 (SChr 423, 148, l. 17): v. s.

²²¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 2 (SChr 423, 148, l. 22): v. s.

²²² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): septem mulieres apud Esaiam, septem ecclesiae apud Paulum, septem diacones.

²²³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 11): v. s. Et cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.1 (SChr 100, l. 24): Manifestabatur autem et tamquam de eis quae facta sunt requietio (= sabbatum) Dei, hoc est regnum in quo requiescens homo ille qui perseveraverit Deo assistere participabit de mensa Dei.

²²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 1-3); 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 2); s. v..

²²⁵ On the value of the principal numbers in Victorinus, see Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 116-119.

doubtless did other works, lost), treated solely biblica.²²⁶ Contemporary Judaica contain similar material, including *targumim* on Isaac, whence, perhaps, *via* Judeo-Christians, their presence in Patristica.²²⁷ In Victorinus, such concepts, especially concerning the primordial week, intermingle with Irenaeus' notion of recapitulation, greatly inspiring this treaty.²²⁸ They persist long in Syriac discourse: sixth century Jacob of Sarug holds similarly, as other churches within the empire.²²⁹ Justification for Sabbath fasting, corresponding closely to the *Didascalia apostolorum*, a likely fourth century Antiochene redaction, suggests oriental influence on the Poetovian church.²³⁰

2.3. Victorinus' Commentary on Revelation

2.3.1. Transmission of the text

²²⁶ Victorinus was much exercised by Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks (Dan. 9.24-27: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): septem septimanae item sexaginta tres septimanae apud Danihelum), which forms an essential background to his understanding of the unfurling of the last days, the coming of Antichrist, the great tribulation and the Second Coming. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 203.

²²⁷ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 273; 27.

²²⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6, v.s.); Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 27): Sicut per unum corpus omnes homines debito mortis successerant, sic per unum corpus uniuersi credentes in uitam aeternam resurgent. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 23.2 (SChr 153, l. 47): Hunc itaque diem recapitulans in semetipsum Dominus, venit ad passionem pridie ante sabbatum, quae est sexta conditionis dies, in qua homo plasmatus est, secundam plasmationem ei, eam quae est a morte, per suam passionem donans. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6): ea die Gabrihel angelum Mariae uirgini euangelizasse, qua die draco Euam seduxit; Com. in Apoc. 4,6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 3): Nam fulgora aduentum Domini significabant, uoces autem noui testamenti praedicationes; tonitrua autem, quod caelestia sunt uerba, faces uero ignis ardentis *donum Spiritus Sancti, quod cum in ligno perdiderit primus homo per lignum passionis est redditum*. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 19.1 (SChr 153, l. 1): et seductione illa soluta qua seducta est male illa quae iam uiro destinata erat uirgo Eua per ueritatem <qua> euangelizata est bene ab angelo iam sub uiro Virgo Maria. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4,6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 3): donum Spiritus Sancti, quod cum in ligno perdiderit primus homo per lignum passionis est redditum. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 77): firmum Verbum Dei, quod per lignum neglegenter amiseramus nec inueniebamus, recepturi essemus iterum per ligni dispositionem; Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 93): Quoniam enim per lignum amisimus illud, per lignum iterum manifestum omnibus factum est. Cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 106): ut quod perierat olim per lignum in adam, id restitueretur per lignum christi? Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III, 22.4 (SChr 211, l. 211): Et propter hoc lex eam quae desponsata erat uiro, licet uirgo sit adhuc, uxorem eius qui desponsauerat uocat, eam quae est a Maria in Euam recirculationem significans: quia non aliter quod colligatum est solueretur, nisi ipsae compagine adligationis reflectantur retrorsus.

²²⁹ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 274.

²³⁰ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 282-284.

Only fragments of Hippolytus' commentary on *Revelation* have survived²³¹ and Victorinus' is the oldest complete. The commentaries of Caesarius, Primasius, Beatus and Ambrose Autpert preserved the text's substance, while it continued to be copied and read throughout the Middle Ages.²³² The *In Apocalypsin* survived largely thanks to Jerome. In 398 he presented a version, its millenarianism excised, to one Anatolius, a possibly monkish acquaintance. This "correction", ostensibly on stylistic grounds, saved Victorinus from anathema, gradually eclipsing the original, which vanishes from the sixth century. However, in 1913 Haussleiter found a Vatican manuscript,²³³ albeit also prefaced by Jerome, which he published in 1916.²³⁴ Using the Vatican manuscript (late, full of lacunae, problematical), and the plentiful Hieronymic editions –the oldest witnesses to Victorinus' original text- Dulaey reconstructed the version used here, published in the *Corpus Christianorum*.²³⁵ Her article "Jérôme 'éditeur' du *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse* de Victorin de Poetovio",²³⁶ offers insight into the problems of Jerome's edition, as does the preface to the CC volume, and justifies her choice of readings.

2.3.2. Interpretation of the Apocalypse

Victorinus sees *Revelation* as recapitulating scripture, the risen Christ's having fulfilled Old Testament types, explicating their true sense,²³⁷ as he does for the Law and the prophets, for the disciples' understanding on the road to Emmaus.²³⁸ For the Poetovian, *Revelation* chiefly

²³¹ Prigent/Stehly, *Les Fragments du De Apocalypse d'Hippolyte*, in: ThZ 29 (1973), 313-333. Prigent, *Hippolyte, Commentateur de l'Apocalypse*, in: ThZ 28 (1972), 391-412.

²³² Haussleiter gives a list of manuscripts: CSEL 49, li-lix. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 28 n. 4.

²³³ *Ottobonianus Latinus* 3288 A. L. c. Haussleiter, CSEL 49, xxxii-xxxiv.

²³⁴ As CSEL 49, in Vienna and Leipzig.

²³⁵ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 29.

²³⁶ REAug 37 (1991), 199-236.

²³⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 13). L. c. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 29.

²³⁸ Luc. 24.27 (p. 244 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

reveals scriptural sense,²³⁹ as much as specific events of the last days,²⁴⁰ and is the book the mighty angel of Apoc. 10 gives John. It recapitulates prophecy,²⁴¹ both as its synthesis and key. The Alexandrians likely originate this idea, since, for them, as for Irenaeus, disparate prophecies find unity in Christ.

For Victorinus, the first chapters of *Revelation* treat of Christ's presence in the Church, and on the Word of God (Apoc. 1-6), his exegeses venturing little beyond traditional (*quasi*-)Catholic consensus. Chapters seven-on treat of detailed eschatologica. Indeed, writes Dulaey, from ch. 13, Victorinus seems to "topple over" altogether. However, she allows, the Poetovian's apparently literal reading of *Revelation*'s conclusion, in a detailed chronological scheme, is no simplistic one.²⁴² Victorinus' ordering of the Apocalypse's verses is almost as fluid as his midrash, passing to and fro from scripture to Christ, Christian, sacrament or church, and *vice versa*. This may have reflected a deliberate recollection of texts as suited his purpose, though faulty memory or the inconvenience of consulting many scrolls at once cannot be excluded either. He may have also dictated to a scribe, as did Origen. Jerome restored a correct scriptural verse order. However, the exposition of all seven seals within the single, sixth chapter of the original version, for instance, compared with the Stridonian's distribution of it over chapters six to eight, testifies to a considered unity of composition.

Apoc. 1-3: the vision of the son of man

In chs. 1-3 of *Revelation* Victorinus sees

²³⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 29): Modo *ergo* facies Moysi aperitur, modo et reuelatur ideo que apocalypsis reuelatio dicitur, modo liber eius resignatur, modo hostiarum oblationes intelleguntur, modo sacerdotia et Christi mandata et fabricatio aedis <et> testimonia aperte intellegitur.

²⁴⁰ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 30.

²⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 13).

²⁴² Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 30.

1. an introduction (Apoc. 1.1-11) identifying *him who says* “Write in a book what you see and send it to the seven churches”,²⁴³

2. a vision of the son of man (Apoc. 1.12-20) and

3. his message to the churches (Apoc. 2-3).

The epistolary is Jesus Christ, God and man. The formula “who is and who was and who is to come” (Apoc. 1.4)²⁴⁴ recalls that of Exodus,²⁴⁵ affirming Christ’s divinity. The epithets “faithful martyr/witness”, “who freed us by his blood from sin” (Apoc. 1.5-6), however, recall his human passion.²⁴⁶

The vision of the son of man (Apoc. 1.12-20) discloses a manifold nature.²⁴⁷ His very human *form* (his being “*like i.e. not equivalent to a son of Man*”) reveals the glory of the resurrection,²⁴⁸ his shining, hoary head and hairs, the divinity of Christ and his baptized followers (*candidati*) respectively.²⁴⁹ His priestly vestment signifies the resurrected body,

²⁴³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.1 (SChr 423, 46. 1. 3-4).

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Ex. 3.14 (p. 90 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν.

²⁴⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.1 (SChr 423, 46. 1. 10-17, especially l. 11). Apoc. 1.5-7 is for Victorinus a condensed soteriology: Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse 2, 31 n. 1.

²⁴⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.1 (SChr 423, 46. 1. 18): Qui primo in suscepto homine uenit occultus, post paululum in maiestate et gloria ueniet ad iudicandum manifestus.

²⁴⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48. 1. 1-3).

²⁴⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48. 1. 9-11).

pure by/for his eternally sacrificing/offering it, immolating himself.²⁵⁰ The golden girdle that affixes it symbolizes believers purified, suckling from Christ's double paps/testaments his pure doctrinal milk,²⁵¹ as united as body, head and hair, whether these be Christ, the church, God, immortality or the baptized. Similar polyvalent motifs stress unity: Old-New Testaments / double-edged sword,²⁵² baptism/the-mighty-voice-like-many-waters²⁵³ and the all pervasive septuple spirit of Christ / the seven stars-spirits of the seven churches (Apoc. 1, 16 and 20).²⁵⁴

Christ pours out ("effudit") the Spirit, both septenniad and monad,²⁵⁵ upon the seven churches, comprising not only those historically Asian ones but also the one, universal church.²⁵⁶

Apoc. 4-5: the vision of the throne

For Victorinus, this scene is an allegory of Christian preaching and its significance for humanity. Dulaey judges Victorinus' text of Apoc. 4, 2-3 suggests he sees the throne as *empty*, according with a tradition well attested in subsequent iconography from the fifth century:²⁵⁷ the throne of judgment, portrayed as vacant, in preparation (ἔτοιμασία) for Christ's return. This would be the earliest *literary* evidence for such a Christian concept. Given a likely pre-existent Jewish concept of the Ark of the Covenant as throne of an unseen

²⁵⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 48. 1. 1).

²⁵¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48. 1. 3).

²⁵² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.0 (SChr 423, 46, l. 6-9).

²⁵³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 1).

²⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.6 (SChr 423, 52, l. 1).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.7 (SChr 423, 52, l. 1-8).

²⁵⁷ Emerson/McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 160-161.

God,²⁵⁸ it is likely Victorinus' understanding derives from a Judeo-Christian source. For him, the likeness of two kinds of precious stone enthroned represent the two Testaments, surrounded by the rainbow and sea of glass, also figuring the two covenants.²⁵⁹ Thus the Word of God sits on the throne, *not* the Father -an older (Judeo-?) Christian *theologion*-, whereby God appears *only in the form of the Son*.²⁶⁰

Concentrically encircling the Throne outwards are the four animals, then the twenty four elders, intermediating between the Word and humanity.²⁶¹ The twenty four elders are the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, comprising witnesses/*testimonia* to God / the Old Testament.²⁶² The four animals reveal Christ to men, through the four Gospels, in four ways for pre-existent divine reasons, in the four stages of the Redemption: Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension (a figure likely Irenaeus-derived).²⁶³ Their four-times-six wings are the fulfilled Old Testament prophecies, which quicken Christian preaching;²⁶⁴ the eyes' seeing within and without encompasses scripture both moral and prophetic, prescriptive and predictive.²⁶⁵ The chorus of twenty four elders and four animals adore and witness God in harmony, as do Old and New Testaments.²⁶⁶

Apoc. 6-9

The book sealed seven times is a *testamentum* in its double sense.²⁶⁷ It is God's Last Will and Testament to humanity, accessible only to the Lamb, both God and man: as God, he is

²⁵⁸ Schmidt, *The faith of the Old Testament*, 114-115.

²⁵⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 1):

²⁶⁰ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 32.

²⁶¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1-9).

²⁶² *Ibid.* et v. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 7).

²⁶³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.4 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1-68, l. 35); Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 100, l. 175-230).

²⁶⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 4).

²⁶⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 1).

²⁶⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.7 (SChr 423, 72, l. 1).

²⁶⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 5.2 (SChr 423, 74, l. 8).

Testator; by his Passion, he is Executor; by his Resurrection, he is Inheritor. The Last Will and Testament, opened by Christ's death and resurrection, is also scripture, to which Christ alone is key.²⁶⁸ *Revelation* reveals the opening (!) of the book in seven visions, which are not, for Victorinus, chronological.²⁶⁹ The seven seals are broken open contemporaneously by Christ's death and resurrection: the mystery of Christ, sealed in the Old Testament, is thus (dis)solved.²⁷⁰

The seven seals broken open reveal realities concomitant or successive: the all-conquering Gospel rides throughout the earth (the first seal), the Church persecuted, foretold in the Synoptic apocalypse (the second to fourth seals); the martyred dead (the fifth seal) expecting to be avenged at the coming Parousia; the final, conversion is completed in the world during the last tribulation (the sixth seal); the inauguration of the reign of Christ (the seventh seal).²⁷¹

The seven trumpets and bowls are not interpreted in detail: they do not represent chronological unfurling of events, rather treat the same matter as do the seven seals: the last persecution.²⁷²

Apoc. 10-11

The vision of the angel with the little book (Apoc. 10-11) concretizes the Lamb's solving the enigma of the Old Testament (Apoc. 4-5). The roar of the mighty angel, figure of Christ, is the Messiah's historical preaching, seconded by the Spirit's septuple witness -the rumble of the seven thunders (Apoc. 10.3). Victorinus explains John's conflicting mandate ("Seal up

²⁶⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 19-29).

²⁶⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 5).

²⁷⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (SChr 423, 78, l. 1).

²⁷¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (SChr 423, 78, l. 1)-6.7 (SChr 423, 84, l. 7).

²⁷² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 10).

what the seven thunders have said, and do not write it down” (Apoc. 10.4) and “You must prophesy again...” (Apoc. 10.11)) as, on the one hand, not to explicate Old Testament prophetic mysteries (for John is an apostle, not an interpreter), rather, on the other, to preach the fact of their solution i.e. inferring their sense, in Christ’s coming.²⁷³

Apoc. 11-17

Henceforth Victorinus treats more concrete eschatologica, thought not necessarily in chronological succession or literally.²⁷⁴ Thus the measuring reed, the *κάλαμος/arundo*, given to John of Apoc. 11.1 is the “Rule of Faith” to Victorinus, and represents the Gospel the apostle must write, to combat heresy.²⁷⁵ The two witnesses (Apoc. 11.6), identified as Elijah and Jeremiah,²⁷⁶ preach contemporaneously with the seven trumpets and bowls, whose calamities they instigate,²⁷⁷ during the last Week of the world, the reign of Antichrist.²⁷⁸ So also evinces the vision of the woman in the wilderness, whither they simultaneously airlift her (Apoc. 12.6).²⁷⁹ She figures the Church entire, comprising circumcised and gentiles (“a double people”).²⁸⁰ A vision of the saints of both Testaments unites events past (the Old Testament saints’ expecting the Messiah in the Incarnation), present (the persecution of the woman-Church) and future (the refuge God grants her from the great tribulation).

²⁷³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.1 (SChr 423, 88, l. 1)-10.3 (SChr 423, 92, l. 13).

²⁷⁴ Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 34.

²⁷⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 1-94, l. 16).

²⁷⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.3 (SChr 423, 94, l. 1-3).

²⁷⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.2 (SChr 423, 94, l. 13): Omnes plagae, quae futurae sunt ab angelis illorum in uoce mittentur.

²⁷⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.2 (SChr 423, 94, l. 10).

²⁷⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.6 (SChr 423, 102, l. 5).

²⁸⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.4 (SChr 423, 102, l. 1): ecclesiam omnem catholicam; 12.4 (SChr 423, 102, l. 5): populum binum.

The dragon cast from heaven (Apoc. 12.9) is the devil, the beast from the sea (Apoc. 13.1-4), Antichrist;²⁸¹ whom Victorinus sees, not as a second Nero but, rather, Nero himself,²⁸² sprung from hell to make war on the saints in the last persecution. So he interprets the enigma of Apoc. 17.8: the beast who “was, and is not, and is about to ascend from the bottomless pit”, who is *apart from* (“de”)²⁸³ the seven kings *i.e.* is the eighth.²⁸⁴ Victorinus does not date precisely any eschatological event, lest he prophesy falsely,²⁸⁵ nor, in his original text, does he derive any name from the number of the beast (Apoc. 13.8; Jerome can, however), since its anonymity aids unrepentant Nero’s disguise.²⁸⁶ Victorinus also admits the glory of the New Jerusalem is beyond mortal comprehension.²⁸⁷

3. Legacy of Victorinus’ work

Victorinus offers insight into one of the first Middle European churches, later destroyed by Gothic invasion.²⁸⁸ Under Gallienus, Christianity likely infiltrated every stratum of Poetovian society.²⁸⁹

3.1. Textual evidence for condition of the Poetovian church

²⁸¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.1 (SChr 423, 104, l. 1).

²⁸² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 108, l. 15): De inferno autem illum (=Nero) resurgere.

²⁸³ A almost wholly unique interpretation of *de*, that reverses convention; v. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *de* I. *from*; I. C. (g). 4. *about, concerning*, 514; *cf.* I. 5. of Position, *outside of, beyond*, chiefly in early writers, 513.

²⁸⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (SChr 423, 104, l. 4).

²⁸⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 8): Nec requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus requirendus; est enim et pseudopropheta.

²⁸⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 108, l. 17).

²⁸⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.2 (SChr 423, 118, l. 5). Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 35.

²⁸⁸ Schlejbal, Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae), 21.

²⁸⁹ *E.g.* Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 3.3 (SChr 423, 62, l. 1); 3.2 (SChr 423, 60, l. 1).

Dulaey deduces Jewish instigation of persecution Poetovians experienced, although the evidence is perhaps less than she suggests.²⁹⁰ In any event, in the great tribulation of the Apocalypse, some Christians compromise, others stand firm,²⁹¹ doubtless to some degree reflecting contemporary reality. The *lapsi* take the mark of the beast *i.e.* circumcision,²⁹² an interpretation first found here, but according with standard Christian anti-Judaism,²⁹³ and marking the diabolical literal antithesis to the divine allegorical interpretation of the law at the heart of the work. Victorinus' interpretation of the great prostitute "drunk with the blood of the saints" (Apoc. 17, 1), perhaps echoes Decius' persecution.²⁹⁴ Victorinus blames not individual emperors (unlike Eusebius or Lactantius), but the Senate, for seeking to eradicate the Gospel.²⁹⁵ Origen, concerning Decius' persecution, had also imputed the decrees to "the kings of the earth, the Roman senate, people and principle men".²⁹⁶ The senatorial "dogma" (ἀπὸ δόγματος συγκλήτου) that executed Apollonius²⁹⁷ may suggest an Imperial

²⁹⁰ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 203. Re the Jewish calumnies of Apoc. 2.9: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2,2 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2). However, it is far from clear that Victorinus interprets this as referring to contemporary historical Jews.

²⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.2 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2).

²⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 12).

²⁹³ See, for instance, Justin Martyr, for whom circumcision marked out-signified Jews' meriting punishing for sin (*i.e.* their savagery for which the Law was punishment fitting the crime, a notion arguably derived from Paul's defining the Law as "for transgressions": Gal 3.19?): Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 16.2 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-3 (l. 2 Goodspeed): ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα περιτομὴ εἰς σημεῖον ἐδόθη, ἵνα ἦτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφορισμένοι, καὶ ἵνα μόνοι πάθητε ἃ νῦν ἐν δίκῃ πάσχετε, καὶ ἵνα γένωνται αἱ χῶραι ὑμῶν ἔρημοι καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυρῖκαυστοι, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν κατεσθίωσιν ἀλλότριοι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπιβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς γνωρίζεσθε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ἧ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ὑμῶν περιτομῆς.

²⁹⁴ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 35-36.

²⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 14.2 (SChr 423, 110, l. 4): Omnes enim passionem sanctorum ex decreto senatus illius semper sunt consummatae, et omne *contra* fidei praedicationem iam lata indulgentia ipsa dedit decretum in uniuersis gentibus. The *Acta Apollonii* 23 suggest a *senatusconsultum* under Commodus was responsible: Act. Apollon. 23 (p. 93 Musurillo): τὸ δόγμα τῆς συγκλήτου ἐστὶν Χριστιανούς μὴ εἶναι; 45 (p. 96 Musurillo): κωλύομαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Κομόδου τοῦ αὐτοκράτος. Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, 59 *etc.*

²⁹⁶ Origenes, Hom. in Ies. Nau. 9.10 (PG 13, 879 A): Conuenerunt enim reges terrae, senatus, populusque et principes Romani, ut expugnarent nomen Iesu et Israel simul. Deceuerunt enim legibus suis, ut non sint Christiani. Omnis ciuitas, omnis ordo Christianorum nomen impugnat.

²⁹⁷ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. V 21.4 (SChr 41, l. 5): ἀπὸ δόγματος συγκλήτου. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *dogma* II. *degree* or *order*, 607; as in the *Carmen apologeticum* of Commodian, and especially befitting the persecution of Decius: Commodianus, Carm. apolog. 823 (p. 25 Teubner): Exsurgit interea sub ipso tempore syrus, qui terreat hostes et liberet inde senatum.; 851 (p. 27 Teubner): Tunc inde confertim motus senatus ab illis exorant neronem precibus et donis iniquis: tolle inimicos populi de rebus humanis, per quos et dii nostri conculcantur neque coluntur; et *cf.* 815 (p. 25 Teubner): Multi senatorum tunc enim captiui deflebunt

consultation with the Senate and the situation in Tertullian.²⁹⁸ Yet Victorinus alludes to general toleration (“*indulgentia*”) of Christians by pagans,²⁹⁹ corresponding to that under the Severans and Phillip the Arab, from the late second-mid third century.

The church of *In Apocalypsin* confronts the problems of Cyprian’s church c. 251-258 *i.e.* chiefly regarding *lapsi* from earlier persecution. For Victorinus, the church of Pergamum represents genuine believers;³⁰⁰ who yet treat too leniently the eating of food sacrificed to idols,³⁰¹ thereby “prostituting themselves” (*i.e.* either fornicating, or, more likely, betraying God by worshipping demons); or buying dissimulating certificates of sacrifice during persecution.³⁰² Excessive indulgence ill-serves the congregation.³⁰³ Cyprian likewise charges his clergy to re-integrate the *lapsi* none-too-easily, as does Origen, in the Decian persecution, castigating the church leaders for excessive leniency,³⁰⁴ true mercy’s being exacting.³⁰⁵

The stressed universal applicability of the epistles to the seven churches (Apoc. 2-3)³⁰⁶ suggests a contemporary manifestation of Poetovian “Nicolaitans”.³⁰⁷ During the Decian persecution, eating idolothytes and reconciling sinners insufficiently penitential are common, as Cyprian testifies in 251,³⁰⁸ whose terminology elsewhere closely resembles Victorinus’.

et deum caelorum blasphemant a barbaro uicti; 831 (p. 25 Teubner): Hunc ipse <se>natus inuisum esse mirantur; qui cum apparuerit, quasi deum esse putabunt. According to Salvatore (Salvatore, Commodiano, 27), this alludes to the decree passed by Decius with the Senate’s approval, before the persecution began.

²⁹⁸ Tertullianus, Apol. 5 (CC SL 1, l. 1): Vt de origine aliquid retractemus eiusmodi legum, uetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus. Cf. Zeiller, Sur un passage de la Passion du martyr Apollonios, in: RSR 40 (1952), 155; yet disputed by Griffe, Les Actes du martyr Apollonios et les problèmes de la base juridique des persecutions, in: BLE 53 (1952), 74.

²⁹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 14.2 (SChr 423, 110, l. 4): Omnes enim passiones sanctorum ex decreto senatus illius semper sunt consummatae, et omne *contra* fidei praedicationem iam lata indulgentia ipsa dedit decretum in uniuersis gentibus.

³⁰⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.3 (SChr 423, 58, l. 1).

³⁰¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.3 (SChr 423, 58, l. 8); 1.8 (SChr 423, 54, l. 1).

³⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.1 (SChr 423, 56, l. 15-16); cf. also 2,3 (SChr 423, 58, l. 5).

³⁰³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.3 (SChr 423, 58, l. 8).

³⁰⁴ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De lap. 15 (CC SL 1, l. 287).

³⁰⁵ Origenes, Hom. in Ies. Nau. 7.6 (PG 13, 861-862, l. 13-14).

³⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.7 (SChr 423, 52, l. 1-5): Septem autem ecclesiae, quas nominatim uocabulis suis uocat, ad quas epistolas facit, non quia illae solae <sint> ecclesiae aut principes, sed quod uni dicit omnibus dicit; nihil enim differt utrum quis uexillationi, paucorum militum numero, an per eam toto exercitui loquatur.

³⁰⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.1 (SChr 423, 56, l. 15-16).

³⁰⁸ On the eating of meat dedicated to idols: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 25.2 (CC SL 3B, l. 13); et v. Epist. 14.2. Regarding penitence in Cyprian see Galtier, L’Eglise et la remission des péchés, 35-38. Irenaeus likewise

As at Carthage, persecution has encouraged charismatics: “illicit reconciliations” entail “new prophecies”.³⁰⁹ Otherwise good Christians are *lax/faciles* (Beatus: *leues*) in penitential discipline,³¹⁰ whom Victorinus disparages, as does (*quasi*-)orthodox Church Montanism.³¹¹ In Carthage, and elsewhere, during Valerian’s persecution, some confessors had used their authority to “loose” the sins of the *lapsi*. This Cyprian thought over-hasty reconciliation³¹² (by false prophets),³¹³ as did Novatian.³¹⁴ However, unlike Novatian, albeit like Cyprian, Victorinus counsels forbearing imprudent confessors and sinners,³¹⁵ lest one split the Church,³¹⁶ scattering the congregation.³¹⁷ Such parallels suggest composition of Victorinus’ commentary may have been begun under Valerian.³¹⁸

accused Basilides and Carpocrates: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* I 28.2 (SChr 153, l. 59); I 24.5 (SChr 264, l. 92).

³⁰⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 2.4 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2): *Sed et ibi quoque esse faciles homines ad illicitas paces dandas et nouas prophetias adtendendas ostendit*; 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16): *non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita*; opposes *prophetia inaudita et incognita* to the legitimate sort. *Cf.* Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *De laps.* 15 (CC SL 1, l. 290): *inrita et falsa pax, periculosa dantibus et nihil accipientibus profutura. Re this vocabulary v. Galtier, L’Eglises et la remission des péchés, 60-61. For the harshness of penitence in Cyprian, v. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 4.4.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 81); 16.2.3 (CC SL 3B, l. 34); et cf. 17.2.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 25); 30.6.2, (p. 79, Oberthür).*

³¹⁰ On the *facilitas* of certain confessors, v. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *De laps.* 16 (CC SL 3, l. 328); *Epist.* 27.3.2 (CC SL 3B, l. 52); 59.15.4 (CC SL 3C, l. 444). For “prona facilitate” and “tam facile” v. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *De laps.* 18 (CC SL 3, l. 354); et re *paces illicitas cf. Epist.* 43.2.2 (CC SL 3B, l. 29): *mendacio captiosae pacis. Re confessors’ reconciliations, v. Dassman, Sündenvergebung durch Taufe, Busse und Märtyrerfürbitte, 171-178.*

³¹¹ Trevett, *Montanism*, 114-119.

³¹² Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epist.* 43.5.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 84); et *cf.* 22.1.1 (p. 55-57 Oberthür); Trevett, *Montanism*, 116-118.

³¹³ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epist.* 43.5.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 29): *Clamat et dicit dominus: nolite audire sermones pseudoprophetarum, quoniam uisiones cordis eorum frustrantur eos. Locuntur, sed non ab ore domini. Dicunt eis qui abiciunt uerbum domini: pax erit uobis. Pacem nunc offerunt qui ipsi non habent pacem, in ecclesiam lapsos reducere et reuocare promittunt qui de ecclesia recesserunt.*

³¹⁴ Nouatianus, *Epist. ad Cypr.* 3 (PL 3, 966).

³¹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.8 (SChr 423, 54, l. 1-3): *cum uideant quosdam homines in ecclesia dissipatores et pestiferos, ne dispersio fiat, portant illos. Re portare = endure v. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, porto II. Trop. B. endure, 1403. Et cf. Act. 15.10 (VL; Cod. 50; p. 36 Belsheim): Et nunc ergo quid temptatis deum, inponere iugum super ceruicem discipulorum quod neque patres nostri neque nos potuimus portare? ; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 32 Belsheim): nunc ergo quid temptastis deum, ut imponatis iugum supra cervicem discipulorum, quod neque patres nostri neque nos potuimus portare?*

Re iudicium cf. Gal. 5.10 (VL; Cod. 65; p. 61 Buchanan): Ego confido in uobis in dño· quod nihil aliud sapietis: Qui autem conturbat uos· portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 281 Tischendorf): ego confido in uobis in dno quod nihil aliud sapietis qvi autem conturbat nos, portavit iudicium quicumque est ille. TLL, s. v. porto, c. 54, 50 et seq; Augustinus Hipponensis, De cate. Rud. 17 (CC SL 46, l. 3): sed isti reprobi sunt: et si ad tempus eos (= reprobos) portat ecclesia.

³¹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.8 (SChr 423, 54, l. 1): *cum uideant quosdam homines in ecclesia dissipatores et pestiferos, ne dispersio fiat, portant illos. v. Lewis and Short, dissipator I. disperser, destroyer, 596. TLL, s. v. dissipator, c. 1586: examples from Jerome, Lucifer, Augustine, about heretics. The origin is perhaps Matth. 12.30 (VL; Cod. 3; p. 15 Belsheim): Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non congregat*

A time of insecurity and penitence, following recent persecution, would correspond, eschatologically, to the time of the two witnesses of Apoc. 11, heralding the last persecution of Antichrist.³¹⁹ Already the wicked one prepares his mischief, and works in secret.³²⁰ As Apoc. 3.9 has Jews of “the synagogue of Satan”, Victorinus speaks of Jews *assembled* (*colliguntur*, associated with the root sense of συναγωγή) by Antichrist, a midrash on 2 Thess. 2.9-13.³²¹ When the forces of Antichrist gather, Christ returns with his host.³²² Cyprian did not explicitly identify Decius or Valerian with Antichrist, but he did interpret contemporary persecution as a sign of his coming.³²³ His correspondent, however, made the connection more explicit.³²⁴ If Victorinus holds likewise, *In Apocalypsin* dates again to 258-260, although a Gallienus-Antichrist is also possible.³²⁵

mecum dispargit; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 15 Belsheim): Quis non est mecum, *contra* me est, et qui non congregat mecum, dispargit; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 29 Scrivener): qui non est mecum aduersum me est et qui non golligit mecum disspargit) comparing it with Cyprian: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 43.5.2 (CC SL 3B, l. 92): Quisque alibi collegerit spargit (“alibi” = “elsewhere than the church”); 41.1.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 4): Christi membra dissipare. In Quintillian, *disperdere* is equivalent to *dissupare/dissipare*: Quintillianus, Inst. orat. IX 3.39 (p. 180, l. 13 Radermacher). Et cf. TLL, s. v. *dispersio*, c. 1412, 49 et seq.

³¹⁷ “spargere plebem”: the image of the flock scattered (Matth. 26.31 (VL; Cod. 4; p. 37 Belsheim): Tunc dicit illis: omnes uos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte. Scriptum est enim: Percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oues gregis; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 83 Scrivener): tunc dicit eis ihs omnes uos scandalizamini in me in nocte hac scriptum est enim percutiam pastorem et dispergentur oues gregis): Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 73.15.2 (CC SL 3C, l. 257): qui spargentes atque inpugnantes ecclesiam Christi (the subjects’ being the heretics) a Christo ipso aduersarii, ab apostolis eius antichristi nominentur; Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. 2.141 (p. 78 Pollman): reddere factori multos, quos sparserat unus: Christ brings to the creator the sheep scattered by Adam.

³¹⁸ However, the commentary on Revelation is likely *posterior* to those on Isaiah and Ezekiel: this is why, although inspired by Book V of Irenaeus’ *Aduersus haereses*, Victorinus cites none of the great prophetic texts on Christ’s Millennial reign, for he had likely already treated them.

³¹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.2 (SChr 423, 94, l. 7).

³²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 14-17).

³²¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.2 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2).

³²² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.1 (SChr 423, 86, l. 1).

³²³ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Fortun. Praef. 1 (CC SL 3, l. 2): antichristi tempus infestum adpropinquare iam coepit; Epist. 58.1.2 (CC SL 3C, l. 13): occasum saeculi atque antichristi tempus adpropinquasse; cf. Epist. 80.1.3 (CC SL 3C, l. 18). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 223-225.

³²⁴ *Antichristi metator*: Nouatianus, Epist. ad Cypr. et al. 22.1.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 10; p. 55-57 Oberthur): Nam tu deo uolente ipsum anguem maiorem, metatorem antichristi, non tantum confessus es sed et terruisti uocibus illis et uerbis deificis quibus scio quasi amatores fidei et zelotypi disciplina Christi in *qua* te noui uiuacitate uersatoris gaudio uixisti. v. Clarke (trans./ed.), The letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage, vol. 4, 332; Quet, La “crise” de l’Empire romain de Marc Aurèle à Constantin, 89. Harnack dates the introductory apocalypse of the *Testamentum Domini* (*Test. Dom.* I, 1-14: p 5-19 Rahmani) to the reign of Decius: Harnack, *Chronologie der althrist* 2, 514f.

³²⁵ To this period dates the Jewish *Apocalypse of Elijah*, which identifies the Antichrist with Odaenathus of Palmyra (though the Christian Sib. XIII (p. 209, l. 150-151 Geffcken) glorifies him): Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 2, 580.

3.2.1. Textual evidence for the Poetovian liturgy

The *Chronological fragment*, *De fabrica mundi* and *In Apocalypsin* suggest a Poetovian liturgy.³²⁶ This would seem to be largely Greek: some credal formulae betray orientalisms;³²⁷ others the Dacian symbolism of Nicetas of Remesiana.³²⁸ The formula “nouum est...” introduces two sets of four mnemonic articles, one set on Christ, the other on Christian life:³²⁹

A. Christ 1) is made man;³³⁰ 2) was sent to death by men; 3) rose the third day; 4) ascended bodily to heaven.³³¹

B. Christian life entails the 1) remission of sins; 2) gift of the Spirit; 3) priesthood of intercession; 4) expectation of the promised Kingdom.

Concerning Christ, “*tertia die resurgere*” is New Testamental, found in Tertullian,³³² ancient Roman and most fourth century Greek and Latin symbols.³³³ Regarding the Passion,

³²⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, l. 3): XXIII seniores et quattuor animalia citharas et fialas habentes, cantantes canticum nouum: <coniuncta ueteris testamenti praedicatio cum nouo populum christianum ostendit cantantem canticum nouum>, id est confessionem suam publice proferentium.

³²⁷ Chiefly the use of Greek, in quasi-sacred manner: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 2): hagnos~<g, hagnos~g, hagnos~g>, sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens.

³²⁸ Nicetas Remesianus, Te De. 1. 5 (Burn, An Introduction to the Creeds, 272): Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth.

³²⁹ Cf. the twelve articles, in three sets of four, perhaps of Ambrose, addressing, respectively, the Godhead-incarnation, passion-resurrection-second coming, baptism-resurrection of individual Christians: Ambrosius Mediolanensis (dub.), Expl. Symb. 8 (CSEL 73, 11, l. 8): ecce quattuor istae sententiae! videamus alias: tertia die ... et mortuos. Ecce aliae quattuor sententiae: hoc est octo sententiae. Videamus adhuc alias quattuor sententias: et in spiritum sanctum ... resurrectionem).

³³⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8): factum hominem.

³³¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8): cum corpore a Patre receptum; Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 4): cum corpore in caelis ad Patrem ascendit; Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 2.1 (p. 91, l.10 Harvey): τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν; Epiphanius Salaminis, Ancor. 119.8 (GCS 25, l. 2): ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι; cf. also Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo. 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 3): cum corpore ascendit ad caelum.

³³² Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 566, l. 27).

³³³ Marcellus, Frag. 129 (p. 214, l. 45 Hansen/Klostermann). Rufinus, Expos. Symb. 27 (CC SL 20, l. 1).

“eumdem ab hominibus morti tradi”³³⁴ is biblically derived from the Old Latin, rather than tradition.³³⁵ It resembles usage in Tertullian³³⁶ and Pseudo-Cyprian,³³⁷ but differs from the more common “he suffered, (and/or) was crucified and died”;³³⁸ intimated also in the Asian passiology of Melito of Sardis' poem on Easter.³³⁹

³³⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, l. 5).

³³⁵ “morti traderent” translates θανατώσωσιν and θανατώσαι appears in the Old Latin of Matth. 26.59 and 27.1 (Codex Sang. 51, 70 and 71); Matth. 26.59 (p. 79 Nestle-Aland): ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν; 27.1 (p. 80 Nestle-Aland): ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν.

³³⁶ See note above.

³³⁷ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Ad Nouat. 18 (CC SL 4, l. 9): Et ut quid uos morti traditis, domus israel?; 10 (CC SL 4, l. 24): Quid morti uos traditis, domus israel? sic et per esaiaem prophetam: non in aeternum indignabor uobis neque semper non defendam uos.

³³⁸ Symb. Apost. (): παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα; passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus; Symb. Sirm. (Ench. Symb. 139): et crucifixus et mortuus est et sepultus; Symb. Const. (Ench. Symb. 150 (DS 86)): crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, (et) passus et sepultus est. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 25 (l. 4 Harvey): ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτον τὸν καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα καὶ γεννηθέντα; Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 18.3 (SChr 211, l. 45): et passus est et sepultus est et resurrexit; Adu. haer. III 18.3 (SChr 211, l. 35): quoniam Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum Scripturas et quoniam sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas. See also Tertullianus, De carn. 5 (CC SL 2, l. 29): quod sepeliretur et resuscitaretur; Adu. Prax. 2 (CC SL 2, l. 10): Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas et resuscitatum. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CSEL, 389, l. 27): quod christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris et quod sepultus sit et quod resurrexerit tertia die. Optatus Mileuitanus. Con. Parmen. Don. I 1.1 (SChr 412, l. 1): passus et mortuus, sepultus resurrexerit. Hilarius Pictaviensis, De trin. X 22 (CC SL 62A, l. 37): Itaque cum Iesus Christus et natus et passus et mortuus et sepultus sit, et resurrexit; De trin. VII 6 (CC SL 62, l. 23): qui crucifixus est, mortuus et sepultus est, qui de mortuis resurgens in dextris Dei est; X, 65 (CC SL 62A, l. 36): et passus et mortuus et sepultus et resurgens; Tract. super Ps. 58.9 (CC SL 61, 178, l. 19): dum crucifixum, dum mortuum, dum sepultum. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De fid. I 15 (CSEL 78, l. 12): et crucifixus et mortuus et sepultus est; De exces. I 11 (CSEL 73, 214, l. 214): qui crucifixus est, qui mortuus, qui sepultus est. Ambrosius Mediolanensis (dub.), Apol. Dau. alt. 12.65 (CSEL 32, 2, 403, l. 4): quia crucifixus, quia mortuus, quia sepultus est; Expl. Symb. 5 (CSEL 73, 7, l. 6): qui natus ... et sepultus; 8 (CSEL 73, 11, l. 7): sub ... sepultus: habes passionem, mortem et sepulturam. Gregorius Illiberitanus (dub.), Fid. San. Hieronymus (CC SL 69, l. 6): passus est passione sub pontio pilato, sub herode rege, crucifixus, sepultus, descendit ad inferna, calcauit aculeum mortis, tertia die resurrexit, apparuit apostolis. Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. (GCS 37, 258, l. 9): τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Rufinus, Expos. Symb. 12 (CC SL 20, l. 1): Crucifixus sub pontio pilato et sepultus descendit in inferna; Apol. ad Anast. Rom. urb. episc. 3 (CC SL 2, l. 1): et passus est et sepultus et resurrexit a mortuis. Gregorius Illiberitanus (dub.), Fid. san. Hier. (CC SL 69, l. 6): passus est passione sub pontio pilato, sub herode rege, crucifixus, sepultus, descendit ad inferna, calcauit aculeum mortis, tertia die resurrexit, apparuit apostolis. Hieronymus, Com. in euan. Matth. IV (SL 77, l. 1995): SS illi potestas data est qui paulo ante crucifixus, qui sepultus in tumulo, qui mortuus iacuerat, qui postea resurrexit; IV (SL 77, l. 1921): quamquam homo sit qui crucifixus est qui sepultus qui clausus tumulo; Com. in Is. Prol. (CC SL 73A, l. 25): mortuus ac sepultus et resurgens ab inferis; Com. in Is. XIV 53.8 (CC SL 73A, l. 90): ergo idcirco passus est dominus et sepultus; Com. in Eph. I (PL 26, col. 484, l. 29): christus passus fuerit, et sepultus, et resurrexit; Com. in Ion. 2 (CC SL 76, l. 234 et mortuus sit et sepultus; Con. Ioh. 36 (CC SL 79A, 69, l. 2): Credis uere dominum resurrexisse, in eodem quo mortuus, quo sepultus est corpore, an non credis; Dial. Con. Pelag. II 22 (CC SL 80, l. 51): mortuus que est et sepultus in mausoleo patrum suorum. Paulinus Nolanus, Epist. 45 (94 G), 6 (CSEL 34.2, 503, l. 7): qui utique cum in eadem carne, qua mortuus et sepultus fuerat, et resurrexisset. Prosper Aquitanus, Expos. Ps. 132 (CC SL 68A, l. 13): Qui mortuus, sepultus, resuscitatus ascendit in caelos.

³³⁹ Especially in the mini-Symbol found in Melito, *De pasch.* l. 507-509 (Perler): ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεὶς, ὁ εἰς γῆν ταφεὶς, ὁ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνασταθεὶς; l. 805 (Perler): ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ κρεμασθεὶς, ὁ εἰς γῆν ταφεὶς.

The formula “Filius Dei...homo factus est”, found in both Nicene symbols, may have been Poetovian, since it finds echo in Victorinus’ “hominem factum Christum”,³⁴⁰ an article of his particular *Mensura/Regula Fidei*.³⁴¹ “Cum corpore in caelis ascendit”³⁴² is probably credal too, constituting one of Victorinus’ seven “new” articles,³⁴³ as well as clearly implied by his Rule of Faith.³⁴⁴ Irenaeus and Epiphanius of Salamis also qualify the ascension as fleshly, alone of other early symbologists.³⁴⁵ The absence of the descent into hell from the Poetovian creed, which appears in the neighbouring Aquileian one,³⁴⁶ may also evince an Asian influence.

However, while the *substance* of the formula “We expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come”, from the symbols of Epiphanius and Nicaea-

³⁴⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8); 4.4 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1).

³⁴¹ See previous note and Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 94, l. 16): Haec est arundo et mensura fidei, ut nemo adoret ad aram sanctam, nisi qui haec confitetur: Dominum et Christum eius.

³⁴² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 4).

³⁴³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, l. 5): Nouum est filium Dei hominem fieri, nouum etiam eundem ab hominibus morti tradi, nouum tertia die resurgere, nouum cum corpore in caelis ascendere, nouum remissionem peccatorum hominibus dari, nouum Spiritu Sancto signari homines, nouum sacerdotium accipere obsecrationis et regnum exspectare immensae repromissionis.

³⁴⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8).

³⁴⁵ Irenaeus, Frag. Dep. Op. 26 (l. 10-11 Harvey): οὕτω τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐνώσει, τῇ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν φυσικῇ, ἐνωθέντος τῇ σαρκί, τὸ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες ὑπὸ τῆς θείας φύσεως εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελήφθη μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀφθαρτισθέν. Epiphanius Salaminis, Ancor. 119,8 (GCS 25, l. 2): παθόντα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἀναστάντα καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, ἐνδόξως καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς.

³⁴⁶ Rufinus, Expos. Symb. 12 (CC SL 20, l. 1): Crucifixus sub pontio pilato et sepultus descendit in inferna.

Constantinople,³⁴⁷ appears also in the millenarian Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian,³⁴⁸

Victorinus has the more materially chiliast “expect the kingdom of great reward”.³⁴⁹

The gift of the Holy Spirit, described by the unusual formula “new is the sealing of men by the Holy Spirit”,³⁵⁰ derived from Eph. 1.13 and 4.30, is credal for the South Dacian bishop Nicetas of Remesiana.³⁵¹ “Remission of sins” is first cited in the second century oriental *Epistula apostolorum*.³⁵² Thence it joins the third century Roman³⁵³ and Carthaginian symbols,³⁵⁴ and is common in the fourth century.³⁵⁵ Finally, while the “communion of the saints”, alien to oriental symbols, is only surely Roman credal in the fourth century, it may be Danubian in origin (whence to Gaul).³⁵⁶ This comprises for Pannonian Victorinus a precursory intercessory priesthood, where the Holy Spirit within each believer unites them, living or dead, in a single body.³⁵⁷ Is Victorinus closest to a common origin?

³⁴⁷ Epiphanius Salaminis, Ancor. 119.11-12 (GCS 25, 1. 3): πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον; Sac. Concil. Nou. Ampl. Col. 3 (p. 566 Mansi): ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

³⁴⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 36.3 (SChr 153, 1. 59): Et in omnibus his et per omnia idem Deus Pater ostenditur, qui plasmavit hominem et hereditatem terrae promisit patribus, qui eduxit illum in resurrectione justorum et promissiones adimplet in Filii sui regnum, postea praestans illa paternaliter quae neque oculus uidit neque auris audiuit neque in cor hominis ascendit; Tertullianus, De praescr. haeret. 13 (CC SL 1, 1. 9): nouam promissionem regni caelorum. Cf. Justinus Martyr, Apol. I (l. 3-5 Goodspeed): καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι κηρυχθεῖσιν εὐφροσύνη ἐστὶ προσδοκῶντων τὴν κατηγγελεμένην ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν.

³⁴⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, 1. 5): Nouum est filium Dei hominem fieri, nouum etiam eundem ab hominibus morti tradi, nouum tertia die resurgere, nouum cum corpore in caelis ascendere, nouum remissionem peccatorum hominibus dari, nouum Spiritu Sancto signari homines, nouum sacerdotium accipere obsecrationis et regnum exspectare immensae repromissionis.

³⁵⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, 1. 5): nouum Spiritu Sancto signari homines.

³⁵¹ Vna ecclesia sunt, quia una fide et conuersatione sanctificati, uno Spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt: Burn, Niceta of Remesiana, 48.

³⁵² Schneemelcher/Wilson, New Testament Apocrypha: Gospels and related writings, vol. 1, 253.

³⁵³ Rufinus, Expos. Symb. 34 (CC SL 20, 1. 3): remissionem peccatorum. Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. 4 (p. 258, l. 12 Holl, vol. 3): ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν; Kelly, Early Christian Creeds Author, 82; 100.

³⁵⁴ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 69.7.2 (CC SL 3B, 1. 155): Nam cum dicunt "credis in remissionem peccatorum et uitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam?" mentiuntur interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 70.2.1 (CC SL 3B, 1. 42): Nam cum dicimus: "credis in uitam aeternam et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?" intellegimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari, apud haereticos autem ubi ecclesia non sit non posse peccata dimitti.

³⁵⁵ Credis deinde remissionem peccatorum: Burn, Niceta of Remesiana, 48.

³⁵⁶ It occurs in the creed of the Stridonian Jerome: Gregorius Illiberitanus (dub.), Fid. San. Hier. (CC SL 69, 1. 14): sanctorum communionem; and is generally thought to have been in the creed of Nicetas of Remesiana: Burn, Niceta of Remesiana, lxxviii.

³⁵⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, 1. 5).

3.2.2. Other liturgical traces

Otherwise, the Poetovian liturgical year, week and fasting resembles the oriental, especially the Antiochene. Was eastern evangelising responsible, as for Lyons?³⁵⁸ Easter was commemorated on March 25th (VIII Kal. Apr.),³⁵⁹ as in Gaul.³⁶⁰ Victorinus' synchronizing the Annunciation, Resurrection and day of the creation of light³⁶¹ fits an Easter at the spring equinox, as first ruled Dionysius of Alexandria.³⁶² This conforms closely to Hippolytus.³⁶³ Poetovians, it seems, commemorated the passion on April 23rd (X Kal. Apr.).³⁶⁴ This practice Epiphanius associates with Quartodecimans in Cappadocia and elsewhere,³⁶⁵ while Martin of Braga attributes it near universally to Gaulish bishops even up to his own time.³⁶⁶

The *Chronological fragment* dates Christ's birth on VIII Kal. Ian. *i.e.* December 25th.³⁶⁷ The (Hippolytan derived?)³⁶⁸ type of *Christus Sol* inspired this date, first explicit in Pseudo-Cyprian,³⁶⁹ common for Christmas in the West, even before Constantine's death.³⁷⁰

³⁵⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 231-233.

³⁵⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. Chron. (SChr 423, 134, l. 8).

³⁶⁰ According to the calendar of Polemius Siluius, addressed to Eucherius, bishop of Lyons: Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics 5, 18.

³⁶¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. Chron. (SChr 423, 134, l. 10-13 (interpolatio)); Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6).

³⁶² Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 2, 18. The Talmud also assigns the day of the creation of the luminaries to the vernal equinox: Berakhot 59b (p. 227-228 Epstein).

³⁶³ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 23.3 (SChr 14, l. 2): Ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἢ ἔνσαρκος, ἐν ἧ γεγέννηται ἐν Βηθλεέμ, ἐγένετο πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων; IV 23.3 (SChr 14, l. 5-7): ἔπαθεν δὲ τριακοστῶ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν ἀπριλίων, ἡμέρα παρασκευῆ, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ὑπατεύοντος Ῥούφου καὶ Ῥουβελλίωνος. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers: Part I, vol. 2, 391-392.

³⁶⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. Chron. (SChr 423, 134, l. 7).

³⁶⁵ Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. (GCS 31, 246, l. 7). Williams, The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book 2, 24.

³⁶⁶ Martinus Dumiensis/Bracarenis, De ira 1 (PL 72, 49-40).

³⁶⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Frag. Chron. (SChr 423, 134, l. 4): VIII Kal. Ian. natus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus Sulpicio et Camerino consulibus et baptizatus est VIII Id. Ian. Valeriano et Asiatico consulibus.

³⁶⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 23.3 (SChr 14, l. 1-3): Ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἢ ἔνσαρκος, ἐν ἧ γεγέννηται ἐν Βηθλεέμ, ἐγένετο πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων.

³⁶⁹ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De Pasc. comp. 19 (CSEL, 266, l. 9): O quam praeclara et diuina Domini prouidentia, ut in illo die quo factus est sol in ipso die nasceretur Christus V kl. Apr. feria III.

Emperor Aurelian (270-275 CE), himself from Pannonian Sirmium, had patronized a cult of the Unconquered Sun,³⁷¹ whose birthday was assigned to December 25th.³⁷² Christ as *Sol Inuictus* likely drew worshippers from syncretistic error, though it might effect contrariwise too.³⁷³ The Chronological fragment sets the annunciation on March 25th, nine months before the nativity, a tradition Augustine thought ancient. Probably the two dates are similarly derived. Christ's baptism is set on January 6th (VIII Id. Ian.), when the Egyptian churches celebrated both his nativity and baptism, probably from early times.³⁷⁴

3.2.3. Fasting

De fabrica mundi stresses there are three sorts of fast:³⁷⁵

- a) *statio*, the fast until the ninth hour, the usual time of the main meal. This is the *semieiunium* of Tertullian.
- b) *ieiunium*, the fast until evening
- c) *superpositio*, the fast prolonged until the following morning.

This corresponds with western practice, while the eastern conflates *statio* with a fast in the strict sense. Tertullian's *On fasting* uses analogous terms, but Victorinus first mentions *superpositio*.

³⁷⁰ E.g. as depicted in the third century mausoleum of the Julii: Toynbee, "Review of Mullus: Festschrift Tlieodor Klauser. Jahrbuch fur Antike und Ckristentwn, Ergänzungsband 1, Stuiber/Hermann (eds.)" in: JThS (Apr., 1965), 181.

³⁷¹ Scriptores Historiae Augustae XXVI: Aurelianus, 14.3 (p. 160 Hohl 2):.

³⁷² Furius Dionysius Filocalus, Kalend. Ann. CCCLIV Conscr. (PL 13, 687, B, bg): December, VIII N(atalis)·INVICTI·CM·XXX.

³⁷³ Leo Magnus, tract. 22 (CC SL 138, l. 203-233).

³⁷⁴ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 225-226.

³⁷⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 1-13): Nunc ratio ueritatis ostenditur, quare dies IIII tetras nuncupatur, quare usque ad horam nonam ieiunamus <aut> usque ad uesperum aut superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat.

Poetovian Fast days were Wednesday and Friday (common ancient Church practice), and Saturday (rarer), to sharply distinguish the Christian Sabbath from the Jewish. Victorinus speaks of Sabbath fasting.³⁷⁶ *Statio* or *superpositio* could be on Wednesday (the latter is observed in 259 for a Numidian martyr) or Friday. Friday *superpositio* begins in the morning and lasts until the Eucharistic *syntaxis* on Sunday morning, two full days' fasting, nor merely in Holy Week. Some Gnostics fasted on the Sabbath, to flout the Law. Ostensibly interceding for their conversion, fasting also opposed Jews' Sabbath of joy.³⁷⁷ Dulaey asks whether this practice was an archaism, or evinces a significant Poetovian Jewish community.³⁷⁸

The Christian Sabbath may prefigure the true Sabbath of Christ's coming Millennium, even as the Eucharistic first/eighth day prefigures eternity,³⁷⁹ and is a time of penitence before the Parousia.³⁸⁰ The Sabbath *superpositio* also prepared the assembly for Sunday: "ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus", alluding to the sense of εὐχαριστεῖν, *to give thanks*, conflating the verses 1 Cor. 11.23-24.³⁸¹ Although Victorinus does not use the term *Eucharistia*, in its specialised sense of *the bread and wine gratefully received*, his consuming of the Eucharist breaks the fast, whose pangs had intensified the *Eucharistia* or action of grace. The formula "accipiens *ergo* panem gratias egit", the Latin translation of the Hippolytan *Apostolic Tradition*, dates to the fourth century.³⁸²

Thus Victorinus' work betrays various influences: Judeo-Christian, oriental and occidental. He had undoubtedly read Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Novatian and the

³⁷⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 2).

³⁷⁷ Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 36.3 (CSEL 34.2, p. 34, l. 24). According to Pseudo-Jerome one must encourage Saturday fasting: Pseudo-Hieronymus, Epist. 12 (PLS 2, 269). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.1 n. 88.

³⁷⁸ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 36.

³⁷⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 4).

³⁸⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 1-3).

³⁸¹ 1 Cor. 11.23-24 (p. 459-460 Nestle-Aland): ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας.

³⁸² Hippolytus Romanus, Const. apost. (p. 250 and 252 Bunsen; SChr 11B, 90 and 19): Accipiens *ergo* panem gratias egit; (p. 252 Bunsen; SChr 11B, 90): offerimus tibi hunc panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.1 n. 88.

Muratorian Canon, even as his exegesis evinces familiarity with Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen.³⁸³ Poetovium likely attracted ideas even as it did merchandise.³⁸⁴

3.3. Victorinus' reflection on scripture

3.3.1. Victorinus and the Law: Christ as Word-, Law- and Landscape.

First and foremost of interest in Victorinus' treatment of scripture in his *In Apocalypsin* is his identifying of scroll sealed seven times with the Old Testament itself. This notion he surely found in Hippolytus, also applying certain lessons drawn from Origen, who identifies *all* scripture, old and new, with the scroll of Apoc. 5. But Victorinus' is the first extant *commentary* on the Apocalypse that makes this explicit. Following Irenaeus and Origen, Victorinus affirms the unity of the Testaments, to which Christ is key, though curiously he does not explicitly use that metaphor (which first appears in Luke's polemic against Pharisaic interpretation (Luc. 11.52), though not Matthew's (Matth. 23.13), perhaps reflecting the former's pagan Greco-Roman background). For Hippolytus, Christ is himself the seal of the Law, while the Church *i.e.* its received hermeneutic is the key, though he then explicates this in the context of the Lamb's so opening the scroll of Apoc. 5: naturally seal and key are inextricable. Veiled or sealed until Christ's death and resurrection, the "spiritual sense", a term borrowed from Origen,³⁸⁵ is revealed by the Holy Spirit to the Church, as for Hippolytus, through meditation on scripture and life in the spirit. Interpretation of scripture is

³⁸³ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 280-299.

³⁸⁴ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse 1, 36.

³⁸⁵ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 9.9 (, 435, l. 14-15): Intelligamus primo quid designat historia et tunc, quid sensus spiritalis habeat, requiramus.

a charismatic gift: the prophet is succeeded by the exegete, through whom the word of God reaches men.³⁸⁶ Victorinus reflects on scriptural style and lexis, interpreting scripture by scripture, the basis of the author's hermeneutic method. Scripture is a spiritual, living treasure, with a capacity to grow new, though still ancient, (*quasi*-)Catholic meaning. Unlike for Origen, and those who seek endless Christian knowledge, against whom Victorinus' fellow Latin chiliast Tertullian rails,³⁸⁷ the dove of the spirit has clipped wings. Prophecy must pass the censor. Victorinus' stipulation that it be "non catholica prophetia inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata" scarcely makes sense.³⁸⁸ If prophecy must be that already prophesied *i.e.* written in scripture, what role the exegete as prophet? How can "Catholic" prophecy consist in that which is unknown or unheard? Some posit here a scribal error, but perhaps Victorinus was struggling with an inherently difficult paradox.³⁸⁹ Central to his notion of a (*quasi*-)orthodox hermeneutic is the belief in Old Testament prophecies fulfilled in the substance of the New.³⁹⁰ By extension, the clarification of scriptural obscurity, none obscurer than in the Apocalypse, is achieved by careful comparison or matching of verse with verse, word with word.

Yet beyond Victorinus' hermeneutic is his assumption that biblical promises to Christians include a greatly enlarged land of Israel, centred on a Jerusalem "restored" in Christian fashion, as for Justin, though not for Origen (though the matter is more complex than often thought –see below). Unlike most of his predecessors, however, Victorinus makes no mention of Jewish dispossession (rather a Christian sort!), though this is likely implied by Antichrist's rebuilding of the temple. The Jewish dispossession often adduced as an

³⁸⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 97-98.

³⁸⁷ Tertullianus, De prescr. haer. 14 (CC SL 1, l. 1).

³⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-20): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis propheticae.

³⁸⁹ Unless Victorinus is using "catholic" in its literal sense, and testifies to widespread charismatic behaviour in the third century church.

³⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 15): Hoc tenet ecclesia catholica et antea praedicata et postea consummata et merito uolat et tollitur a terra, uiuum animal.

important witness to Christian truth by other Fathers is curiously absent from the Poetovian, though this may be by chance. The land of Judaea is the Church's by virtue of, *inter alia*, its being where the Son of Man's brazen feet, which are the Apostles, are or were rooted.³⁹¹ Victorinus uses the more vernacular *Iudea*, rather than the classical *Iudaea*; but the more biblical *Syria* over the more contemporary *Syria Palaestina* (despite his apparent pilgrimage thither), suggesting his being informed about these matters from sources other than those culturally pagan or classical ones his contemporaries or predecessors used. Victorinus likewise uses the less classical or common *Iudeus* rather than *Iudaeus*,³⁹² again suggesting an acquaintance with such matters at a distance from the more educated. It may even cast doubt on the extent of his literacy in Greek, since he does not use a Latin transliteration. In any case, Christ as the Word, and true meaning of the Law, is inextricable from the land and Jerusalem it promises believers. Christ is Word, Law and Land.

3.3.2. The clarification of Revelation by Revelation

Boldly Victorinus identifies the angel with the seal of the living God (Apoc. 7, 2) with

Elijah,³⁹³ whose return is deduced from the two witnesses of Apoc. 11, 3, *via* Mal 3, 32-23.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.4 (SChr 423, 116, l. 1-118, l. 16): *Portas uero eius de singulis margaritis, ternas ex omnibus partibus, non clausas, sed esse apertas; multam rationem ostendit scriptura adferri ibi munera regum seruiturorum, regionum et gentium: de subditiōe nouissimorum, de quibus tractauimus, ait. Sed ciuitas non ita ut nouimus intellegitur; nos enim nihil amplius possumus arbitrari sine duce, quam quod audiuius et uidimus. Ceterum dicitur ciuitas omnis illa prouinciarum orientalium regio promissa patriarchae Abrahæ. Aspice, inquit, in caelo, a loco, in quo modo tu stas id est a flumine magno Eufrate usque ad flumen Aegypti; omnem terram quam tu aspicias, tibi dabo illam et semini tuo. Deinde Spiritus Sanctus ait: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare - id est a mari rubro, quod est Arabiae, usque ad mare Aquilonis, quod est mare Fenicis - et usque ad fines terrae: sunt Syriae maioris partes. Ceterum populum binum inueniet ibi in aduentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi; ipse quoque Dominus Christus in euangelio ait: Tunc qui in Iudea sunt fugiant in montibus, id est, quotquot in Iudea collecti fuerint, eant in illum locum quem paratum habent ut nutriantur ibi triennio et mensibus sex a facie diaboli.*

³⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (SChr 423, 106, l. 4-7): *Hunc ergo Deus suscitatum mittere regem dignum dignis, Iudeis et persecutoribus Christi <et Christum> talem qualem meruerunt persecutores et Iudei.*

³⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 7.0 (SChr 423, 84, l. 4-10): *Haec in apertione libri et ueteris testamenti et nouae praedicationis legimus; ait enim Dominus per Malachiam: Ecce ego mitto uobis Heliam*

This angelology perhaps echoes Origen's allowing for John the Baptist's soul as well as spirit *perhaps* incorporating some element from Elijah;³⁹⁵ perhaps even in the context of some souls' or spirits' bearing a closer *likeness* to their creator than others, a discourse strongly redolent of Paul's and Plato's of *type*. It is impossible to prove that Origen conceived of the Spirit of Elijah's being (the imprint of) his image (though the Lucan homilies are closely associated) and thus shaping the soul or spirit of John the Baptist; but the commentary on John, while addressing the relationship between John and Elijah, contains an extended discussion on how the Spirit unites and, to some degree, renders indistinguishable the spirits of each individual prophet,³⁹⁶ these spirits all being gifts to these prophets' very souls (*i.e.* their being distinct)³⁹⁷ from God.³⁹⁸ In a similar vein, those souls endowed with reason

Thesbitem, conuertere corda patrum ad filios et cor hominis ad proximum suum, id est ad Christum per paenitentiam; "conuertere corda patrum ad filios": secundum tempus uocationis Iudeos ad sequentis populi fidem reuocare. Et ideo ostendit etiam numerum ex Iudeis crediturum et ex gentibus magnam multitudinem; Com. in Apoc. 2.2 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2-5): Denique ait: Scio uos et pauperes esse et laborare, sed diuites estis: scit enim apud se talibus diuitias esse reconditas, et detractationem de Iudeis quos negat esse Iudeos, sed synagogam Satanae, quoniam <ab> Antichristo colliguntur, quibus ait ut perseuerent usque ad mortem, et qui perseuerauerit, non laedetur a morte secunda, id est non castigabitur in inferno; Com. in Apoc. 20.1 (SChr 423, 114, l. 9-13): De hac resurrectione ait: Et uidi agnum stantem et cum eo CXLVIII milia, id est cum Christo stantes, eos scilicet qui ex Iudeis in nouissimo tempore sunt credituri per praedicationem Heliae, quos non solum testatur Spiritus corpore uirgineo sed et lingua.

³⁹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.3 (SChr 423, 94, l. 1).

³⁹⁵ Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 14.85 (SChr 120, l. 1)-88 (SChr 120, l. 6): Προηγούμενος δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελέστερον ἐξεταστέον καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὸν λόγον ἐρευνητέον τὸν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς συστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ γήϊνον σῶμα εἰσκρίσεως αὐτῆς, τῶν τε ἐπιμερισμῶν τοῦ ἐκάστης βίου καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγῆς, καὶ εἰ ἐνδέχεται αὐτὴν εἰσκριθῆναι δευτέρον ἐν σώματι ἢ μή, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ περιόδῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διακοσμήσει ἢ οὐ, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι ἢ ἐτέρῳ, καὶ εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ, πότερον καθ' ὑποκείμενον μένοντι τῷ αὐτῷ κατὰ δὲ ποιότητα μεταβαλομένῳ, ἢ καὶ καθ' ὑποκείμενον καὶ ποιότητα ἐσομένῳ τῷ αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ αἰ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι χρήσεται ἢ ἀμείψει αὐτό. Ἐν οἷς καὶ τί ἐστὶ κυρίως μετενσωμάτωσις ἐξετάσαι δεήσει, τί τε αὕτη διαφέρει ἐνσωματώσεως, καὶ εἰ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ λέγοντι μετενσωμάτωσιν ἄφθαρτον τηρεῖν τὸν κόσμον. Ἐν οἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται παραθεῖναι καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν θελότων κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς συσπείρεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ἀπαξαιπλῶς ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς λόγος πολὺς καὶ δυσερμήνευτος ὢν ἀναλεχθισόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σποράδην κειμένων ἰδίας δεῖται πραγματείας. Διόπερ νῦν κατὰ τὸ παρήκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Ἰωάννου ἐζητημένων ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξετάσαντες τὸ πρόβλημα μετώμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

³⁹⁶ Such that the spirit of Elijah is scarcely different from that of Isai: Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 7 (11; 68; (SChr 120, l. 1-6): Εἰς παραμυθίαν δὲ τούτων καὶ τούτῳ χρήσεται τῷ λόγῳ εἰ ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς οἰκειωθεὶς τοῖς ἀγίοις θεὸς αὐτῶν γίνεται, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, πῶς πλεον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οἰκειωθὲν τοῖς προφήταις πνεῦμα αὐτῶν χρηματίζειν οἷόν τε ἔσται, ἴν' ἢ οὕτως πνεῦμα Ἡλίου καὶ πνεῦμα Ἡσαίου λεγόμενον τὸ πνεῦμα.

³⁹⁷ Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 7 (11; 66; (SChr 120, l. 8-10): διὰ μυρίων δυνάμενος ἀποδεικνύει γραφῶν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην δύναμιν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς.

received the *prototype* of God's truths *directly*.³⁹⁹ In any case, it is curious that Victorinus identifies Elijah specifically with the angel that bears the seal of God, with which he will mark each believer. Which mark is explicitly contrasted with that of Antichrist, which is no less than that of circumcision *i.e.* the literal observance of the Law,⁴⁰⁰ the antithesis of its allegorical interpretation (in Jewish tradition, Elijah is guest at every circumcision).⁴⁰¹

For Victorinus, wherewith the Holy Spirit *seals* believers entails a *mental* component. Although surely its chief medium, if not *sign*, is baptism, by water, he does not specify this (as does *Hermas*, which has *baptism* as the very seal). Although revelation by the Spirit consists in no small part of a non-literal (as we might say) scriptural hermeneutic, Victorinus merely has *sensus spiritualis*,⁴⁰² along with *typus*, as a technical term.⁴⁰³ He does not clearly distinguish between the categories *prophetic*, *predicatory*, *predictive*, *typical* or *spiritual*. These are all aspects of holy writ hidden from Jews and other non-believers, expressive and expressed of the Spirit. Although Victorinus does not specify these as signs or seals, others do.⁴⁰⁴ And yet Victorinus makes clear that the 144 000 are Jews who have presumably abandoned the literal Law (and thus receive Elijah's seal, a cross or Tau in early Judeo-

³⁹⁸ Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 7 (11; 67; (SChr 120, l. 3-6): πρὸς δὲ <τὸ> τὰ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις πνεύματα, ἅτε δεδωρημένα αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ οἰονεὶ ἐκείνων ὀνομάζεσθαι κτήματα τὸ «Πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται».

³⁹⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 3 (6; 38; (SChr 120, l. 1-6): Ἀλλὰ νοητέον ὅτι ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια ἡ οὐσιώδης καί, ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω, πρωτότυπος τῆς ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς ψυχαῖς ἀληθείας, ἀφ' ἧς ἀληθείας οἰονεὶ εἰκόνες ἐκείνης ἐντετύπωνται τοῖς φρονοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐχὶ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδ' ὅλως διὰ τινος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐγένετο.

⁴⁰⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 11-14): Non enim poterit seducere populum circumcisionis, nisi legis sit uindictor. Denique sanctos non ad aliud compellet nisi ad circumcisionem accipiendam, si quos poterit seducere.

⁴⁰¹ Matt, The Zohar Pritzker 1, 250, n. 1120.

⁴⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 48, l. 3-7): Mammae duo sunt testamenta et zona aurea chorus sanctorum ut aurum per ignem probatum; aliter, zona aurea accincta pectori: conflata conscientia et purus spiritualis sensus traditus est ecclesiis.

⁴⁰³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.7 (SChr 423, 54, l. 16-21): Hunc typum a Spiritu Sancto per Esaiam praedicari legimus de septem mulieribus quae adprehenderunt hominem unum. Septem mulieres ecclesiae sunt, or panem accipientes suum et tunicis suis uelatae, quae petunt auferrī improperium suum, ut inuocetur nomen illius super illas.

⁴⁰⁴ They are *types* revealed to the Old Testament prophets: Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 2 (3; 15; SChr 120, l. 10-12): ἐφθάκεισαν γὰρ κάκεινοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος χειραγωγούμενοι μετὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς τύποις εἰσαγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας θέαν.

Christian tradition, *via* Ez. 9.4 and Rom. 11.4/3 Reg. 19.18;⁴⁰⁵ which suggests an early Judeo-Christian identification of the angel Gabriel with Elijah-John the Baptist).⁴⁰⁶ This is *contra*, say, Origen, who relates them to the Church, gentile and Jewish, in general.⁴⁰⁷

Thus Apoc. 4.6 (the glassy sea before the throne) meets Apoc. 15.2 (those standing upon it, who have overcome the beast), *via* the interpretation of the sea itself as baptism. This is that which saves all believers,⁴⁰⁸ the “great multitude of all nations” of Apoc. 7.2; those same victorious ones of Apoc. 15.2, who have resisted the mark of circumcision *i.e.* literal interpretation of the Law, conflated with Apoc. 20.4, the resurrected saints who reign with Christ a thousand years.

Apoc. 4.4 (the twenty four elders around God’s throne, with whom Victorinus identifies both patriarchs and disciples, enthroned in judgment of Israel, of Matth. 24.27-28)⁴⁰⁹ is clarified by Apoc. 20.4 (the thrones set for judgement and ruling the saints’ kingdom), and *vice versa*. Victorinus thence deduces the twenty four patriarchs and apostles/prophets, who preached salvation to humanity, and will yet judge it, at least in Christ’s earthly kingdom,⁴¹⁰ centred on Jerusalem and the land of Israel. At any event, Victorinus’ territorialism may explain his preferring to speak of scripture’s sense as *spiritual*, rather than *non-literal* (which category he never strictly uses), unlike his predecessors, especially Origen.⁴¹¹

3.3.3. The clarification of New Testament by Old, verse by verse

⁴⁰⁵ Gieschen, Baptismal *praxis* and Mystical Experience in the Book of Revelation, in: De Conick, Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism. SBL Symposium Series 11, 346-347.

⁴⁰⁶ Rabbinic tradition identifies the angel of Ez. 9.4 with Gabriel: Buchanan, The Consequences of the Covenant, NTS 20, 85, l. 1. Gabriel and Elijah are closely associated in Jewish tradition, as in Christian, the latter’s being described sometimes as an angel and sometimes as next in status after Gabriel and Michael: Matt, The Zohar Pritzker 1, 250, n. 1120.

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⁴⁰⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 66, l. 15).

⁴⁰⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 4); 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 26).

⁴¹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.6 (SChr 423, 122, l. 12).

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This is perhaps Victorinus' central methodology. The sealing of the content of the scroll of Apoc. 10.4⁴¹² recalls the sealing of the vision and the prophet Dan. 9.24, suggesting its identification with the *Apocalypse* itself; likely after Hippolytus,⁴¹³ who had also (logically) equated said seal with its interpretative "key".⁴¹⁴ The twelve stars' crowning the woman-Church of Apoc. 12.1⁴¹⁵ are explained *via* the eleven stars-brothers' worshipping Joseph in his dream of Gen. 37.9 as indeed the twelve Hebrew patriarchs;⁴¹⁶ the heavenly Jerusalem of Apoc. 21 by the visions of the messianic kingdom of Is. 60 and Ps. 72.⁴¹⁷ Victorinus associates the beast's striving against the saints of Apoc. 13.7, with that of the horn of the beast's striving of Dan. 7.21 and 25, who also seeks to change the "law", and repudiates the god of his fathers (Dan. 11.37); which last Victorinus interprets as abandoning both gentile idolatry *and* Mosaic lawlessness (!), and thus as Judaizing and receiving its *mark* (Apoc. 13.16) *i.e.* circumcision;⁴¹⁸ Antichrist's perversion of the *seal of the living God* (σφραγίς

⁴¹² Apoc. 10.4: σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί.

⁴¹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 3): Sed quia dicit se scripturum fuisse, quanta tonitrua locuta fuissent, id est, quaecumque in ueteri testamento erant obscure praedicata, uetatur scribere, sed relinquere et signare. Cf. Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 33.1, l.1-33.2, l. 6 (SChr 14): Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει. Καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πλήρωμα νόμου καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸς παρῆν, ἃὸ νόμος γὰρ καὶ οἱ προφήται ἕως Ἰωάννου, ἔδει τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων λαλούμενα σφραγίσσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίᾳ πάντα λυθέντα φωτισθῆ καὶ τὰ ἐσφραγισμένα καὶ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενα εὐκόλως ἐπιγνωσθῆ, καὶ τὰ πάλαι δεδεμένα νῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ληξυθῆ. Δαν. 9.24· καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην καὶ τοῦ χρῆσαι ἅγιον ἄγιων.

⁴¹⁴ See above.

⁴¹⁵ Apoc. 12.1: καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα.

⁴¹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.1 (SChr 423, 100, l. 13): Stellarum duodecim coronam <chorum> patrum significat secundum carnis natiuitatem, ex quibus erat Christus carnem sumpturus. Cf. Gen. 37.9: ἐνυπνιασάμην ἐνύπνιον ἕτερον ὡσπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἑνδεκα ἀστέρες προσεκύνου με. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 9): Sunt autem uiginti quattuor patres duodecim apostoli et duodecim patriarchae; 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 26): Interrogantibus enim apostolis et dicentibus: Nos his omnibus nostris relictis secuti te sumus; quid nobis erit? respondit Dominus noster: Cum sederit filius hominis super solium gloriae suae, sedebitis et uos super duodecim tribunalia iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.

⁴¹⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.3 (SChr 423, 118, l. 1-6): Nam et per Esaiam ita testatus est Spiritus Sanctus: Tamquam fumes lucis in ignem ardentem omni gloria contegetur; et alio loco ait: Inluminare, Hierusalem; uenit enim tua lux et gloria Domini tibi orta est. Non enim sol inluminabit tibi <die neque luna tibi> nocte; erit tibi Dominus Deus tuus lumen aeternum. Et Dauid ait: Et erit firmamentum in terra super cacumina montium, et exaltabitur super Libanum fructus eius, et florebut de ciuitate tamquam faenum terrae.

⁴¹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 9-12): Ait enim Danihel: Desiderium mulierum non cognoscat - cum sit ipse spurcissimus - et nullum deum patrum suorum cognoscat. Non enim poterit seducere populum circumcisionis, nisi legis sit uindictor. Denique sanctos non ad aliud compellet nisi ad circumcisionem accipiendam, si quos poterit seducere.

θεοῦ ζῶντος/ *signum Dei uiui*, Apoc. 7.2). The ten horns-kings of Apoc. 17.12 depict those from Dan. 7.7.⁴¹⁹ These shall move from Rome, with armies, to meet with Antichrist (whether in friendship or war is unclear),⁴²⁰ who shall have arisen and travelled from the east.⁴²¹ Which allies of the beast will subsequently be purged by him of three, according with Dan. 7.8 and 20-24;⁴²² and the remainder worship Antichrist and burn Rome, from a hatred otherwise unexplained.⁴²³

Victorinus continues his *quasi*-ethnicizing of Church and Christian through negative definition. He implies the empire of Rome is essentially allied or analogous to Jewry, in the person of an Antichrist-Caesar born a Roman aristocratic gentile, yet also an *avenger* of Law (*legis uindictor*).⁴²⁴ This is perhaps Victorinus' only allusion to Jewish dispossession, exile or loss of temple and state (normative or unremarkable among Greek and Latin church fathers), for which, presumably, Caesar-Antichrist takes (paradoxical) vengeance. Thus, logically, the Roman-Judaean *gestalt* takes revenge on itself. The surreality of this assumption is explained more by a Christian apologetic need to equate Roman with Jew, since the Church increasingly defined itself in contradistinction to both, than by reason or historicity.

Victorinus innovates on Hippolytus, for whom the Antichrist is a Jew *by birth*, of the tribe of Dan, who adopts pagan Roman ways. Why this is so one can only speculate, but perhaps it lies in the implausibility of a Jewish assimilationist becoming emperor, never mind seeking the restoration of the Temple. Far better to invent a new kind of creature altogether: the

⁴¹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (SChr 423, 106, l. 15-18): Nam decem reges accepisse regalem potestatem: cum ille mouerit ab Oriente, mittentur ab urbe Romana cum exercitibus suis. Haec cornua decem dicit et X decem zademata.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (SChr 423, 106, l. 18-21): Et Danihel ostendit: Tria eradicabuntur de prioribus, hoc est, tres duces primarios ab Antichristo interfici. Ceteros septem dare illi gloriam et honorem et solium et potestatem, de quibus ait: Hi odient meretricem - urbem scilicet dicit -, et carnes eius comburentur igni.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 11-12): Non enim poterit seducere populum circumcisionis, nisi legis sit uindictor.

aristocratic pagan convert.⁴²⁵ To do the Poetovian justice, the emperor Julian's short lived 363 edict, that Jews might rebuild their shrine,⁴²⁶ of less than two months' duration),⁴²⁷ gives some foundation to Christian fears of a Jewish-(pagan)Greco-Roman pact of restoration, though one might claim the converse, that local sabotage, natural or human, expressed Palestinian Greco-Roman alliance-acquiescence with/in imperial Roman pagan-Christian policy-aspiration heretofore. Both Sozomen and Socrates stress the Jews concerned's literal-mindedness with regard to the Old Testament scriptures,⁴²⁸ their even clinging to Judaism despite conversion, its being involuntary, under compulsion, while their figurative blindness

⁴²⁵ Sozomen so depicts Julian, as no lover of Judaism, and hopeful of converting Jews to paganism: Sozomenus, Hist. Eccl. V 22.1 (GCS 50, l. 1)-3 (GCS 50, l. 2): 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς εἰ καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ἐμίσει καὶ χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶχεν, ἀλλ' οὖν Ἰουδαίοις εὖνους ἦν καὶ πρᾶος, καὶ πατριάρχαις καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ πλήθει ἔγραφεν εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο οὐ τὴν θρησκείαν, ὡς εἰκάζω, ἐπαινῶν (ἦδει γὰρ μητέρα ταύτην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ Χριστιανῶν δόγματος καὶ προφήταις καὶ πατριάρχαις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρωμένην), ἀλλ' ὅτι μίσους ἀσπόνδως πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ τῇ πρὸς τούτους θεραπείᾳ λυπεῖν ἐσπούδαζεν οἷς ἀπηχθάνετο. ἴσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνισμὸν καὶ θυσίας ἐτοιμότερον αὐτοὺς ἐπάγεσθαι ᾤετο; allegedly (pagan) Greeks' assisting reconstructing the temple, albeit reluctantly, to hurt the Christians: Sozomenus, Hist. Eccl. V 22.6 (l. 1-6 Bidez): πάντα δὲ δεύτερα ἦν τοῦ πο- νομένου βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι καὶ πᾶσιν Ἰουδαίοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε Ἰουδαίοις εὐνοοῦντες ἐκοινωνοῦν αὐτοῖς τῆς σπουδῆς, ὑπολαβόντες δύνασθαι κατορθοῦν τὸ ἐγχείρημα καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀπελέγξαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς προρρήσεις, οἱ δὲ ἅμα τοῦτο διεννοοῦντο καὶ καιρὸν ἔχειν ᾤοντο ἀναστήσειν τὸ ἱερόν. Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, Hist. Eccl. III 20.1 (GCS 50, l. 1)-15 (GCS 50, l. 4).

⁴²⁶ Iulianus Imperator, Epist. 134 (l. 1-5 Bidez): Καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· «Ἄνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου θεοῦ.» Ammianus Marcellinus, Res. Gest. XXIII 1.2 (p. 294, l. 5-295, l. 3 Seyfarth/Jacob-Karau/Ulmann): et licet accidentium uarietatem sollicita mente praecipiens multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret, diligentiam tamen ubique diuidens imperii que sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolyma templum, quod post multa et interneciuia certamina obsidente Vespasiano postea que Tito | aegre est oppugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis | negotium que maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curauerat pro praefectis. 3 cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius iuuaret que prouinciae rector, metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquotiens operantibus inaccessum hoc que modo elemento destinatus repellente cessauit inceptum. Sozomen recounts that Julian ordered construction that Jews might begin sacrificing, again: ; sabotage, (super)natural or human, thwarted completion:

⁴²⁷ Despite disagreement with Avi-Yonah, who thinks Jews began work straight away, Bowersock affirms how small a window was open to Jews to answer Julian's order, no more than April-May 363: Bowersock, Julian the Apostate, 121-123.

⁴²⁸ Sozomen so depicts Julian, as no lover of Judaism, and hopeful of converting Jews to paganism: Sozomenus, Hist. Eccl. V 22.5 (GCS 50, l. 1-3): οἱ μὲν οὖν μὴ λαβόντες εἰς νοῦν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνεχώρει κατὰ τὰς ἱεράς προφητείας τοῦτο γενέσθαι, σπουδῆ τοῦ ἔργου εἶχοντο. Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, Hist. Eccl. III 20.1 (GCS 50, l. 1)-15 (GCS 50, l. 4).

manifests as one literal!⁴²⁹ Greco-Roman Palestinian Christians do not appear to have welcomed the prospect of even a Jewish Christian return to Jerusalem: Greco-Roman Christian (and pagan) anti-Jewish exclusion remains intact and the colony is still protected. Theodoret's account largely echoes Sozomen and Socrates', but he connects Christ the temple's replacing that of Jerusalem with Justin's Greco-Roman Japheth's replacing Judeo-Canaanite Shem,⁴³⁰ the former's being (it seems) God's literally colonizing (κατοικήσειν) the tents of Shem (Gen. 9.27),⁴³¹ their procreative fecundity's being (apparently) Shem's piety.⁴³² The process of colonizing begins in Shem's fathers, then his prophets,⁴³³ first his tents, lastly Jerusalem, a complex, seamless *continuum* that conjoins Greco-Roman inhabiting of Israel's scriptures and land, a transfer-transposition that is one with the Word's establishing there the temple of himself. Thus the patristic "Japheth" becomes a way for the Fathers to biblicalize an originally pagan Greco-Roman imperialism, rendering it effectively proto-Christian, even before Christ's advent, on the one hand, Jews more (Greco-Roman) pagan by comparison, on the other. Antichrist is a step on this process, its ideal conceptual incarnation, as it were, its type-prototype.

⁴²⁹ Socrates Scholasticus, Hist. Eccl. III 20.12 (GCS 50, l. 1)-15 (GCS 50, l. 4): Ἐπενέμετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὸ πῦρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἐν μεγίστῳ φόβῳ γενόμενοι καὶ ἄκοντες ὠμολόγουν τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν λέγοντες. Οὐκ ἐποιοῦν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα, ἀλλ' ἔμμενον τῇ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ προλήψει κρατούμενοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τρίτον θαῦμα τὸ ὕστερον ἐπιγενόμενον εἰς πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἤγεν αὐτούς. Καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἐχομένη νυκτὶ σφραγίδες σταυροῦ ἀκτινοειδεῖς τοῖς ἱματίοις αὐτῶν ἐντετυπωμέναι ἐφάνησαν, ἃς ἡμέρας ἐπι-γενομένης ἰδόντες, ἀποπλύνειν καὶ ἀποσμήχειν θέλοντες, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἠδύνατο. «Πεπώρωντο» οὖν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἔρριπτον. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ ναὸς τότε ἀντὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι εἰς τέλος ἀνατέτραπτο. Cf. Theodoretus, Hist. Eccl. III 15 (GCS 44, 198, l. 15-200, l. 6).

⁴³⁰ Theodoretus, Quaest. in Octat. 53 (p. 55, l. 19-23): ὅτε αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ μονογενῆς υἱὸς ἐσαρκώθη καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε καὶ ναὸν ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε, ἦν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβε σάρκα· ἐκ τοῦ Σὴμ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατήγον τὸ γένος.

⁴³¹ Theodoretus, Quaest. in Octat. 53 (p. 55, l. 14-15): τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι τοῦ Σὴμ κατοικήσειν προείρηκε.

⁴³² Theodoretus, Quaest. in Octat. 53 (p. 55, l. 14-15): Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς δύο τοῦτον ὑπέταξεν ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ Σὴμ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἰάφεθ τὴν πολυγονίαν προείρηκε, τοῦ δὲ Σὴμ τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

⁴³³ Theodoretus, Quaest. in Octat. 53 (p. 55, l. 16-18): κατώκησε δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Σὴμ πατριάρχαις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων βεβλαστηκόσι προφήταις· καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὕστερον.

The territorial promise to Abraham⁴³⁴ of Gen. 13.14-15⁴³⁵ is explained by Gen. 15.18-121,⁴³⁶ Ps. 72.8⁴³⁷ and Ecclus. 44.23⁴³⁸ (omitted as too chiliast by Jerome),⁴³⁹ and referred exclusively to the Church; while Victorinus qualifies the vision of the Son of Man of Apoc. 1 with an “antiquity” drawn from *Daniel’s* “Ancient of Days” of Dan. 7.13, the former much inspired by the latter *a priori*.⁴⁴⁰ This is, of course, he who grants the one like a Son of Man an imperishable kingdom (Dan. 7.14), which the saints shall possess (Dan. 7.18; 7. 27), and which Victorinus identifies with Christ's Millennial one on earth.⁴⁴¹

Through exegesis a text can affirm intra-biblical and inter-Testamental harmony, whence the generation of composite citations.⁴⁴² *Quasi-ethnicizing* the Church, Victorinus conflates the “kingdom of priests” of Apoc. 1.6⁴⁴³ with that of Israel the “holy nation” of Ex.

⁴³⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.2 (SChr 423, 118, l. 18-20): Ceterum dicitur ciuitas omnis illa prouinciarum orientalium regio promissa patriarchae Abrahae. Aspice, inquit, in caelo, a loco, in quo modo tu stas id est a flumine magno Eufrate usque ad flumen Aegypti; omnem terram quam tu aspicias, tibi dabo illam et semini tuo. Deinde Spiritus Sanctus ait: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare - id est a mari rubro, quod est Arabiae, usque ad mare Aquilonis, quod est mare Fenicis - et usque ad fines terrae: sunt Syriae maioris partes. *Vindicator* is a rare form of *uindicator*, *avenger*: Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, I.

⁴³⁵ Gen. 13.14-15: ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν τῷ Ἀβραμ μετὰ τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι τὸν Λωτ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἰδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου οὗ νῦν σὺ εἶ πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ λίβα καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ θάλασσαν ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἣν σὺ ὄρᾳς σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

⁴³⁶ Gen. 15.18-21: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ διέθετο κύριος τῷ Ἀβραμ διαθήκην λέγων τῷ σπέρματί σου δώσω τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου τοὺς Κιαιναίους καὶ τοὺς Κενεζαίους καὶ τοὺς Κεδμωναίους καὶ τοὺς Χετταίους καὶ τοὺς Φερεζαίους καὶ τοὺς Ραφαῖν καὶ τοὺς Αμορραίους καὶ τοὺς Χαναναίους καὶ τοὺς Ευαίους καὶ τοὺς Γεργεσαίους καὶ τοὺς Ιεβουσαίους.

⁴³⁷ Ps. 72.8: καὶ κατακυριεύσει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης.

⁴³⁸ Ecclus. 44.23: καὶ ὡς ἄστρα ἀνυψῶσαι τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατακληρονομήσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τῆς γῆς.

⁴³⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.2 (SChr 423, 118, l. 12): Deinde Spiritus Sanctus ait: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare - id est a mari rubro, quod est Arabiae, usque ad mare Aquilonis, quod est mare Fenicis - et usque ad fines terrae: sunt Syriae maioris partes. Ecclus. 44.21: ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν διαθήκην καὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὐρέθη πιστός.

⁴⁴⁰ Dan. 7.14: Ἐ παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν/*antiquus dierum*. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48, l. 9): Cuius antiquitas et immortalitas, maiestatis origo, in capite candor ostenditur; *antiquitas* is rare in this sense.

⁴⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.3 (SChr 423, 120, l. 21-25): Et in illis temporibus suscitabit Dominus Deus regnum aliud, quod suscipient, inquit, sancti summi Dei regnum. Et regnum hoc alia gens non indagabit; namque Deus percutiet et indagabit omnia regna terrae, et ipsud manebit in perpetuum.

⁴⁴² “Citations composites”: Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 106-108.

⁴⁴³ Apoc. 1.6: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἄμην.

19.6⁴⁴⁴ and 1 Pet. 2.9,⁴⁴⁵ verses' likely having much influenced the author of the Apocalypse *a priori*. In similar a ethnicizing vein, Victorinus conjures the nations' bringing the saints gold, silver and jewels by interpreting their bringing glory to the New Jerusalem at Apoc. 21.24,⁴⁴⁶ *via* the Lord's giving Israel gold for iron, brass for wood, iron for stone; and the Arabians' bringing gold and frankincense at Is. 60.17⁴⁴⁷ and 60.6,⁴⁴⁸ respectively.⁴⁴⁹ This seems the logical implication for the bishop of Poetovio of the New Israel's allegorically colonizing, as it were, the Old Testament text, in accord with such as Justin Martyr before him.

Victorinus harmonizes⁴⁵⁰ Moses' sprinkling the people and scroll of the Law with bloody scarlet wool and hyssop in Heb. 9.19-20⁴⁵¹ with Ex. 24.6-8, which mentions neither the be-blooding of the Law nor the instrument,⁴⁵² a New Testament reading thus inflecting the Old. The eyes of Apoc. 4.6 and 8, covering the four living creatures hexapterous, which

⁴⁴⁴ Ex. 19.6: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ.

⁴⁴⁵ 1 Pet. 2.9: ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.0 (SChr 423, 46, l. 15): Et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes, id est omnem fidelium ecclesiam, sicut Petrus apostolus dicit: Gens sancta, regale sacerdotium.

⁴⁴⁶ Apoc. 21.24: καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς· καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς φέρουσιν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτήν.

⁴⁴⁷ Is. 60.17: καὶ ἀντὶ χαλκοῦ οἶσω σοι χρυσίον ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου οἶσω σοι ἀργύριον ἀντὶ δὲ ξύλων οἶσω σοι χαλκόν ἀντὶ δὲ λίθων σίδηρον καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

⁴⁴⁸ Is. 60.6: ἀγέλαι καμήλων καὶ καλύψουσίν σε κάμηλοι Μαδιαμ καὶ Γαιφα πάντες ἐκ Σαβα ἤξουσιν φέροντες χρυσίον καὶ λίβανον οἴσουσιν καὶ τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται.

⁴⁴⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.5 (SChr 423, 122, l. 12): Hic accipient sancti pro aeramento aurum et pro ferro argentum et lapides pretiosos.

⁴⁵⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 13): Nam et ipsam legem cum legisset populo, accepta lana sucida et sanguine uituli et aqua aspersionem populum uniuersum dicens: Hic est sanguis testamenti de quo mandauit ad uos Dominus.

⁴⁵¹ Heb. 9.19-20: λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης ἐντολῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα τῶν μόσχων καὶ τῶν τράγων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου κοκκίνου καὶ ὑσσώπου αὐτό τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐράντισεν, λέγων, τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός.

⁴⁵² Ex. 24.6-8: λαβὼν δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατῆρας τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ τοῦ αἵματος προσέχεεν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ᾧα τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἶπαν πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν κύριος ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα λαβὼν δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκεδάσεν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.

are ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν as well as κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν, become “et intus (= ἔνδοθεν)⁴⁵³ et deforis”,⁴⁵⁴ better suiting a tropology of introspection and prediction. Victorinus understands “pure gold, like glass” of Apoc. 21.18⁴⁵⁵ and 21⁴⁵⁶ as *itself* a metaphor for “transparent”, and that, under the influence of Tob. 13.17, the streets of the New Jerusalem are “paved with *crystal*”.⁴⁵⁷ His otherwise spectacular heterodoxy, that the Son/Word is “primus factus creaturae”,⁴⁵⁸ may merely conflate the “first born of creation” of 1 Col. 1.15-16⁴⁵⁹ and with the “last Adam made alive” of 1 Cor. 15.45-47,⁴⁶⁰ however (the theological implication being touched below). Yet it likely illustrates the relative freedom or isolation of the diocese of Poetovio, in the late third century.

3.3.4. Christian midrashim; new Old Testament readings *via* the New

⁴⁵³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *intus* III. *From within* = ἔνδοθεν, *ex interiore parte*, 991.

⁴⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 2): Primum, inquit, simile leoni, secundum simile uitulo, tertium simile homini, quartum simile aquilae uolanti; <habentes> alas senas in circuitu, oculos et intus et deforis: et non cessant dicere, inquit: hagnos~<g, hagnos~g, hagnos~g>, sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens.

⁴⁵⁵ Apoc. 21.18 (p. 677 Nestle-Alland): καὶ ἡ ἐνδὼμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἰασπις, καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὅμοιον ὑάλῳ καθαρῷ.

⁴⁵⁶ Apoc. 21.21 (p. 678 Nestle-Alland): καὶ οἱ δώδεκα πυλῶνες δώδεκα μαργαρίται, ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν πυλώνων ἦν ἐξ ἐνὸς μαργαρίτου. καὶ ἡ πλατεῖα τῆς πόλεως χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὡς ὑάλος διαυγῆς. For “platea strata” *cf.* also Hieronymus, Epist. 46.6 (CSEL 54, 336, l. 12): et muri de lapide iaspide et tota ciuitas de auro mundo et fundamenta et plateae eius de lapidibus pretiosis et duodecim portae fulgentes margaritis? Et v. Cassiodorus, Complex. in Apoc. (32) 21.19 (PL 70, 128/1416, l. 6): Cuius platea mundissimo auro constrata resplendet.

⁴⁵⁷ Tob. 13.17 (p. 1085 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ οἱ πύργοι καὶ οἱ προμαχῶνες ἐν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι Ἱερουσαλημ βηρύλλῳ καὶ ἄνθρακι καὶ λίθῳ ἐκ Σουφρι ψηφολογηθήσονται. Thus Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.1 (SChr 423, 116, l. 1-5): auro mundo, id est dilucido, similem. Crystallo, inquit, plateam eius stratam.

⁴⁵⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 21): *ergo* primus factus creaturae est, secundus hominis <uel> humani generis, ut ait apostolus.

⁴⁵⁹ Col. 1.15-16 (p. 524 Nestle-Aland): πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

⁴⁶⁰ 1 Cor. 1.45-47 (p. 442 Nestle-Aland): ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν.

Victorinus' hermeneutic also creates new scriptural readings. The Septuagint of Ex. 34.33 implies that Moses only covered his face *after* speaking with Israel.⁴⁶¹ Ex. 34.35 only assumes the reverse *if* one translates ἕως as “while”, rather than “until”, and αὐτῷ as referring to “Israel”, rather than to the “Lord” (as does the Vulgate with “siquando” and “ad eos”, respectively –curiously no evidence of the Vetus Latin survives, and Victorinus' is a rare witness).⁴⁶² Following Paul's so doing (and his substituting Moses' speaking with *reading*) in 2 Cor. 3.13-16,⁴⁶³ Victorinus thus renders the Old Testament verse.⁴⁶⁴ *Via* Heb. 9.4,⁴⁶⁵ like his predecessor Origen,⁴⁶⁶ Victorinus places the golden altar actually *within* the holy of holies, contradicting Exodus. He innovates Aaron's approaching it but once a year, contradicting, again, Ex. 30.7.⁴⁶⁷ Thence it becomes a *heavenly* altar where Christ is sacrificed and offers continual intercession.⁴⁶⁸ After Origen's “septuple grace of the Holy

⁴⁶¹ Ex. 34.33 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσεν λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτούς ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμμα.

⁴⁶² Ex. 34.35 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ περιέθηκεν Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ ἕως ἂν εἰσέλθῃ συλλαλεῖν αὐτῷ; (VL: p. 192 Robert): Et uiderunt filli Istrahel quia glorificata est facies Moysi: et circumdedit Moyses uelamen in faciem suam, usque dum introiret conloqui com eo; (p. 75 Hetzenauer): Qui uidebant faciem egredientis Moysi esse cornutam, sed operiebat ille rursus faciem suam, siquando loquebatur ad eos.

⁴⁶³ 2 Cor. 3.13-16 (p. 476 Nestle-Aland): καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου. ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκῃται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται 16 ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα.

⁴⁶⁴ Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 74, l. 9): Hoc sciens et Moyses legislator, quod oportebat esse signatum et celatum usque ad aduentum passionis eius, uelauit faciem suam et sic est populo locutus, ostendens uelata esse uerba praedicationis usque ad aduentum temporis Christi. The Vulgate's interpreting αὐτῷ by “ad eos” may take its cue from Victorinus' singular “populo” for the plural οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, since it does not follow the Hebrew's **וַיִּדְבֹר**, **אֵלָיו**, “to speak with him”: Ex. 34.35 (MT; p. 145-146 Elliger-Rudolph).

⁴⁶⁵ Heb. 9.4 (p. 574 Nestle-Aland): χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης περικεκαλυμμένην πάντοθεν χρυσίῳ, ἐν ἣ ἡ στάμνος χρυσοῦ ἔχουσα τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἡ βλαστήσασα καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης.

⁴⁶⁶ Origenes, In Ex. hom. 9.1 (CB 29, 235, l. 11-13): Post secundum autem uelamen tabernaculum, quod dicitur sanctum, habens aureum altare incensi et arcam testamenti, et intra eam duas tabulas, et manna et uirgam Aaron, quae fronderat". That Origen internalises this tropologically is evinced by 9.4 (CB 29, 242, l. 14-15): Habeat in penetralibus pectoris sui etiam altare incensi, ut et ipse dicat: "quia Christi bonus odor sumus".

⁴⁶⁷ Ex. 30.7 (p. 138 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ θυμιάσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν θυμιάμα σύνθετον λεπτόν τὸ πρῶν πρῶν ὅταν ἐπισκευάζῃ τοὺς λύχνους θυμιάσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.

⁴⁶⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 10-18): Sicut *ergo* caelum intellegitur ara aurea, quae erat interior - nam et sacerdos semel introibat in templum in anno, qui habebat Christi mandatum, ad aram auream: significabat Spiritus Sanctus hoc esse facturum, id est quod passus est, semel factum est -, sic et

Spirit”,⁴⁶⁹ drawn from Is. 11.2-3, Victorinus transmutes the Spirit of Apoc. 1.4 into the “septuple Spirit” (“septiformis spiritus”);⁴⁷⁰ of which term he seems the originator, as oblivious to its pentitarian novelty as to any Catholic trinitarianism.

Victorinus has Joshua abolish the Sabbath, by innovating Jericho’s fall thereon,⁴⁷¹ perhaps exploiting a Judeo-Christian source.⁴⁷² The trope is used in all subsequent anti-Jewish Sabbath polemic.⁴⁷³ While never explicitly linked, Jewish loss of state soldiery was a source of Christian reproach,⁴⁷⁴ and Joshua’s waging of holy war on the very Sabbath chimed too well with evangelicalism and spiritual conquest. Likewise with subsequent Jewish state warfare. Contrary to 1 Mach. 2.25 and 32,⁴⁷⁵ Victorinus maintains the Syrian officer was slain on a Sabbath, perhaps deducing this from Tertullian’s exposition⁴⁷⁶ of 2 Mach. 2.41⁴⁷⁷ and reference to 2 Mach. 2.1⁴⁷⁸ and 15. Contradicting Ex. 17.8-13,⁴⁷⁹ Victorinus asserts Israel

aerea terra intellegitur, sub *qua* est infernum, remota a poenis et ignibus regio, requies sanctorum, in *qua* quidem uidentur ab impiis et audiuntur iusti, sed neque illi ad illos transire possunt.

⁴⁶⁹ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 3.5 (CB 29, 309, l. 17): Quod vero de sanguine hostiae septiens ante Dominum sacerdos respergere memoratur, euidenter sancti Spiritus virtus septemplicis gratiae sub mysterio designatur.

⁴⁷⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.0 (SChr 423, 46, l. 6-9): Septiformi spiritu: in Esaia legimus: Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini. Cf. Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 2, l. 128): In cuius tenebris septemplex spiritus unus lucebat sanctus semper plebem que tegebat.

⁴⁷¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 6). Tertullian had already inferred a Sabbath violation: Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 364, l. 1); IV (CC SL 1, 453, l. 13); Adu. Iud. 4 (CC SL 2, l. 46).

⁴⁷² Aphraates, Dem. 21.11 (PS 1, 962; Syriac with Latin translation): Iesus filius Nun muros Ierichuntis die septimo conquassavit subvertitque; et die septimo Iesu Salvatoris nostri, in sabbato requietis Dei, mundus iste solvetur et corruet.

⁴⁷³ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 8.8-10 (CC SL 69, 65-66, l. 69). Gaudentius Brixianus, Tract. 11.13 (CSEL 68, 105, l. 110): In septem vero diebus etiam sabbatum numerari, a quolibet die computare incipias, deprehendes. Euagrius Monachus, Alterc. Leg. inter Simon. Iud. et Theophil. Christ. 7 (CC SL 64, l. 17-21). Isidorus Hispalensis (pseudo), De fid. Cath. con. Iud. II 15.2 (PL 83, 522 B). Gregorius Nyssenus, Test. adu. Iud. 13 (PG 46, 221-224); Athanasius, De sabbat. et circum. (PG 28, 136 l. 44-45). Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 8 (CC SL 69, l. 76).

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⁴⁷⁵ 1 Mach. 2.25 (p. 1044 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

⁴⁷⁶ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 4 (CC SL 2, l. 53-56): Nam et temporibus maccabaeorum sabbatis pugnando fortiter fecerunt et hostes allophylos expugnauerunt legem que paternam ad pristinum ita statum pugnando sabbatis reuocauerunt.

⁴⁷⁷ 1 Mach. 2.41 (p. 1045 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1); Josephus (Ant. Iud. 12.277-278 (p. 388 Weidmann 3)) affirms the Jews did violate to the Sabbath to avoid massacre.

⁴⁷⁸ 2 Mach. 15.1 (p. 1136 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ μεταλαβὼν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰουδαν ὄντας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σαμάρειαν τόποις ἐβουλεύσατο τῇ τῆς καταπαύσεως ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας αὐτοῖς ἐπιβαλεῖν.

⁴⁷⁹ Ex. 17.8-13 (p. 116 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

fought Amalek on the Sabbath,⁴⁸⁰ perhaps because of an identification of the latter with Antichrist⁴⁸¹ (implied by Victorinus' identifying Moses cruciform, Antichrist's foe, with Christ crucified?), thus conflating him with another type of Antichrist, Antiochus Epiphanes,⁴⁸² who would have abolished the Sabbath.⁴⁸³ As stated above, Victorinus does not draw explicit attention to Jewish loss of state and ability to wage war, but for these indirect references. He implies their dispossession, perhaps, by asserting their restoration by Antichrist, but stresses it far less than, say, Origen or Augustine, both of whom resist a material chiliast tradition, the former from the seat of Palestinian Caesarea itself.

Victorinus erroneously expounds on a *stater* as worth two *denarii*.⁴⁸⁴ Other writers give or imply the correct four *denarii* or *drachmas*.⁴⁸⁵ But, in the third century, a debased *double-denarius* (*antoninianus*) circulated, worth, in fact, only 1.5 *denarii*, or sometimes little over a *denarius*.⁴⁸⁶ True *denarii* were hoarded: does Victorinus inadvertently give the *double-denarius* its true, Poetovian value? In any case, its dual nature, two-in-one, serves to illustrate the binitarian nature of the two Testaments.⁴⁸⁷ Which binitarianism concerns him incomparably more than any threefold nature.

Against *all* versions of Apoc. 7.2,⁴⁸⁸ Victorinus' angel *descends* from the rising sun,⁴⁸⁹ betraying influence from traditions wherein that messenger is Elijah returned from his place in heaven or paradise.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 5 (SChr 423, 142, l. 7).

⁴⁸¹ Dial. Tim. et Aquil. 23.5 (p. 80 Conybeare).

⁴⁸² Hieronymus, Com. in Dan. IV 11 (CC SL 75A, l. 365).

⁴⁸³ 1 Mach. 2.32-34 (p. 1044 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

⁴⁸⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 50, l. 19-20): aperto ore eius inuenies staterem, id est duos denarios; da pro me et pro te.

⁴⁸⁵ Origenes, Com. in Matth. 13.20-23 (PG 13, 1128 A). Hilarius Pictaviensis, Com. in Matth. 17.12 (SChr 258, 72, l. 7). Hieronymus, Com. in euang. Matth. III (l. 464). Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Psal. 137 16 (CC SL 40, l. 14).

⁴⁸⁶ Engels, Roman Corinth: an alternative model for the classical city, 55.

⁴⁸⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 50, l. 25-27): Haec ergo sunt duo testamenta, quae pro captu temporis aut duo denarii aut noua et uetera aut gladius bis acutus nominatur.

⁴⁸⁸ Apoc. 7.2 (p. 645 Nestle-Aland): ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου; (all editions of the VT and Vg) ascendentem ab ortu solis.

⁴⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 7.0 (SChr 423, 84, l. 1): Angelum autem descendentem ab oriente sole.

3.3.5. Victorinus' typology, extant and reconstructed

3.3.5.a. Typology of the relation between covenants and Israel, old and new; law and Christ; Jews and gentiles

Victorinus infers symbolic meaning by comparing the bible with itself, stressing the types or figures in which converge the two covenants.⁴⁹¹ Victorinus interprets the double value of the single Temple *stater* (Matth. 17.27) as the unity of both Testaments.⁴⁹² As normative for the Fathers, our author assumes Jewish incomprehension of their scriptures' true meaning, and their consequent disinheritance/dispossession of all its promises. By reading the Law veiled, Moses signifies the New Covenant.⁴⁹³ In Jerome, who admits to using Victorinus at least indirectly, Esau is a type of unbelieving Israel, disinherited/dispossessed of the covenant, and Antichrist, persecutor *par excellence* of True Israel/Jacob, Christ or the Church.⁴⁹⁴ Jacob's father, blind Isaac, and mother, Rebecca, are, respectively, types of ancient Israel / the world, blind to hidden, true doctrine;⁴⁹⁵ and the Spirit, who outwits Esau/Satan by the ruse of the goatskin cover / Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection.⁴⁹⁶ Isidore of Seville cites Victorinus for his interpretation of Leah and Rachel as, respectively, the Jewish and gentile "wives" of Isaac-Christ. Jewish-Leah is fleshly fruitful, yet blind to spiritual doctrine, as are the Jews. Rachel is at first barren, as are the pagan gentiles, ignorant of God, who are yet amenable to the gospel. Jacob's particoloured flock are the variegated, sinful nations who come to Christ,

⁴⁹⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 5.1 (SChr 153, l. 8-22).

⁴⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.4 (SChr 423, 48, l. 1-50, l. 33).

⁴⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.4 (SChr 423, 50, l. 19).

⁴⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 29).

⁴⁹⁴ As recounted of Victorinus in Hieronymus, *Epist.* 36.16 (CC SL 54, 283, l. 6).

⁴⁹⁵ Hieronymus, *Epist.* 36.16 (CC SL 54, 283, l. 12): *senuisse isaac consummationem orbis ostendit; oculos illius caligasse fidem perisse de mundo et religionis lumen ante eum neglectum esse significat.*

⁴⁹⁶ Hieronymus, *Epist.* 36.16 (CC SL 54, 283, l. 19-284, l. 7). L. c. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 52-53; I, 4 n. 8. Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc. Iohan.* 12.2 (SChr 423, 100, l. 1-4).

the recompense for his labour.⁴⁹⁷ For Victorinus, the two groups' littering Christ's way into Jerusalem (Matth. 21.1-11) with, on the one hand, palm branches and, on the other, their own tunics, represent, respectively, the twelve patriarchs of ancient Israel and the twelve apostles *i.e.* the twenty four elders who cast their (palm) crowns beneath the victorious Word of Revelation.⁴⁹⁸ Thus the apostles of the New Testament, and by implication their successors, have direct continuity with ancient Israel, bypassing, as it were, their unbelieving fleshly descendants. Christians are literally (!) planted, or rooted, in the ground on which the apostles stood *i.e.* Judaea.⁴⁹⁹ But Victorinus also plays on Paul's spiritual athletic contest (1 Cor. 9.25), the apostles winning their martial palm-crown victories over sin, a martial metaphor partly derived from Christ's conquering death ("deuicere mortem").⁵⁰⁰

3.2.5.b. Typology of Christ, conqueror of death, sin and the devil; conflation of carnal Israel with sinful humanity *versus* election of the gentiles, believing

The typology of Israel old and new also shades into a more universal one of sinful humanity saved by that one sinless. This is partly a consequence of Jews in particular being compared, negatively, with gentiles generally, though the need for ancient Israel to legitimate gentile Christians more than Jews confuses the issue. Moses is himself a type of Christ obscured.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁷ Isidorus Hispalensis, Quaest. in Gen. 25.30-33 (PL 83, col. 264, l. 10-27).

⁴⁹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (SChr 423, 72, l. 11): unum patrum et prophetarum: where the *prophetae* must be the apostles, in the sense of exegetes of the Old Testament.

⁴⁹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 7-11): Vnde propheta anticipauit dicendo: Adoremus ubi steterunt pedes eius, quoniam ubi illi primi steterunt et ecclesiam confirmauerunt, id est Iudeam, ibi omnes sancti conuenturi sunt et deum suum adoraturi.

⁵⁰⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (SChr 423, 72, l. 6-18): Denique quia uenerat qui mortem deuinceret <et> coronam immortalitatis solus dignus sumeret, omnes quotquot habebant pro gloria aliqua actus sui optimi coronas, proiecerunt eas sub pedibus eius, id est propter eminentem uictoriam Christi omnes uictorias sub pedibus eius. Hoc et in euangelio suppleuit Spiritus ostendendo, - cum enim passurus nouissime ueniret Hierosolymis Dominus noster <et> exisset illi populus in obuiam, alii praecisis ramis palmarum uiam sternebant, alii tunicas suas subiciebant, duos scilicet populos ostendens, unum patrum et prophetarum, magnorum uirorum, qui quascumque habebant uictoriarum suarum palmas *contra* peccata, Christo eas sub pedibus eius iaciebant.

⁵⁰¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 29).

This is even as is Judah, the lion who sleeps *i.e.* “dies” and rises, snatching humanity from the jaws of death / the devil, who is the root of David, whom his brothers will praise, as their judge, as prophesied by Jacob.⁵⁰² This is the case even as, for Jerome, *via* Victorinus, Jacob, smooth/sinless, is covered by, or conversely atones for, the clothes and skins of Esau, which are respectively scriptural faith as well as the sins of, or sin offering for, the nations. Thus Jacob and Esau also signify believing gentiles and unbelieving Jews, respectively.⁵⁰³

Jerome also cites Victorinus’ exegesis of the poor, wise child of Eccl. 4.13-15, imprisoned, yet destined to rule, as Christ, because he is born in humble poverty, temporarily imprisoned in Hell, and is destined to rise and rule the world. The foolish king is the devil, destined to lose his kingdom, mankind. Again the two types, as Christ and Antichrist respectively, represent gentile church and unbelieving carnal Israel.⁵⁰⁴

3.2.5.3. Spiritual numerical types

The seven women who grasp one (Judaean) man in Is. 4.1, are the seven churches-wives taken hold of their Christ-(Jewish/Judaean) husband, who supply their own bread and raiment *i.e.* their faith in return for Spirit and baptism.⁵⁰⁵ Perhaps by no means coincidentally, Victorinus later quotes the subsequent description of Jerusalem and Zion glorified of Is.

⁵⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4, 4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 29): Et cum praedicatus esset tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis, propter salutem hominum homo factus est ad mortem deincendam et uniuersos liberandos; 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 22): qui tamquam leo confregit mortem et quae de se praenuntiata fuerant repleuit <et hominem liberauit>, id est carnem de morte; 5.2 (SChr 423, 74, l. 2): Leonem de tribu Iuda in Genesi legimus, <ubi> Iacob patriarcha ait: Iuda, te collaudant fratres tui: et dormisti et surrexisti tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis.; 4.5 (SChr 423, 72, l. 30): Sed et de patribus quia iudicaturi sunt, ait Iacob patriarcha: Et ipse iudicabit populum suum inter fratres suos sicut una tribus Israel.

⁵⁰³ Hieronymus, Epist. 36.16 (CC SL 54, 283, l. 19-284, l. 7). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 52-53; 2, 1.4 n. 8.

⁵⁰⁴ Hieronymus, Com. in Eccl. 4.13 (CC SL 75A, l. 218).

⁵⁰⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.7 (SChr 423, 54, l. 16-29).

4.5,⁵⁰⁶ in which these women-churches are inscribed for life (Is. 4.4). Are they also wedded to the land of Judaea, or Christ-as-the-land-of-Judaea?

In Mic. 5.4-5, the seven shepherds are archangels' escorting Christ returned, at whose hands the reign of Antichrist is *made punch drunk* or *sent reeling* ("scotomari", an exceedingly rare verb, transliterated from σκότωμα, *dimness of vision*),⁵⁰⁷ a boxing image, deployed against the persecutory Roman empire.⁵⁰⁸

Wisdom's house, adorned by seven pillars (Prou. 9.1), is both Solomon's temple; and Christ inhabited by the septuple Spirit;⁵⁰⁹ strongly affirming the supposition of a Victorinian allegorism that reads Jerusalem and the land of Israel as somehow comprising in part the body of Christ. One recalls 1 Cor. 10.4, where Paul seems to equate Horeb's rocky spring (Ex. 17.6) with Christ himself. As Hanson writes, this seems less allegorism than actually saying Christ existentially *was* the rock. While it cannot be proven that Victorinus took such a view, conscious or not, his chiliasm might be deemed symptomatic of a primitive or less refined hermeneutic, fluid in its distinguishing meanings.

Of references to the number three, there *may* be one. For Isidore of Seville the three sticks behind Jacob's troughs (≡ Christ's baptismals) represent the Trinity, and this *could* derive from the Poetovian.⁵¹⁰ If so, Victorinus evinces no other estimation of the number three as sacred.

⁵⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.3 (SChr 423, 118, l. 1-3): Nam et per Esaiam ita testatus est Spiritus Sanctus: Tamquam fumus lucis in ignem ardentem omni gloria contegetur; et alio loco ait: Inluminare, Hierusalem; uenit enim tua lux et gloria Domini tibi orta est.

⁵⁰⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.1 (SChr 423, 86, l. 1-3): Mitti autem de caelo orationes ecclesiae ab angelo et suscipi eas et *contra* effundi iram et scotomari regnum Antichristi per angelos sanctos et in euangelio legimus. Ait enim: Orate ne incidatis in temptationem; 8.1 (SChr 423, 86, l. 11): Et ante ait: tunc erit pax terrae, cum surrexerint in ea septem pastores et octo morsus <hominum> et indagabunt Assur - id est Antichristum - in fossam Nebroth: in damnationem diaboli. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *scotoma*, 1647.

⁵⁰⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 10-13): Sunt igitur scripta quae sunt in tubis et in fialis aut plagarum orbi missarum clades aut ipsius Antichristi insania aut populorum detrectatio aut plagarum differentia aut spes in regno sanctorum aut ruina ciuitatum aut ruina Babylonis, id est ciuitatis Romanae.

⁵⁰⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): septem columnae sapientiae in domum Salomonis.

⁵¹⁰ Isidorus Hispalensis, Quaest. in Gen. 25.33 (PL 83, col. 264, l. 39).

3.2.6. Recapitulation

The Spirit transcends time and space, in mental union whereby the exegete may dispense with the arrow of time or even the normal order of cause and effect. Indeed Victorinus may be the first to explicitly assert that the Spirit travels backwards, as well as accelerates forwards, in time (and indeed the possibility of reverse *time travel!*).⁵¹¹ Hence the hermeneutical tool of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις/*recapitulatio*, originally meaning something like “summary”,⁵¹² now infused with a Pauline reading in which Christ unites all space and time,⁵¹³ is developed into a theological principle by Irenaeus, whereby Christ encompasses all of human history within himself.⁵¹⁴ This permits the prophet’s spiritually discerning in scripture the unity of the “dispensations of God concerned with human salvation”, past, present and future, or the one, Catholic faith.⁵¹⁵ the very act of exegesis. The Latin theological term, to which Augustine would give his imprimatur, is originally Tyconius’,⁵¹⁶ but it is Victorinus who first systematizes it hermeneutically. For him, prophetic technique explicates a single event in a series of tableaux, or images, or concentrates pithily human historical situations. Dulaey infers that Victorinus prefers understanding the *symbolic* significance of the tableaux of Revelation over specifying the events of the end. She holds

⁵¹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.5 (SChr 423, 98, l. 4-5): Diligenter *ergo* et cum summa sollicitudine sequi oportet prophetiam praedicationem et intellegere, quoniam Spiritus Sanctus sparse praedicat et praeposterat et percurrit usque ad nouissimum tempus, rursus tempora superiora repetit, et quoniam quod facturus est semel, aliquoties quasi factum esse ostendit - quod nisi intellegas aliquoties dictum, non aliquoties futurum, in grandem caliginem incidis -, *ergo* interpretatio sequentium dictorum in eo constabit, ut non ordo lectionis sed rationis intellegatur.

⁵¹² E.g. Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 6.2 (CB 29, 359, l. 31): id est quae supra exposita est, et videtur esse anakephalaiōsis~g, id est recapitulatio, sacramentorum, quae in superioribus latius fuerant enarrata.

⁵¹³ Eph. 1.10 (p. 504 Nestle-Aland): εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, ἀνακεφαλαίωσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἐν αὐτῷ.

⁵¹⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 21.10 (SChr 211, l. 220); III 23.1 (SChr 211, l. 1); IV 20.8 (SChr 100, l. 207); V 19.1 (SChr 153, l. 1)-19.2 (SChr 153, l. 1-31); V 12.4 (SChr 153, l. 92); V 29.2 (SChr 153, l. 22).

⁵¹⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 10.3 (SChr 264, l. 49).

⁵¹⁶ Tyconius, Lib. reg. 6, (SChr 488, 310, l. 11).

this mitigates a “fundamentalist” reading of *Revelation*, even if Victorinus does not always avoid it himself!⁵¹⁷ This is his exegetical importance, concludes Dulaey.⁵¹⁸ What is also clear is that Victorinus does not clearly distinguish between readings that others might call allegorical or non-literal, none of which concepts are technically expressed by the Poetovian. Rather they are all for him spiritual, prophetic, predictive or types, nor does he always evince a clear distinction between what we might call literal and non-literal. The latter is simply the sense veiled, chiefly to Jews. It might be more accurate to call the non-literal simply the true meaning of scripture, entailing a transfer of biblical relevance from unbelieving Jew to believer. Victorinus does not employ the term “gentile” in the sense of “non-Jew”, except in the sense of the “nations” in general, again strongly suggesting his concept of Church as the new, true Israel, a *quasi*-ethnos in direct continuity with the old. He seems far less concerned with the election of the gentiles as opposed to Jews than other authors, though it is, in a sense, implied by his earthly, Millennial kingdom of a greater Israel for largely gentile Christians.

4. The theology of Victorinus

No specifically theological work of Victorinus remains. He was, in any case, more exegete than theologian, less innovative than derivative. His doctrine is sometimes archaic, especially concerning the generation of the Word in the *De Fabrica Mundi*, which seems to both *be* and *occur* at the very beginning of God’s *creation*, albeit itself the maker of all things in creation week. Victorinus seems to place the creation of light before that of the heavens and the earth,

⁵¹⁷ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 100-105.

⁵¹⁸ Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 38.

and to associate it with the Word, above all.⁵¹⁹ Such a light may have a spiritual aspect, since the bishop of Poetovio writes that, before creating (material) animals, God created angels and spiritual entities.⁵²⁰

4.1. The Holy Spirit

Victorinus may have believed the Holy Spirit suffered.⁵²¹ Beatus seems to correct this,⁵²² and Dulaey speculates Victorinus' expression was defective.⁵²³ *De fabrica mundi* also has the Holy Spirit take flesh,⁵²⁴ common for the second century⁵²⁵ and unexceptional before

⁵¹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 21-22): *ergo primus factus creaturae est, secundus hominis <uel> humani generis, ut ait apostolus. Hoc igitur uerbum, cum lucem fecit, sapientia uocatur; cum caelum, intellectus; cum terram et mare, consilium; cum solem et lunam cetera que clara, uirtus; cum terrae et mari <fetus> excitat, scientia; cum hominem finxit, pietas; cum hominem benedicit et sanctificat, timor Dei nomen habet; et cf. 2 (SChr 423, 138, l. 1): In principio fecit Deus lucem eam que duodenario numero horarum die noctu que diuisit (even as Gen. 1.1 says, "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth")*.

⁵²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 4 (SChr 423, 140, l. 4): *Prius tamen angelos atque archangelos creauit, spiritalia terrenis anteponens (the editors suppress the "hominem finxit" before "creauit", which renders the text senseless)*.

⁵²¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 10): *significabat Spiritus Sanctus hoc esse facturum, id est quod passus est, semel factum est: analogous to Lactantius, Diu. Instit. IV 18.31 (CSEL 19, 359, l. 5): fuit enim rex et numquam illa perpeusus est, sed spiritus dei per eum loquebatur, qui fuerat illa passurus post annos mille et quinquaginta*.

⁵²² Cf. Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. IV 2.4 (p. 344, l. 6 Sanders): *significante spiritu sancto Christum hoc semel facturum. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 241*.

⁵²³ That, in fact, he omitted "passus est (Christus)". Hence: "significabat spiritus sanctus <Christus> hoc esse facturum". In MS Ottobonianus *-us* and *-um* are regularly confused: perhaps a third triliteral abbreviation (Xpm) after "spm scm" was omitted (all three look almost identical). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 241.

⁵²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6): *v. s.*

⁵²⁵ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 135): *Quae [est] resurrectio eius gloriosa de terra in caelos eum recepit, unde et uenerat ipse spiritus ad uirginem. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 241; Sur l'Apocalypse, 38. Victorinus likely treated Irenaeus as a *Summa theologica*. In *De fabrica mundi*, he sees two stages to the generation of the Word (eternally present with the Father, yet also preceding from him at creation: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 16): *Sic enim dicit Pater eius: Eructatum est cor meum uerbum bonum*), and confounds the *Logos* with the Holy Spirit when he speaks of the Annunciation: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 9 (SChr 423, 146, l. 6): *ea die spiritum sanctum Mariam uirginem inundasse, qua lucem fecit*. But western authors write analogous things a century later. In *Apocalypsin* shows the Poetovian's theology has evolved, since it is no longer the Spirit that takes flesh, but, rather, Christ. Moreover, the Word has been "engendered spiritually before the origin of the times" in man, which concept partly derives from Origen: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8): *ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem genitum, factum hominem; 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, l. 5): Nouum est filium Dei**

Nicaea.⁵²⁶ For Victorinus the Spirit is specifically *prophetic*.⁵²⁷ Prescient and witness of the future,⁵²⁸ it expresses power,⁵²⁹ even as it had in *Acts* the words and deeds of Jesus, his apostles and Church.⁵³⁰ The white rider (Apoc. 6.2), his darts the gospel,⁵³¹ inhabits the *kerygma*, symbolised by his white steed.⁵³²

4.2. The Trinity

hominem fieri. So “modern” is the formula, some have thought it interpolated: Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 238-239.

⁵²⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 368; 238-239; 241; Sur l’Apocalypse, 38.

⁵²⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 26): Spiritus propheticus; Justinus Martyr, Apol. I 13.3 (l. 1-(5)6 Goodspeed): πνευμά τε προφητικόν; 31.1 (l. 1-3 Goodspeed): τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα προεκήρυξε. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 214): Marcus uero a prophético Spiritu ex alto adueniente hominibus initium fecit...propter hoc et compendiosam et praecurrentem adnuntiationem fecit: propheticus enim character est hic.

⁵²⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 1): Septem tonitrua locuta uoces suas: Spiritus septiformis uirtutis per prophetas protestatus omnia futura uoce illius in saeculo testimonium reddidit; 4.6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 3): Nam fulgora aduentum Domini significabant, uoces autem noui testamenti praedicationes; tonitrua autem, quod caelestia sunt uerba, faces uero ignis ardentis donum Spiritus Sancti, quod cum in ligno perdiderit primus homo per lignum passionis est redditum; 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 19): Et cum aperitur per Spiritum Sanctum mens fidelium, illud illis manifestatur quod et prioribus est praedicatum; 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 1): Oculos autem intus et deforis habere ea animalia, id est praedicationem noui testamenti; prouidentiam spiritalem ostendit, quae et secreta cordis inspicit et superuenientia uidet, quae sunt intus et deforis.

⁵²⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 8): Apostoli enim uirtutibus signis portentis magnalibus factis uicerunt incredulitatem.

⁵³⁰ Act. 2.22 (p. 324 Nestle-Aland): Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι’ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε; 4.29-30 (p. 331 Nestle-Aland): καὶ τὰ νῦν, κύριε, ἔπιθε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλάς αὐτῶν, καὶ δός τοῖς δούλοις σου μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, ἐν τῷ τὴν χειρὰ ἐκτείνειν σε εἰς ἴασιν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ. καὶ δεηθέντων αὐτῶν ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας.

⁵³¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (SChr 423, 78, l. 5): Nam aperto <primo> sigillo cum dicat se uidisse equum album et equitem coronatum habentem arcum, - hoc enim in primo factum est -, postquam enim ascendit in caelis Dominus noster et aperuit uniuersa, emisit Spiritum Sanctum, cuius uerba per praedicores tamquam sagittae ad cor hominum pergerent et uincerent incredulitatem.

⁵³² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (SChr 423, 80, l. 17): ergo equus albus uerbum praedicationis cum Spiritu Sancto in orbem missum; ait enim Dominus: Praedicabitur hoc euangelium in toto orbe terrarum in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis; cf. Origenes, Com. in Io. I (SChr 278, l. 6-8): Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ἵππου καθέζεσθαι λέγεται λόγος πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ὡς οἶμαι, παριστάς τὸ σαφές τῆς φωνῆς, ὃ ἠχεῖται ὁ ἡμῖν ἐπιδημῶν ἀληθείας λόγος.

While Dulaey classifies Victorinus as trinitarian, this is by no means unproblematical: the spirit of Christ and the Holy Spirit seem sometimes conflated.⁵³³ The Spirit is certainly subordinate to him, in his hand.⁵³⁴ The Holy Spirit seems to abide with Christ in his ministry in a hidden fashion, made manifest by his Ascension⁵³⁵ –a little retrograde for the third-fourth centuries, perhaps as an anti-Montanist reaction.⁵³⁶ Word, Christ and Spirit are often interchangeable, in a “functional angelology” that may also assimilate the seven archangels/angels of the seven Churches to the septuple Spirit.⁵³⁷

Victorinus’ imprecision and errors, on matters only regularized at the end of the fourth century, is scarcely unusual.⁵³⁸ His oft-alleged “binitarism” is based on a text ill-established (as claimed by Jerome?).⁵³⁹ Victorinus’ Rule of Faith (*mensura/regula fidei*) seems to omit the Holy Spirit, mentioning explicitly only the Father and alluding to the Son

⁵³³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48, l. 3): adunato isto corpore cum spiritu gloriae, quam (Beatus: quem) recepit a Patre; recalling 1 Pet. 4.14 (p. 442 Nestle-Aland): τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα; also 1 Pet. 1.21 (p. 606 Nestle-Aland): τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα: which seems understood in the light of Act. 2.33: τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξέχεεν τοῦτο. The glory (of which Jesus speaks in Io. 17.5: καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί) seems to be the Holy Spirit, which rests on Christ during his earthly life but is especially clear from the Resurrection on. Cf. also Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 20.2 (SChr 153, l. 56): adunans hominem Spiritui et Spiritum collocans in homine. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.2 n. 108-109.

⁵³⁴ Io. 3.35 (p. 255 Nestle-Aland): ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαπᾷ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Thus Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.6 (SChr 423, 52, l. 7): Pater amat Filium et omnia dedit in manibus eius. Similarly, Victorinus presents the Spirit, or rather its gifts, proceeding from the Throne: Com. in Apoc. 4.6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 3): significabant...faces uero ignis ardentis donum Spiritus Sancti; where sits the Word: 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 1). L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 244.

⁵³⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.2 (SChr 423, 48, l. 3): u. s.. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 20.2 (SChr 153, l. 56): u. s.. Cf. Tertullianus, De res. Mort. 62 (CC SL 1, l. 1): humanam enim induerant superficiem salua intus substantia propria. Cf. Pacianus, De bapt. 6 (PL 13, 1192 D-1193 A): Nouissimi temporibus animam utique cum carne accepit Christus ex Maria: hanc uenit saluam facere, hanc (= carnem) apud inferos non reliquit, hanc spiritui suo coniunxit et suam fecit. Et hac sunt nuptiae Domini, uni carni coniunctae, ut secundum illud magnum sacramentum fierent duo in carne una, Christus et Ecclesia (Eph. 5.32). Hilarius Pictauiensis, Tract. super psal. 138 21 (CSEL 22, 758, l. 29): quo ibo a spiritu tuo, tempus illud, quo et ipse spiritus in spiritu paternae gloriae ante adumptionem hominis mansit, ostendit; et cf. Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 4.14 (SChr 254, 132, l. 16): postremo post triduum in uitam a morte redeuntem consociatam Spiritus et substantiae suae aeternitati materiem ad caelum adsumpti corporis retulisse. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.2 n. 109.

⁵³⁶ Simonetti, Il regresso della teologia dello Spirito Santo in Occidente dopo Terulliano, in Augustinianum 20, 1980, 655-669. L. c. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.2 n. 110.

⁵³⁷ Since angels attend on churches, as suggested to Irenaeus and Victorinus by the gift of the παράκλητος of Io. 14.15-16. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 245.

Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 243-245; Sur l’Apocalypse, 38.

⁵³⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 234-235; Sur l’Apocalypse, 38-39.

by “our Lord”.⁵⁴⁰ The ensuing text does speak of the Holy Spirit, however, “poured out” by the Son, having been “received” from the Father, and is probably more subordinationist than binitarist.⁵⁴¹ Thus Victorinus is considered broadly Catholic by posterity, if a little archaic and provincial by such as Dulaey.⁵⁴²

5.1. Victorinus’ Millenarianism: a Syro-Palestinian, Asian and Occidental fusion

Daniélou derives millenarianism from two Jewish eschatological concepts: 1) a terrestrial reign of the Messiah in a renewed/restored Jerusalem; 2) a universe, transcendent, comprising a new heaven and new earth, born of the destruction of the old. While perhaps originally traceable to Babylonian Judaism (and thence to Babylonian mysticism),⁵⁴³ it was Paul, “John” and the post-apostolic generation who chiefly influenced Christian millenarianism in Syria and Asia Minor. In an earthly Millennial reign of Christ the Asian Papias,⁵⁴⁴ Cerinthus⁵⁴⁵ and Montanists all believed. The first two believed in a restored Jerusalem in Judaea, and a supernatural material plenty, even procreation perhaps.⁵⁴⁶ For the

⁵⁴⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8): Mensura autem fidei est mandatum Domini nostri, Patrem confiteri omnipotentem, ut didicimus.

⁵⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8-94, l. 14): morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a Patre receptum <effudisse Spiritum> Sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis.

⁵⁴² Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 39.

⁵⁴³ One Talmudic tradition, that six millennia will begin with drout but end in plenty and learning the Torah, while in the seventh the Messiah son of David will come (Bab. Tal. Tract. San. 97a (p. 658 Freedman/Epstein), closely resembles another in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (Apoc. Bar. 26-29); Bab. Tal. Tract. San. 97a (p. 658 Freedman/Epstein (ed./trans.)), attributed to Elijah, relates that the world will exist six thousand years, and lie fallow for one thousand years (Urbach assumes an Iranian influence: Urbach, *Redemption and Repentance in Talmudic Judaism*, in *Types of Redemption*, Werblowsky/Bleeker (eds.), 195): this view strongly echoes Barnabus’ “rest” in the seventh Millennial day: Epist. Barn. 15, 5, (SChr 172, 178, l. 1-4; and see below); Bab. Tal. Tract. San. 97b (p. 659 Freedman/Epstein (ed./trans.)) relates the only Aramaic Jewish tradition of seven thousand years of history, including the messianic era, but derives it from a scroll found in Roman archives written in “Hebrew in Assyrian (*i.e.* Babylonian) letters”. Later Kabbalistic tradition refers to up to fifty historical *cycles* of seven thousand years, or *shemittot* (the laying fallow of land, or remitting of debt, every seven years of Ex. 23.10-11 or Leu. 25.1-7) : Idel, *Time and history in the Kabbalah*, in *Jewish history and Jewish memory*, Yerushalmi (ed.), 183 n. 61. Cf. Daniélou, *La Typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif*, in: VC. 2 (1948), 1-16.

⁵⁴⁴ Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 18 (p. 19, l. 19-21 Richardson).

⁵⁴⁵ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. III 28.2 (SChr 31, l. 1-7).

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3-4 (SChr 153, l. 61-86).

last, a new Jerusalem would descend upon Pepuza, in Asia,⁵⁴⁷ while the material abundance of the kingdom was interpreted spiritually. Barnabus first mentions the six millennia of the world week which ends in Christ's vanquishing Antichrist and his establishing his "rest", if not an earthy Millennial reign, in the seventh millennium (a view strongly echoing a Talmudic tradition).⁵⁴⁸ Irenaeus first explicitly integrates this scheme into his interpretation of the Apocalypse and its thousand year reign of Christ.⁵⁴⁹ According to Hippolytus, Christ would be born in 5500, the end take place, possibly, in 6000.⁵⁵⁰ Similarly, the bishop of Rome *may* strongly imply a literal thousand year reign of the saints with Christ.⁵⁵¹ *However, he does not specify its material, or even earthly, nature*, though this cannot be positively excluded. Nor does he ever mention a restored Jerusalem, or earthly kingdom, except that of Antichrist and the Jews.⁵⁵² The Clementine Recognitions perhaps witness to another Judeo-Christian hope for a restored Jerusalem,⁵⁵³ likewise that of the Ebionites, according to Jerome (though his ascribing to them chiliasm *per se* is less certain, absent earlier testimony).⁵⁵⁴ A citizen of second century Greco-Roman Palestine, Justin sets a Judeo-biblical source for his millenarianism before even John's Apocalypse, which is almost a mere addendum. Expounding upon Isaiah and a Papias-like source, the saints enjoy food, procreation and other material goods, in a Jerusalem restored for a thousand years, until the universal judgment.⁵⁵⁵ However, to call this tradition "Syro-Palestinian", in the sense of "Aramaic Judeo-Christian", never mind "Samaritan", as does Dulaey, obscures as much as clarifies. Justin may be simply following a conventional hermeneutic, for him, of gentile Christians' replacing Jews in

⁵⁴⁷ Augustinus Hipponensis, *De haer.* 27 (CC SL 46, 1. 2).

⁵⁴⁸ *Epist. Barn.* 15, 4, 1. 1- 15, 5, 1.4 (SChr 172, 177-178). *Cf. Bab. Tal. Tract. San.* 97a (p. 659 Freedman/Epstein).

⁵⁴⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 28.3 (SChr 153, 1. 67-74)s

⁵⁵⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, *Com. in Dan.* 4.24.3.1. 6-4.1. 3 (SChr 14).

⁵⁵¹ Hippolytus Romanus, *Com. in Dan.* 4.23.4.1. 1-6.1. 6 (SChr 14).

⁵⁵² Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 6 (GCS 1.2, 1. 15-19).

⁵⁵³ Clemens Romanus (pseudo), *Recog.* I 51.2 (CB 51, 37, 1. 16).

⁵⁵⁴ Hieronymus, *Com. in Is.* XVIII 66.20 (SL73A, 1. 95-103). Daley, *The hope of the early church*, 6.

⁵⁵⁵ Justinus Martyr, *Dial. Tryph.* 80.5 (l. 1-5 Goodspeed)-81, 5 (l. 1-8 Goodspeed).

scriptural blessings,⁵⁵⁶ especially in the aftermath of the Hadrianic suppression. This is “Palestinian”, in a sense, though not in that which Dulaey perhaps intends. Irenaeus also saw Isaiah’s ideal Jerusalem descending to earth,⁵⁵⁷ though, strictly, he does not specify a Millennial reign, which is only *inferred* from Christ’s return at the end of the sixth of the seven Millennial weeks.⁵⁵⁸ Irenaeus seems to see three different *eternal* destinations for the blessed, according to the “presbyters”: heaven, paradise or the new Jerusalem; as well as a distinction between those recompensed thirty-, sixty- or a hundredfold, who may yet advance in the grace of Spirit to Father to Son.⁵⁵⁹ Despite the oriental Clement and Origen upholding a non-literal reign virtually alone against the occidentals,⁵⁶⁰ the influence of Irenaeus’ three destinations of the blessed is evident upon later writing.⁵⁶¹ And, as we have seen, the western hermeneutic may be subtly complex, too.

5.2. The third century millenarian crisis

Justin had already admitted to Trypho that millenarianism, as conventionally defined, is rejected by perfectly orthodox Christians,⁵⁶² while Tertullian had asserted it against anti-chiliasm Gnostics like Marcion, even if only spiritually.⁵⁶³ The anti-Montanist Gaius illustrates the rejection of literal millenarianism, which Montanism’s (perhaps unjustly) perceived

⁵⁵⁶ Justinus Martyr, Dial. Tryph. 82.1 (l. 1-3 Goodspeed): Παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐστίν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέναι ὀφείλετε, ὅτι τὰ πάλαι ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν ὄντα εἰς ἡμᾶς μετετέθη.

⁵⁵⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 35.2 (SChr 153, l. 53-120).

⁵⁵⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 28.3 (SChr 153, l. 74).

⁵⁵⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 36.1 (SChr 153, l. 21); V 36.1 (SChr 153, l. 26-48).

⁵⁶⁰ Danielou, La Typologie mille'nariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif, in: VC. 2 (1948), 1-16.

⁵⁶¹ Origen sees the departed saints’ abiding in a paradise on earth for instruction, whereupon they may progress to a place in the air, thence, through sundry spheres, to the kingdom of heaven: Origenes, De princ. II 11.6 (CB 22, 190, l. 1-9); which may also be Origen’s “good land”, the highest sphere, beyond the seventh: De princ. II 3.6 (CB 22, 123, l. 1).

⁵⁶² Justinus Martyr, Dial. Tryph. 80.2 (l. 4-6 Goodspeed): πολλοὺς δ’ αὖ καὶ τῶν τῆς κα- θαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσήμανά σοι.

⁵⁶³ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III 25 (CC SL 1, 491, l. 12-24).

espousal induced.⁵⁶⁴ Against him Hippolytus' interpreting the Millennium of John,⁵⁶⁵ albeit only in the matter of Satan's bondage (Apoc. 20.1-3), is not necessarily of an *earthly*, *material* reign. It is rather the conclusion to six millennia of human history, in which the thousand years is indistinguishable from the one, perfect Day of the Lord, which occurs, perhaps, in both time and eternity.⁵⁶⁶ Is it coincidental that millenarianism became more and more unfashionable as the sixth century (6000 of the world week, in Hippolytus' scheme) approached?⁵⁶⁷

However, western chiliasm abounds up to the fourth century's end, and in this Victorinus is typical. Ancient millenarianism was a spectrum, comprising diverse apocalyptic elements and their interpretation, ranging from the extremely materialist to the barely chiliast at all. Many Christian authors adopted what Daniélou calls "the millenarian typology of the Week", born of Chaldaean magical speculation on the seven millennia of history, likely *via* Babylonian Judaism, and Platonistic Jewish deduction of the higher symbolism of the days of the week of creation. Thence the world must last seven thousand years, "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday when it is past, or like a watch in the night" (Ps 89/90, 4) and the world week must comprise seven millennia. Generally the age of the Church was within the sixth Millennium, while the seventh corresponded to the kingdom of Christ/God, the Sabbath of the world. In this form, millenarianism was tolerated by almost all the ante-Nicene fathers.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁴ Cunliffe-Jones, *A History of Christian Doctrine*, 62. For the problem with this charge u. Trevett, *Montanism*, 95-100; 105.

⁵⁶⁵ Gwynn, Hippolytus and his "Heads against Gaius", in: *Hermathena* 6 (1888), 402-403.

⁵⁶⁶ Gwynn, Hippolytus and his "Heads against Gaius", in: *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 403-404.

⁵⁶⁷ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 4.3 n. 1-3 and all of sub-chapter 4.3. *Cf.* the Almoravids' holding the Jews had promised Muhammed to convert if their Messiah did not arrive within five hundred years, and must now do so: Dubnov, *History of the Jews* 2, 728.

⁵⁶⁸ Daniélou, *La Typologie mille'nariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif*, in: *VC.* 2 (1948), 1-16. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 4.3, n. 1-3.

Of all extant patristic authors before the fourth century Origen alone, early in his career, seems wholly critical of millenarianism, as conventionally defined.⁵⁶⁹ However, in later books of his commentary on John, written when installed in Palestine *i.e.* in the Holy Land, the matter is surprisingly more complex.⁵⁷⁰ It hinges on one's reading of the sentence that opens his most detailed surviving discussion of the issue: Εἰ μέντοι γε μὴ μέλλομεν γραωδῶς καὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς τὰς παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις, μάλιστα δὲ τῷ Ἡσαΐα, ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐπαγγελίας νοεῖν ὡς ἐσομένας περὶ τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.⁵⁷¹

The crux is whether one reads “But if we are not to refer the prophecies *etc.*, in an old womanly or Jewish manner, to the Jerusalem on earth” *i.e.* to no earthly Jerusalem whatsoever, Jewish or Christian; or “But if we are not to refer the prophecies *etc.* to the Jerusalem on earth in an old womanly or Jewish manner” *i.e.* in such a way to nevertheless allow a Christian Jerusalem on earth. Indeed a very odd sentence, hard to interpret in any other way, may suggest the possibility of a *Jewish* restoration,⁵⁷² which would accord with chiliast assumptions of Antichrist's reversing Jewish exile, prior to Christ's return (although elsewhere and earlier Origen may strongly exclude such a possibility).⁵⁷³ Nevertheless, Origen accepts a prophetic kingdom at some future date must apply to Christians,⁵⁷⁴ whose very being the

⁵⁶⁹ Origenes, *De princ.* II 11.2 (CB 22, 184, l. 5-186, l. 1). The 144 000 male Jewish virgins are not to be interpreted literally of *Jews*: so rare are Jewish believers, writes Origen, that the Apocalypse could not possibly mean so many Jewish Christians, never mind virginal ones. Arguably implicit is a Jewish sexual proclivity: to be Jewish is to have (hetero-)sex: Origenes, *Com. in Io.* I 1.7 (SChr 120, l. 1-10): Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ «ἀπὸ φυλῶν» εἰ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσι τοῖς «παρθένους», ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν, σπάνιος δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραὴλ πιστεύων, ὡς τάχα τολμήσαι ἂν τινα εἰπεῖν μὴ συμπληροῦσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραὴλ πιστευόντων μηδὲ τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων χιλιάδων ἀριθμὸν, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν τῷ θεῷ προσερχομένων λόγῳ συνίστανται αἱ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐ μολυνομένων· ὥστε μὴ ἂν ἀποπεσεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν φάσκοντα ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάστης εἶναι φυλῆς τοὺς παρθένους αὐτῆς.

⁵⁷⁰ Origenes, *Com. in Io.* X 26 (p. 364-367 Lomatzch).

⁵⁷¹ Origenes, *Com. in Io.* X 42 (291; SChr 157, l. 1-2).

⁵⁷² Origenes, *Com. in Io.* X 42 (292; SChr 157, 1-3): Οὐκ οἶδα δέ, εἰ μακρὰς χρόνων περιόδους ἀνακυκλουμέναις τὰ παραπλήσια πάλιν δυνατὸν γενέσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

⁵⁷³ Origenes, *Con. Cels.* II 8 (SChr 132, l. 32-35); II 8 (SChr 132, l. 44-45).

⁵⁷⁴ Origenes, *Com. in Io.* X 42 (293-297; SChr 157); or X 26 (p. 365-367 Lomatzch).

temple will constitute its pillars in a special sense, according with Apoc. 3.12.⁵⁷⁵ This Victorinus also affirms,⁵⁷⁶ who seems able to reconcile the gates of the apparently otherwise physical New Jerusalem with being literally (whatever that might mean!) the Apostles.⁵⁷⁷ Origen's passage in the tenth book of his commentary on John is complex, and not susceptible to an easy reading. Sometimes it is clear he is referring to historical or figurative events, at others less so. For instance, he seems to argue that Jews' current historical captivity necessitates reference of both the prophetic restoration of Israel to the Church *and its figurative captivity*,⁵⁷⁸ which is clarified no further (no more than in Victorinus, who arguably otherwise infers it). This restoration must yet occur in a future time, in what he calls "their *patria*" (nor does the switch from first to third person plural help).⁵⁷⁹ This likely refers to what Origen elsewhere calls "the good land", the sphere of the seventh heaven.⁵⁸⁰ But it is not always clear whether Origen refers to ancient, spiritual or even fleshly Israel. He seems to relate that it was to ancient Israel exiled that restoration was prophesied, as indicated by "to whom He was sent and came, who said, 'I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel'" *i.e.* Christ.⁵⁸¹ Normally the hermeneutic of double meaning would solve this. But the confusion as to which captivity, exile and loss of temple Origen refers, first, second, historical or figurative, renders the subject so problematical that he seems to defer

⁵⁷⁵ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 42 (295; SChr 157, l. 11-13).

⁵⁷⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 3.2 (SChr 423, 62, l. 9): Qui uicerit, inquit, fiet columna in templo Dei: columna autem decor est aedificii, id est, qui perseuerauerit, tantam nobilitatem in ecclesia consequetur.

⁵⁷⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.6 (SChr 423, 122, l. 8): Portas autem margaritas apostolos esse ostendit.

⁵⁷⁸ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 42 (291; SChr 157, l. 4-10): εἰ μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ ναοῦ λέγεται τινα ἔνδοξα συμβεβῆσθαι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, λέγειν ἡμᾶς γεγονέναι τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἠχμαλωτεῦσθαι τὸν λαόν, ἐπανελεύσεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐντίμοις λίθοις τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

⁵⁷⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 26 (p. 367 Lomatzch).

⁵⁸⁰ Origenes, De princ. II 3.6 (CB 22, 123, l. 1).

⁵⁸¹ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 42 (295; SChr 157, l. 1-4): Ταῦτα γὰρ σαφῶς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος προφητεύεται τοῖς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ οὖσιν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἐφ' οὓς ἦλθεν ἀποσταλεῖς ὁ λέγων· «Οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.»

exegesis,⁵⁸² apparently indefinitely.⁵⁸³ Which fact need not have discouraged Victorinus, himself a pilgrim to the Christian community of Palestine, in taking on the task in support of his own beliefs.

5.3. Victorinus' Millenarianism: literalist or spiritualist?

What is Victorinus' position? *De Fabrica Mundi* shows he believed history to be unfurling in seven millennia, the last being the true Sabbath of the world, which would consist in Christ's reign on earth, with the saints, at whose end would come the universal judgement and the dawn of the Eighth Day, and eternity. Unambiguously material is Victorinus' renewed creation, which issues freely the good things within her, for the saints' pleasure,⁵⁸⁴ according with the "creatura renouata" of Irenaeus' Millennium,⁵⁸⁵ and the sayings of Papias.⁵⁸⁶ The Poetovian surely alludes to the elder's tradition of nature's ten thousand-fold fruitfulness in paradise, though he seems to extrapolate from this a general principle of improvement *i.e.* in a not strictly literal manner, necessarily.⁵⁸⁷ From the "first resurrection" of Apoc. 20.8, Victorinus deduced two resurrections. The first inaugurates a Millennial reign of Christ,

⁵⁸² Origenes, Com. in Io. X 42 (297; SChr 157, l. 1-5): Τὴν δὲ ἀκριβεστάτην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τυχόντος περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμελῆ ἐξέτασιν ποιητέον τοῖς μὴ ἀπαυδῶσιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐντυγχάνειν ταῖς προφητεῖαις <καὶ> ζητεῖν τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς πνευματικὸν νοῦν καμάτους.

⁵⁸³ Assuming the extant fragments on Revelation are falsely attributed to him.

⁵⁸⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.5 (SChr 423, 122, l. 11): In hoc seruabitur creatio uniuersa et recondita in se bona iussu Dei eructabit.

⁵⁸⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 61-65): Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae.

⁵⁸⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 66-74): Quemadmodum Presbyteri meminerunt, qui Johannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus et dicebat: "Venient dies in quibus vineae nascentur singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in unoquoque palmitate dena | millia brachiorum, et in unoquoque brachio dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruorum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et in unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini.

⁵⁸⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.6 (SChr 423, 122, l. 1-5): De hoc regno meminit Dominus, priusquam pateretur, ad apostolos dicens: Non bibam de fructu uitis huius iam, nisi cum bibam uobis cum nouum in regno futuro, quod est centum partibus multiplicatum, decies millies ad maiora et meliora.

where the saints receive a hundredfold those things yielded for the sake of Christ,⁵⁸⁸ centred on a Greater Syrian kingdom.⁵⁸⁹ A heavenly Jerusalem descends on the site of the old as its capital,⁵⁹⁰ unlike for Irenaeus, whose “Millennial” Jerusalem is merely “rebuilt”, after the *pattern* of the heavenly one, that “descends” *after* the universal judgment.⁵⁹¹ Yet Victorinus’ Jerusalem has a spiritual aspect too, for, Victorinus says, the Apostles *themselves* constitute her gates, open night and day.⁵⁹² Is he speaking literally, allegorically or both? Distinctions seem to break down, and Dulaey therefore wonders whether Victorinus’ second resurrection is a “recapitulation” of the first.⁵⁹³ That is, there is no clear interruption between the Millennial and celestial Jerusalem or Millennial and celestial time (as with Hippolytus, perhaps), nor does the final judgment occur *afterwards* in a way that may be understood literally. A similar paradox occurs when Victorinus’ sleeping martyrs, awaiting Christ’s return, yet view the torment of the damned from Abrahams’ Bosom.⁵⁹⁴

Victorinus expresses archaic millenarian ideas, though to what extent he read them according to their letter is uncertain. The concrete goods of the Kingdom, gold, silver, riches

⁵⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.5 (SChr 423, 120, l. 1): In hoc regno promisit seruis suis dicendo: Quisquis reliquerit patrem aut matrem uel fratrem et sororem mei nominis causa, centum partibus multiplicatam recipiet mercedem et nunc, et in futurum uitam aeternam possidebit.

⁵⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.2 (SChr 423, 118, l. 18-20).

⁵⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.1 (SChr 423, 116, l. 1): In regno *ergo* et in prima resurrectione exhibetur ciuitas sancta, quam dicit descensuram de caelo quadratam, differentium et pretiositatis et coloris et generis lapidum circumdatam, auro mundo, id est dilucido, similem.

⁵⁹¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 35.2 (SChr 153, l. 53-110): sed in regni temporibus, renovata terra a Christo et reaedificata Hierusalem secundum characterem quae sursum est Hierusalem...Et post haec ait...Et civitatem sanctam Hierusalem novam vidi descendentem de caelo, praeparatam ut sponsam ornatam viro suo...His itaque praetereuntibus, super terram novam | superiorem Hierusalem ait Domini discipulus Johannes descendere...Hujus Hierusalem imago illa quae in priori terra Hierusalem, in *qua* iusti praemeditantur incorruptelam et parantur in salutem, et hujus tabernaculi typum accepit Moyses in monte. Et nihil allegorizari potest, sed omnia firma et vera et substantiam habentia, ad fruitionem hominum iustorum a Deo facta...deinde omnibus renovatis, vere in civitate habitabit.

⁵⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.6 (SChr 423, 122, l. 8).

⁵⁹³ Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 40.

⁵⁹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 10-18): Sicut *ergo* caelum intellegitur ara aurea, quae erat interior - nam et sacerdos semel introibat in templum in anno, qui habebat Christi mandatum, ad aram auream: significabat Spiritus Sanctus hoc esse facturum, id est quod passus est, semel factum est -, sic et aerea terra intellegitur, sub *qua* est infernum, remota a poenis et ignibus regio, requies sanctorum, in *qua* quidem uidentur ab impiis et audiuntur iusti, sed neque illi ad illos transire possunt.

etc are understood also as “heavenly riches”.⁵⁹⁵ In addition to the perhaps embarrassingly wide use and influence of Victorinus, this ambiguity probably explains why Jerome overlooks the Poetovian’s chilism, though he ridicules it in others.

However, Victorinus’ millenarianism, such as it was, was likely cause for the disappearance of his works from the fifth century onwards, when the eschatological doctrine of Augustine, as expounded in *De civitate dei*, generally prevailed. The works of the author whom Jerome had considered one of the pillars of the church, which had been read by Lactantius, Hilary, Zeno, Chromatius, Tyconius, Jerome, Gregory of Elvira and Augustine himself, were scarcely copied, with the exception of *In Apocalypsin*, and generally in the expurgated version of Jerome.

Victorinus’ significance lies in the paradox that has always lain at the heart of the Christian revelation: how to reconcile the imminent expectation of the Kingdom to come with the reality of a history that, to all intents and purposes, seems to have no end. The continued copying of his commentary on Revelation testifies to its abiding interest for Christian scholars, and the faithfulness of the Poetovian to the vision of the Apostles. The genes of that belief, for better or worse, in some kind of Millennial reign of Christ, where Christians may enjoy a perfectly just society on earth, with earthly kingdoms and empires subdued, in no small part passed into the genome of western Christianity through the work of Victorinus. A heritage that continued to inform the body of Christendom and its heirs, even to this day, even while the name of the originator and his offspring had long since passed into history.

Manuscripts:

⁵⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.5 (SChr 423, 120, l. 5-8). In hoc regno, qui fraudati sunt in bonis propter nomen Domini, etiam omnibus sceleribus et carceribus necati multi - sed ante aduentum Domini prophetas sanctos lapidati necati secati sunt - accipient solatium suum, id est coronas ac diuitias caelestes.

- Ottobonianus Latinus 3288 A (XVth c.) = A
- Ottobonianus Latinus 3288 B (copy of A: XVIth c.).
- Vaticanus 3586 (copy of Ottob. 3288 B: XVIth c.).

Chief edition: J. Haussleiter, CSEL 49.

Manuscript A, a copy of a very damaged, lacunary and faulty ancient example, has, perhaps, been partly completed and corrected with the aid of Jerome's edition. Of this Haussleiter has given a version in CSEL 49, based on 10 manuscripts which he has then arranged. Dulaey has established a new text, based on 21 manuscripts, which prompted her to modify Haussleiter's editorial choices. In Dulaey's text, the oblique crochets, <...>, signal words, lines or paragraphs, absent from MS. A, but restored to Victorinus on the strength of Jerome's edition, both by Haussleiter and Dulaey.

The enumeration of the text remains that of CSEL 49, which follows the verses of Revelation, upon some chapters of which Victorinus does not comment, nor always follows verse order. Dulaey retained the Poetovian's order, since alteration would have brought more confusion than gain. Dulaey's edition also differs from Haussleiter's in that she supplies new readings, albeit less comprehensively, in the notes, thinking them superfluous to understanding the text. Dulaey gives her principles for editing in her article, "Jérôme 'éditeur' du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetovio". More detailed information is available in the *apparatus criticus* of her new edition of the text prepared for *Corpus Christianorum*. The readings from *Revelation* are given in bold italics, when repeated

in the same paragraph in ordinary italic (readings and repetitions appear in *French* inverted commas in Dulaey's translation), while references are given in the margin. In the Latin text, citations from other biblical books are in ordinary italics, repetitions again in French inverted commas (citations and repetitions are in *English* inverted commas in the French translation). The references are given in the *apparatus scripturalis*.

Translation of Victorinus of Pettau's *Commentary on Revelation*

On the Apocalypse⁵⁹⁶

I.1. At the beginning⁵⁹⁷ the book promises happiness to *whoever reads, listens to and keeps it* (1:3). He who studies it may by reading it learn its works and keep its precepts. *Grace be to you and peace from God who is and who was and who is to come* (1:4). ‘Is’, because he abides, ‘was’, because with the Father He made all things – he did not have his beginning from the virgin –, ‘is to come’, undoubtedly – to judge. *By the sevenfold spirit*: In Isaiah we read, ‘a spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and piety, a spirit of the fear of the Lord’ (Is 11:2-3). These seven spirits are obviously the gifts of the one, Holy, Spirit. *And by Jesus Christ who is faithful witness, firstborn from the dead* (1:5). In his assumed humanity he rendered witness in the world (Jn 18:37). In it, having suffered, *he freed us by his blood from sin* and, having waged war on hell, arose, first from the dead, and ‘death will no longer have dominion over him’ (Rom 6:9), but by his very ruling the kingdom of this world is destroyed (*cf.* Jn 16:33). *And he made us a kingdom and priests* (1:6), that is the whole church of the faithful, as the apostle Peter said, ‘a holy people, a royal priesthood’ (Ex 19:6). *Behold he comes with the clouds and all nations will see him* (1:7). He who in his assumed humanity at first came hidden will after a little while come in majesty, manifest with glory to judge.

⁵⁹⁶ *In Apocalypsin*. This is the heading found in the Ottobonianus Latinus 3228A, the manuscript used by Haussleiter for his critical edition of 1916 (CSEL 49), which is also the textual basis for the translation of Dulaey of 1997 (SC 423) and for the translation hereinafter. ‘Apocalypse’ refers to the title of the biblical book which in English is usually known as ‘Revelation’. Victorinus usually refers to it as ‘Apocalypsis’; *cf.* below v.2, IX.1, IX.2, X.1, X.3, XI.5, XII.7, XIII.2, XIV.2, XV.

⁵⁹⁷ *Principium*. A typical expression for the opening of a book; *cf.* ... , though Apoc. does not seem to have a ‘real’ preface; see for this... However, several topics usually found in a preface can be found distributed over various places in the the commentary...

2. But when he says, *in the midst of the golden candelabres was one who was like a son of man* (1:13; 2:1), he speaks of the one “‘like” a son of man’ after his victory over death; for after his ascent to heaven with that body united with the spirit of glory which he received from the Father (*cf.* 1 Peter 1:14) he can properly be spoken of as the son of God, not as a son of man. *Walking in the midst of the golden candelabres*, that is in the midst of the churches, as Solomon said: ‘I walk in the midst of the path of the righteous’ (Prov 8:20). His antiquity and immortality, the origin of his majesty, is shown by *a white brightness on his head* (1:14). The head of Christ, however, is God (*cf.* 1 Cor 11, 3). And *in his white hair* is the multitude of those newly baptized. It is compared to *wool*, because it is reminiscent of a flock of sheep, and also to *snow*, because of the countless throng of candidates, gifts from heaven. *Eyes like a flame of fire*. These are the precepts of God. They tend a light to believers and an inferno to unbelievers.

3. *In his face*, moreover, *the brilliance of the sun*. His face, that is his appearance with which he spoke to men face to face. The glory of the sun, of course, is less than the glory of God. But because of its rising and falling and rising again and because he too was born and suffered (and died) and rose again, Scripture ascribed to his face a similarity with the glory of the sun.

4. In the expression *priestly garment* (1:13) we have the notion of his flesh unaffected by death and possessing an eternal priesthood most evidently inherited by his passion. *Paps* are the two testaments and *golden girdle* the chorus of saints proven as gold by fire; or else *a golden girdle girt about the chest*: a conscience purified and pure spiritual sense bequeathed to the churches.

By the *double edged sword springing from his mouth* (1:16) he is shown to be he who has proclaimed to the whole world today the good things of the Gospel, and earlier, by

Moses, awareness of the law. But because he will judge all humanity by the same word, that of the Old as well as that of the New Testament, it is named a 'double edged' sword; for a sword arms a soldier, a sword slays an enemy, a sword punishes a deserter; and in order that he might show the apostles that he was announcing the judgment he said: 'I have not come to bring peace, but the sword' (Mt 10:34); 'and after he had finished his parables' (Mt 13:53) 'he said to them: "Have you understood everything?" They said: "Yes." He added: "Therefore every scribe who is learned in regard to the kingdom of heaven is like a *paterfamilias* drawing from his treasure both old things and new' (Mt 13:51-52). 'Things new': The words of the Gospel. 'Things old': The words of the law and the prophets. After these things had come from his mouth he said to Peter: 'Take to the sea and cast out a hook and in the mouth of the first fish that arises you will find a stater', that is, two *denarii*; 'give it for me and for you' (Mt 17:26-27). And, similarly, David said through the Spirit: 'God has spoken once, these two things we have heard' (Ps 61:12); for once the Lord decreed from the beginning that which will happen until near the end. These, therefore, are the two testaments, which are variously called either 'two denarii', or 'old and new', or 'double edged'. Finally, when he himself is established as judge by the Father (*cf.* Acts 10:42), he says, wishing to make clear that humankind will be judged by the word of preaching: 'Do you think that it is me who will judge you on the last day' (*cf.* Jn 5:45)? 'It is the word which I have spoken to you that will judge you on the last day' (Jn 12:48). And Paul says, against the Antichrist, to the Thessalonians: 'It is him whom the Lord will slay with the spirit of his mouth' (2 Th 2:8). This, therefore, is 'the double edged sword' proceeding 'from his mouth'.

5. *His voice is like the voice of many waters* (1:17). 'Many waters' is here understood as nations (*cf.* 17:15), but also as the gift of baptism, which he sent down by precept that it be spread through the apostles for the salvation of men. *His feet like bronze purified in a furnace* (1:15). This refers to the apostles, because purified by suffering they preached his word, and

since it was because of them that the message spread, they are deservedly called ‘feet’. The prophet too anticipated that saying: ‘Let us worship his feet where they stand’ (Ps 131:7); for where they stood as the first ones and consolidated the church, that is in Judaea, there all the saints will be assembled and worship their God.

6. *Seven stars in his right hand* (1:16). We have said that the Holy Spirit of sevenfold virtue is given into his power by the Father, just as Peter cried out to the Jews: ‘Therefore exalted to the right hand of God he poured out the spirit he had received from the Father, him whom you saw and heard’ (Acts 2:33). But John the Baptist too had anticipated him when he said to his disciples: ‘For not according to measure does he give the spirit. The Father loves the Son and gave all things into his hands’ (Jn 3:34.35). Now so much for the seven stars.

7. *But now: The seven churches.* These he calls *verbatim*, by their proper names, to them he makes out his letters, not because they are the only churches, or the chief ones, but because everything he says to one of them, he says to all; for there is no difference whether one addresses a company of soldiers, which consists of a small number only, or whether one speaks through it to the army as a whole. Finally, whether in Asia or in the whole world, the seven churches are all. Even Paul taught that the seven named churches are the one Catholic church; and in order that he might himself observe this very rule he firstly did not exceed seven churches in number, but wrote to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians and Colossians; and secondly, later on, he wrote to individual people lest he exceed seven churches in number; and finally, to sum up, drawing short his preaching he said to Timothy directly: ‘That you may know how you ought to conduct yourself in the house of God, or what may be the church of the living God’ (1 Tim 3:15).

We read that this symbol was proclaimed by the Holy Spirit through Isaiah, where he speaks ‘of the seven women who clung to one man’ (Is 4:1a). The one man is Christ, not born

from seed. The seven women are the churches. They receive ‘their own bread and’ are dressed ‘in their own garments’, they seek ‘their opprobrium being lifted from them in order that his name may be invoked over them’ (Is 4:1b). Now ‘the bread’ is the Holy Spirit, who is nourishment for eternal life (*cf.* Jn 6:51); the expression ‘their’ means that it is they themselves who have faith in what is promised to them; equally ‘their garments’ refers to that which is promised to them, *i.e.* that with which they desire to be covered; finally, Paul says: ‘It is proper that this fragility put on incorruptibility and this mortal body immortality’ (1 Cor 15:53); ‘take away their opprobrium’: the opprobrium is the original sin that is taken away in baptism, when one can begin to be called a Christian. This refers to the expression: ‘Your name is invoked upon us’. Therefore let us assume that what is said of these seven churches is meant to be said of the one church.

8. Taking into account in each case the state of faith and election, he wrote either to those who labour in the world and are occupied with the fruits of their labour, are patient and, when they encounter people in the church who act in a divisive and corrupting manner, tolerate them, lest there be dispersion – these he warned merely in view of the love that lacks faith: that they practice repentance (2:2-5); or he wrote to those who live in cruel places, among persecutors: that they persevere in their fidelity (2:9-11); or to those who under the pretext of mercy teach unlawful sins in the church inducing others to commit them (2:14-16); or to those who are lax in the church (3:2); or to those who are negligent and Christians in name only; or to those who, instructed in humility, persevered in faith courageously (3:14-22); or he reproves those who study Scripture and labour to know the hidden things of prophecy, but are unwilling to do the work of God (*cf.* Jn 6:28.29), that is: mercy and love. To all he declares repentance, to all he announces judgment.

II. 1. Now in the first letter he says: *I know your labour and works and your patience* (2:2), I know that you labour and work, and I see that you are patient. Do not think that I will continue for much longer to stay a long way away from you. I know *that you cannot tolerate the evil ones any longer, that you have found out those who claim to be apostles to be liars, and that you have patience because of my name* (2:2-3). All these things tend towards praise, and no mean praise. But it is proper even for such men and such a group of people, people of election, at any rate, to be warned that they must not let themselves be cheated of the good things which they deserve. He said that he had a few things even against those: *Your first love, he said, you have abandoned. Remember whence you have fallen* (2:4-5). Who falls, falls from on high; and therefore he says ‘whence’; because at all cost works of love must be performed unto the last. This is the chief command (*cf.* Mt 22:38). Or else, he threatened, *the candelabre will be moved from its place* (2:5), that is: the people will be scattered. *Now they hate the works of the Nicolaites, which he himself hates* (2:6). This counts towards their praise. But what does the expression ‘the works of the Nicolaites’ mean? It means this: Before this time false and pernicious men had crafted for themselves a heresy of the name of Nicholaus, their minister, that an offering to idols may be exorcised in order that it could be eaten, and that whoever had fornicated could receive reconciliation on the eighth day. This is why he wholeheartedly praises those to whom he wrote, and for being such great men he promises them *the tree of life that is in the paradise of his God* (2:7).

2. The following letter reveals the following way of life of another order and custom. He says, briefly: *I know you, and that you are poor and that you are suffering, but in fact you are rich* (2:9a) – for he knows that for such people riches are laid up with himself –, and *the slander of those who claim to be Jews*, though he denies that they are Jews and maintains instead that *they are a synagogue of Satan* (2:9b), since they are gathered by the Antichrist. About this second group of people he says that they will persevere *until death*, and *those who*

persevere will not be affected by the second death (2:10-11); that is: they will be not be punished in hell.

3. The third class of saints whom it shows are men strong in faith (*cf.* 1 Peter 5:9) who are not afraid of persecution. But because among these others become prone to give in to unlawful laxities, he says: *I shall fight against them with the sword of my mouth (2:16)*, that is: I shall announce my precepts and compare with them their deeds; for *Balaam's teaching cast a stumbling block before the eyes of the sons of Israel: He taught them to sacrifice to idols and to fornicate (2:14)*. It is known of old, since he gave this advice to the king of the Moabites and this is how he caused the people to stumble (*cf.* Num 25:1-2; 31:16). *Thus*, he said, *you too have among you people who hold on to such a teaching (2:17)*, and under the pretext of mercy you corrupt others. *The one who wins*, he says, *him I will give the hidden manna*. The *hidden manna*, that is: immortality; *a white jewel* is the adoption to become son of God, the *new name* is the Christian one.

4. The fourth class signifies the nobility of the faithful, those who work day in day out and achieve ever greater works. But he shows that even here there are facile people given to unlawful 'reconciliations' and opening their ears to 'new prophecies', and he reproves and forewarns the rest, who would not like this to happen, who recognise the iniquities of the enemy, by which evils and deceits he seeks to seduce the leaders of the faithful into perils; and therefore he says: *I will send upon you no other burden (2:14)*, that is: I have not given you the duty and burden to observe the law, which is *the other burden*. What you have you may keep, at least until I come. And him who succeeds I will give power over the nations (2:25-26), that is: I will establish him as judge among the other saints. *And I shall give him the morning star (2:28)*. With this he obviously promises the first resurrection; for the *morning star* routs the night and announces the dawn, that is: the beginning of day.

III.1. The fifth class, or election, or way of life, of saints, reveals people as careless, not doing the things they ought to do in this world, doing nothing good, being Christians only in name. And therefore he encourages them: If somehow they could on the verge of peril turn away from their carelessness, they might be saved. *Make strong*, he says, *that which was already dead; for I do not find your works to be perfect before the Lord* (3:2). For it is not enough for a tree to live and carry leaves, but no fruit (*cf.* Lk 13:6-9). Thus it is not enough for someone to be called a Christian and profess himself as such, but not do the works of a Christian.

2. The sixth class, the way of life of the best election, lays open the habit of the saints, of those who albeit humble in this world and not learned in the scriptures hold on to their faith immovably and do not withdraw from it on any ground of fear. Therefore he says to them: *I have put before you an open door* (3:8); and: *since you have observed my word of perseverance* (3:10a), when you had such little strength, *I too will save you from the hour of temptation* (3:10b), so that they may know that his glory is of this kind; and he will, of course, not allow them ‘to be led into temptation’ (*cf.* Mt 6:12). *He who is victorious*, he says, *will become a column in the temple of God* (3:12). Now a column is an ornament of a building. Such, therefore, is the nobility that someone who perseveres will attain in the church.

3. This election, too, the seventh class, reveals rich people, believers set in high office, who believe in the manner of rich people. They discuss Scripture in their bedrooms, but outside their houses nobody would recognise them as believers. Endowed with the self-confidence of those with a literary education they proudly proclaim to know everything, yet they are empty of works. And therefore he says to them that they are *neither hot nor cold*

(3:15), that is neither unbelieving nor faithful; for they are ‘all things to all men’ (*cf.* 1 Cor 6:22). And since he who is ‘neither hot nor cold’ is *lukewarm*, he must inevitably induce sickness: *And I will vomit him*, he says, *from my mouth* (3:16). Sickness, however hateful it is, conceals no one. And thus it is also with men of this kind, when they will be ejected.

But since it is the time of repentance, he says: *I advise you, buy from me smelted gold* (3:18), that is: suffer anything, if and as much as you can, in the name of the Lord. *And*, he says, *annoint your eyes with salve* (3:19), that is: that which you like to read about in Scripture, try to do also in practice. And since men of this kind, if they return from great destruction to great repentance, can be of use not only to themselves, but also profit many, he promised them no small reward, that is: *to sit upon the throne* (3:21) of the judge.

IV.1. *An open door*, he says, *in heaven* (4:1). It is the message of the New Testament which John sees, and he hears the words: *Come up here*. As it is shown open, it is clear that it had previously been shut to men. But it has sufficiently and plainly been opened, when Christ, with his body up in heaven, ascended to the Father. As to the voice which John had heard and of which he said that it had spoken to him: It irrefutably puts to the obstinate the case that the one who came is the same as the one who is spoken of by the prophets; for John was a Jew, and that whole people had heard the prophecy of the Old Testament. It had been issued by that same voice. *For that same voice*, he says, *which I had heard. It said to me: ‘Come up here’*. This is Jesus Christ, whom just a little earlier he thought to have seen like a son of man among the candelabra (*cf.* 1:13).

And now he recalls what had been figuratively foretold by the law, and through this present text he recapitulates what had been said by all the earlier prophets and opens up the Scriptures more fully.

And since after our Lord had invited all believers into heaven in his name (*cf. e. g. Jn 1:12*), he immediately poured out the Holy Spirit, which would bring men to heaven, he [John] says: *I was at once created in the Spirit (4:2)*. And when the mind of the believers is opened by the Spirit, that which is revealed to them is that which had been prophesied to those who went before them.

2. Significantly, *a throne was placed*, that is: the seat of a judge or king. *Above it*, he says, *he saw something like jasper and sardine stone (4:2-3)*; since jasper has the colour of water and sardine of fire, this clearly states that these two testaments are placed above the judgment seat of God and will remain there from now until the day the world will be finally wound up. One of the two judgments has already taken place in form of the great flood, the cataclysm by water, the other will be accomplished by fire.

Moreover, *a rainbow around the throne (4:3)* has a burning colour. Now a rainbow is also called an 'arc'. God once spoke through one to Noah and his sons to take away their fear of another deluge. 'I have placed,' he said, 'my arc among the clouds' (Gen 9:13) in order that you may no longer fear water, but fire.

Now *before the throne it was as if there were a sea of glass like made of crystal (4:6)*. This is the gift of baptism, which he pours out through his son at the time of repentance, before he brings judgment; therefore: 'before the throne', that is: 'before the judgment'. Further, when he speaks of 'a sea of glass like made of crystal', it signifies clear water, undisturbed by wind, not flowing forth with a current, but handed on, immovable, as a gift of God.

3. The *four animals* are the four gospels. *The first*, he says, *is like a lion*, *the second like a calf*, *the third like a man*, *the fourth like a flying eagle*. *They have six wings on all sides*

and eyes inside and outside, and they say incessantly, he says, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, holy, holy, holy is the Lord God almighty (4:7-8).

The twenty four elders sitting on twenty four judgment seats holding judgment (4:10) are the books of the prophets and the law reporting witnesses of judgment. Furthermore, there are also twenty four fathers, twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs. Therefore, as far as the different looks of the animals are concerned, the reasons for these are as follows:

4. *The animal looking like a lion (4:7)* is the Gospel according to John; for while all evangelists had announced that Christ was ‘made man’, this one went further in saying that before he descended and assumed flesh he was God, and proclaiming: ‘God was the word’ (Jn 1:1). And because he declared that like a lion roaring, his preaching bears the visage of a lion.

Looking like a man Matthew strives to explain to us the lineage of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Thus recounting from Abraham to David and from David to Joseph (*cf.* Mt 1:1-16), he spoke as from a human point of view. In consequence his preaching took the visage of a man.

Luke recounts from the priesthood of Zechariah, as he offered a sacrifice on behalf of the people, to the point when an angel appeared to himself while counting (*cf.* Lk 1:8-11). Because of the priesthood and the sacrifice his compilation is signified by the image of a calf.

Mark, the spokesman of Peter, compiled his Gospel recalling the things which Peter used to teach as necessity dictated, not in order, and he began with words from Isaiah’s prophecy (*cf.* Mk 1:2).

Now this is how they begin: John: ‘In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word’ (Jn 1:1). This is the face of the lion. Then Matthew: ‘Book

of the descendance of Jesus Christ, son of God, son of David, son of Abraham' (Mt 1:1). This is the face of the man. Now Luke: 'There was a priest by the name of Zechariah, of the course of Abia, and his wife was one of the daughters of Aaron' (Lk 1:5). This is the image of the calf. And finally, this is how Mark begins: 'Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah' (Mk 1:1-2). As this begins with the Spirit in full flight, it fittingly has the flying eagle as its symbol.

Moreover, not only the prophetic spirit, but the very word of God the almighty Father, the son himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, bore these same images at the time of his coming to us. Thus when he was prophesied as being 'like a lion and a lion cub' (Gen 49:9), he was made man for the salvation of men, to conquer death and free everyone. Because he offered himself as a victim to God for us, he is called a calf. And because he conquered death and ascended to heaven spreading his wings and protecting his people, he is called a flying eagle. Thus although we have here four attributes, there is but one proclamation. It issues from one mouth, just as the river in paradise, which issues from one spring, but divides into four parts (*cf.* Gen 2:10).

5. Further, *these animals have eyes inside and outside* (4:8). This is the message of the New Testament. It shows spiritual foresight of the kind which looks into the secrets of the heart and sees the things that are coming upon us (*cf.* Sir 42:16.18-20). These things have an 'inside as well as an outside'.

'Wings' means the witnesses to the Old Testament. This is why there are twenty four books, as many as there are elders sitting on the seats of judgment. As an animal cannot fly, if it has no feathers, so the preaching of the New Testament lacks credibility, if it has not the foretold testimonies of the Old Testament, by which it is lifted up from the earth and flies.

For it is always the case that an event that is foretold and then actually happens puts a belief beyond doubt.

Yet again, if ‘wings’ do not cleave on animals, they have no life on which they could draw. Thus, if that which the prophets had foretold in Christ, had not been accomplished, ‘their preaching would have been in vain’ (1 Cor 15:14).

This is the faith of the Catholic church, which was at an earlier time foretold and at a later time accomplished, which deservedly flies and lifts off the earth, a living being. In contrast the heretics, who do not use prophetic witness, do have animal natures, but they cannot fly, because they are earthly. Further the Jews, who do not accept the preaching of the New Testament, have ‘wings’, but they do not live, that is: what they offer to men is empty soothsaying, nothing that is worth listening to, assertions that are not applying to facts.

Now the received number of Old Testament books, which we find in the abstract of Theodore, is twenty four. But there are also, as we said, twenty four fathers and apostles. They are needed to judge their people. For to the apostles who were asking and saying: ‘Leaving behind all that belonged to us and following you – what shall we possess (Mt 19:27)?’ Our Lord replied: ‘When the son of man sits upon the throne of his glory, you also will sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel’ (Mt 19:28). But of the fathers too, namely that they will judge as well, the patriarch Jacob says: ‘And he himself will judge his people among his brothers as one tribe of Israel’ (Gen 49:16).

6. And forth went flashes of lightning and voices and bolts of thunder from the throne of God, and seven brands of burning fire (4:5). This verse signifies the prophecies and promises of God, and the threats: For ‘flashes of lightning’ signifies the coming of the Lord, ‘voices’ the prophecies of the New Testament; ‘bolts of thunder’ they are called because they are words from heaven; ‘brands’, however, ‘of burning fire’: because they are the gift of the

Holy Spirit, which, after the first man lost it under the tree was again restored through the tree of the passion.

7. And when these things happened, *all the elders fell down and worshipped the Lord, while the animals rendered glory and honour* (4:9-10). This means that when the Gospel, which is the deeds and the teachings of the Lord, had accomplished the word which had earlier been foretold through those elders, they rightly and deservedly rejoiced, knowing that they had properly served the word of the Lord (*cf.* 1 Peter 1:12). Finally, because he, who conquered death and was alone worthy to take the crown of immortality, had come, all those who had *crowns*, and who deserved them for the glory of their excellent deeds, *threw them beneath his feet* (4:10), that is: for the outstanding victory of Christ all other victories fall *beneath his feet*.

This is also underlined by the Spirit in the Gospel, through a performative display: For when our Lord, about to suffer, came to Jerusalem for the last time, and the people had come out to meet him. Some strew cut palm branches, others threw their garments beneath him (*cf.* Mt 21:8). Thus the Gospel shows two peoples, one of which is that of the fathers and the prophets, great men, who, whatever palms of victory against sin they had, threw them to Christ, *beneath his feet*. The palm however stands for the same meaning as the crown. It is only given to victors.

V. 1. *Now in the hand of him who sat on the seat of judgment was a book containing writing. It was sealed with seven seals* (5:1). This signifies the Old Testament, which has been given into the hand of our Lord, who received from the Father judgment. *A herald*, he says, *called out asking whether there was anyone worthy to open the book and loose its seals; but no one was found worthy, neither in heaven, nor on earth, nor beneath the earth* (5:2-3).

However to open the book is to suffer and thereby conquer death for men. And to do this *no one has been found worthy, neither among the angels in heaven, nor among men on earth, nor among the souls of the peacefully departed saints, but Christ alone, the son of God.*

Him, he [John] says, he saw *as a lamb slain with seven horns* (5:6). Concerning that lamb everything had been prophesied which the Law had prefigured in its various rites and sacrifices. And since he [Christ] himself was a witness and overcame death, it was just that he be established by God as heir in order that he too possess the substance of a mortal, that is human limbs.

2. It is of him that he says: *the lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered; he is the root of David* (5:5). Of the lion of the tribe of Judah we read in the book of Genesis. There the patriarch Jacob says: ‘Judah, your brothers extol you; you have slept, but you rose again like a lion, or even the cub of a lion’ (Gen 48:8-9). Now because he conquered death, he is called a lion. Because he freely suffered for his fellow men, he is spoken of as ‘having been led away like a lamb to the slaughter’ (Is 53:7).

But because he overcame death and prevented the henchman from doing his job, he is spoken of as *quasi slain* (5:6). Thus he opens the book and breaks the seal, since it was him who had sealed the testament in the first place. Knowing this, Moses the law-giver, since it was fitting that it be sealed and hidden until the coming of his suffering, veiled his face and so spoke to the people (*cf.* Ex 34:33). By this performance he showed that the words of the prophecy had to remain veiled until the coming of the time of Christ.

For when he had read this very law to the people, he took a piece of woollen fabric soaked with the blood of a calf and with water and sprinkled it over the people saying, ‘this is the blood of the testament concerning which the Lord commanded you’ (Hebr 9:19-20). Now a diligent listener should be aware that all prophecy forms one coherent whole. It is not

enough to refer to it as ‘law’, since it is also called ‘testament’. No law is called a testament, nor is anything else called a testament except that which is made by those who are about to die; and whatever these have testified by themselves, internally, is sealed until the day of the testator’s death. Therefore it was right that the seal was broken by the *slain lamb* who like a *lion* mauled death and fulfilled what had been foretold about himself, and freed man, that is flesh, from death, and took possession of the substance of a mortal, that is: of human limbs. Just as through one body all men had inherited the debt of death, so through one body all believers will rise to eternal life (*cf.* 1 Cor 15:20; Rom 5:12). Now, therefore, Moses’ face lies open, now the veil is lifted – which, by the way, is also why the *Apocalypse* is called ‘revelation’ –, now the seal of his [Moses’] book is broken, now the offering of victims is understood, now the priestly functions and Christ’s commandments, the construction of the temple and the prophecies, all clearly understood.

3. *The twenty four elders and the four animals, having harps and phials, singing a new song* (5:8-9). The message of the Old Testament [twenty four elders] linked with the New [four animals] represents the Christian people. *Singing a new song* means that they make their confession publicly. ‘New’ means that the son of God has become man, ‘new’ also means that the same man was handed over to death by men, ‘new’ means that he rose on the third day, ‘new’ means that he ascended to heaven with his body, ‘new’ means that he handed himself over to men for the forgiveness of sins, ‘new’ means that men are sealed with the Holy Spirit, ‘new’ means that they receive a priesthood of intercession and can expect a kingdom of vast recompense.

For *harp*, a string stretched over wood, signifies the body of Christ, that is the flesh of Christ linked to his suffering; *phial* stands for the confession of faith and the institution of a new priesthood. *Of many angels* (5:11) may rather refer to ‘all’ [angels], who confer to our Lord the thanks of all the elect for the liberation of men from the disaster of death.

VI.1. The breaking of the seals, as we said, signifies the decoding of the prophecies of the Old Testament and the foretelling of the things that are going to happen at the end of time. Whatever Scripture, on account of its prophetic nature, may say through individual seals, it is only when all seals are opened simultaneously that prophecy runs its very own course.

For when he [John] says that *upon opening the first seal he saw a white horse and a crowned rider on it holding a bow* (6:1-2) – for this is what happened upon breaking the first seal –, he means that after our Lord ascended to heaven and opened up all things (*cf.* Lk 24:44-49), he sent the Holy Spirit, whose words, proclaimed by prophets, pierced the hearts of men like ‘arrows’, and conquered unbelief. A ‘crown’ upon the head however is what the prophets were promised by the Holy Spirit (*cf.* 2 Tim 4:8). Concerning the other three horses the Lord explains this prophecy quite plainly in the Gospel, referring to war, famine and plague (*cf.* Lk 21:9-11). And thus he speaks of *one of the animals* because all four are one. However, when he says *come and see* (*cf.* Jn 1:39.46), he means ‘come’ as an invitation to believe, while ‘see’ is said to someone who has not yet seen.

The ‘white horse’ is the word of proclamation that is sent into the world with the Holy Spirit. For the Lord says: ‘This Gospel will be preached in all the world as a testimony to all the nations, and then will come the end’ (Mt 24:14).

2. The *black horse* (6:5) in contrast signifies famine; for the Lord said: ‘There will be hunger in many places’ (Mt 24:7). In a specific sense however the meaning of the word [‘black horse’] extends as far as the Antichrist, that is the time when there will be great famine and when men will be tormented. *The balance in his hand* signifies the scales of probation. In them he was going to display the merits of individual people. For a *voice* says:

Do not harm wine or oil (6:6), that is: do not strike a spiritual man with plagues. That is what is meant by the black horse.

A red horse. And he who sat on it held a sword (6:4). This refers to wars, which are signified as yet to come, as we read in the Gospel: ‘Nation will rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be a great shaking of the earth’ (Lk 21:10-11). This is the meaning of the red horse.

3. Further: *A pale horse. And he who sat on it has the name of death* (6:8). This is the same disaster as the Lord predicted among others when he said that famines and deaths were yet to come (*cf.* Lk 21:11). For when he [John] says: *And hell follows him*, which means: it [hell] looks forward to swallowing many wicked souls, this [*i.e.* ‘*him*’] is the pale horse.

4. *He saw beneath the altar the souls of the slain* (6:9), that is: under the earth. For both, heaven and earth, are referred to as ‘altar’. This is like the law of imagination. It prefigures, in the form of images, the truth that manifests itself publicly and it meditates and creates the two altars, a golden one for the inside, a brazen one for the outside (Ex 30:3; 27:2). We understand that ‘altar’ stands for heaven, according to the witness that our Lord cites for us, when he said: ‘When you bring gifts to the altar’ – of course, our offerings are the prayers which we must perform –, ‘and remember there and then that there is something that stands between you and your brother, leave you gift there’ (Mt 5:23-24). Our prayers, of course, go to heaven. Therefore: heaven is understood to be the golden altar which stood inside the temple; for even the priest who held the mandate of the anointed one [*i.e.* Christ] used to enter the temple only once a year up to the point where the altar stood (*cf.* Hebr 9:7; Ex 30:10). The Holy Spirit signified through this the saving act of Christ, that is: that which was suffered, was done once and for all (*cf.* Hebr 9:8). Now in the same manner the brazen altar is understood to be the earth. Beneath it is hell. This is arranged in such a way that there

is an area removed from punishments and fire, a place of rest for the saints, in which, however, the just can be seen and heard by the wicked, but there is no possibility to cross over from one place to the other (cf. Lk 16:26).

Thus he who sees all wanted us to recognise that those alone, that is: *the souls of the slain, expect that revenge is taken for their blood*, that is: their body, *on those inhabiting the earth* (6:10-11). But since the perpetual reward for the saints as well as the damnation of the wicked is still to come at the end of time, it is said that they are *expecting* it. And as a solace for their body, he says, *they have received white robes* (6:11), that is: the gift of the Holy Spirit.

5. The sixth seal: *There was a great earthquake* (6:12). This is the latest persecution. *The sun became as sackcloth*: The clarity of the teaching will be concealed to those who do not believe. *The moon as blood*: The church of the saints will be shown to shed their blood for Christ. *The stars fall*: The faithful are perturbed. *The figtree, shaken, sheds its ripe fruits* (6:14): People are separated from the church by persecution. *The sky is rolled up*: The church is going into hiding. *And mountains and islands are removed from their places*: All were forced by the latest persecution to leave their places; that is to say: The good will be moved and escape persecution.

6. *Four angels throughout the four corners of the earth or the four winds across the river Euphrates* (7:1). This signifies four nations, because for every nation an angel is appointed by God, as the Law says: ‘He established them according to the number of God’s angels’ (Deut 32:8; cf. Apoc. 7:3). They will not overstep their boundaries until the number of the saints is complete; for at the end of time they will arrive together with the Antichrist.

7. As for the verse: *a great crowd from every tribe* (7:9) – it signifies that there will be a number of elect gathered from the entirety of all believers who *bleached their robes by the*

blood of the lamb (7:14), that is: they are cleansed by baptism and preserve the grace which they received.

Then, at the opening of the seventh seal there was a silence in heaven for half an hour (8:1). This signifies the beginning of eternal rest. But it is meant to be only ‘half’ an hour, because the silence is going to be interrupted and the same order of events repeated. For if this were already perpetual silence, we would have reached the end of the story.

VII. *But now an angel descending from the east* (7:2). This means the prophet Elijah, who has to come before the time of the Antichrist to restore the churches and strengthen them against intolerable persecution. We read about this at the beginning of the book of the Old Testament as well as of the new proclamation; for the Lord said through Malachi: ‘Behold I send you Elijah of Thisbe to turn the hearts of the fathers to their sons and the heart of every man to his neighbour’ (Mal 4:5-6). The latter phrase means: to convert the heart of every man to Christ through repentance. ‘To turn the hearts of the fathers to their sons’ means, if the appeal is set in the time when it was actually made: to call the Jews to the faith of the people who come after them. For that reason the text also indicates that a number of Jews is going to believe as well as a great multitude of gentiles (*cf.* Apoc. 7:4-9).

VIII.1. (8:3-13). Further, the church’s prayers are delivered by an angel from heaven, and accepted; and divine wrath is poured out against the reign of the Antichrist, which is also beaten into stupefaction by holy angels. We also read in the Gospel about this; for it says: ‘Pray that you are not led into temptation’ (Mt 26:41); ‘for a great distress is going to occur, such as has not occurred since the beginning of the world. And if God had not cut short those

days, no flesh on earth would be saved' (Mt 24:21-22). Now these are the seven great archangels whom God sent to smite the reign of the Antichrist; for the Lord himself said in the Gospel: 'Then the son of man will send his messengers and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other' (Mt 24:31; *cf.* Mt 13:27). And earlier it [Scripture] had said: Then 'there will be peace on earth, when seven shepherds will have risen against Assur, and eight attacks taken place, which will have dragged down Assur,' that is: the Antichrist, 'into the ditch of Nebroth,' that is: into the damnation of the devil (Mi 5:5-6). And Ecclesiastes says similarly: 'When the guards of the house have been shaken' (Eccl 12:3). And the Lord himself spoke thus: 'When the workers came to him and said: "Lord, have you not sown good seed in your field? Why therefore is now weed growing there?" He answered them: "The enemy has done this." And they said: "Do you want us to go and eradicate it?" And he said to them: "No, let it grow until the harvest. Then,"" he said, "I shall tell the harvesters to gather the weed and throw it into the fire, and to bring the wheat into the granary"' (Mt 13:27-30). Now this Apocalypse reveals that those harvesters, shepherds and workers are the archangels.

2. Now *the trumpet* signifies the word of power, and it is fitting that whatever is said by the trumpets is repeated by the *phials* (*cf.* 8:6-9:21; 16:1-21). However, this does not mean that it actually happens twice. Rather, since that which is going to happen once, is announced by God as something which is going to happen, it is spoken of twice (*cf.* Gen 41:32). Thus what he [John] expresses in a more abbreviated form by saying 'trumpets', he expresses to a fuller degree by adding 'phials'.

Nor must one focus too much on the order of what is said; for the Holy Spirit, when it has run its course and reached the last period in time, and the end, revisits the same times once more and supplies any meaning that is missing from those expressions which it had the first time issued in a more abbreviated form.

Thus one must not look for chronological order in the Apocalypse, but for a principal understanding of what it actually intends to say; for there is also the risk of succumbing to false prophecy.

Consequently, what is implied in the ‘trumpets’ is also implied in the ‘phials’, be it the disaster of the plagues sent into the world, or the insanity of the Antichrist himself, or the blasphemy of the nations, or the differences between plagues, or the hope in the reign of the saints, or the ruin of Babylon, that is: the Roman state.

3. *An eagle flying in the middle of the sky* (8:13). This signifies the Holy Spirit bearing witness through the two prophets that the great wrath of the plagues is imminent and that somehow, though the end of time has already arrived, still anyone may yet be saved.

X.1. *For a mighty angel who it says descended from heaven, cloaked with a cloud and a rainbow over his head, his face as the sun and his feet like a pillar of fire, and holding in his hand an open book. And he placed his feet upon the sea and the land* (10:1-2). This signifies our Lord, as we narrated earlier, when we spoke of ‘his face being like the sun’, that is: of the resurrection. The expression ‘on his head, however, a rainbow’ (Apoc. 4:4) signified the judgment that is happening now, or will happen. The ‘opened book’ is the Apocalypse, the revelation which John received. His ‘feet’, as we also said already, are the apostles, gathered together; for ‘sea and land’ trodden by him means that all things are subjected under his feet. The one of whom this verse speaks is said to be an ‘angel’, that is: a messenger of the almighty father. ‘For he is called a messenger of great counsel’ (Is 9:5).

He cried out with a loud voice (10:3a). ‘Loud voice’ means that it is a heavenly voice. It proclaims the words of the almighty God to men with a sense of urgency; for when the time of repentance has run out, there will be no more hope for repentance afterwards.

2. *Seven thunders spoke their voices* (10:3b): The sevenfold spirit of power, having announced through the prophets everything that was going to happen, bore witness in the world through the voice of the one mentioned above [*i.e.* him who ‘cried out with a loud voice’].

But because he [John] said that *he was going to write* (10:4) all that the ‘thunders’ had said, that is: all that had been predicted in the Old Testament in a hidden manner, he was forbidden to write it, but told to leave it alone and *seal it*.

Since he was an apostle, it was not right that the spiritual gift of a man of second rank be bestowed upon a man of the first rank (*cf.* 1 Cor 12:28); for *the time is already close* (1:3; 22:10). The apostles conquered unbelief through their abilities, through signs and miracles and noble deeds (*cf.* Acts 2:22; 4:30). After them, with faith already grounded more firmly, the reassuring task of interpreting the prophetic scriptures was given to the churches. Referring to them as exegetes Paul called them ‘prophets’; for the apostle said: ‘And in the church he [Christ] put the apostles first, the prophets second and the teachers third’ (1 Cor 12:28) and so on. And elsewhere he said: ‘Let two or three prophets speak and the rest evaluate’ (1 Cor 14:29). And also: ‘Every woman who prays or prophesies without a headscarf on disgraces her head (1 Cor 11:5).

However, when he said: ‘let two or three prophets speak and the rest evaluate’, he did not refer to a prophecy related to an article of the orthodox faith that had previously been unheard of, or unknown, but of a prophecy already proclaimed and interpreted within the

church; for 'let them evaluate' means: assess whether the ecclesiastical exegesis concurs with the testimony of the newly uttered prophecy.

Clearly, John, armed with superior spiritual powers, had no need for such a procedure, while the church, as the body of Christ, is furnished with its members and has to proceed according to the rank of each of them (*cf.* 1 Cor 14:35).

3. Now *take the book and eat it* (10:10). This refers to him [John] conferring the vision that has occurred to him to his memory. *It is sweet in the mouth:* This refers to the fruit of prediction, which is most sweet both to the speaker and to the listeners, but *most bitter* to the preacher and to those who persevere in the commandments through difficult times. *It is necessary*, he says, *to preach*, that is: to prophesy, *again among the peoples, linguistic groups and nations* (10:11). This means that when John had this vision, he was living on the island of Patmos, where he had been condemned to work in the mines by the emperor Domitian. There he seems to have written the Apocalypse. Later, when he had grown old, he thought that he could be received by the Lord after all his troubles. Domitian had been killed, all his laws had been revoked, and John had been released from the mines. Now he could proclaim in public the same Apocalypse which he had received from the Lord. This is what he refers to by saying: *It is necessary to prophesy again.*

XI.1. Further, *he took a rod like a twig that he might measure the temple of God, and also the altar and those worshipping in the temple* (11:1). This text speaks of the power which John, once bestowed with it, was going to hand to the churches; for he later also wrote a Gospel. And when Valentinus, Cerinthus, Ebion and all the others of the school of Satan were spread around the world, the bishops of the surrounding cities gathered at John's place and urged him to write up his personal testimony concerning the Lord.

Now 'the measure' of faith is the commandment of our Lord to profess the almighty Father, as we were taught, and his son, our Lord Jesus Christ, spiritually begotten from the Father before the beginning of the world (*cf.* Wis 9:9; Prov 8:30; Jn 1:1), made man, and after overcoming death accepted by the Father in heaven with his body, and pouring out the Holy Spirit (*cf.* Acts 2:33), the gift and pledge of immortality (*cf.* Eph 1:14). It is he whom the prophets announced and in regard to whom the Law is formulated, who is the hand of God, the word of the almighty Father and the creator of the entire universe.

This is 'the rod' and 'the measure' of faith: that no one 'worship' at the holy 'altar' except he who professes 'the Lord and his Christ' (Acts 4:26).

2. Further, as far as the inner courtyard is concerned, cast it out (11:2). A courtyard is also known as an enclosed open space, an empty area enclosed by walls. People of such a kind he [John] ordered to expel from the church, because they are useless. *For it [i.e. the courtyard] is prone, he said, to be trampled on by the gentiles.* This means that such men are being eschewed either by the nations, or with them.

Then he reiterates his message regarding the ruin and destruction of the most recent times and says: And they will trample on the holy city for forty two months. *And I shall grant it to my two witnesses to preach, and they will preach, dressed in sackcloth, for one thousand two hundred and sixty days (11:2-3),* that is: for three years and six months; for one thousand two hundred and sixty days equal forty two months. Thus the preaching of my witnesses will last three years and six months and the reign of the Antichrist will last an equivalent amount of time.

Now from the mouths of those prophets goes out fire against the adversaries (11:5). By this he refers to the power of their word. All plagues which are to come from those angels are issued through the voice.

3. Many think that Elijah is accompanied by Elisha or Moses, but they are both dead. Yet we do not know anything about the death of Jeremiah. According to everything that is handed down by our ancient writers the one to whom we are referring is Jeremiah; and this is testified even by the very word that was addressed to him: 'Before I formed you in your mother's womb I already knew you, and before you were born from her I sanctified you, and I put you among the nations as a prophet' (Jer 1:5). However, Jeremiah was no prophet among the nations. Yet the two prophecies were divine and God had to fulfil his promise. He had to establish a prophet also among the nations. Of these two prophecies he [John] spoke as the *two candelabres and two olive trees* (11:4). And he encouraged you that if you had not developed a deeper understanding by reading the other passage, you might develop one by reading this one. For it can be found in Zechariah, one of the twelve prophets (*cf.* Zach 4:11-14).

4. *These are the two olive trees and the two candelabres which stand in the sight of the Lord of the earth* (11:4), that is: in paradise. These, therefore, are the ones who will have to be slain by the Antichrist, after many plagues have been thrust upon this world (11:6). Now the Antichrist is the one of whom he [John] speaks of as *the beast ascending from the abyss* (11:7); and to demonstrate that it is him who 'will ascend from the abyss' we have to gather a great number of testimonies in this chapter: Thus Isaiah says: 'Behold, Assur, a cypress on mount Lebanon' (Ez 31:3), 'Assur' meaning 'oppressor', 'cypress' 'high and branchy', that is: a numerous people, 'on mount Lebanon' 'in the kingdom of kingdoms', 'beautiful in its seedlings' 'strong in its armies'. 'Water nourished him,' he says, that is: the many thousand men who will be subject to him. 'The abyss made him grow' (Ez 31:4), that is: it disgorged him; and Ezechiel says it almost in the same words (*cf.* Is 8:7). Moreover, for the fact that he lived in the kingdom of kingdoms and among caesars, Paul is a witness; for he writes to the Thessalonians: 'Now he whom we can see is holding back, until he is taken from

our midst; but then he will appear whose arrival is according to the ability of Satan, with signs and lies' (2 Thess 2:7-9). And that they know that he, who was once 'princeps', is going to come, Paul adds: 'The secret art of mischief is already at work' (2 Thess 2:7); which means: he works secretly at the mischief which he is going to do, but his rousing will not occur by virtue of his own power or that of his father, but by a command from God. For that reason Paul has also said: 'Therefore, since they did not accept the love of God, God sends them the spirit of error, so that those who are not convinced by the truth may be wrongly convinced by a lie' (2 Thess 2:10-11). As Isaiah puts it: 'For those who are holding out for light darkness has arisen' (Is 59:9).

5. Therefore, the Apocalypse reveals that these two prophets will be slain by that very Antichrist (11:7.11), and rise again, but only on the fourth day, lest the impression might be created that someone here might be equal to God. *Sodom and Egypt* (11:8) however is here the name given to Jerusalem on the ground of the deed of the people who acted as a persecutor. Thus one must painstakingly and with the utmost care follow the meaning of the prophetic proclamation and try to understand it. For the Holy Spirit expresses himself bit by bit. He anticipates something and rushes ahead to the end of time, and then repeats again what he has said about earlier times. And since, although everything only happens once, he presents it as if it happens several times – and if you do not understand that not everything that is being spoken of several times is also happening several times, you will fall into a great confusion –, a proper interpretation of the sequence of everything that is being said consists in that it is not understood according to the chronological or narrative order in which it is being said, but according to the rational purpose for which it is being said.

6. *The temple of God that is in heaven has been opened* (11:19). This is the apparition of our Lord. 'The temple of God' is the son himself, as he himself said: 'Tear down this temple and I will raise it up again in three days'; and to the Jews who said, 'It took forty six

years to build it,' the Evangelist said: 'He spoke of the temple of his body' (Jn 2:19-21). *The arc of the testament* refers to the proclamation of the Gospel, the forgiveness of sins and everything else that arrived with him. For this is in view of which the text says: 'it appeared'.

XII.1. *Now a woman clothed with the sun and the moon beneath her feet wearing a crown of twelve stars, giving birth under labour* (12:1-2). This is the ancient church of the fathers, prophets and holy apostles. She was groaning and tormented by her desire until that happened from the midst of her people and according to her flesh which had once been promised, namely that she would see Christ how he had assumed flesh from his very own tribe. Now 'clothed with the sun' refers to the hope of resurrection and the promise of glorification. The moon, however, signifies the gradual release of the bodies of the saints from the clutches of death, which is irreversible; because to the extent that life is reduced for men, it is also increased, and the hope of those asleep is never totally extinguished, as some believe, but they will have a light shining in the darkness like the moon. The 'crown of twelve stars' signifies the quoir of the patriarchs according to the descent of the flesh. From them Christ was to assume flesh.

2. *A red dragon standing waiting so that, when the woman had born her son, he would devour him* (12:3-4). Clearly, this refers to the devil, a renegade angel, who thought that death would equal the total destruction of all men. However, he who was not born from seed, owed nothing to death. That is why he could not 'devour him', that is: he could not imprison him in death. In fact, 'on the third day he rose again'. And when, before he had fully revealed himself, the devil approached him to tempt him, as though he was merely a man, he found that he was not as he had thought and 'departed from him', Scripture says, 'for some time' (Lk 4:13).

3. *He*, the text continues, *was snatched to the throne of God* (12:5). This we also read in the Acts of the Apostles: Just as he was speaking with his disciples, he was removed to heaven (*cf.* Lk 24:52; Acts 1:9). Moreover, it says, *he is going to treat all nations with an iron rod*. This 'iron rod' means the sword. And 'all nations' who fight in the army of the Antichrist will be pitched against the saints. By the sword, he says, each side will fall.

Then, concerning his reference to 'red', that is: scarlet: it is a reference to the colour of the fruit of his work; for 'from the beginning he was a murderer' (Jn 8:44), and oppressed the whole of humankind, not only through the debt of death, but also through a variety of disasters.

The seven heads are the seven kings of Rome. From them, we say, the Antichrist was descended in the first place. *The ten horns* are the ten emperors of the most recent times. Them we shall treat more fully in due course.

4. *Now the woman flew in the desert with the help of the wings of great eagles* (12:6-14). The wings clearly are meant to be those of the two prophets. The woman is meant to be the whole of the Catholic church in which, at the end of time, a hundred and forty four thousand will believe under the influence of the prophet Elijah (7:4; 14:1). As for the rest he will find a twofold people at the occasion of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the Lord Christ himself too says in the Gospel: 'Then those who dwell in Judaea will flee into the mountains' (Mt 24:16), that is: no matter how many will have gathered in Judaea, they will go to *the place which they have prepared in order that they be nourished there for three years and six months, away from the face of the devil* (12:14). 'Wings of a great eagle' refers to the two prophets, *i.e.* Elijah and he who will be prophet with him.

5. *The water however which the serpent had sent forth from its mouth* (12:15-16): This refers to the army that follows the devil, obeying his command. *Then the earth opened*

its mouth and devoured the water: This signifies the vengeance that will be taken against the persecutors. And thus this vision is rightly understood as referring at the same time to the woman giving birth and fleeing after giving birth to her child, though these events did not happen at the same time. For we know that the time in which Christ was going to be born has already occurred, whereas the time in which the woman will hide *from the face of the serpent* (12:14) has not yet occurred.

6. And then it says: *A war broke out in heaven. Michael and his angels fought with the dragon and the dragon fought with his angels, and no place in heaven was found for him. And the great dragon, the ancient snake, was hurled out and fell onto the earth* (12:7-9). This refers to the beginning of the arrival of the Antichrist. But before that Elijah had to do his preaching and there had to be a time of peace, and thus it was afterwards, after the *three years and six months* (12:14) of Elijah's preaching had come to an end, that he was 'hurled out' from heaven where until that time he had held the power to stay up, together with all the other angels who defected.

Thus the Antichrist is raised from hell, as also the apostle Paul says: 'First the man of sin has to come, the son of perdition, the adversary, who will raise himself above all that is called God or worshipped' (2 Thess 2:3-4).

7. Further, when it says: *the tail of the dragon drew a third of the stars* (12:3), it can be interpreted in two directions. While many assume that it could mean that he succeeds in leading astray 'a third' of the believers, it seems to me that it should rather refer more appropriately to what happened to the angels who were under him while he was still the princeps, when he fell from his position (*cf.* Jude 6). Therefore, what we said earlier, as the Apocalypse says: *He stood upon the sand of the sea* (12:18).

XIII.1. *And I saw a beast rising from the sea like a leopard (13:1-2).* This refers to the kingdom of that time, the reign of the Antichrist, with its variety of nations and mixing of peoples. *His feet were like the paws of a bear,* a strong and also very unclean beast. ‘His feet’ refers to his generals. *His mouth is like the mouth of lions,* that is: armed with teeth to draw blood. For ‘mouth’ signifies his orders and his message, which will be issued to no other purpose than that to shed blood.

2. *The seven heads are seven hills, upon which sits a woman (17:9-11).* This refers to the city of Rome. *And there are seven kings. Five have fallen. One is alive now and one is yet to come; and when he comes, he will be there only for a short time. And the beast whom you saw belongs to the seven and is an eighth king.* Now the time to which this is meant to refer is the time when the Apocalypse was written; for that was the time when Domitian was Caesar. Before him lived his brother Titus and Vespasian, their father, and Otho, Vitellius and Galba. These are ‘the five’ who ‘have fallen’. ‘One is alive now’: For the time in which the Apocalypse is written this refers to Domitian. ‘Another one is yet to come’: Nerva. ‘When he comes he will only be there for a short time’. He did not even last for two years. ‘And the beast whom you saw’, he [John] said, ‘was apart from the seven’. This refers to Nero who reigned before the aforementioned. ‘And he is the eighth’, John says, counting him as the eighth, because he anticipates his imminent coming. And since he also anticipates that with him things will come to a head, he adds: *And he progresses towards total destruction (17:12).*

For ten kings have received royal power. This can be understood as follows. When he has moved from the east, these ten kings will be sent from Rome with their armies. They are the *ten horns* of which he speaks, and the *ten diadems* (13:1). And, as Daniel shows: ‘Three of the former will be rooted out’ (Dan 7:8), that is: three of these generals will be slain by the Antichrist. The other seven will give him *glory, honour, a throne, and power* (17:13). About

them John says: *They hate the whore* – he is obviously speaking again of the city [of Rome] – *and her flesh is burnt by fire* (17:16).

3. *But now one among the heads was slain and died, but the wound of his death was healed* (13:3). This refers to Nero. For we know that when he was pursued by the horse that were sent by the senate he slit his own throat. Him, therefore, God sends, revived, a king worthy of those worthy of him, Jews and persecutors of Christ, ‘and a Christ’ such as deserved by those same persecutors and Jews. And since he will bear another name, he will also begin another life, so that they may welcome him as though he were the Christ. For as Daniel says: ‘He will not know the desire of women’ – though he himself is filthy – ‘and he does not know any of the gods of his fathers’ (Dan 7:8). For he could not have seduced the people of the circumcision, were he not an avenger of the law. And he does not compel the saints to anything else but to accept the circumcision, if any he is able to seduce. Therefore, at last he will command faith in himself so that they can address him as Christ. Earlier we already mentioned, with the words from Isaiah, that he will rise from hell: ‘Water nourished him and the abyss made him grow’ (Ez 31:4). He will come with his name changed, but with his action still the same, as the Holy Spirit says: *His number is 666* (13:18). He will live up to this number according to what it signifies in Greek.

4. *Another great beast from the earth* (13:11). This refers to a false prophet, who *will manufacture signs, portents and lies in the eyes of men* (13:11-13) just before the arrival of the Antichrist. The text says that *he* [this prophet] *has horns like a lamb* – meaning the look of a just man – but that *he speaks like a dragon, i.e.* full of devilish mischief. For he may well ‘bring it about in the eyes of men’ that the dead may seem to come back to life, but, as we said: this will happen ‘in the eyes of men’. *And fire will descend from heaven* (13:13), but again, ‘in the eyes of men’; for it is ‘in the eyes of men’ that even magicians are able to achieve these things with the help of renegade angels. And he may even bring it about that a

golden image of the Antichrist is put up in the temple of Jerusalem and the renegade angel will enter there and issue instructions and oracles from there. *He himself will bring it about that slaves and freedmen accept a mark on their foreheads or on their right hands – i.e. the number of his name – in order that nobody may buy or sell unless he has this mark* (13:16-17). Now of this destruction of men, this rebellion against God, this abuse, already Daniel spoke long ago when he said: ‘He will set his temple between the mountain of the sea and the two seas’ (Dan 11:45), meaning Jerusalem; and there he will place a golden image similar to the one which king Nabuchodonosor had made (*cf.* Dan 3:1). This reminds of what the Lord said to all churches concerning the end of time: ‘When you see the abomination of destruction, which is predicted by the prophet Daniel, standing on the holy place, where it is not supposed to stand – he who can read, let him understand...’ (Mt 24:15). The text speaks of ‘abomination’, meaning an insult against God brought about by idol worship. ‘Destruction’ refers to fickle being seduced away from their salvation and led to their destruction by false signs and portents.

XIV.1. *Further, an angel flying in the midst of heaven* (14:6). John speaks of ‘having seen’ him, and we mentioned already that he may be identical with Elijah who predicted the reign of the Antichrist. *And another angel following* (14:8). This too signifies again the same prophet, whose preaching accompanied that of Elijah. But because, as we also said, the generals of the Antichrist agreed a plan (17:13) to sack the city, *great Babylon* (17:5), he actually witnessed her ruin.

2. For the text continues: *Come, I will show you the condemnation of the whore, who sits upon many waters. And I saw, it says, the woman drunk from the blood of the saints and from the blood of the witnesses of Jesus Christ* (17:1.6). For all the sufferings of the saints

have been inflicted to the end by decree of her senate, and she herself issued each and every decree against the preaching of the faith, which was already widely tolerated, among all the nations.

Further, a woman sitting upon a rose-coloured beast (17:3): Here the text refers to Rome as a woman perpetrating homicides by depicting her in the image of Beelzebul. Those *heads* too are mentioned here again, which we already mentioned and discussed earlier. And then of course the Apocalypse also calls her *Babylon (17:5)* because of the way she dispersed the peoples. This already Isaiah mentioned (*cf. Is 21:9*). Ezechiel for his part called her *Sor (cf. Ez 26-28)*. But if you compare what is written about *Sor* and what Isaiah and the Apocalypse write about *Babylon*, you will find that it is all the same.

3. And the verse which says: *Loose the sharp sickle and harvest the grapes of the vine (14:18)*. It must be understood as nations that are doomed to perish when the Lord comes. And indeed the text refers to this in many images or metaphors, for example the image of the *dry harvest (14:15)*. But in reality it will only happen once, at the coming of the Lord, when the reign of the Antichrist will be wound up and the reign of the saints will become apparent once and for all.

4. Further, when it says that the grapes are *thrown into the wine press of the wrath of God and trodden outside the city (14:19-20)*, then the treading of the press stands for the retribution of sins. *And rivers of blood so deep that they reached the reins of the horses*. This means that the vengeance will reach even the princes of the nations, the rulers, be it the devil himself or his agents. The end game will bring a *blood* vengeance. This is also predicted: ‘You have sinned in blood, and blood is hounding you’ (*Ez 35:6*).

Throughout 1600 stadia, meaning through all four parts of the world. For this number represents the square of four, which is also depicted in those well known images of four intersecting fourfold faces and wheels (*cf.* Ez 1:10.16). For 1600 are four times 400.

XV. And recapitulating the same persecution the Apocalypse speaks of *angels holding the seven plagues, since in them the wrath of God is complete* (15:1); for it is always the case that the ‘wrath of God’ strikes an insolent people ‘with seven plagues’, meaning ‘in a perfect way’, as also the book of Leviticus says (*cf.* Lev 26:28). These things will take place at the end, when the church will disappear from the surface of the earth.

XIX. *But now a white horse and the one sitting on it* (19:11). This refers to our Lord. With his celestial army he is arriving to take over his reign. At his arrival all simply will gather and fall by the sword. Those who remain, the nobler ones, will serve the saints in servitude. These are the ones who will have to be slain at the end of time, when the reign of the saints, that precedes the last judgment, will also have come to an end, and the devil is once more released (20:7-10). All the prophets agree on this point.

XX.1. *Now the scarlet beelzebul imprisoned* (12:3), and all his renegade angels *in the lowest depths of Gehenna* (20:3). That this will be the case at the coming of the Lord no one should ignore. Then after another thousand years those who served the Antichrist will be released again, on account of the nations (20:7-8) in order that they alone may perish; for this is what they deserve. After that the universal judgment will take place (20:4-6).

The dead however, it says, whose names are entered in the book of life, will have lived and reigned with Christ for a thousand years. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy are those who have a part in this first resurrection; for the second death will have no power over them (20:12). John says of this resurrection: And I saw a lamb standing there and with it 144,000 (14:1). This refers to Christ; and those who are standing with him are those among the Jews who are going to believe on account of the prophecy of Elijah. According to the witness of the Spirit these are virgins not only in the body but also in the mind (14:4-5). The twenty four elders by birth mentioned above say so, too: We give you thanks, Lord God, who reignest; and the nations are enraged (11:16-18).

2. In the context of that same concept, *first resurrection* (20:5), the beautiful future city too is mentioned in this scripture. Now that ‘first resurrection’ is already referred to by Paul in his letter to the church of Macedonia: ‘For this we tell you so,’ Paul says, ‘in God’s own words; for the Lord himself, who is going to raise us at the sound of God’s trumpet, will come down from heaven. And first those will stand up who died in Christ, then us who are still alive. Together with them we will be snatched into the clouds and meet God and live in the air forever with the Lord’ (1 Thess 4:15-17).

Now we have just heard that reference was made to a trumpet. It should be noted that elsewhere the apostle mentions also another trumpet. For to the Corinthians he wrote: ‘At the sound of the last trumpet the dead will rise;’ they will become immortal; ‘and we will be transformed’ (1 Cor 15:52). Indeed, he said that the dead will rise and, as immortals, undergo their punishments. We however will be transformed and crowned with glory.

Now since we heard of a last trumpet, we must understand that there is also a first one. We are dealing here with the concept of the *two resurrections*. Those who cannot expect to be raised in the *first resurrection* and *reign with Christ* (20:4) over the whole world, *i.e.*

over all the nations, will rise at the sound of the last trumpet after a thousand years, that is at the second, the final, *resurrection*, among the wicked, the sinners and those guilty of every conceivable crime. And he [John] rightly adds: *Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection; for the second death has no power over him (20:6)*. The second death however is chastisement in hell.

XXI.1. Now in the context of the reign [of Christ] and of the ‘first resurrection’ a *holy city* appears. It is said to *descend, four-square, from heaven (21:2)*, and to be adorned all around with *stones* of every kind of preciousness, colour and quality, and to look *as if it were made of pure gold*, that is: it is said to be shining (21:18-20). *Its streets*, it says, *are as if paved with crystal (21:21)*. *The river of life is flowing right through it and the wells of the waters of life spring up in it, around the tree of life, which produces different fruit every single month (22:1-2)*. *There is no sun light there; for it is lit up by a more eminent glory. The lamb*, it says, that is: God, *is its light (21:23)*.

2. Further, *its gates are made of a single pearl each (21:21); there are three each on every side (21:13)*, and all are *open, not closed (21:25)*. Scripture makes much of this in saying that gifts from the kings of the provinces and nations that are going to be enslaved are brought to it (21:26). It speaks of the enslavement of those who are last, *i.e.* those of whom we have spoken earlier.

But we cannot understand this city on the basis of what we know; for we can imagine no more without a guide than what we have heard or seen. This city however comprises everything that has been said of the region of those eastern provinces which have been promised to the patriarch Abraham: ‘Look up,’ Scripture says, ‘to the sky from the place on which you stand’ (Gen 13:14), that is: ‘from the great river Euphrates to the river of Egypt’

(Gen 15:18). ‘All the land that you see I shall give you and your offspring’ (Gen 13:15). Then the Holy Spirit said: ‘He will rule from sea to sea;’ that is: from the Red Sea in Arabia to the sea in the north, which is the Phoenician sea; ‘and to the end of the earth’ (Ps 71:8). These are the parts of greater Syria. Thus these are all the provinces to be levelled (*cf.* Is 62:10) and purified (*cf.* Ps 71:6; Is 4:4) at the coming of the Lord and to be covered from above and all around with a brightness descending from heaven like a cloud (*cf.* Is 4:5-6), whose light surpasses that of the sun.

3. For even through Isaiah the Holy Spirit has testified as follows: ‘Like a smoke of light on a burning fire this cloud is “covered” with all glory (Is 4:5). And elsewhere he says: ‘Light up, light up, Jerusalem; for your light is approaching and the glory of the Lord has risen for you. It is no longer the sun that will light up your day, nor the moon that will light up your night. Your Lord God will be a light for you forever (Is 60:1.19-20). And David says: ‘There will be a firmament [*i.e.* a solid platform] on earth above the mountain peaks, and the plants on it will grow higher than the Lebanon, and starting from the city they will flourish like the grass on earth’ (Ps 71:16).

Daniel on the other hand said that a stone, hewn without hands, had struck a statue composed of four elements, gold, silver, bronze and iron, and in its extremities of clay, and this stone, after it had reduced the statue to dust, grew into a huge mountain filling the whole earth (*cf.* Dan 2:32-35). And he himself interpreted the dream for the king (*cf.* Dan 2:36) and said: ‘You and your nation are the golden head. A kingdom will arise that is lower than you, and there will be a third kingdom which will lord it over all the earth. Moreover, a fourth kingdom, very harsh and very strong, like iron. It will conquer all and cut down every tree’ (Dan 2:38-40). ‘And at the end of time,’ he continued, ‘men will be as clay mixed with iron; for they will not be united or in agreement’ (Dan 2:43). ‘And in those days the Lord God will rise up another kingdom, which the saints of the God most high will receive as their

kingdom’ (Dan 7:18). ‘And no other nation will prey upon this kingdom; for God shall strike and hunt down all the kingdoms of the earth, and that one alone will remain for ever’ (Dan 2:44).

4. Paul too makes mention of this kingdom in his epistle to the Corinthians: ‘He must reign until he puts his enemies under his feet’ (1 Cor 15:25). The saints in that kingdom will be told: ‘I have rejoiced’ (Ps 59:8) ‘about that which we have heard’ (Ps 47:9). One can also find in that kingdom people who keep the one true faith. Of them it is said that *they stand on a sea of glass holding lyres and phials* (15:2). This refers on the one hand to their being firmly grounded in their baptism, and on the other that they are leaping for joy with their confession of faith on their lips (16:1).

5. In that kingdom Christ promises those who serve him that ‘whoever leaves behind his father, mother, brother or sister for the sake of my name, will receive a hundredfold reward now, and in future possess eternal life’ (Mt 19:29; Mk 10:30). Those who were cheated of their goods for the sake of the Lord’s name, and even the big crowd of those who were killed by crimes or imprisonment – even before the first coming of the Lord holy prophets were stoned, slain and wounded (*cf.* Hebr 11:36-37) – will receive solace in his kingdom’ (Mt 5:5), that is: heavenly honours and riches.

In that kingdom the Lord promised that he ‘would pay compensation for the years in which locusts, crickets and mildew consumed all the crops’ (Joel 2:25). In that kingdom creation as a whole will be saved and by a command from God bring out the good that is hidden in it.

Here the saints will receive ‘gold for bronze and silver for iron’ (Is 60:17) and besides precious stones. In that place he [the Lord] will hand over to them [the saints] ‘the riches of the ocean and the strengths of the nations’ (Is 60:5). In that kingdom ‘the priests of the Lord

will be called ministers of God' (Is 61:6), while at the moment they are still called a 'sacrilegious' act. Also in that kingdom 'they will drink wine, be anointed with ointment' (Is 25.6-7) and give themselves totally to excitement and joy.

6. The Lord mentioned something about that kingdom to the apostles, before his final suffering and death. He said: 'I will not yet drink from the fruit of this vine now, unless I drink it anew with you in the kingdom to come' (Mt 26:29), which means: multiplied by a hundred (*cf.* Mt 19:29), ten thousand times greater and better.

For he applies a text that refers to the different types and colours of stones to men, but also appreciates the precious diversity of the faith of individual people (21:19-21).

He demonstrates that *the pearl gates* signify the apostles (21:25). He emphasizes that *they are not closed*. Through them thanks are being given and the intention is expressed that the same hall will never again be closed.

At that place 'they will see each other face to face' (1 Cor 13:12), although 'they will not ask for one another' (Is 34:15b-16). The *names* of the Father and the apostles *are in the foundations and above the gates* (21:12.14). We already mentioned the 24 elders. In anticipation that they will govern in that kingdom, 'they will themselves judge the world' (1 Cor 6:2).

Commentary on selected passages from Victorinus of Pettau's *Commentary on Revelation*

Chapter 1.4-5.

1.4.

1.1-3. **Veste sacerdotali.** As Dulaey says,⁵⁹⁸ a gloss on ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη ("uestitum / indutum podere" in the VL).⁵⁹⁹ ποδήρης means the high priest's robe in the LXX,⁶⁰⁰ rendered by *talaris* / *tunica talaris* in the VL.⁶⁰¹ It also attires the chief angel (Ez. 9.2.3 and 11); and newly vested high priest of Zach. 3.4.⁶⁰² It oddly diverges from the Hebrew of Ex. 25.7, which has חֹשֶׁן, *hoshen*, "the oracular breastplate of the high priest" (removed on entering the Holy of Holies);⁶⁰³ rendered by "rationale" in the Vulgate (in a similar vein,

⁵⁹⁸ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 156.

⁵⁹⁹ Apoc. 1.13 (p. Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 51; p. 64 Belsheim): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filio hominis, uestitum podere et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 105 Buchanan): et in medio candelaborum similem filio hominis indutum podere et erat praecinctus super mamillas zonam auream; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 203 Morin): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filium hominis uestitum phodere. et praecinctum ad mamillas. zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 136 Buchanan): Et conuersus uidi septem candalabra aurea. et in medio septem candelaborum similitudinem filio hominis. uestito podere. Et praecintum ad mamillas zonam auream.

⁶⁰⁰ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ποδήρης, *the High Priest's robe*, A., 1233.

⁶⁰¹ E.g. Ex. 28.4 (VL; Cod. 75.; p. 179 Robert); Et haec sunt stolae quas facient: pectoralem, et umbonem, et talarem, et tunicas cirratas, et mytram, et zonam. Et facient stolas sanctas Aron et filii eius, ut sacerdotium agant mihi. Augustinus Hipponensis - Quaestionum in heptateuchum libri septem Cl. 0270, lib. : 2, Quaest. Exodi, quaestio : 114, linea : 1897 [*] et stolae quas facient: pectoralem, humeralem et tunicam talarem et tunicam cum corymbis. has appellatas stolas et cetera, cum superius unam stolam faciendam proposuisset, notandum est. tunicam uero cum corymbis honestius putarunt latini interpretes dici, quam si dicerent cum cirris, qui bene dispositi ornamento esse uestibus solent. aspidiscas in ueste sacerdotali quas dicat. Cf. Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. I 3 (Zach.; CC SL 76A, l. 48-54): qui cum praeceptum opere complerent rursus idem angelus loquitur ad iesum: ecce abstuli a te iniquitatem tuam; haec sunt sordida uestimenta, et indui te mutatoriiis; hoc est, israelitem tibi coniugem copulaui, pro quo septuaginta transtulerunt podêrê~g quam nos tunicam talarem possumus dicere, eo quod usque ad talos et pedes defluat.

⁶⁰² Barker, *The revelation of Jesus Christ: which God gave to him to show to his servants what must soon take place* (Revelation I.I), 84.

⁶⁰³ Ex. 28.7 (Vg; p. 66 Hetzenauer): lapides onychinos, et gemmas ad ornandum Eph.od, ac rationale. Lewis and Short, *rationale, the oracular breastplate* of the Jewish highpriest, I, b, . Barker, *The great high priest: the temple roots of Christian*, 137.

Ephraem Syrus conflates the *ποδήρης* with the *ephod*.⁶⁰⁴ For Augustine, reason (*ratio*) is both immortal and has *substance* (*substantia*);⁶⁰⁵ and imbues immortality, being at its purest found only in God.⁶⁰⁶ According to Wisdom of Solomon 18.14, "For in the long garment was the whole world"; for Philo the high priest's outer robe was "a copy of the universe", "an image of all";⁶⁰⁷ its material, linen, is chosen because "it was not, like wool, the product of creatures subject to death";⁶⁰⁸ while the high priest, yet within the Holy of Holies, becomes more than merely human.⁶⁰⁹ ***carnem quae corrupta non est a morte.*** Cf. 1 Cor. 15.53;⁶¹⁰ from Paul's metaphor of attire as bodily transformation in the resurrection, Victorinus

⁶⁰⁴ Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 1.13 (CSCO 101.T, 6, l. 14-15; 101.V, 3, l. 33-34).

⁶⁰⁵ Augustinus Hipponensis, De immort. anim. 6. 11 (PL 32, c. 1026, l. 21-1027, l. 5): quare ista coniunctio intuentis animi, et eius ueri quod intuetur, aut ita est ut subiectum sit animus, uerum autem illud in subiecto; aut *contra* subiectum uerum, et in subiecto animus; aut utraque substantia. horum autem trium si primum est, tam est immortalis animus quam ratio, secundum superiorem disputationem, quod inesse illa nisi uiuo non potest. eadem necessitas in secundo est. nam si uerum illud quod ratio dicitur, nihil habet commutabile sicut apparet; nihil commutari potest quod in eo tanquam in subiecto est. remanet igitur omnis pugna de tertio. nam si animus substantia est, et substantia rationi coniungitur; non absurde quis putauerit fieri posse, ut manente illa hic esse desinat. sed manifestum est quamdiu animus a ratione non separatur ei que cohaeret, necessario eum manere atque uiuere. est enim maxime ipsa ratio, ubi summa etiam incommutabilitas intelligitur. Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei IX 13 (CC SL 47, l. 69-75): tunc enim medii essent, si haberent et ipsi duo quaedam sua, non cum binis alterutrorum, sed cum singulis utrorumque communia; sicut homo medium quiddam est, sed inter pecora et angelos, ut, quia pecus est animal irrationale atque mortale, angelus autem rationale et immortale, medius homo est, sed inferior angelis, superior pecoribus, habens cum pecoribus mortalitatem, rationem cum angelis, animal rationale mortale. Augustinus Hipponensis, De immort. anim. 5.9 (PL 32, c. 1025, l. 38-43): quamobrem si anima subiectum est, ut supra diximus, in quo ratio inseparabiliter, ea necessitate *qua* quaeque in subiecto esse monstrantur, nec nisi uiua anima potest esse anima, nec in ea ratio potest esse sine uita, et immortalis <est> ratio; immortalis est anima. prorsus enim nullo pacto non existente subiecto suo immutabilis ratio maneret. O'Daley, Augustine's philosophy of mind, 60; 55.

⁶⁰⁶ Augustinus Hipponensis, De immort. anim. 6.11 (PL 32, c. 1027, l.: 1-7): an etiamsi separari non potest, exstingui potest? at si illa rationis uis ipsa sua coniunctione afficit animus; neque enim non afficere potest; ita profecto afficit ut ei esse tribuat. est enim maxime ipsa ratio, ubi summa etiam incommutabilitas intelligitur. ita quaecumque ex se afficit, cogit esse quodammodo. non *ergo* exstingui animus potest, nisi a ratione separatus; separari autem non potest, ut supra ratiocinati sumus: non potest igitur interire. See also Schopp (trans.), The Immortality of the Soul, 29, n. 6.

⁶⁰⁷ Barker, The great high priest: the temple roots of Christian, 137.

⁶⁰⁸ Philo Iudaeus, De somn. 189.

⁶⁰⁹ Philo Iudaeus, De somn. 231. Barker, The revelation of Jesus Christ: which God gave to him to show to his servants what must soon take place (Revelation I.I), 39-40. Braun, Braun, Joseph, Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient, 701 f. Kehl, Gewand (der Seele), RLAC (1978), c. 945-1025; on the Incarnation specifically, c. 979-984. Haulotte, La symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible, 329. Braun, Deus Christianorum, 310-313.

⁶¹⁰ 1 Cor. 15.53 (p. 467 Nestle-Aland): δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασία; (VL; Cod. 024; p. 61 Tischendorf): Oportet enim corruptibile hoc indui(e)re incorruptellam et mortale hoc induere in mortalitatem; (VL; Cod. 65 / z; p. 43 Buchanan): Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere Incorruptionem. Et mortale hoc induere Immortalitatem.

deduces that a priestly robe here constitutes Christ's resurrected flesh, ascended.⁶¹¹ Irenaeus relates a gnostic notion of the soul-spirit as "girt" with flesh; and the motif of flesh "clothing" the soul-spirit may have been a current notion.⁶¹² Below, Victorinus infers white robes are the (gift of the) Holy Spirit, consolation for the loss of martyrs' bodies, while they sleep.⁶¹³ But Tertullian had assumed a corporeality to God and Spirit.⁶¹⁴ Indeed, the flesh of the Lord, to all who put on Christ, must be interpreted as the Holy Land.⁶¹⁵ **et habet...aeternum sacerdotium.** Renders closely Heb. 7.24: ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην (no VL extant); Ps. 110 (109).4: "sacerdos in aeternum".⁶¹⁶ **per passionem.** Cf. Heb. 2.10: διὰ παθημάτων (no VL extant).⁶¹⁷ **apertissime traditum.** Victorinus' innovation is to assimilate the priestly robe to Christ's flesh, and the office of priesthood it represents, as *inherited* at the death of his mortal humanity. The notion of "inherited", "traditum", resonates with *Hebrews'* legal language, Heb. 7.22's image of Jesus as "guarantor of a better covenant (Latin, "testamentum")"; while "apertissime", "most openly", recalls the notion of witnesses at the

⁶¹¹ Iud. 6.24 (Cod. A / 02.; p. 432 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐνέδυσεν τὸν Γεδεων καὶ ἐσάλπισεν ἐν κερατίνῃ καὶ ἐβόησεν Ἀβιεζερ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

⁶¹² Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 5.5 (SChr 264, l. 92-99): Et hunc esse secundum imaginem et similitudinem factum: secundum imaginem quidem hylicum esse, proximum quidem, sed non eiusdem substantiae esse Deo; secundum similitudinem uero psychicum, unde et spiritum uitae substantiam eius dictam, cum sit ex spiritali defluitione. Post deinde circumdatam dicunt ei | dermatinam tunicam: hanc autem sensibilem carnem esse uolunt. Heckel, Der innere Mensch: die paulinische Verarbeitung eines platonischen Motivs, 116-117. Bos surmises Aristotle had already conceived of the soul as "clothed in a fine-corporeal soul-body": Bos, The soul and its instrumental body: a reinterpretation of Aristotle's philosophy of living nature, 298.

⁶¹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 20-24): Sed quoniam in nouissimo tempore et sanctorum remuneratio perpetua et impiorum uentura est damnatio, dictum est eis exspectare; et pro corporis sui solatio acceperunt, inquit, stolas albas, id est donum Spiritus Sancti.

⁶¹⁴ Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 7 (CC SL 2, l. 49-50): Quis enim negabit deum corpus esse, etsi deus spiritus est? spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie.

⁶¹⁵ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 26 (CC SL 2, l. 41-50): Sicut et ipsam terram sanctam iudaicum proprie solum reputant, carnem potius domini interpretandam, quae exinde et in omnibus christum indutis sancta sit terra, uere sancta per incolatum spiritus sancti, uere lac et mel manans per suauitatem spei ipsius, uere iudaea per fidei familiaritatem, - non enim qui in manifesto iudaeus, sed qui in occulto - ut et templum dei eadem sit et hierusalem, audiens ab esaia: exurge, exurge hierusalem, indue fortitudinem brachii tui, exurge, sicut in primordio diei, scilicet in illa integritate, qua fuerat ante delictum transgressionis. Cf. Bar Salibi, who has a curious exegesis of "Son of Man": attributing it to God the Word's being made flesh, "made man without change" *i.e.* eternal, "son of that new man" by virtue of his taking "the body and soul, such that Adam had before his transgression". Thus Christ is son of *that new man i.e.* Adam before the Fall: Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 1.13 (CSCO 101.T, 6, l. 18-21; 101.V, 3, l. 35-4, l. 4).

⁶¹⁶ Ps. 109.4 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 126 Magistretti): Iurauit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum: Tu es Sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.

⁶¹⁷ Heb. 2.10 (p. 565 Nestle-Aland): ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.

execution of a last will and testament. Victorinus' self-referencing metaphors are also self-reinforcing *quasi*-legalisms. It is the language of the law, not so much of Moses, as of Roman civil society. One recalls Kafka's notions of The Law in *The Trial*.

1.3-6. **Mammae.** A definite effeminizing of τοῖς μαστοῖς:⁶¹⁸ *mamma* is rarely used of males.⁶¹⁹ The Vetus Latina has "mamillas", which are strictly the "nipples", common to both male and female.⁶²⁰ **duo sunt testamenta.** An exegesis surely deriving from Hippolytus.⁶²¹ Origen relates that some interpret the twin breasts (un)bound of Ez. 16.4 as signifying the two Testaments.⁶²² **et zona.** ζώνη, *girdle*,⁶²³ is the usual Septuagint translation of מַגְבֵּיט, *avnēf*.⁶²⁴ Cf. מַגְבֵּיט, *ēzōr*, περίζωμα, *waistband/girdle* of Ier. 13.11.⁶²⁵ The Latin transliteration, *zona*,

⁶¹⁸ Apoc. 1.13 (p. 633 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν ὅμοιον υἷον ἀνθρώπου, ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν.

⁶¹⁹ Lewis and Short, *mamma*, a breast, pap, esp. of females, rarely of males, I, 1105.

⁶²⁰ Apoc. 1.13 (VL; Cod. 51 / g; p. 64 Belsheim): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filio hominis, uestitum podere et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 105 Buchanan): et in medio candelaborum similem filio hominis indutum podere et erat praecinctus super mamillas zonam auream; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 203 Morin): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filium hominis uestitum phodere. et precinctum ad mamillas. zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 136 Buchanan): Et conuersus uidi septem candalabra aurea-et in medio septem candelaborum similitudinem filio hominis-uestito podere. Et praecinctum ad mamillas zonam auream. Lewis and Short, *mamilla* I. a breast, pap, esp. of females, rarely of males, 1105. Von Doederlein, Hand-book of Latin synonyms, Mamma; Mamilla; Uber; Papilla, 2, 132.

⁶²¹ Hippolytus Romanus, De ben. Isaac. et Iac. (frag.) 108 (PO 27, l. 3-5): «Ἐνεκεν εὐλογίας μαστῶν καὶ μήτρας, εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου. ἄεὐλογίας μαστῶν» ἦτοι τῶν δύο διαθηκῶν, ἐξ ὧν προεκηρύσσετο ὁ λόγος ἐν κόσμῳ φανησόμενος, δι' ὧν μαστῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς γαλουχεῖ καὶ ἀνατρέφει τέκνα θεῶν προσάγων; In cant. cantic. (paraphr.) 2.3 (l. 5-6 Richard): Μαστοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν αὐτοῦ αἱ δύο διαθήκαι, νόμος καὶ εὐαγγέλιον, γάλα δὲ αἱ λευκαὶ ἐντολαί. Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 1.13 (CSCO 101.T, 6, l. 22-23; 101.V, 4, l. 5-6). Prigent, Hippolyte, Commentateur de l'Apocalypse, in ThZ 28 (1972), 391-412. Gwynn, Hippolytus and the Heads of Caius, in Hermathena 6, 397-418.

⁶²² Origenes, Sel. in Ez. XIII 16 (= Ez. 16.4; PG 13, c. 809, l. 38-44): Καὶ οὐκ ἔδησαν τοὺς μαστούς σου. Ὁ ἐν πρώτῃ θεωρίᾳ γενόμενος οὐκ ἔξω τῆς σοφίας θηλάζει, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐξ αὐτῆς τρέφεται.

Καλῶς οὖν εἶπόν τινες δύο μαστούς τὰς δύο Διαθήκας, ἀφ' ὧν θηλάζουσι τὰ νήπια· καὶ οἱ θηλάζοντες οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἀφ' ὧν κατηρτίσατο Κύριος αἶνον, τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν.

⁶²³ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ζώνη, a belt, girdle, A, 637.

⁶²⁴ Brown / Driver / Briggs, מַגְבֵּיט, *girdle*, of high priest, 126.

⁶²⁵ Ier. 13.11 (p. 677 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὅτι καθάπερ κολλᾶται τὸ περίζωμα περὶ τὴν ὄσφυν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὕτως ἐκόλλησα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἰσραὴλ καὶ πᾶν οἶκον ἰουδα τοῦ γενέσθαι μοι εἰς λαὸν ὀνομαστὸν καὶ εἰς καύχημα καὶ εἰς δόξαν καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσάν μου.

appears in the Old Latin,⁶²⁶ although it has an almost exclusive feminine sense;⁶²⁷ which may have contributed to Victorinus' feminine exegesis; and which is probably why the Vulgate usually has *balteus*.⁶²⁸ The binding of the breasts with the *pectoralis fascia* (the Roman brassiere) accorded with Christian chastity.⁶²⁹ **aurea**. The reference to *gold* allows the midrash *via* Apoc. 3.18, below. **chorus sanctorum**. Cf. Ier. 31.2, of the *περίζωμα* that signifies the houses of Israel and Judah bound close to the loins of God. *χορός* usually translates sundry variations on the Hebrew root *חָוַל*, *hūl*, *whirl* or *twist*, in the sense of *dance*;⁶³⁰ and usually appears in the Old Latin in the equivalent place.⁶³¹ Victorinus surely employs *chorus* thus with respect to *zona* for its equivalence to its "encircling", "accincta", below, as a *cingulum*⁶³² (possibly derived from Victorinus, Jerome has the Jewish and gentile Church's "girding" Christ: "duobus populis se hinc inde cingentibus").⁶³³ Elaborating on the "constitution of the saints enfranchised in truth",⁶³⁴ that constitutes the Church, Hippolytus has "chorus of apostles, those become wise through the Word, martyrs...saved,

⁶²⁶ Ex. 28.39 (40) (VL; Cod. 12; p. 181 Robert): Et filiis Aron facies tunicas et zonas, et mythras facies illis in honorem et gloriam. Ex. 29.8 (9) (VL; Cod. 12; p. 181 Robert): Et filios eius applicabis, et uesties eos tunicas, et praecinges eos zonas. Ex. 8.13 (VL; Cod. 12; p. 212 Robert): Et uestiuit filios Aron tunicas, et praecinxit eos zonas, et inposuit eis mythras, sicut praecepit Dominus Moysi.

⁶²⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *zona, a belt, girdle, zone*, worn about the loins by women (*cf.* *cingulum*), 2019.

⁶²⁸ Lewis and Short, *balteus, a girdle, belt*, I, Lit., 221.

⁶²⁹ Hieronymus, Com. in Is. II 3.24 (CC SL 73, l. 20-24): uirgo, qualem exhibere nos cupit apostolus christo, quamdiu non corrumpitur in aegypto, nec franguntur mamillae eius, quae pectorali fascia colligatae sunt, iungitur sponso; et cum cotidie uirtutum filios generet, nequaquam uirgo esse desistit.

⁶³⁰ Barnum, A comprehensive dictionary of the Bible, 206.

⁶³¹ *E.g.* 1 reg. 10.10 (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, De diu. quaest. ad Simplic. II 1 (CC SL 44A, l. 29-30): et uenit inde in collem, et ecce chorus prophetarum in obuiam illi, et insiliuit in illum spiritus dei, et prophetauit in medio eorum.

⁶³² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *zona, a belt, girdle, zone*, worn about the loins by women (*cf.* *cingulum*), 2019.

⁶³³ Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. II 3 (Abacuc ; CC SL 76A, l. 109-112): qui autem melius, hoc dicunt, quod in prima ecclesia quae de circumcisione fuit, et de praepudio congregata, duobus populis se hinc inde cingentibus, intellectus sit saluator et creditus.

⁶³⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. I 18.6 (SChr 14, l. 1): Τί οὖν ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία; Σύστημα ἁγίων ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πολιτευομένων. Grown in Christ as the Garden of Eden in the east: Com. in Dan. I 18.7 (SChr 14, l. 1-3): Ἡ οὖν ὁμόνοια καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν ἁγίων ὁδὸς τοῦτο γίνεται ἐκκλησία, οἶκος θεοῦ πνευματικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ὡς ἂν τῇ ἀνατολῇ πεφυτευμένος.

virgins...sanctified...disciples";⁶³⁵ and "of just men".⁶³⁶ It is rare in Cyprian, usually as sundry choruses "of apostles" or "prophets" (1 Sam. 10.10).⁶³⁷ Commodian has "chorus of saints, prophets".⁶³⁸ In any case, Victorinus too presses it as a figure for the community of believers generally. In a similar vein, then, Bar Salibi glosses "zona" as "'ammā", which Sedleček renders "populos", "peoples"⁶³⁹ *i.e.* the sundry choruses of prophets, apostles, saint, believers *etc.* But it more likely should be "Church (of the gentiles)", Syriac's using the same word for both.⁶⁴⁰ **ut aurum per ignem probatum.** C.f. Apoc. 3.18;⁶⁴¹ though this rendering surely owes something to 1 Pet. 1.7: διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου.⁶⁴² **aliter, zona aurea accincta.** Echoes *zona's* sense of *cingulum*⁶⁴³ (the Old Latin has "<pre-/prae>cinctus").⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁵ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. I 18.7 (SChr 14, l. 6-8): χορὸς ἀποστόλων [ν, σοφ]ῶν διὰ λόγο[υ γεγενη]μένων, μαρτύρων τε πάντων δι' αἵματος <Χριστοῦ> [σ]ε[σωσ]μένων, καὶ παρθένων κλήσις δι' ὕδατος ἡγιασμένων, χορὸς διδασκάλων.

⁶³⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, De uniu. (l. 16-21 Holl): οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις πάλιν γέννα ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ δικαίων ἀριθμὸς διαμένει ἀνέκλειπτος ἅμα δικαίοις ἀγγέλοις καὶ πνεύμασι θεοῦ τε καὶ τῷ τούτου λόγῳ, δὲ τῶν δικαίων χορὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀγήρωσ καὶ ἄφθαρτος διαμένει, ὕμνων τὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγόμενον θεὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἐν βίῳ εὐτάκτου νομοθεσίας.

⁶³⁷ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De mort. 26 (CC SL 3A, l. 443-454): Ad horum conspectum et complexum uenire quanta et illis et nobis in commune laetitia est, qualis illic caelestium regnorum uoluptas sine timore moriendi et cum aeternitate uiuendi quam summa et perpetua felicitas! illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, illic prophetarum exultantium numerus, illic numerus, illic martyrium innumerabilis populus ob certaminis et passionis uictoriam coronatus, triumphantes uirgines quae concupiscentiam carnis et corporis continentiae robore subegerunt, remunerati misericordes qui alimentis et largitionibus pauperum iustitiae opera fecerunt, qui dominica praecepta seruantes ad caelestes thesauros terrena patrimonia transtulerunt. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De rebap. 15 (p. 68 l. 25-69, l. 8 Rauschen): Ita ut idem spiritus etiam super indignos quoque sui nonnumquam inueniatur esse, non utique otiose nec sine ratione, sed necessariae alicuius operationis gratia; sicuti super Saul fuit, super quem factus est spiritus Dei et prophetavit, quamquam posteriore tempore, postquam recessit ab eo spiritus Domini et postquam angebat eum spiritus malignus a Domino, quoniam tunc ad hoc postremus venerat post nuntios quos ante assidue praemiserat ut interficeret David, qui idcirco inciderunt in chorum prophetarum et prophetauerunt, ne id quod iussi fuerant perficere possent aut vellent.

⁶³⁸ Commodianus, Instruct. I 42 (CC SL 128, v. 9-14): vt martyres essent, bellum cum infer<r>et electis suis in orbem, seu certe sanctorum chorus prophetarum ad illam consurgeret plebem, qui frenum inponeret illis, obsceni quos equi trucidarunt calci remissa; nec suerit ad manus pacem aliquando tenere.

⁶³⁹ Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 1.13 (CSCO 101.T, 6, l. 23-24): ; 101.V, 4, l. 6-7): .

⁶⁴⁰ In Syriac, *the Church of the gentiles* is 'ammā a'men 'ammē: Murray, Symbols of church and kingdom: a study in early Syriac tradition, 41, n. 1.

⁶⁴¹ Apoc. 3.18 (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. in psal. cxviii 18.14 (CSEL 62, 404, l. 13-16): quia dicis quod diues sum et ditatus et nullius egeo, et nescis quod tu es miser et miserabilis et mendicus et nudus et caecus, consulo tibi ut emas a me aurum igne probatum.

⁶⁴² 1 Petr. 1.7 (p. 598 Nestle-Aland): ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὕμων τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, εὐρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; (VL; Cod. ; p. 580a Julianus): posteaquam sancti Martyres, uelut aurum per ignem probati, migrassent ad regna caelorum.

⁶⁴³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *zona, a belt, girdle, zone*, worn about the loins by women (*cf.* *cingulum*), 2019.

pectori. Cf. Apoc.15.6.⁶⁴⁵ **conflata.** A metalurgical motif, "'conflatum' is the crude metal heated in the furnace in order to be forged or smelted";⁶⁴⁶ cf. Ez. 22.22.⁶⁴⁷ **conscientia.** The sense here is surely something like "joint knowledge",⁶⁴⁸ as much as "conscience"; analogous to *tradition*, as "traditus" shows. Tertullian translates Eph. 6.14's "girding... with truth" ("praecingentem...ueritate").⁶⁴⁹ **et purus.** Although *purus*, in its most common biblical form, *purissimus*, most often qualifies *aurum* ("aurea", preceding), in the Vetus Latina, Victorinus' midrash is tersely polyvalent: cf. also "pure conscience" (καθαρά συνείδησις): 1 Tim. 3.9; 2 Tim. 1.3.⁶⁵⁰ **spiritalis sensus.** The Greek expression first occurs in Origen;⁶⁵¹ firstly in Latin here; cf. the *spiritual food and drink* of 1 Cor. 10.3-4.⁶⁵² **traditus est ecclesiis.** Implied

⁶⁴⁴ Apoc. 1.13 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 64 Belsheim): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filio hominis, uestitum podere et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 105 Buchanan): et in medio candelaborum similem filio hominis indutum podere et erat praecinctus super mamillas zonam auream; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 203 Morin): et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum similem filium hominis uestitum phodere. et praecinctum ad mamillas. zona aurea; (VL; Cod. 65 / z; p. 136 Buchanan): Et conuersus uidi septem candelabra aurea-et in medio septem candelaborum similitudinem filio hominis-uestito podere: Et praecinctum ad mamillas zonam auream.

⁶⁴⁵ Apoc. 15.6 (p. 662 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι [οἱ] ἔχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ πληγὰς ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς; (VL; Cod. g; p. 81 Belsheim): et exierunt septem angeli habentes septem plagas de templo, uestiti lintheamen mundum et splendidum et praecincti circa pectora zonas aureas; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 108 Buchanan): et ecce exierunt septem angeli habentes septem plagas de templo induti lintheamina candida cinti circa pectore zonas aureas.

⁶⁴⁶ "'perfectum' the finished work produced from it": Cicero, Pro Cluen. 6 (p. 66 Ramsay, n. 32). Ainsworth, An Abridgment of Ainsworth's Dictionary of the Latin Language, *conflatus* 1.-3., 56.

⁶⁴⁷ Ez. 22.22 (p. 808 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ὃν τρόπον χωνεύεται ἀργύριον ἐν μέσῳ καμίνου οὕτως χωνευθήσεσθε ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγὼ κύριος ἐξέχεα τὸν θυμὸν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς; (Vg; Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. VII 22 (CC SL 75A, 211B, l. 603-606): ut conflatur argentum in medio fornacis, sic eritis in medio eius; et scietis quia ego dominus; effuderim indignationem meam super uos.

⁶⁴⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *conscientia* I. A. joint knowledge of something, a being privy to, a knowing along with others, 426.

⁶⁴⁹ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 399, l. 15-21): Quodsi iohannem agnitum non uis, habes communem magistrum paulum, praecingentem lumbos nostros ueritate et lorica iustitiae et calciantem nos praeparationem euangelii pacis, non belli, adsumere iubentem scutum fidei, in quo possimus omnia diaboli ignita tela extinguerre, et galeam salutaris et gladium spiritus, quod est, inquit, dei sermo.

⁶⁵⁰ 1 Tim. 3.9 (p. 545 Nestle-Aland): ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει. 10 καὶ οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἴτα διακονεῖτωσαν ἀνεγκλήτοι ὄντες; (Vg; p. 1090 Hetzenauer): habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura. Tim. 1.3 (Vg; p. 1093 Hetzenauer): Gratias ago Deo, cui seruius a progenitoribus in conscientia, quod sine intermissione habeam tui memoriam in orationibus meis, nocte ac die.

⁶⁵¹ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 9.9 (GCS 29, 435, l. 14-16): Intelligamus primo quid designat historia et tunc, quid sensus spiritalis habeat, requiramus.

⁶⁵² 1 Cor. 10.3-4 (p. 456 Nestle-Aland): καὶ πάντες [τὸ αὐτὸ] πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον, καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός; (VL; Cod. 65 / z; p. 35 Buchanan): Et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt. Et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt. Bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra· Petra autem erat Xps); (VL; Cod. 75; p. 136 Tischendorf): et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt, et omnes eundem

is an idea that God's *breasts* impart spiritual milk, a notion likely deriving from the Odes of Solomon;⁶⁵³ itself perhaps echoing *El Shaddai* (a dual Hebrew form) as meaning *El of the Full (breasts)*.⁶⁵⁴ Origen relates that some see the twin breasts-Testaments of Ez. 16.4 as nourishing believers;⁶⁵⁵ as does Hippolytus those of the Song of Songs.⁶⁵⁶

1.7-9. **Per gladium bis acutum.** The formula is first found in Tertullian;⁶⁵⁷ whereas the Old Latin generally has "gladius utraque / utrimque parte acutus".⁶⁵⁸ **de ore ipsius emicantem.** The Vetus Latina universally uses the verb *exire*. *Emicare*, derived from *micare*,⁶⁵⁹ probably means here something like *flash forth*.⁶⁶⁰ **ostenditur.** A typical Victorinian verb-form of

potum spiritalem biberunt (bibant enim spiritalia sequenti se petra petra autem erat xps; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 25 Belsheim): et omnes eandem aescam spiritalem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritalem biberunt: bibebant enim spiritali sequentis eos petra, petra autem erat Christus.

⁶⁵³ Od. Sal. 8.17 (p. 101 Harris (trans.)); 19.2-4 (p. 116 Harris (trans.)). E. Erbetta, Gli Apocriphi del NT, I, 625 and 636. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 156;2, 3.1, n. 53.

⁶⁵⁴ Biale, The God with Breasts: El Shaddai in the Bible, in HR 20 (1982), 240-256. Day, Yahweh and the gods and goddesses of Canaan, in JSOT 265, 32-34. Herion, Ancient Israel's faith and history: introduction to the Bible in context, 117-118. Barker, The revelation of Jesus Christ: which God gave to him to show to his servants what must soon take place (Revelation I.I), 252-253.

⁶⁵⁵ Origenes, Sel. in Ez. XIII 16 (=Ez. 16.4; PG 13, c. 809, l. 38-44) Καὶ οὐκ ἔδησαν τοὺς μαστοὺς σου. Ὁ ἐν πρώτῃ θεωρίᾳ γενόμενος οὐκ ἔξω τῆς σοφίας θηλάζει, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐξ αὐτῆς τρέφεται. Καλῶς οὖν εἶπόν τινες δύο μαστοὺς τὰς δύο Διαθήκας, ἀφ' ὧν θηλάζουσι τὰ νήπια καὶ οἱ θηλάζοντες οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἀφ' ὧν κατηρτίσατο Κύριος αἶνον, τοῦ καταλύσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητὴν.

⁶⁵⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, In cant. cantic. (paraphr.) 2.3 (l. 7-8 Richard): Ὡσπερ δὲ νήπια γαλουχεῖται διὰ τῶν μαζῶν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο διαθηκῶν ἀμέλγουσιν ἐντολάς.

⁶⁵⁷ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 9 (CC SL 2, l. 125-128): Is est <ensis> dei, sermo diuinus, bis acutus, ut ex duobus testamentis legis antiquae et legis nouae, acutus sapientiae suae aequitate, reddens unicuique secundum actum suum. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 399, l. 9-15 Nam et apostolus iohannes in apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, praeacutum, quem intellegi oportet sermonem diuinum, bis acutum duobus testamentis legis et euangelii, acutum sapientia, infestum diabolo, armantem nos aduersus hostes spirituales nequitiae et concupiscentiae omnis, amputantem etiam a carissimis ob dei nomen.

⁶⁵⁸ Apoc. 1.16 (VL; Cod. 51 / g; p. 64 Belsheim): et habebat in dextera sua stellas septem, et de ore eius gladius utraque parte acutus exiebat, et facies eius sicut sol lucet in uirtute sua; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 105 Buchanan): et habebat in dextera sua septem stellas et ex ore eius gladius utrimquae acutus exiebat. et facies eius splendebat ut sol in uirtute sua; (VL; Cod. 65 / z; p. 136 Buchanan): Et habebat. In dextera sua. stellas septem. et de ore eius gladius utraque parte acutus exiebat. Et facies eius sicut sol lucet in uirtute sua.

⁶⁵⁹ Rare before Augustine: Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *emico* I. *to spring out*, 642; *mico* I. *flash*, 1142.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer IV 20.11 (SChr 100, l. 300-306): Caput autem ejus et capilli albi, quemadmodum lana alba quomodo nix; et oculi ejus ut flamma ignis; et pedes ejus similes chalcolibano, quemadmodum in camino succensus est; et vox ejus quasi vox aquarum, et habet stellas septem in dextera manu sua, et de ore ejus romphaea ex utraque parte acuta exiebat, et facies ejus quemadmodum sol fulgens in uirtute sua. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer IV 20.11 (SChr 100, l. 332-338): Et exercitus caeli sequebantur eum in equis albis, vestiti byssinum album mundum; et de ore ejus procedit romphaea acuta, ut in ea percutiat gentes; et

explication. **ipsum esse qui et nunc euangelii bona.** Cf. Rom. 10.15: "'evangelizing' good things".⁶⁶¹ **et prius per Moysen legis notitiam.** The *nota* or *mark* of the beast (Apoc. 13.18), conflated with literal observance of the Law,⁶⁶² may echo *notitia* here. Lactantius uses *notitia* of the *knowledge of the Law*.⁶⁶³ **uniuerso orbi.** *uniuersus orbis* is scarcely Classical (an instance in Pliny)⁶⁶⁴ and rare thereafter: for Tertullian it is coterminous with the Roman empire.⁶⁶⁵ **protulit.** Tertullian uses the expression *se proferre in notitiam*, to bring oneself into the knowledge (of others), of the god of Marcion.⁶⁶⁶ Otherwise, cf. the Old Latin of Matth. 12.35; 13.52; Luc. 6.45; 15.22;⁶⁶⁷ where *proferre* is that which produces the good things (= "bona euangelii") of heart and scripture (as follows).

ipse pascet eos in uirga ferrea, et ipse calcet lacum vini furoris irae Dei omnipotentis; et habet super vestitum et super femur suum nomen scriptum: Rex Regum et Dominus Dominorum.

⁶⁶¹ Rom. 10.15 (p. 427-428 Nestle-Aland): πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν εἰὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν; καθάπερ γέγραπται, ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ; (VL; Cod. z; p. 18 Buchanan): quomodo uero praedicabunt nisi mittantur. Sicut scriptum est. *qua* speciosi pedes. euangelizantium pacem. euangelizantium bona; (VL; Cod. d; p. 57 Tischendorf): aut quomodo praedicabunt nisi mittatur sicut scriptum est quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem euangelizantium bona; (VL; Cod. e; p. 11 Belsheim): quomodo uero praedicabunt nisi mittantur? sicut scriptum est Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona.

⁶⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.4 (SChr 423, 108, l. 12-14): Faciet etiam ipse, ut serui et liberi accipiant notam in frontibus aut in manu dextera - numerum nominis eius -, ne quis emat uel uendat, nisi qui notam habuerit.

⁶⁶³ Lactantius, Diu. Inst. VI 8.10 (CSEL 19, 509, l. 8-10): quis sacramentum dei sciens tam significanter enarrare legem dei posset quam illam homo longe a ueritatis notitia remotus expressit?

⁶⁶⁴ Plinius maior, Nat. hist. III 5 (p. 231, l. 7-11 Ian / Mayoff 1): Primum *ergo* de Europa, altrice uictoris omnium gentium populi longe que terrarum pulcherrima, quam plerique merito non tertiam portionem fecere, uerum aequam, in duas partes ab amne Tanai ad Gaditanum fretum uniuerso orbe diuiso.

⁶⁶⁵ Tertullianus, Apol. 32 (CC SL 1, l. 1-5): Est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, et ita uniuerso orbe et statu imperii rebus que romanis, qui uim maximam uniuerso orbi imminentem ipsam que clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem romani imperii comiteatu scimus retardari.

⁶⁶⁶ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. I (CC SL 1, 312, l. 20-23): Primo enim quaeri oportebit, qui postea se protulerit in notitiam cur postea et non a primordio rerum quibus utique necessarius, *qua* deus, et quidem necessarius quo melior latere non debuit.

⁶⁶⁷ Matth. 12.35 (VL; Cod. a; p. 15 Belsheim): Bonus homo de bono thensauo bona profert: et malus homo de malo thensauo mala profert; (VL; Cod. b; p. 16 Belsheim): Bonus enim homo de bono thensauo profert bona; et malus homo de malo thensauo profert mala; (VL; Cod. d; p. 29 Scrivener): bonus homo de bono thensauo eicit bona et malus homo de malo thensauo profert mala; 13.52 (VL; Cod. k; p. 49 Wordsworth): dicit illis propterea omnis scriba eruditus regno caelorum: similis est homini patrifamilias qui proferet de thensauos suos nouae; (VL; Cod. e.; p. 2 Belsheim): dicit illis propterea omnis scriba eruditus regno caelorum. similis est homini patrifamilias qui profert de thensauo suo uetera et noua; (VL; Cod. a; p. 18 Belsheim): Di...illis: Ideo omnis scr...a doctus...orum, similis est homini patrifamilias qui p...feret de thensauo suo noua et uetera; (VL; Cod. b; p. 19 Belsheim): Et ait illis: Ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum similis est homini patri familias, qui profert de thensauo suo noua et uetera; (VL; Cod. d; p. 37 Scrivener): dixit eis: ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum similis est homini patrifamilias qui mittit de thensauris suis noua et uetera; Luc. 6.45 (VL; Cod. e; p. 60 Belsheim): Bonus homo de bono thensauo cordis sui proferet bona et malus homo de malo thensauo cordis sui malum proferet. de abundantia cordis loquitur malum; (VL; Cod. a; p. 81 Belsheim): Bonus enim homo de bono thensauo cordis sui profert bonum. et nequa, de malo profert malum. Ex abundantia cordis

1.9-12. **Sed quia ex eodem uerbo** *i.e.* Christ the Word, the scripture incarnate, as it were. **omne genus humanum.** A Latin formula very rare before Victorinus.⁶⁶⁸ it is analogous to "he who rejects me and receives not my words" of Io. 12.48.⁶⁶⁹ **tam ueteris quam noui testamenti.** Something like an anti-Marcionite affirmation of the Christian legitimacy of the Old Testament. **iudicaturus est.** *Cf.* Io. 12.48, where Christ himself does not judge, rather his very word, on the last day. Victorinus renders passive the Old Latin "iudicet/iudicabit".⁶⁷⁰ **ideo gladius <bis acutus> nominatus est.** Again, an exegesis first found in Tertullian.⁶⁷¹

os illius loquitur; Cod. a; p. 88 Belsheim): Bonus enim homo de bono thensauro cordis sui profert bonum, et malus de malo thensauro proferet mala. Ex abundantia enim cordis os eius loquitur; (VL; Cod. d; p. 187 Scrivener): bonus homo de bono thensauro cordis sui proferet bonum et malus de malo froferet malum de enim abundantia cordis loquitur os eius; 15.22 (VL; Cod. e; p. 75 Belsheim): dixit autem pater ad seruos suos cito proferite stolam primam et date anulum in manum eius; (VL; Cod. a; p. 96 Belsheim): Dixit autem pater ad pueros suos: Celerius proferte stolam priorem, et induite illum, et date anulum in manu illius, et calciamenta in pedibus, eius; (VL; Cod. b; p. 106 Belsheim): Dixit autem pater eius ad seruos suos: Cito proferte mihi stolam illam primam et induite illum, et date anulum in manu eius et calciamenta in pedibus eius; (VL; Cod. d; p. 227 Scrivener): dixit autem pater ad seruos suos cito adferite stolam primam et induite eum et date anulum in manum eius et calciamenta in pedes eius.

⁶⁶⁸ Hyginus mythographus, Fab. 153.1 (p. 132, l. 1-4 Marshall): DEVCALION ET PYRRHA> Cataclysmus, quod nos diluuium uel irrigationem dicimus, cum factum est, omne genus humanum interiit praeter Deucalionem et Pyrrham, qui in montem Aetnam, qui altissimus in Sicilia esse dicitur, fugerunt. Q. Curtius Rufus, Hist. Alex. Magn. VII 8.13 (p. 177, l. 18-21 Hedicke): Ab Europa petis Asiam, ex Asia transis in Europam: deinde, si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum silvis et nivibus et fluminibus feris que bestiis gesturus es bellum.

⁶⁶⁹ Io. 12.48 (p. 293 Nestle-Aland): ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος δὲν ἐλάλησα, ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτόν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

⁶⁷⁰ Io. 12.48 (VL; Cod. a; p. 59): Qui me spernit, et non accipit uerba mea, habet qui eum iudicet. Sermo quem ego locutus...in illis, ille...dicabit de illo nouissima die; (VL; Cod. b; p. 64 Belsheim): Qui spernit me, et non accipit uerba mea, habet, qui iudicet eum. Sermo, quem ego locutus sum, ille iudicabit eum nouissimo die; (VL; Cod. b; p. 64 Belsheim): Quia ego ex me ipso non sum, ille iudicabit eum nouissimo die; (VL; Cod. d; p. 139 Scrivener): qui spernit me et non accipit uerba mea habet qui iudicet eum uerbum quod locutus sum illud iudicat eum in nouissima die.

⁶⁷¹ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 9 (CC SL 2, l. 125-128): Is est <ensis> dei, sermo diuinus, bis acutus, ut ex duobus testamentis legis antiquae et legis nouae, acutus sapientiae suae aequitate, reddens unicuique secundum actum suum. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 399, l. 9-15): Nam et apostolus iohannes in apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, praeacutum, quem intellegi oportet sermonem diuinum, bis acutum duobus testamentis legis et euangelii, acutum sapientia, infestum diabolo, armantem nos aduersus hostes spirituales nequitiae et concupiscentiae omnis, amputantem etiam a carissimis ob dei nomen.

1.12-13. **Gladius enim militem.** Use of the term *soldier qua* Christian, as compared with Paul (but twice)⁶⁷² or Hippolytus,⁶⁷³ vastly increases with Tertullian⁶⁷⁴ and Cyprian (who originates the term "soldier of Christ").⁶⁷⁵ **armat.** Although *arma* and its cognate nouns abound in the extant Old Latin New Testament, *armare* definitely occurs but once, of the devil.⁶⁷⁶ Before Victorinus, use of the verb *armare* as a Christian metaphor by the Latin Fathers is rare,⁶⁷⁷ and seems only gradually to see greater Christian use. **gladius hostem.** Cf. Eph. 2.6, of whose τὴν ἔχθραν this may be a personification.⁶⁷⁸ **interficat.** Cf. Eph. 2.16;⁶⁷⁹ 2 Thess. 2.8;⁶⁸⁰ and Is. 27.1;⁶⁸¹ for the allusion to the slaying of an adversary by a spiritual

⁶⁷² 1 Tim. 1.18 (p. 243 Nestle-Aland): Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι, τέκνον Τιμόθεε, κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ προφητείας, ἵνα στρατεύῃ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν. 2 Tim. 2.3 (p. 552 Nestle-Aland): συγκακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

⁶⁷³

⁶⁷⁴ E.g. a Christian is loyal to Christ as a soldier to his emperor: Tertullianus, De fug. in persec. 10 (CC SL 2, 1. 4-7): bonum militem christo imperatori suo praestat qui tam plene ab apostolo armatus tuba persecutionis audita diem deserit persecutionis! respondebo et ego de saeculo aliquid: "vsque adeo ne mori miserum est?" He longs for death as a soldier for war: Tertullianus, Apol. 50 (CC SL 1, 1. 1-3): Ergo, inquit, cur querimini, quod uos insequamur, si pati uultis, cum diligere debeatis, per quos patimini quod uultis? plane uolumus, uerum eo more, quo et bellum miles. Christian life as a kind of *uita militaris*: Tertullianus, Ad mart. 3 (CC SL 1, 5, 1. 13-15): Nemo miles ad bellum cum deliciis uenit, nec de cubiculo ad aciem procedit, sed de papilionibus expeditis et substrictis, ubi omnis duritia et inbonitas et insuauitas constitit. A Christian is a soldier by virtue of his exceptional *disciplina*: Tertullianus, De exhort. cast. 12 (CC SL 2, 1. 8-9): Non enim et nos milites sumus - eo quidem maioris disciplinae, quanto tanti imperatoris -; non et nos peregrinantes - in isto saeculo - sumus. Kuefler, Soldiers of Christ: Christian Masculinity and Militarism in Late Antiquity, in Krondorfer (ed.), Men and masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: a critical reader, 245-247.

⁶⁷⁵ Although Cyprian had to appropriate military metaphors from confessors who, like Tertullian, had forbidden fleeing martyrdom: Kuefler, Soldiers of Christ: Christian Masculinity and Militarism in Late Antiquity, in Krondorfer (ed.), Men and masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: a critical reader, 247-. Soldiers of Christ: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 58.11 (CC SL 3C, 1. 246-248): Si haec cogitantibus ac meditantibus nobis superuenerit persecutionis dies, miles Christi praeceptis eius et monitis eruditus non expauescit ad pugnam, sed paratus est ad coronam.

⁶⁷⁶ E.g. Luc. 11.21 (VL; Cod. b; p. 98 Belsheim): Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea, quae possidet; (VL; Cod. d; p. 210 Scrivener): quando fortis armatus custodit aulam suam in pace est substantia eius.

⁶⁷⁷ Heretics arm the orthodox by believing them intimidated: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 59.18.2 (CC SL 3C, 1. 512-514): Armant nos haeretici dum nos putant sua comminatione terreri, nec in pace nos deiciunt, sed magis erigunt et accendunt, dum ipsam pacem persecutione peiorem fratribus faciunt.

⁶⁷⁸ Eph. 2.16 (p. 506 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ 2 Thess. 2.8 (p. 532-533 Nestle-Aland): καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταργήσει τὴ ἐπιφανεία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ.

⁶⁸¹ Is. 27.1 (p. 599 Rahlfs-Hanhart): τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐπάξει ὁ θεὸς τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν σκολιὸν καὶ ἀνελεῖ τὸν δράκοντα.

sword; which Tertullian translates with "interficiet".⁶⁸² In fact, the Latins seem to have been reluctant to use the metaphor of *interficere*, *killing*, against others, human or otherwise.

Origen seems in fact to have engaged in the widest, allegorical usage of killing (and indeed to have tolerated serving Christians' becoming Christians).⁶⁸³ Victorinus appears

subsequently to extend it, figuratively, to the enemies, perhaps even human enemies, of

Christians. **gladius desertorem punit**. Cf. Rom. 13.4. Tertullian first drew the analogy of

heretics with military deserters, specifically in the context of his Rule of Faith.⁶⁸⁴ The triune

formula may have theological or only rhetorical significance, applying to, respectively, the

⁶⁸² Tertullianus, De res. mort. 24 (CC SL 2, l. 48-50): et tunc reuelabitur iniquus, quem dominus iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui et euacuabit apparentia aduentus sui, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem satanae in omni uirtute et signis atque portentis mendacii et in omni seductione iniustitiae his, qui pereunt. Cf. Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 6.1 (GCS 29, 192, l. 23-193, l. 3): Verum quia 'haec oportebat pati Christum et sic introire in gloriam suam', 'cum uenerit in gloria patris et sanctorum angelorum', 'cum uenerit in maiestate sua' 'iudicare terram', quando et uerum Pharaonem, id est diabolum 'interficiet spiritu oris sui', cum *ergo* refulgebit in 'maiestate patris sui' et post aduentum humilitatis secundum nobis in gloria ostendet aduentum, tunc non solum glorificatur Dominus, sed et 'glorioso glorificatur', cum 'omnes ita honorificant filium, sicut honorificant patrem'. Cf. Tertullian's rendering of Is. 27.1: Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 502, l. 17-28): Et utique scimus salua simplicitate scripturae, nam nec et ipsae bestiae nocere poterunt, ubi fides fuerit figurate scorpions et colubros portendi spiritalia malitiae, quorum ipse quoque princeps in serpentis et draconis et eminentissimae cuiusque bestiae nomine deputetur penes creatorem, largitum hanc potestatem priori christo suo, sicut nonagesimus psalmus ad eum: super aspidem et basiliscum incedes et conculcabis leonem et draconem, sicut etiam esaias: illa die superducet dominus deus machaeram sanctam, magnam et fortem, christum scilicet suum, in draconem illum, colubrum magnum et tortuosum, et interficiet eum illa die. Also Origenes, De princ. II 8.3 (GCS 22, 157, l. 1-8): Sed et in aquis regnare dicitur draco, quod utique ad aliquem de malignis spiritibus retorquetur, et 'in mari' eum propheta esse designat: et alibi dicit propheta quia "inducam gladium sanctum super draconem, serpentem fugientem, super draconem, serpentem perversum, et interficiet eum;" et iterum ait: "Etiam si abscesserint ab oculis meis et descenderint in profundum maris, ibi mandabo draconi et mordebit eos.

⁶⁸³ Origenes, Hom. in Num. 26.7 (CB 30, 254, l. 27-255, l. 8): Qui autem potuerit transire Iordanem et ad interiora penetrare, ibi Iesum Dominum nostrum sequens interficiet triginta et eo amplius reges, illos fortassis, de quibus dicitur quia: "adstiterunt reges terrae et principes congregati sunt in unum aduersus Dominum et aduersus Christum eius", depulsis que his regibus et prostatis agnosceret secretiora mysteria, usque quo ueniat etiam ad illum locum, ubi 'sedes' Dei est et Hierusalem 'civitas Dei uidentis', non ista, quae 'seruit cum filiis suis' in terris, sed illa coelestis, quae 'libera est et mater est omnium nostrum', ad cuius nos hereditatem perducere dignetur dux et Dominus noster Iesus Christus, cui 'gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen'. Caspary, Politics and exegesis: Origen and the two swords, 92.

⁶⁸⁴ Tertullianus, De praescr. haer. 12 (CC SL 1, l. 5-7): quis miles ab infoederatis, ne dicam ab hostibus regibus donatium et stipendium captat nisi plane desertor et transfuga et rebellis? The Rule of Faith follows:

Tertullianus, De praescr. haer. 13 (CC SL 1, l. 1-16): Regula est autem fidei ut iam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet *qua* creditur. Vnum omnino deum esse nec alium praeter mundi conditorem qui uniuersa de nihilo produxerit per uerbum suum primo omnium emissum. Id uerbum filium eius appellatum in nomine dei uarie uisum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris dei et uirtute in uirginem mariam, carnem factum in utero eius et ex ea natum egisse iesum christum. Exinde praedicasse nouam legem et nouam promissionem regni caelorum, uirtutes fecisse, cruci fixum, tertia die resurrexisse, in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram patris, misisse uicariam uim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat, uenturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in uitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos iudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Haec regula a christo, ut probabitur, instituta nullas habet apud nos quaestiones nisi quas haereses inferunt et quae haereticos faciunt.

soldier-Christian; the (probable) human enemy of the Christian, likely pagan or Jewish; and the heretic.

l.13-15. **Et ut ostenderet apostolis quia.** Use of *quia* to introduce an object-clause is post-Classical,⁶⁸⁵ reflecting the vernacular. **iudicium adnuntiabat.** *cf.* Ps. 147.8 / 19 (VL).⁶⁸⁶ **ait: Non ueni pacem mittere, sed gladium.** *Cf.* Matth. 10.34.⁶⁸⁷

l.15-16. **Et postquam consummauerat parabolis.** A rendering of the Septuagintal/Hebraistic⁶⁸⁸ καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν of Matth. 13.53;⁶⁸⁹ less literal than the almost universal Old Latin "et factum est cum consummasset".⁶⁹⁰ **ait ad illos.** Probably a misplacing of an Old Latin Matth. 13.52.⁶⁹¹ **intellexistis omnia?** *Cf.* Matth. 13.51,⁶⁹² which Victorinus also temporally displaces, in a midrash likely derived from memory.

l.16-19. **Dixerunt: Ita.** *Cf.* Matth. 13.51; a rendering close to the earliest Old Latin.⁶⁹³

adiecit. A unique rendering of ὁ δὲ εἰπεν/λέγει.⁶⁹⁴ **propterea.** For διὰ τοῦτο of verse 52

⁶⁸⁵ *E.g.* Matth. 10.34 (VL; Cod. k; p. 41 Wordsworth): ne putaueritis quoniam pacem ueni mittere in terram· non ueni pacem mittere set gladium; (VL; Cod. a; p. 12 Belsheim): Nolite arbitrare quia ueni mittere pacem in terram: non ueni pacem mittere, sed gladium; (VL; Cod. b; p. 13 Belsheim): Nolite arbitrare quia ueni mittere pacem in terram; non ueni pacem mittere, sed gladium; (VL; Cod. d; p. 23 Scrivener): nolite putare quia ueni mittere pacem super terram non ueni mittere pacem sed gladium. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *quia* III. *that* (post. class.), 1511.

⁶⁸⁶ Ps. 147.19 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 162 Magistretti): Qui annuntiat uerbum suum Iacob: iustitiam et iudicium in Israel.

⁶⁸⁷ *v. s.*

⁶⁸⁸ Not strictly Aramaic, though the Hebrew for "and it came to pass" is imitated in the Aramaic targums: Gresham, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 116.

⁶⁸⁹ Matth. 13.53 (p. 37 Nestle-Aland).

⁶⁹⁰ Matth. 13.53 (VL; Cod. a; p. 18 Belsheim): Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus parab...as istas tra...it inde.

⁶⁹¹ Matth. 13.52 (VL; Cod. Corb. I; p. 28 Belsheim): Et ait ad illos: Ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum, similis est homini patrifamilias, qui profert de thensauo suo noua et uetera.

⁶⁹² *v. i.*

⁶⁹³ Matth. 13.51 (VL; Cod. k; p. 49 Wordsworth): intellexistis haec dicunt ita.

⁶⁹⁴ Matth. 13.52 (p. 37 Nestle-Aland).

in two of the earliest Old Latin codices.⁶⁹⁵ **omnis scriba doctus**. The reading of **μαθητευθεις** in the later *Vetus Latina*⁶⁹⁶ (formerly "eruditus");⁶⁹⁷ to which Victorinus is the earliest witness. **de regno caelorum similis est patrifamilias**. None else of the *Vetus Latina* omits the "homini" for **ἀνθρώπῳ**.⁶⁹⁸ **proferenti**. So Victorinus reduces "qui proferit/proferet";⁶⁹⁹ analogous to his reduction of the relative clause of Apoc. 1.3.⁷⁰⁰ **de thesauro suo noua et uetera; "noua": euangelica uerba; "uetera": legis et prophetarum**. An exegesis first found in Tertullian, though he omits reference to "the prophets".⁷⁰¹ This is a crucial difference, as Victorinus goes on to demonstrate that *testament* does *not* equate to *law alone*.⁷⁰² Origen too will "not name the Old Testament as the Law", since the latter requires the application of spiritual interpretation to become the former.⁷⁰³ Yet this is not quite the

⁶⁹⁵ Matth. 13.52 (VL; Cod. k; p. 49 Wordsworth): dicit illis propterea omnis scriba eruditus regno caelorum similis est homini patrifamilias qui proferet de thesauros suos nouae; (VL; Cod. e; p. 2 Belsheim): dicit illis propterea omnis scriba eruditus regno caelorum. similis est homini patrifamiliae qui proferit de thesauro suo uetera et noua.

⁶⁹⁶ From Codex a onwards: Matth. 13.52 (VL; Cod. a; p. 18 Belsheim): Di... illis: Ideo omnis scr... a doctus ...orum, similis est homini patrifamilias qui p... feret de thesauro suo noua et uetera.

⁶⁹⁷ See above.

⁶⁹⁸ v. s. re Matth. 13.52 (p. 37 Nestle-Aland; VL; Cod. k, e, d).

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰ Apoc. 1.3 (p. Nestle-Aland): μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.1 (SChr 423, 46, l. 1-3): Principium libri beatitudinem <legenti>, audienti et seruanti promittit, ut lectioni studens exinde opera discat et quae praeceptum custodiat.

⁷⁰¹ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 399, l. 9-15): Nam et apostolus iohannes in apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, praeacutum, quem intellegi oportet sermonem diuinum, bis acutum duobus testamentis legis et euangelii, acutum sapientia, infestum diabolo, armantem nos aduersus hostes spirituales nequitiae et concupiscentiae omnis, amputantem etiam a carissimis ob dei nomen.

⁷⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 18-19): Nam nec sufficit legem illam dici quoniam et testamentum nominatur. In a similar vein, Origen declines to equate the Old Testament with the Law, since it must be understood spiritually:

⁷⁰³ Origenes, Hom. in Num. 9.4 (CB 30, 59, l. 7-15): Sic ergo inuenitur et euangelii virtus in lege et fundamento legis subnixa intelliguntur euangelia; nec vetus testamentum nomino ego legem, si eam spiritaliter intelligam. Illis tantummodo lex vetus efficitur testamentum, qui eam carnaliter intelligere volunt; et necessario illis vetus effecta est et senuit, quia vires suas non potest obtinere. Nobis autem, qui eam spiritaliter et euangelico sensu intelligimus et exponimus, semper noua est; et utrumque nobis nouum testamentum est, non temporis aetate, sed intelligentiae novitate. In a similar vein, Origen distinguishes between the scribes of, respectively, Gospel and Law, the former reading scripture allegorically; latter merely literally: Origenes, Com. in Matth. X 14 (PG 13, l. 37-46): τὸ εἰρημένον τῷ πλὴν τοῦ γράμματος μηδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ. Ἐνθα ζητήσεις εἰ ὡς περ νομικὸς γραμματεὺς οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ εὐαγγελικὸς, καὶ ὡς περ τὸν νόμον ἀναγινώσκων καὶ ἀκούων καὶ λέγων «ἄτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα», οὕτω καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς εἰδέναι τηρουμένης τῆς κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ἱστορίας τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ ἄπταιστον ἀναγωγὴν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ μαθήματα «πνευματικὰ πονηρίας», ἀλλ' ἐναντίως ἔχοντα πνευματικῶς πονηρίας πνευματικὰ ἀγαθότητος.

interpretation of Origen, for whom the Old and New Testaments are, respectively, the letter and the spirit.⁷⁰⁴

1.19-22. **Haec de ore suo processisse.** Cf. Matth. 15.18, whose formula, τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος / "quae procedunt de ore", this echoes.⁷⁰⁵ **Petro ait.** Even this closely resembles Ambrose's introduction to Matth. 17.26, in his *Hexameron*;⁷⁰⁶ which whole verse, *via* Basil's hexameron,⁷⁰⁷ may be influenced by Victorinus; or a common source. **Vade ad mare et mitte hamum, et piscem qui primus ascenderit, aperto ore eius inuenies staterem... da pro me et pro te:** cf. Matth. 17.24.⁷⁰⁸ **staterem: id est duos denarios.**

Notoriously incorrect, a stater's being the approximate value of two didrachmae or four drachmae, assimilated to four denarii under Nero.⁷⁰⁹ Origen,⁷¹⁰ Hilary,⁷¹¹ Jerome⁷¹² and

⁷⁰⁴ Orig., Hom. in Num. 11. 2; Com. in Matth. X 14. Cf. Hieronymus, Com. in Zach., prol. (CC SL 76A, 748, l. 35).

⁷⁰⁵ Matth. 15.18 (p. 42 Nestle-Aland): τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχεται, κἀκεῖνα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον; (VL; Cod. a; p. 20 Belsheim): Quae autem procedunt de ore, de corde exeunt. Et ea coinquant hominem.

⁷⁰⁶ Matth. 17.24 (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Exam. 5.6.15 (CSEL 32.1, 151, l. 14-18): A filiis suis aut ab alienis? Et respondente Petro 'ab alienis' ait dominus: Vade ad mare et mitte amum et eum piscem, qui primus ascenderit, tolle, et aperto ore eius inuenies ibi staterem; illum sumens dabis pro me et te.

⁷⁰⁷ Savage (trans.), *Hexameron, Paradise and Cain and Abel*, vi.

⁷⁰⁸ Matth. 17.24 (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Epist. 1.18 (CSEL 82.1, 12, l. 184-187): Sed ne scandalizentur, inquit, vade ad mare et mitte hamum et eum piscem, qui primus ascenderit, tolle, et aperto ore eius inuenies ibi staterem; illum sumens da his pro me et te.

⁷⁰⁹ DAGR, s. v. *stater*, 1464; *didrachma*, 167; *denarius*, 95 and 100; PW, s. v. *denarius*, c. 2010, 50.

⁷¹⁰ Origenes, Com. in Matth. XIII 10 (GCS 40.1, l. 3): Ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς Καπερναοὺμ προσῆλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ.

⁷¹¹ Hilarius Pictaviensis, Com. in Matth. 17.10 (SChr 258, 70, l. 1-10): Et cum uenisset Iesus Capharnaum, accesserunt qui didrachma exigebant ad Petrum. Dominus didrachma soluere postulatuR. Hoc enim omni Israel lex pro redemptione animae et corporis constituerat in ministerio templo seruientium. Sed lex, ut scimus, futurorum umbra est. Non enim aeris pretium Deus desiderabat, ut tam exigua impensa criminibus corporis atque animae quaedam redemptio concederetur. Vt igitur inscriptos nos et professos et Christi nomine consignatos offerremus in Christo, qui uerum Dei templum est, pro testimonio filii Dei huius didrachmae oblatio constituta est.

⁷¹² Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. I 4 (CC SL 75, l. 1406-1416): iubetur autem propheta famem futuram et inopiam populi israel opere demonstrare: sicut enim in rerum omnium penuria non quaeruntur ciborum diuersitates et deliciae sed quomodo uenter impleatur, sic nunc propheta frumentum et hordeum, fabam, lentem et milium auenam que mittit in unum uas, facit que trecentos nonaginta panes quos per singulos dies comedat, qui panes habent uicenos siclos - id est stateres; siclus autem, id est stater, habet drachmas quattuor; drachmae autem octo latinam unciam faciunt -, ita ut unus panis decem uncias habere dicatur, quo trahitur anima magis quam sustentatur.

Augustine⁷¹³ give the correct value. However, in the third century, the denarius was replaced by a double denarius, sometimes known as *antoninianus*, or radiate. By the mid-third century, a highly debased antoninianus effectively replaced the denarius as the standard silver coin.⁷¹⁴ Perhaps, unconsciously, Victorinus is giving the true value of two such "double denarii" *i.e.* approximately two denarii.⁷¹⁵

Dulaey argues the mutation occurs under the influence of the two denarii given by the good Samaritan to the innkeeper for the care of the injured Jew (Luc. 10.34).⁷¹⁶ For Irenaeus,⁷¹⁷ Clement,⁷¹⁸ and in a presbyters' interpretation cited by Origen,⁷¹⁹ the Samaritan

⁷¹³ Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 137.16 (CC SL 40, l. 11-14): sed tamen ne scandalizemus eos, ait petro: uade, mitte hamum in mare, et qui primus piscis ascenderit, aperit os eius, et inuenies staterem, id est duas didrachmas. stater ponderis genus est, habens quattuor drachmas. Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 155 (PL 38, c. 844, l. 56-c. 845, l. 4): tamen ne scandalizemus eos, uade ad mare, mitte hamum, et qui primus surrexerit, id est, primogenitus a mortuis; aperit, inquit, os eius, et inuenies ibi staterem, id est, duas didrachmas, quattuor drachmas: quia didrachma, id est, duae drachmae, in caput exigebatur. inuenies ibi staterem, hoc est, quattuor drachmas, da eis pro me et te.

⁷¹⁴ Katsari, The Roman Monetary System: The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century AD, 82, 129.

⁷¹⁵ Duncan-Jones, Money and Government in the Roman Empire, 222. Katsari, The Roman Monetary System: The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century AD, 82.

⁷¹⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 113.

⁷¹⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.3 (SChr 211, l. 64-73): Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei ut non comburamur neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi accusatorem habemus illic habeamus et Paraclitum, commendante Domino Spiritui sancto suum hominem qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est et ligauit uulnera eius, dans duo denaria regalia ut, per Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum Domino adnumerantes.

⁷¹⁸ Clemens Alexandrinus, Quis diu. salu. 28.3 (GCS 17, l. 3)-29.2 (GCS 17, l. 2): ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἱεριχὼ καὶ τοῦτονδεῖκνυσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν συγκεκεντημένον, ἐρριμμένον ἡμιθνήτα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὑπὸ ἱερέως παροδευόμενον, ὑπὸ Λευίτου παρορώμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου τοῦ ἐξωνειδισμένου καὶ ἀφορισμένου κατελευόμενον, ὃς οὐχὶ κατὰ τύχην ὡς ἐκεῖνοι παρήλθεν, ἀλλ' ἦκε συνεσκευασμένος ὧν ὁ κινδυνεύων ἐδεῖτο, οἶνον, ἔλαιον, ἐπιδέσμους, κτήνος, μισθόντῳ πανδοχεῖ, τὸν μὲν ἤδη διδόμενον, τὸν δὲ προσυπισχνούμενον. «τίς», ἔφη, «τούτων γέγονε πλησίον τῷ τὰ δεινὰ παθόντι;» τοῦδὲ ἀποκριναμένου ὅτι «ὁ τὸν ἔλεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιδειξάμενος· καὶ σὺ τοίνυν πορευθεὶς οὕτω ποίει», ὡς τῆς ἀγάπης βλαστανούσης ἐποίησαν. Ἐν ἀμφοτέραις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ἀγάπην εἰσηγεῖται, τάξειδ' αὐτὴν διήρηκε, καὶ ὅπου μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ, ὅπου δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα νέμει τῷ πλησίον. τίς δ' ἂν ἄλλος οὗτος εἶη πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ;

⁷¹⁹ Origenes, Com. in Cant. , prol. (GCS 33, 70, l. 18-29): Ob hoc enim arguit Saluator quendam, qui opinabatur quod iusta anima erga eam, quae in iniquitatibus involuta est, propinquitatis iura non seruet, et ista de causa textit illam parabolam, quae dicit quod 'in latrones incidit quidam', dum 'descendit ab Hierusalem in Hiericho', et culpat quidem 'sacerdotem' ac 'levitam', qui 'videntes seminecem praeterierunt', amplectitur autem 'Samaritanum, qui misericordiam fecerit', et hunc fuisse ei 'proximum' ipsius, qui proposuerat, responsione firmavit et ait ei: "vade, et tu fac similiter". Etenim natura omnes nobis invicem proximi sumus; operibus vero caritatis fit proximus ille, qui potest benefacere ei, qui non potest. Unde et Saluator noster factus est proximus nobis nec 'pertransiuit' nos, cum 'semineces' ex 'latronum vulneribus' iaceremus.

is a type of Christ, either implicitly or explicitly, as for Victorinus.⁷²⁰ For Origen, the waylaid Judaeus signifies Man hurt by sin, the two denarii's figuring, respectively, knowledge of the Father and Son,⁷²¹ as well as the two Testaments Old and New,⁷²² as for Victorinus.⁷²³ Dulaey argues Victorinus conflates the two stories since they both evoke man's redemption by Christ,⁷²⁴ and this is surely generally correct. But Origen also interprets the priest and Levite who pass the victim by (Luc. 10.31-32) as, respectively, "the Law" and "the prophetic Word"⁷²⁵ (*i.e.* the prophets, in their capacity as allegorical interpreters of the Law? Perhaps as the spiritually interpreted Law that is almost the New Testament itself?⁷²⁶ Otherwise, explaining the two denarii as Old and New Testaments, Origen suggests the former covenant is simply to not do evil, the latter to do good).⁷²⁷ The suggestion is, not so much that they ignore the Judaeus, as that he is going the wrong way, to Jericho / the World, as opposed to Jerusalem / Jerusalem Above,⁷²⁸ perhaps in the direction of literal interpretation of the Old Testament. In this case it is he who ignores the spiritual aspects of Law and prophets as much

⁷²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 7.10 (SChr 423, 84, l. 1-11).

⁷²¹ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 1-5): τὰ τραύματα εἰς τὴν παρακοήν· τὸ κτῆνος εἰς τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸ πανδοχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· τὰ δύο δηνάρια εἰς τὴν περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ γνῶσιν· ὁ πανδοχεὺς εἰς τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστατοῦντας ἀγγέλους. Et v. Caes. ser. 161.

⁷²² Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 16-18): τὰ δύο δηνάρια εἰς τὰς δύο διαθήκας, τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ τὴν καινὴν ἥτοι τὴν εἰς θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἢ εἰς τὴν περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ γνῶσιν.

⁷²³ Cf. also in Eph.r. Lat. Paen. <PLS 4, 412>.

⁷²⁴ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 113.

⁷²⁵ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 10-11): ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν νόμον· ὁ Λευῖτης (10) εἰς τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον.

⁷²⁶ Victorinus has a similar overlapping interpretation, where the twenty four elders are the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, respectively, but also the twenty four books of the Old Testament, even though the four gospels have their own separate symbols, the four living creatures: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1-9). Thus the apostles seem to signify the-New-yet-within-the-Old, acting as bridge to the gospels proper.

⁷²⁷ Origenes, Com. in Rom. XI 31.2 (p. 229 Scheck (trans.)). Origenes, Com. in Rom. IX 31 (AGLB 34, 757, l. 24-37): Nam si diligentius requiras qui sit proximus noster discas in euangelio illum esse proximum nostrum qui uenit et | iacentes nos uulneratos a latronibus et nudatos a daemonibus iumento corporis sui superposuit et ad stabulum ecclesiae detulit et stabulario pro cura nostra et diligentia - uel ipsi Paulo uel omni qui ecclesiae praeest - duos denarios Noui || ac Ueteris Testamenti ad nostrae curae concessit expensas. Hunc *ergo* proximum si diligamus omnem legem et uniuersa mandata in ipsius amore complemus. 'Finis enim legis Christus ad iustitiam omni credenti;' nec fieri ullo pacto potest ut qui ex toto corde et ex totis uisceribus suis diligit Christum faciat aliquid quod non placet Christo. Illum enim qui diligit non solum quia non occidit quod prohibet lex sed nec irascitur fratri suo quia ita delectatur ille quem diligit.

⁷²⁸ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 3-5): ἡ δὲ Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἡ δὲ Ἱεριχώ εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

as the converse, even as the robbers / demons / heretical false teachers (including, presumably, Judaizers) have paid him inordinate attention,⁷²⁹ wounding the man / Man with his own sins, and stripping him of his garments / immortality and his virtues,⁷³⁰ even unto his "half-death" *i.e. all but* unto damnation.⁷³¹ Origen's understanding of the Parable of the Good Samaritan is suffused with issues of exegesis of the Old Testament, as well as an apparent Rule of Faith,⁷³² and Victorinus deduced therefrom appropriately.

1.19. **‘Vetera’: legis et prophetarum.** An ancient expression for the Old Testament *in toto*,⁷³³ counterpoised to the New, as, respectively, *Lex et prophetae* to *euangelium* (though Victorinus prefers *scriptur<a/ae>*), because they are an indissoluble unity. However, Victorinus used the *precise* expression *uetus testamentum* more often than Tertullian⁷³⁴ and

⁷²⁹ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 5-6): οἱ δὲ ληστὰι εἰς τὰς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας ἤτοι τοὺς δαίμονας ἢ τοὺς πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἐλθόντας ψευδοδιδασκάλους.

⁷³⁰ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 6-8): τὰ τραύματα εἰς τὴν παρακοὴν καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἱματίων ἀφαίρεσις εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας καὶ ἀθανασίας γύμνωσιν καὶ ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς στέρησιν.

⁷³¹ Origenes, Frag. in Luc. (in cat.) 168 (GCS 49, l. 8-10): τὸ δὲ ἡμιθανῆ καταλιπεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον δηλοῖ τὸ εἰς ἡμισυ τῆς φύσεως προχωρῆσαι τὸν θάνατον—ἀθάνατος γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ—.

⁷³² Echoing Origen, Victorinus holds only profession of Father / Lord and Son / Christ allows access to the altar of the temple in Jerusalem, the Son's constituting the subject of Law and prophets, which two almost constitute themselves his *composition* ("conscriptum"), analogous to the Father's begetting, perhaps: Victorinus has both a longer and shorter version in sequence: Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (l. 8-16, ed. Dulaey, 92-94): *Mensura autem fidei est mandatum Domini nostri, Patrem confiteri omnipotentem, ut didicimus, et huius Filium Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem genitum, factum hominem et morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a Patre receptum <effudisse Spiritum> Sanctam, donum et pignus immortalitatis. Hanc per prophetas praedicatum, hunc per legem conscriptum, hunc manum Dei et Verbum Patris omnipotentis et conditorem orbis totius mundi; 11.1 (l.16-18, ed. Dulaey, 94): Haec est arundo et mensura fidei, ut nemo adoret ad aram sanctam, nisi qui haec confitetur: Dominum et Christum eius.*

⁷³³ Act. 13.15; Luc. 24.27.

⁷³⁴ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 587, l. 21): totum, quod sciam, uetus testamentum omnis haereticus inridet.

Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 492, l. 19-21): cum principalibus suis, quorum alter populi informator aliquando alter reformator quandoque, alter initiator ueteris testamenti alter consummator noui.

Tertullianus, De res. mort. 39 (CC SL 2, l. 2-4): Nam et apostolis nullum aliud negotium fuit, dumtaxat apud israellem, quam ueteris testamenti resignandi et noui consignandi et potius iam dei in christo contionandi.

Tertullianus, De exhort. cast. 10 (CC SL 2, l. 22-25): sanctus minister etenim est, et prophetica uox ueteris testamenti: sancti eritis, quia deus sanctus, et rursus: cum sancto sanctificaberis, et cum uiro innocenti innocuus eris et cum electo electus.

much more often than Cyprian.⁷³⁵ More common with the Africans is the formula *uetus et nouum testamentum*, or *nouum testamentum et uetus*, Tertullian's testifying it was common usage (along with *instrumentum*) from the beginning of the third century.⁷³⁶

1.20-22. **Vade ad mare...et pro te.** Both "tolle" and "illum sumens" are suppressed, as in the text of Matth. 17.26 cited in Augustine.⁷³⁷ It is no more translated in the Latin version of Chromatius.⁷³⁸

Tertullianus, De ieiun. adu. psych. (CC SL 2, 292, l. 26-28): plane, si iudaicarum caeremoniarum, si legalium sollempnitatum obseruantes sumus; illas enim apostolus dedocet compescens ueteris testamenti in christo sepulti perseuerantiam et noui sistens.

Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. II (CC SL 1, 373, l. 22-23): Ipse enim et ueteri testamento pronuntiarat: deum nemo uidebit et uiuet, patrem inuisibilem determinans, in cuius auctoritate et nomine ipse erat deus, qui uidebatur dei filius.

⁷³⁵ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. I 4 (CC SL 3, l. 14): Item ad corinthios ii: obtusi sunt sensus eorum usque in hunc diem hoc eodem uelamento in lectione ueteris testamenti manente, quod non reuelatur, quia in christo euacuatur: et usque in hodiernum, si quando legitur moyses, uelamentum est super cor eorum.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De rebap. 13 (p. 64, l. 25-65, l. 6 Rauschen): Sicuti et Deus ait: Ita enim dilexit Deus mundum ut filium suum unicum daret, ut omnis qui in eum crederet non periret, sed haberet vitam aeternam, ut manifeste appareat eum qui hanc diligendi nos et diligendi a nobis dilectionem in se non habeat inani confessione et passione nihil proficere, quoniam et ipsum apparet et constat haereticum esse qui in alium Deum credat sive Christum alium accipiat quam quem scripturae noui et ueteris testamenti manifeste praedicant, quae patrem omnipotentem creatorem omnium et filium eius sine obscuritate annuntiant.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De rebap. 15 (p. 68, l. 7-13 Rauschen): Quem spiritum in ueteri testamento non quidem passim nec effuse, sed communicatum cum aliis aut etiam sponte insiluisse in quosdam homines vel induisse eos vel fuisse super eos deprehendimus, sicuti Moysi de septuaginta presbyteris a Domino dictum esse animadvertimus: Et auferam spiritum qui super te est, et imponam super eos.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion 1 (CSEL 3.3, 104, l. 13-15): quae in uetere testamento figuraliter scripta sunt, per nouo testamento spiritaliter intellegenda sunt, quae per Christum in ueritate adimpleta sunt.

⁷³⁶ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV 1.1 (CC SL 1, 422, l. 25-423, l. 6): Et ut fidem instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est illi, - opus ex contrarietatum oppositionibus antithesis cognominatum et ad separationem legis et euangelii coactum - *qua* duos deos diuidens, proinde diuersos ut alterum alterius instrumenti uel, quod magis usui est dicere, testamenti, exinde euangelio quoque secundum antithesis credendo patrocinareretur. Fahey, Cyprian and the Bible: a study in third-century exegesis, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik, 9, 38. Braun, Deus Christianorum: recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien, 463-473.

⁷³⁷ Augustinus Hipponensis, Ennar. in Ps. 137.16 (CCSL 40, l. 11-22): sed tamen ne scandalizemus eos, ait petro: uade, mitte hamum in mare, et qui primus piscis ascenderit, aperi os eius, et inuenies staterem, id est duas didrachmas. stater ponderis genus est, habens quattuor drachmas. inuenies ibi; da illis pro me et te. domine, retribuens pro me. merito habemus primum piscem hamo captum, hamo comprehensum; primum surgentem de mari, primogenitum a mortuis. in eius ore inuenimus duas didrachmas, id est quattuor drachmas: in eius ore inuenimus quattuor euangelia. istis quattuor drachmis ab exactione huius saeculi liberamur; per quattuor euangelia debitores non remanebimus; ibi enim peccata nostra omnia soluuntur..

⁷³⁸ Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 3 (CC SL 9A, l. 38-41): Quem tamen cornelium iam dominus in euangelio sancto petro typice demonstrauerat, ubi dicit ad eum: vade ad mare, et mitte hamum, et eum piscem qui primus ascenderit, tolle, et aperto ore eius inuenies illic staterem.

l. 22-25. **Et Daudid similiter ait per Spiritum: Semel locutus est Deus, duo haec**

audiuimus. Cf. Ps. 61(62).12.⁷³⁹ Victorinus alone translates the Septuagint's ἤκουσα, "I have heard", as plural. The rabbis adduced this verse as evincing scriptural polyphony.⁷⁴⁰

Quia semel decreuit ab initio Dominus: Quod usque ad finem futurum est. Cf. Justin's noting the biblical prophetic-past.⁷⁴¹ But Victorinus comments more about God's timelessness, how all history is but a single instant to him (cf. Ps. 90.4; 2 Pet. 3.8), yet an illusory passage for mortals between *two* nows, past and future, a philosophical commonplace.⁷⁴²

l. 25-27. **Haec ergo sunt duo testamenta, quae pro captu:** "according to the comprehension".⁷⁴³ **temporis.** *Pro captu tempor<is/um>* is unusual combination, which only appears later in Orosius and Ammianus Marcellinus.⁷⁴⁴ Here it means "depending on

⁷³⁹ Ps. 61(62).12 (p. 63 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ἅπαξ ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεός δύο ταῦτα ἤκουσα; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 65 Magistretti): semel locutus est Deus, duo haec audiui.

⁷⁴⁰ de Lange, Origen and the Jews, 109.

⁷⁴¹ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 42 (l. 1-5 Goodspeed): Ὅταν δὲ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα λέγει, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις δοξάσαι ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀπολογίαν μὴ παράσχη τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, καὶ τοῦτο διασαφήσομεν. τὰ πάντως ἐγνωσμένα γενησόμενα προλέγει ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα ὅτι δὲ οὕτως δεῖ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ἐνατενίσαστε τῷ νοῦ τοῖς λεγομένοις. Δαυεὶδ ἔτεσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις πρὶν ἢ Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον σταυρωθῆναι τὰ προειρημένα ἔφη, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένων σταυρωθεὶς εὐφροσύνην παρέσχε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον. ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀνεληθῶν εἰς οὐρανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι κηρυχθεῖσιν εὐφροσύνη ἐστὶ προσδοκῶντων τὴν κατηγγελημένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν.

⁷⁴² Plato, Parm. , 156D; Tim. 37D. L.c. Tzamalikos, Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time, 181. Aristoteles, Phys. 219a (l. 22-30 Ross): ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν χρόνον γε γνωρίζομεν ὅταν ὀρίσωμεν τὴν κίνησιν, τῷ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ὀρίζοντες· καὶ τότε φαμὲν γεγονέναι χρόνον, ὅταν τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ὕστερου ἐν τῇ κινήσει αἴσθησιν λάβωμεν. ὀρίζομεν δὲ τῷ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτά, καὶ μεταξύ τι αὐτῶν ἕτερον· ὅταν γὰρ ἕτερα τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ μέσου νοήσωμεν, καὶ δύο εἴπη ἢ ψυχὴ τὰ νῦν, τὸ μὲν πρότερον τὸ δ' ὕστερον, τότε καὶ τοῦτό φαμεν εἶναι χρόνον· τὸ γὰρ ὀριζόμενον τῷ νῦν χρόνος εἶναι δοκεῖ.

⁷⁴³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *captus* II. *power of comprehension*, 289.

⁷⁴⁴ Orosius, Hist. adu. pag. IV, prol. 5 (l. 1-4 Arnaud-Lindet 2): Sed quamuis apud omnium sensus pro captu temporum ita uideri queat, numquid tamen aliquis exsistet, qui uel in ipsa anxietate pronuntiet grauiore pulices

understanding contemporary (with John)".⁷⁴⁵ **aut duo denarii aut noua et uetera aut gladius bis acutus nominatur.** The verb is singular because Victorinus makes only the last in the list, the *double-edged sword*, its strict subject. Again likely a consequence of dictation, but that the Gospel is no more than *the Law in allegory* is traditional.⁷⁴⁶ Haussleiter deduces anti-Marcionism.⁷⁴⁷

l. 27-31. **Denique cum iudex sit ipse a Patre.** Cf. Io. 5.26-27, where God the *Father* gives power to judge.⁷⁴⁸ **constitutus.** Cf. the Codex Boenerianus of Act. 10.42, echoed in the

esse quam febres? (p. 256, l. 18 Lippold-Bartalucci: "pro captu temporum" = "in rapporto alle circostanze"). Cf. TLL, s. v. *captus*, c. 381, 69. Orosius, Lib. apol. con. Pelag. 21.10 (CSEL 5, 638, l. 16-22): quamobrem obsequenter accipitur, quotiescumque Scriptura commemorat et iustum et sine querella, pro captu temporis et secundum iudicia hominum dici, non secundum illud ultimum iudicium Dei, cui uniuersorum conscientia subicitur et lingua omnium confiteatur; 24.7 (CSEL 5, 643, l. 12-14): et inter haec mirabiliter sibi ordinatio sancta disposuit, ut inter duas aetates, quod perpetuum in homine esse non poterat, pro captu temporis inueniret.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Res gest. XVI 10.1 (p. 82, l. 9-12 Jacob-Karau / Seyfarth / Ulmann): Haec dum per eoas partes et Gallias pro captu temporum disponuntur, Constantius quasi cluso Iani templo stratis que hostibus cunctis | Romam uisere gestiebat post Magnenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus. Cf. "pro captu *mediocritatis*", more common in classical and late antiquity (Tertullian): Uelleius Paterculus, Hist. Rom. II 104.3 (p. 72, l. 10-19 Watt): hoc tempus me, functum ante tribunatu, castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit; quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos VIII praefectus aut legatus spectator, tum pro captu *mediocritatis* meae adiutor fui, neque illi spectaculo quo fructus sum simile condicio mortalis recipere uidetur mihi, cum per celeberrimam Italiae partem <et> tractum omnem Galliarum prouinciarum ueterem imperatorem et ante meritis ac uir<tut>ibus quam nomine Caesarem reuisentes sibi quisque quam illi gratularentur plenius. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. II (CC SL 1, 374, l. 14-19): iudicem eum designatis, et seueritatem iudicis secundum merita causarum * congruentem pro saeuitia exprobratis; deum optimum exigitis, et lenitatem eius benignitati congruentem, pro captu *mediocritatis* humanae deiectius conuersatam, ut pusillitatem depretiatis.

⁷⁴⁵ Tert., *Marc.* 2, 27, 8. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. II 27.8 (CC SL 1, 374, l. 14-19): iudicem eum designatis, et seueritatem iudicis secundum merita causarum * congruentem pro saeuitia exprobratis; deum optimum exigitis, et lenitatem eius benignitati congruentem, pro captu *mediocritatis* humanae deiectius conuersatam, ut pusillitatem depretiatis.

⁷⁴⁶ The gnostic advances / profits (Gal. 1.14) in the gospel by right understanding the Law, *in the manner God transmitted the Testaments / covenants to the apostles*: Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. IV 21.130.4 (GCS 52, l. 1-4): ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ ἤδη προκόπτει ὁ γνωστικός, οὐ βαθμῶ χρησάμενος τῷ νόμῳ μόνον, συνιεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ νοήσας ὡς παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὁ τὰς διαθήκας δεδωκώς κύριος. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 11.4. Mondesert, Clément d'Alexandrie, 98-101. Daniélou, L'unité des deux Testaments dans l'oeuvre d'Origène, in: RSR 1 (1948), 27-56. De Lubac, A propos de la formule de la formule: Diuersi, sed non aduersi, in: RechSR 40 (1952), 27-40.

⁷⁴⁷ Haussleiter, Beiträge zur Würdigung der Offenbarung des Johannes und ihres ältesten lateinischen Auslegers, Victorinus Pettau, 17-19, especially 18.

⁷⁴⁸ Io. 5.26-27 (VL; Cod. e; p. 25 Belsheim): quomodo enim pater habet uitam in se sic dedit et filio habere uitam in semetipso. et potestatem dedit illi iudicium facere quia filius hominis est.

Vulgate.⁷⁴⁹ **uolens ostendere quoniam uerbo praedicationis iudicabuntur homines, ait:**

Putatis quia ego uos iudicabo nouissima die? Verbum quod uobis locutus sum, illud

iudicabit in nouissima die. A conflation of Io. 5.45⁷⁵⁰ and 12.48;⁷⁵¹ especially the second person plural of the former, and third person singular of the latter.

1. 31-33. Et Paulus contra Antichristum ad Tessalonicenses ait: quem Dominus

interficiet spiritu oris sui. Cf. 2 Thess. 2.3 and 8 (of which no VL survives, save this,

suggesting some influence, perhaps, on Jerome);⁷⁵² Is. 11.2 (of which no VL is extant, either).

Irenaeus first makes an explicit connection with Antichrist;⁷⁵³ followed by (likely)

Hippolytus⁷⁵⁴ and Tertullian.⁷⁵⁵ As to 2 Thessalonians 2's original meaning, there is

considerable difference of opinion.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁹ Act. 10.42 (VL; Cod. d; p. 363 Scrivener): Et praecepit nobis praedicare populo et protestari quia ipse est qui praestitus est a deo iudex uiuorum et mortuorum; (VL; Cod. e; p. 28 Belsheim): et praecepit nobis praedicare plebi et testificari quia ipse est qui praedefinitus erat a deo iudex uiuentium et mortuorum; (VL; Cod. g; p. 23 Belsheim): et praecepit nobis praedicare populo et testificari, quia est ipse constitutus est a deo iudex uiuorum et mortuorum; (Vg; p. 1015 Hetznauer): Et praecepit nobis praedicare populo, et testificari quia ipse est, qui constitutus est a Deo iudex uiuorum, et mortuorum.

⁷⁵⁰ Io. 5.45 (VL; Cod. 2 / e; p. 25 Belsheim): Nolite putare quia ego uos accuso apud patrem. est qui uos accuset moyses in quem uos speratis; (VL; Cod. a; p. 47 Belsheim): Nolite arbitrare quod ego uos accusaturus sum apud Patrem, est qui uos accuset Moyses, in quem speratis; (VL; Cod. b; p. 51 Belsheim); Nolite putare, quoniam ego uos apud patrem accusabo, est qui uos accuset Moyses, in quem sperastis; (VL; Cod. d; p. 107 Scrivener): nolite arbitrari quod ego accusaturus sum uos ad patrem est qui uos accuset moyses in quem uos speratis.

⁷⁵¹ Io. 12.48 (VL; Cod. a; p. 59): Qui me spernit, et non accipit uerba mea, habet qui eum iudicet. Sermo quem ego locutus...in illis, ille...dicabit de illo nouissima die; (VL; Cod. b; p. 64 Belsheim): Qui spernit me, et non accipit uerba mea, habet, qui iudicet eum. Sermo, quem ego locutus sum, ille iudicabit eum nouissimo die; (VL; Cod. b; p. 64 Belsheim): Quia ego ex me ipso non sum, ille iudicabit eum nouissimo die; (VL; Cod. d; p. 139 Scrivener): qui spernit me et non accipit uerba mea habet qui iudicet eum uerbum quod locutus sum illud iudicat eum in nouissima die.

⁷⁵² 2 Thess. 3 (Vg; p. 1087 Hetznauer): Ne quis uos seducat ullo modo : quoniam nisi uenerit discessio primum, et reuelatus fuerit homo peccati filius perditionis; 8 (p. 1087 Hetznauer): Et tunc reuelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione aduentus sui eum.

⁷⁵³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.1 (SChr 153, l. 1-5): Et non tantum autem per ea quae dicta sunt, sed et per ea quae erunt sub Antichristo, ostenditur quoniam existens apostata et latro quasi Deus uult adorari et, cum sit seruus, regem se uult praeconari. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.3 (SChr 153, l. 65-73): De quo iterum et Apostolus Paulus in secunda ad Thessalonicenses, simul et causam aduentus eius annuntians, sic ait: Et tunc reuelabitur iniquus, quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui et destruet praesentia aduentus sui, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem Satanae in omni uirtute et signis et portentis mendaciorum et omni seductione malitiae pereuntibus, pro eo quod dilectionem ueritatis non receperunt ut salui fierent.

⁷⁵⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, De consum. mund. 22 (GCS 1.2, l. 4-6): καθὼς προείπομεν ὅτι εἰς πάντα ἐξισοῦσθαι μέλλει τῷ σωτηρῇ ἡμῶν ὁ διάβολος καὶ υἱὸς τῆς ἀνομίας.

⁷⁵⁵ 2 Tertullianus, De res. mort. 24 (CC SL 2, l. 45-51) Iam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum qui nunc tenet [teneat], donec de medio fiat, quis, nisi romanus status, cuius abscissio in decem reges dispersa antichristum superducat? et tunc reuelabitur iniquus, quem dominus iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui et euacuabit

l. 33-34. **Hic est ergo gladius bis acutus procedens de ore eius.** Typically, Victorinus rounds off his exegesis by returning to the lemma.

1.5.

l. 1. **Vox eius tamquam uox aquarum multarum:** accords with the earliest Old Latin of Apoc.1. 15.⁷⁵⁷

l. 1-4. **Aquae multae populi intelleguntur.** Cf. Apoc.17.15.⁷⁵⁸ The motif of water as peoples or human forces is biblical; perhaps first derived from the metaphor of the *Euphrates* as a figure for Assyria (Is. 8.6-7);⁷⁵⁹ or the Nile for Egypt (Jer. 47.2),⁷⁶⁰ as Origen and Cyprian

apparentia aduentus sui, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem satanae in omni uirtute et signis atque portentis mendacii et in omni seductione iniustitiae his, qui pereunt.

⁷⁵⁶ For a survey of scholarly views, see Harrison, Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome: A Study in the Conflict of Ideology, WUNT 273, 74. Bousset denies a Caligulan reference, rather to a chiefly false *Jewish* Messiah, predating attribution to him of Roman qualities. To this end, Bousset cites foremost the patristic witnesses to his Jewish ones, including Victorinus (Bousset / Keane (trans.), The Antichrist legend: a chapter in Christian and Jewish folklore, 164-174). Rigaux confidently assigns 1 Thess. 3-10 to Antichrist, taking the figure of Antiochus Epiphanes (Dan. 11.36) as its model (Rigaux, L' antéchrist et l'opposition au royaume messianique dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, 164-168). Litaert Peerbolt considers the epistle *deutero*-Pauline (The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents, SJSJ 49, 66-68). For him, the semitic expression "the son of perdition" of 2 Thess. 2.3 (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας; echoing Io. 17.12, of Judas, and also echoed in Victorinus' "qui omnium hominum interitum per mortem aequalem posse esse opinabatur" (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.2 (SChr 423, 100, l. 2-4): the allusion to Dan. 11.36 ("he will magnify himself against every god") in 2 Thess. 2.4's one "exalting and opposing everything called God or worshipped" (Dan. 11.36: μεγαλυνθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸν; 2. Thess. 2.4a: ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα) and to desecrations of the temple, actual or threatened, by such as Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Pompey, Caligula and (probably) Titus (2 Thess. 2.4b: ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσει, ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός) suggests an equivalent, foreign tyrant; as does the Sibylline Oracles similar use of Dan. 11.36 for *Nero Rediuius* (Sib. Orac. V (GCS 8, l. 33-34): ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ ἄιστος ὀλοῖος· εἶτ' ἀνακάμψει ἰσάζων θεῶ αὐτόν· ἐλέγξει δ' οὐ μιν ἔόντα; Litaert Peerbolt, The Antecedents of Antichrist, 75-78). As Litaert Peerbolt notes, Irenaeus is first to combine these strains, followed by Hippolytus (who first derives Antichrist from (Apoc.7's omitting) the tribe of Dan) and Victorinus (who eschews the Dan tradition).

⁷⁵⁷ Apoc. 1.15 (VL; Cod. g; p. 64 Belsheim): et pedes similes auricalco, et sicut in camino ardenti, Et uox illius tamquam uox aquarum multarum.

⁷⁵⁸ Apoc. 17.15 (VL; Cod. h; p. 88 Férotin): ...ubi sed meretrix, populus sunt; (VL; Cod. m; p. 51 Belsheim): Aquae, quas uidesti, ubi meretrix sedet, populi et turbae et gentes et linguae sunt.

⁷⁵⁹ Is. 8.6-8 (p. 76 Rahlfs-Hanhart): διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σιλωαμ τὸ πορευόμενον ἡσυχῇ ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τὸν Ραασσων καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ρομελίου βασιλέα ἐφ' ὑμῶν 7

understood.⁷⁶¹ **sed et donum baptismi**. Usually, with regard to baptism, it is the *Spirit* which is deemed a gift: cf. Act. 2.38.⁷⁶² While Tertullian surely *implies* it is such,⁷⁶³ Victorinus *explicitates* it,⁷⁶⁴ albeit perhaps after Origen.⁷⁶⁵ Likewise, cf. Pseudo-Tertullian/Commodian and -Cyprian.⁷⁶⁶ **quod demisit**. Cf. Gal. 4.6, where the Old Latin "di/dei misit spiritum"⁷⁶⁷

διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἀνάγει κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φάραγγα ὑμῶν καὶ περιπατήσει ἐπὶ πᾶν τεῖχος ὑμῶν ὃ καὶ ἀφελεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἄνθρωπον ὃς δυνήσεται κεφαλὴν ἄραι ἢ δυνατόν συντελέσασθαι τι καὶ ἔσται ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὥστε πληρῶσαι τὸ πλάτος τῆς χώρας σου μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός 'Because this people has refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, and melt in fear before Rezin and the son of Remaliah ; therefore, the Lord is bringing up against it the mighty flood of Assyria and all his glory ; it will rise above all its channels and overflow its banks'.

⁷⁶⁰ Ier. 26.7-8 (LXX (47.7-8 MT); p. 697 Rahlfs-Hanhart): τίς οὖτος ὡς ποταμὸς ἀναβήσεται καὶ ὡς ποταμοὶ κυμαίνουσιν ὕδωρ ὕδατα Αἰγύπτου ὡσεὶ ποταμὸς ἀναβήσεται καὶ εἶπεν ἀναβήσομαι καὶ κατακαλύψω γῆν καὶ ἀπολωῶ κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. 'Thus says the LORD : See, waters are rising out of the north and shall become an overflowing torrent; they shall overflow the land and all that fills it, the city and those who live in it. People shall cry out, and all the inhabitants of the land shall wail'.

⁷⁶¹ Origenes, Com. in Cant. II (GCS 33, , 161, l. 18-22): Ante adventum namque Domini vix sicubi aliquis prophetarum parum quid occulti sermonis aperuit, verbi gratia ut Esaias, cum dicit: "vinea enim Domini Sabaoth domus Istrahel est, et domus Iuda novella dilecta" et iterum alibi: "aquae multae gentes multae sunt". Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Ad Nouat. 5 (CC SL 4, 141. l. 5-9): Aquis autem diruptis cataractis undique conuenientibus et excrescentibus significabantur gentes quae ad uastandam ecclesiam excreuerunt, sicut apocalypsis docet dicens: aquas quas uidisti populi sunt et gentes et regna.

⁷⁶² Act. 2.38 (VL; Cod. d; p. 334 Scrivener): petrus autrus autem ad eos ait paenitentiam agite et baptizetur unus quisque uestrum in nomine dni ihu xpr in remissione peccatorum et accipite gratiam sanctum spm; (VL; Cod. e; p. 11 Belsheim): Petrus autem ait ad illos Paenitemini, et baptizetur unusquisque uestrum in nomine domini Ihesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum sancti spiritus. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 73.2 (CC SL 3, l. 294-299): Illi quia iam legis et Moysi antiquissimum baptismum fuerant adepti, in nomine quoque Iesu Christi erant baptizandi, secundum quod in actis apostolorum Petrus ad eos loquitur et dicit: paenitemini, et baptizetur unusquisque uestrum in nomine domini Iesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum spiritus sancti.

⁷⁶³ Tertullianus, De bap. 6 (CC SL 1, l. 7-8): Nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne uerbum dei, quanto magis donum?

⁷⁶⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 66, l. 11-18): Ante solium autem tamquam mare uitreum simile cristallo: donum est baptismi, quod per Filium suum paenitentiae tempore, antequam iudicium inducat, effundit; ideo ante solium, id est ante iudicium. Cum autem dicat mare uitreum simile cristallo, aquam mundam, non uento agitatam, non profluuiio defluentem, sed tamquam donum Dei immobilem traditam ostendit. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 3-8): Nam fulgora aduentum Domini significabant, uoces autem noui testamenti praedicationes; tonitrua autem, quod caelestia sunt uerba, faces uero ignis ardentis donum Spiritus Sancti, quod cum in ligno perdidit primus homo per lignum passionis est redditum. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, cap.: 6, par.: 4, linea: 20, pag.: 82 Sed quoniam in nouissimo tempore et sanctorum remuneratio perpetua et impiorum uentura est damnatio, dictum est eis exspectare; et pro corporis sui solatio acceperunt, inquit, stolas albas, id est donum Spiritus Sancti.

⁷⁶⁵ Origenes, Frag. in Ps.50.10 [Dub.] (ASSSP 2, l. 12-20): Ἐγὼ μέντοι συγγνώμης οὐδεμίας ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν νομίζων, μετὰ τσοαύτας δωρεὰς γενόμενος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάξαι τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἐνανθρώπησιν καὶ τὸ (15)πάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν, τὰ μεγαλοπρεπῆ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, δῶρα ταῦτα πάντα προδιδαχθεῖς, ἵκετεύω μετασχεῖν ἐκείνης τῆς χάριτος. Ἄγαλλίασίς ἐστι χαρὰ ἐπὶ καλοῖς.

⁷⁶⁶ Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. V (CC SL 2, v. 120-121): unde etiam potuit baptismi dona benigna promissa abs alio tamquam sua promere facta? Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De rebap. 2 (p. 46, l. 8-22 Rauschen): De qua praedicatione cum utique nemo nostrum possit ambigere, manifestum est, qua ratione homines in spiritu sancto baptizati sint; nam et proprie in ipso solo sancto spiritu baptizati sunt qui crediderunt, quia Ioannes discrevit et diuisit dicens se quidem in aqua baptizare, venturum autem qui in spiritu sancto

may have appeared to Victorinus as "demisit *etc*". It is equivalent to *diffundere/effundere*, which Victorinus also uses.⁷⁶⁸ The language shows the close identifying by the Poetovian of the Spirit *with* baptism. **praecepto per apostolos diffundi**. In the Old Latin, "the love of God (caritas dei) is poured forth (diffusa) ...by the the Holy Spirit (per spiritum sanctum)".⁷⁶⁹ **ad salutem hominum**. Cf. Marc. 16.16: "He who believes, and is baptized, will be saved (*saluus*)".⁷⁷⁰ Cf. also Phil. 1.19: "ad salutem per...subministrationem spiritus".⁷⁷¹

l. 4-5. **Pedes eius similes aurichalco**. A misspelling of *orichalcum*, the transliteration of ὀρείχαλκος,⁷⁷² yet considerably the more common version. This is properly the *yellow ore* from which is made the *brass* intended by χαλκολίβανον. This is on the basis of its deriving from *aurum*, *gold*; a word of uncertain derivation, which may mean *brass of Lebanon*;⁷⁷³ or

baptizet, gratia et virtute Dei vivi (?) dona occulta largiente et operante, nihilominus autem etiam in baptisate spiritus et aquae, praeterea etiam in baptisate spiritus in sanguine proprio uniuscuiusque, sicut declarant nobis sanctae scripturae, quarum per singula quaeque eorum quae enarrabimus adferemus perspicuas probationes.

⁷⁶⁷ Gal. 4.6 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 15, 16): Quoniam autem estis filii dei. misit spiritum filii sui in corda nostra clamantem abba pater; (VL; Cod. z; p. 60 Buchanan): QM AUTEM ESTIS FILII DI. MISIT DS spm filii sui. In corda nostra. clamantem abba pater; (VL; Cod. d; p. 274 Tischendorf): quoniam autem estis fili di misit ds spiritum fili sui in corda nostra clamantes abba pater; (VL; Cod. e; p. 47 Belsheim): Quoniam autem estis dei misit deus spiritum fili sui in corda nostra, clamantes Abba pater; (VL; Cod. g; p. 57b Matthäi): quoniam autem estis filii dei misit deus spiritum filii filii sui in corda nostra in quo cla manus abba pater; (VL; Cod. f; p. 147 Scrivener): Quo autem estis filii di misit ds spm filii sui. in corda nra clamantem abba pater.

⁷⁶⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8-14): Mensura autem fidei est mandatum Domini nostri, Patrem confiteri omnipotentem, ut didicimus, et huius Filium Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem genitum, factum hominem et morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a Patre receptum <effudisse Spiritum> Sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis.

⁷⁶⁹ Rom. 5.5 (VL; Cod. d; p. 26 Tischendorf): spes autem non confundit quia caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spm sanctum qui datus est nobis; (VL; Cod. e; p. 5 Belsheim): spes autem non confundit, quia caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.

⁷⁷⁰ Marc. 16.16 (VL; Cod. a; p. 133 Belsheim): Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit; qui uero non crediderit, condemnabitur; (VL; Cod. c; p. 65 Belsheim): Qui autem crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit, qui uero non crediderit damnabitur.

⁷⁷¹ Phil. 1.19 (VL; Ambrosiaster, Com. in Phil. 1.19 (CSEL 81.3, 134, l. 15-20): scio autem quod hoc mihi procedet ad salutem per vestram precem et subministrationem spiritus Iesu Christi 20. secundum contemplationem et spem meam, quia in nullo confundar, sed in omni exerta fiducia, sicut semper, et nunc magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo sive per vitam sive per mortem.

⁷⁷² Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ὀρείχαλκος *A. mountain-copper, i.e. yellow copper ore, copper or brass made from it*, 1070.

⁷⁷³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *orichalcum* l., 1278. Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, χαλκολίβανον, an uncertain word in the NT (Apoc. 1.15; 2.18), commonly taken to mean *fine brass*, or by another interpretation...*brass of Lebanon*, 1710.

copper smelted with cedar (charcoal);⁷⁷⁴ or be analogous to ὄρειχαλκος, *mountain* (e.g. of Lebanon) copper. Beatus compromises by combining the terms as *oricalcum Libani*.⁷⁷⁵ Victorinus' being the earliest to use the popular Latin misspelling may reflect the locale of Poetovio, or a primarily Latin readership. **tamquam in fornace**. A *less* technical term than κάμινος/*caminus*, which may refer to a *smelting furnace*.⁷⁷⁶ **conflato**. The reading of MS A;⁷⁷⁷ Jerome's generally and Haussleiter's here specifically preferring "conflatos" *i.e.* of "pedes".⁷⁷⁸ Thence Dulaey deduces the feet are *white hot*, conforming nicely to those of the Son of Man.⁷⁷⁹ But the smithy term for *melt down*;⁷⁸⁰ unique in the Old Latin; perhaps indicative of local Poetovian metalurgical knowledge, as seat of Illyrian customs;⁷⁸¹ as preserved in "in fornace conflato", better suits ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης (Apoc.1.15).⁷⁸²

For Paul, each Christian is a member of Christ's Body. Such metaphors resemble those in Classical discourse, where political or military bodies (as in the Neo-Classical Hobbes) are assigned "members". One cannot help but recall Lucretius, Empodocles et al.,

⁷⁷⁴ Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, 273.

⁷⁷⁵ Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. I 1.12 (p 60 l. 9-16 Sanders): conversus vidi septem candelabra aurea; 13 et in medio candelabrorum aureorum similem filio hominis, vestitum podere, et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea; caput autem eius et capilli erant albi tamquam lana alba, aut tamquam nix, et oculi eius velut flamma ignis, et pedes eius similes oricalco Libani, sicut in camino ardenti, et vox eius sicut vox aquarum multarum; 16 et habebat in dextera sua stellas septem; et de ore eius gladius ex utraque parte acutus exiebat; et facies eius sicut sol lucet in virtute sua. Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. I 4.72 (p. 72, l. 10 Sanders): Et pedes eius similes oricalco Libani, sicut in camino ardenti.

⁷⁷⁶ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, κάμινος, *an oven, furnace, or kiln*, for smelting metals, for baking, burning earthenware and bricks, 739. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *caminus*, *a smelting-furnace for the working of metals, a forge*, 274; *fornax*, *a furnace, oven, kiln*, 770.

⁷⁷⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (E. v.; p. 26, n. 3 Haussleiter; R. H.; p. 27, n. 3 Haussleiter: MSS IKS).

⁷⁷⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (E. v.; p. 26, l. 3 Haussleiter; R. H.; p. 27, n. 3 Haussleiter).

⁷⁷⁹ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 86;2, 2.1., n. 160.

⁷⁸⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *conflo* II. B. 2., 416.

⁷⁸¹ Luthar, *The land between: a history of Slovenia*, 59.

⁷⁸² Apoc. 1.15 (VL; Cod. g; p. 64 Belsheim): et pedes eius similes auricalco, et sicut in camino ardenti, Et uox illius tamquam uox aquarum multarum; (VL; Cod. h; p. 105 Buchanan): et pedes eius similes aurocalco sicut de fornace igneo et uox eius ut sonus aquarum multarum; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 203 Morin): Et pedes eius similes oricalco sicut in camino ignis ardentis. Et uox illius. tamquam uox aquarum multarum; (VL; Cod. z; p. 136 Buchanan): et pedes eius aurocalco. sicut in camino ardentis. Et uox illius tamquam uox aquarum multarum.

Cf. EZach. 22.22 (Vg; p. 760 Hetzenauer): Vt conflatur argentum in medio fornacis, sic eritis in medio eius: et scietis quia ego Dominus, cum effuderim indignationem meam super uos. Given how like the Vulgate of Ez. 22.22 is Victorinus' translation of Apoc.1, 15, and how unlike the *Vetus Latina* of the latter, it seems likely he was influenced by the Old Latin of Ez. 22.22 (no longer extant).

and their notion of the evolution of the human form from random combinations of disparate limbs. The Hebrew bible uses human, anatomical metaphors for God, and writers such as Posidonius dwelt on the mystical union between God and man.⁷⁸³ Christianity, however, took the human metaphors applied to God and mystically referred them back to man, in a kind of positive feedback: hence the apostles are Christ's Feet.

Of course, the analogy of human form and action to things, actions and ideas is a basic tool of philosophy. Plot (that is to say, *story*), says Aristotle, is the imitation of *action* and of *life*. Organic metaphors abound in Plato, Aristotle and all subsequent thinkers. One of the most famous political metaphors probably remained that of the Ship of State (*e.g.* Sophocles, *Antigone*). Often military metaphors (or *quasi*-military ones, as in a ship of war) stood in for political ones since, in no small part, they were considered inseparable. Yahweh fills his bow with Judah (Zach. 9.13), for instance. And we have seen Christian *quasi*-political metaphors could also be military (or Roman imperial, which may be equally inseparable).

In Classical discourse, the state is an organism, consisting in its citizens, or subjects, with a specific *telos*, say, to reproduce or expand *i.e.* conquer, subdue or establish dominion. The *telos* of the Church is to reproduce, memetically, and, once the eschatological crisis is successfully navigated, genetically: for many early Christians, having children is redundant if there is no non-eschatological future for them to inherit. Victorinus is perhaps still on the cusp of this millennarian Christian *weltanschauung*'s evolving into a more temporal, secular one. The Christian polity represents a post-imperial state evolution, but still of a *telos* uncertain in Aristotelian terms.

⁷⁸³ Klausner / Stinespring (trans.), From Jesus to Paul, 61-68.

l. 5. **in fornace conflato**. In a biblical vein, Victorinus associates the purification of metal (as with the golden *zona*, above) with the suffering of the elect. Doubtless, too, he also recalls the episode of the washing of the disciples feet, in preparation, as it were, for their mission; both refreshing and teaching them humility (Io. 13.1-17).⁷⁸⁴ They are also enjoined to shake from their feet the dust of those places that reject their preaching (Matth. 10.14; Marc. 6.11; Luc. 10.11; Act. 13.51).

This reading, confirmed by Caesarius of Arles, who still possessed the original edition of Victorinus, corresponds to the *Sinaiticus* Greek variant of Apoc. 1.15: *πεπυρωμένως*, which then passed into Latin tradition: Cyprian, Irenaeus, Firmicus Maternus and several versions, then into the Vulgate. The more common "conflatos", found in several manuscripts of Jerome, which corresponds to a variant of the Greek text, would mean the *pedes* are heated until white hot. The singular, referring to "aurichalco", *bronze*, is preferable.⁷⁸⁵

l. 6-7. **per quos...ambulat praedicatio**. Personification of the preaching (of the W/word; or deification into the Body of Christ of the human apostles?): TLL, s. v. *ambulo*, c. 1875, 6s.

But, of course, Is. 52.7 did not personify anyone as feet. The feet belonged to those announcing the return of Israel to Zion. To a degree, the apostles announce the opposite, her exile. Just as the message is reversed, so the image is inverted. The feet no longer represent those to whom they belong, rather those to whom the apostles belong: a figure of a figure of a figure, a kind of infinite regression. Christian exegesis attempts to conjure substance from symbol. Symbol is essence, sometimes far from that which it once signified. It is the opposite of philosophy, where symbols are merely working tools (the language of the demiurge?). It is

⁷⁸⁴ RLAC, s. v. *Fuss*, c. 722-743 (B. Kötting, 1972). Richter, *Die Fusswaschung im Johannesevangelium: Geschichte ihrer Deutung* 1, 27-38. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 159;2, 3.1, n. 79.

⁷⁸⁵ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 86, 2.1, n. 160.

Plato's World of the Forms, the great fallacy of western thought, depicted as Truth in the world of imperfection.

It is a kind of *creatio ex nihilo*, less a commentary upon a text than a commentary which is more the essence of the text upon which it comments than the text itself. The metaphor of Church-state as Body is complicated by the fact that God is Himself the body of Jesus Christ, as well as the Body of believers *i.e.* is self-referencing, circular. Perhaps, it is the first postmodernism. Literature, which has forgotten, or refuses to acknowledge, it is literature. It is Lucian's "colourful lie", but it has forgotten it is a lie. Or, rather, it no longer matters. Or the lie is better than the truth. To paraphrase C. S. Lewis, and in an opposite sense, the allegorical has become the literal.⁷⁸⁶

l. 5-7. **Apostolos dicit, quia per passionem conflati.** Cognates of *conflare* occur almost exclusively in the *Vetus Latina* in the Old Testament and Apocrypha; chiefly with regard to die cast idols;⁷⁸⁷ the purifying (*probare* or its cognates) of believers;⁷⁸⁸ God's wrath;⁷⁸⁹ and its purifying effect.⁷⁹⁰ Victorinus' choice of verb clearly derives from his midrash of Old Testament texts. **praedicauerunt uerbum eius; per quos enim ambulat praedicatio merito pedes nominantur.** Cf. Rom. 10.15;⁷⁹¹ Is. 52.7.⁷⁹² While Irenaeus and Tertullian had

⁷⁸⁶ "Myth became Fact [the title of Lewis' 1944 essay]...The heart of Christianity is a myth which is also a fact": Lewis, *God in the Dock*, 66-67.

⁷⁸⁷ The most common form being *conflatilis*: Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *conflatilis*, a molten image, 415.

⁷⁸⁸ Prou. 27.21 (Augustinus Hipponensis, Spec. 7 (CSEL 12, 69, l. 8-10): quomodo probatur in conflatorio argentum et in fornace aurum, sic probatur homo in ore laudantis. Ier. 9.7 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 113 Morin): HAEC DICIT DOMINUS. , ECCE CONFLABO. et conprobo inimicos meos., Quid enim aliud faciam. a facie filiae populi mei.

⁷⁸⁹ Ez. 22.20-21 (p. 794 Sabatier 2): et insuflabo in uos insufflationem ignis irae meae, et conflabimini in medio eius. et scietis quia ego sum Dominus, qui effudi iram meam super uos.

⁷⁹⁰ Mal. 3.2-3 (p. 1009 Sabatier 2): et quis sustinebit diem introitus eius, aut quis ferre poterit ut aspiciat eum? Quia ipse ingredietur quasi ignis conflatorii, et quasi herba lauantium: et sedebit conflans, et emundans sicut argentum, et sicut aurum: et emundabit filios Leui, et fundet eos sicut aurum et argentum, et erunt Domino offerentes hostias in iustitia.

⁷⁹¹ Rom. 10.15 (VL; Cod. z; p. 18 Buchanan): quomodo uero praedicabunt nisi mittantur. Sicut scriptum est. Quam speciosis pedes. euangelizantium pacem. euangeliumzantium bona; (VL; Cod. d; p. 57 Scrivener): aut

adduced the significance of these texts,⁷⁹³ none so personify "feet" *qua feet*. Victorinus' exegesis shares more with the Alexandrians. Clement's "feet" not only figure the apostles, they also "prophesy".⁷⁹⁴ However, where Clement's interpretation of Ps. 132.7 ("Let us worship adore where his feet stood") sees the boundaries of the whole world, *qua* whither Christ's feet / the apostles went,⁷⁹⁵ Victorinus deduces their point of origin, departure and second coming *i.e.* Judaea.⁷⁹⁶ This may be under the influence of Irenaeus' principle *the beginning came at the end* or Origen's *the end is like the beginning*; or perhaps the Alexandrian's much more fluid interpretation of Rom. 10.15: Origen conflates apostles, feet, the way in which they walk *i.e.* Christ and the gospel and, significantly, those who walk

quomodo praedicabunt nisi mittatur sicut scriptum est quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem euangelizantium bona; (VL; Cod. e; p. 11 Belsheim): quomodo uero praedicabunt nisi mittantur? sicut scriptum est Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona.

⁷⁹² Is. 52.7 (p. 607 Sabatier 2): Sicut hora super montes, sic pedes euangelizantis auditum pacis, euangelizantis bona: quia auditam faciam salutem meam, dicens: Sion regnabit Deus tuus.

⁷⁹³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 13.1 (SChr 211, l. 11-20): Et Paulus autem dicens: Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium bona, euangelizantium pacem, manifestum fecit quoniam non unus, sed plures erant qui ueritatem euangelizabant. Et rursus in ea epistula quae est ad Corinthios, cum praedixisset omnes qui Dominum post resurrectionem uiderunt, intulit: Siue autem ego, siue illi, sic adnuntiamus et sic credidistis, unam et eandem praedicationem confitens omnium eorum qui Dominum uiderunt post resurrectionem a mortuis. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 408, l. 22-26): Si adhuc quaeris dominicae crucis praedicationem, satis iam tibi potest facere uicesimus primus psalmus, totam christi continens passionem, canentis iam tunc gloriam suam: foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes, quae propria atrocia sunt crucis. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 414, l. 15-17): Habes et apostolorum opus praedicatum: quam tempestiui pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona, non bellum nec mala. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 572, l. 25-573, 9): Si enim et creator euangelium repromittit dicens per esaiam: ascende in montem excelsum qui euangelizas sioni, extolle uocem in ualentia tua qui euangelizas hierusalem; item ad apostolorum personam: quam tempestiui pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona, utique et nationibus euangelizantium, quoniam et: in nomine eius, inquit, nationes sperabunt, christi scilicet, cui ait: posui te in lumen nationum, est autem euangelium etiam dei noui, quod uis tunc ab apostolo defensum, iam *ergo* duo sunt euangelia apud duos deos, et mentitus erit apostolus dicens, quod aliud omnino non est, cum sit et aliud, cum sic suum euangelium defendere potuisset, ut potius demonstraret, non ut unum determinaret. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 584, l. 15-19): - nam et hodie iudaei in pacis nomine appellant et retro in scripturis sic salutabant - sed intellego illum defendisse officio suo praedicationem creatoris: quam maturi pedes euangelizantium bona, euangelizantium pacem. Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 4 (CC SL 2, l. 9-17): Adeo autem manet in suo statu, licet trinitas inferatur, ut etiam restitui habeat patri a filio siquidem apostolus scribit de ultimo fine, cum tradiderit regnum deo et patri: oportet enim eum regnare usque dum ponat inimicos eius deus sub pedes ipsius - scilicet secundum psalmum: sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum -, cum autem subiecta erunt illi omnia absque eo qui ei subiecit omnia, tunc et ipse subicietur illi, qui ei subiecit omnia, ut sit deus omnia in omnibus.

⁷⁹⁴ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 62.1 (SChr 108, 126, 1-6).

⁷⁹⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 8.62.2 (SChr 108, 126, l. 1-6): τοῦ χρίσματος ἀγίου μεταλαμβάντες πνεύματος. Οἱ γοῦν περινοστήσαντες τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπόστολοι καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρύξαντες πόδες ἀλληγοροῦνται κυρίου, περὶ ὧν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ψαλμῶδοῦ προθεσπίζει τὸ πνεῦμα: «Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ», τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οὗ ἔφθασαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, δι' ὧν κηρυσσόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα ἦκεν τῆς γῆς.

⁷⁹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 7-10): Vnde propheta anticipauit dicendo: Adoremus ubi steterunt pedes eius, quoniam ubi illi primi steterunt et ecclesiam confirmauerunt, id est Iudeam, ibi omnes sancti conuenturi sunt et deum suum adoraturi.

through Christ the Gate, even as they do through his mind.⁷⁹⁷ However, if for Victorinus, as is normatively patristic, Jewish guilt entails exile from Judaea (perhaps suggested by Clement's adducing Judas/Ἰούδα, specifically), Christ's feet might logically stand where Jews' can-, or must, not.

1. 7-11. **Vnde propheta anticipauit dicendo: Adoremus.** Cf. Ps. 132 (LXX: 131).7:

Victorinus' jussive is closer to the normative future⁷⁹⁸ (though not the earliest Old Latin's perfect);⁷⁹⁹ but may be a midrash on Ps. 95 (LXX: 94).6;⁸⁰⁰ which may be significant also for its verse 4 (see below). **Vbi steterunt.** Matches the Vetus Latina generally.⁸⁰¹ **pedes eius.** Cf. Ps. 132 (LXX: 131).7. ⁸⁰² **quoniam ubi illi primi steterunt.** As Ps. 132 (131) refers to God's tabernacle (vv. 3; 5; 7) and Zion alone (v. 13), Tertullian notes Christ's feet stood on Olivet.⁸⁰³ **et ecclesiam confirmauerunt.** Cf., perhaps, 1 Mach. 5.16: "there gathered a great assembly (conuenit ecclesia magna)", *inter alia*.⁸⁰⁴ **id est Iudeam.** Ps. 132 (131) refers to God's tabernacle (vv. 3; 5; 7) and Zion alone (v. 13); conforming with Apoc. 14.1, where stands the Lamb with his 144 000 Jewish followers. This could be taken to signify the land of

⁷⁹⁷ Origenes, Com. in Io. I 8 (SChr 120, 51; l. 1-7): Ἡσαΐας δὲ φάσκων· «Ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ», τὸ ὠραῖον καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γινόμενον τῶν ἀποστόλων ὀδεύοντων τὸν εἰπόντα· «Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς» κήρυγμα νοήσας ἐπαινεῖ «πόδας» τοὺς διὰ τῆς νοητῆς ὁδοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ βαδίζοντας διὰ τε τῆς θύρας εἰσιόντας πρὸς τὸν θεόν. «Ἀγαθὰ» δὲ εὐαγγελίζονται οὗτοι, ὧν ὠραῖοί εἰσιν οἱ πόδες, τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

⁷⁹⁸ Ps. 131.7 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 148 Magistretti): Introiuimus in tabernaculum eius: adoraui in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.

⁷⁹⁹ Ps. 131.7 (VL; Psalt. Anglosax.; p. 390 Thorpe): Introibimus in tabernaculum eius; adorabimus in loco, ubi steterunt pedes eius.

⁸⁰⁰ Ps. 94.6 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. Magistretti): Venite, adoremus et procidamus ante Deum: ploremus coram Domino qui fecit nos.

⁸⁰¹ Ps. 131.7 (VL; Psalt. Anglosax.; p. 390 Thorpe): Introibimus in tabernaculum eius: adorabimus in loco, ubi steterunt pedes eius.

⁸⁰² Ps. 131.7 (VL; Psalt. Ambros. ; p. 148 Magistretti): Introiuimus in tabernaculum eius: adoraui in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.

⁸⁰³ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 558, l. 16-21): Sed enim per diem in templo docebat, ut qui per osee praedixerat: in templo meo me inuenerunt et illic disputatum est ad eos, ad noctem uero in elaeonem secedebat; sic enim zacharias demonstrat: et stabunt pedes eius in monte elaeon.

⁸⁰⁴ 1 Mach. 5.16 (VL; Cod. Sangerm.; p. 1034 Sabatier): Vt audiuit autem Iudas, et populus eius, sermones eius, conuenit ecclesia magna ut cogitarent quid facerent fratribus suis, qui erant in tribulatione, et expugnabantur ab eis.

Israel (and which is why Jerome alters to "id est in Iudea");⁸⁰⁵ or may be a midrash on Ps. 95 (94).4: "For in his hand are all the borders of the earth/land (terrae)".⁸⁰⁶ **ibi omnes sancti conuenturi sunt.** Cf., perhaps, Ez. 10.9: "So gathered all the men of Judah and Benjamin in Jerusalem";⁸⁰⁷ cf. also 1 Mach. 5.16.⁸⁰⁸ Dulaey makes the simplistic assertion that Victorinus merely assumes a "literalist" Jewish Christian millenarianism;⁸⁰⁹ and a "literal" reading of texts such as Tob. 13.17;⁸¹⁰ although Victorinus would have had to read them in sufficiently "non-literal" a way so as to read for "Jew" "(most likely) gentile Christian", for "Israel" "the Church" *etc.* **et deum suum adoraturi.** Cf. Is. 27.13: "even those who had been lost will come from the land of the Assyrians, and those who were cast into the land of Egyptians, even they will adore the Lord on the holy mountain in Jerusalem".⁸¹¹ Victorinus simply read his Apocalypse through the texts of scripture and his received tradition. Subsequent apologetic agendas did not concern him.

Chapter 4.1-7.

⁸⁰⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (R. H.; p. 27, l. 3 Haussleiter).

⁸⁰⁶ Ps. 94.4 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 105 Magistretti): Quoniam in manu eius sunt omnes fines terrae: et altitudines montium ipsius sunt.

⁸⁰⁷ 2 Esdr. 10.9 (p. 920 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ συνήχθησαν πάντες ἄνδρες Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμιν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς (Vg; p. 405 Hetzenauer: *Conuenerunt igitur omnes uiri Juda et Benjamin in Jerusalem*) τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὗτος ὁ μὴν ὁ ἕνατος ἐν εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάθισεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐν πλατεία οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ θορύβου αὐτῶν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος.

⁸⁰⁸ 1 Mach. 5.16 (VL; Cod. Sangerm.; p. 1034 Sabatier): Vt audiuit autem Iudas, et populus eius, sermones eius, conuenit ecclesia magna ut cogitarent quid facerent fratribus suis, qui erant in tribulatione, et expugnabantur ab eis.

⁸⁰⁹ Simon, Verus Israel, Etude sur les relations entre chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire romain (135-425), 25. ThWNT, s.v. Σιών . Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, 378-385; but he does not actually discuss the notion of an *ingathering* of believers, whether Jewish or gentile. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3.4, n. 43-44

⁸¹⁰ Tob. 13.17 (p. 1034 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἔθνη πολλὰ μακρόθεν ἤξει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γενεαὶ γενεῶν δώσουσίν σοι ἀγαλλίαμα; (VL; Cod. Monac.; p. 48 Belsheim): tu gaude et laetare in filiis iustorum. quoniam omnes benedicentur et colligentur. et dominum aeternum.

⁸¹¹ Is. 27.13 (p. 600 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ σαλπιοῦσιν τῇ σάλπιγγι τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἤξουσιν οἱ ἀπολόμενοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ οἱ ἀπολόμενοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ.

In this chapter, Victorinus clearly defines exegesis as a mental process, whereby God *opens the mind* to a *spiritual sense* of scripture. That, in essence, is the nature of *revelation*. There is thus also a mental component to the reception of the Spirit, which Christ pours out on believers, having received it from the Father upon ascending to him. In this sense, it is only after the Resurrection that scriptural interpretation is possible for his followers, who first become truly acquainted with the technique on the road to Emmaus, when the resurrected Christ expounds to them himself, as subject of the Law and the prophets *i.e.* the Old Testament.⁸¹²

So central and essential is this to faith *per se* that Victorinus constructs here his most extended allegory: gentile Christians who dispense with the Old Testament are like terrestrial beasts without wings or the means to acquire sustenance or livelihood. Jews without the New are bodiless ghouls, who howl incoherently and flit on their wings of prophecies uncomprehended. It is without parallel in patristic writing, though, as a comment on the winged living creatures who dance around the throne of God, he may have acquired it from an unknown source.

The creatures themselves are the gospels personified, sundry reasons adduced to explain their visages. The twenty-four elders, the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles, become similarly the twenty-four books of the Old Testament personified; even as is he who sits on the throne about which all dance. He has no appearance but of jasper and carnelian, which Victorinus interprets as, *inter alia*, Old and New Testaments *i.e.* the very Word itself.

4.1.

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1. 1-2. **Ostium apertum...in caelo.** “Door” as a biblical metaphor for revelation and salvation is unique to the New Testament, and originates in the *logia* of Jesus *e.g.* Matth. 7.7 and 8;⁸¹³ and Io. 10.1-9; although Prou. 8.34, on which they are likely a midrash, uses it ambiguously for the source of life-giving instruction from both the house of the God and wisdom personified. Jesus also uses it for the imminence of the kingdom or eschaton.⁸¹⁴ The metaphor of a door as an entry or way into salvation is implied by Matth. 23.13 and Luc. 11.52, specifically concerning the scribes who allegedly close the kingdom of heaven against all, by withholding the “key of knowledge”. The notion of Christ as door and way to salvation⁸¹⁵ is an extension, logical or not, of the way or method of interpretation of the Law, which should include its “weightier matters: judgment, mercy and faith”.⁸¹⁶ The second to last of these, *miseriordia*, is precisely what Victorinus sees as missing from educated-but-barely Christian intellectuals, bereft of works.⁸¹⁷ But if Jesus stipulates observance of all matters of the Law, weightier or not, even the earliest church fathers rejected literal observance of the ritual Law, adopting Paul’s use of allegory to interpret it from *practical* existence (see especially Gal. 4.21-26).

⁸¹³ Matth. 7.7-8: αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ζητεῖτε, καὶ εὕρήσετε· κρούετε, καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται; (Vg.) Petite, et dabitur vobis : quærite, et inuenietis : pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit : et qui quærit, inuenit : et pulsanti aperietur.

⁸¹⁴ Matth. 24.33; 25.10 ; Marc. 13.29; Luc. 11.7; 13.25.

⁸¹⁵ Io. 10.7 (p. 282 Nestle-Aland): εἶπεν οὖν πάλιν [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων. 8 πάντες ὅσοι ἤλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ κλέπται εἰσὶν καὶ λησταί, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα. ; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 33 Belsheim): Ait ad illos ihs amen amen dico uobis quod ego sum ianua ouium; 10.9 (p. 282 Nestle-Aland): ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα· δι’ ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ, σωθήσεται καὶ εἰσελεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ νομὴν εὕρήσει; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 34 Belsheim): Ego sum ianua si quis per me intrauerit saluus erit et exiet et pascua inueniet.

⁸¹⁶ Matth. 23.23 (p. 66 Nestle-Aland): οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον, καὶ ἀφήκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν πίστιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ ἀφεῖναι; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 14 Belsheim): Uae uobis scribae et pharisaei hypocritae quoniam decimatis mentam et anethum et relinquitis quae grauiora sunt legis. iudicium et misericordiam et fidem haec oportet facere et illa non dismittere.

⁸¹⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1. 8 (SChr 423, 56, 12-14): aut arguit eos qui student scripturis et laborant cognoscere arcana praedicationis et Dei opus facere nolunt, id est misericordiam et amorem ; omnibus paenitentiam denuntiat, omnibus iudicium adnuntiat.

In the New Testament these meanings combine variously, sometimes meaning access or opportunity, sometimes revelation, or both *e.g.* Act. 14.27.⁸¹⁸ Paul tends to use it in the former sense *e.g.* 1 Cor. 16.9 or 2 Cor. 2.12; Col. 4.3 requests a “door” for the explication of a mystery.⁸¹⁹ Victorinus is likely inspired by Irenaeus.⁸²⁰ Zeno of Verona borrowed an exposition on Jacob’s ladder from Victorinus’ *In Genesim*, claiming Christ’s death and resurrection “Patri et Adam reportauit et iter ad caelum omnibus se sequentibus patefecit”.⁸²¹ **ostium apertum...noui testamenti praedicationem uidet Iohannes.** To Victorinus the “door” is intellectual, a revealed truth. **ostium...praedicationem.** Irenaeus had written the descent of the Spirit gave believers access “ad introitum uitae et apertionem Noui Testamenti”.⁸²² Chromatius holds that the preaching of the gospel itself bore Christ to heaven, on men’s behalf.⁸²³ **dicitur.** Uncommon use by Victorinus of the *impersonal* passive.

l. 2-4. **Ascende huc.** If Zeno borrowed from Victorinus’ *In Genesim*, on Gen. 28.12, man likely ascends the ladder of Jacob’s dream: “scala autem proprio nomine crux uocatur, quia ipsam dominus Iesus Christus mysteria uniuersa conficiens atque concludens *Patri et Adam*

⁸¹⁸ ‘When they (Paul and Barnabas) arrived, they called the church together and related all that God has done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith for the Gentiles.’

⁸¹⁹ ‘At the same time pray for us as well that God will open to a us a door for the word, that we may declare the mystery of Christ, for which I am in prison, so that I may reveal it clearly, as I should.’

⁸²⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 16.8 (SChr 211, l. 276-282): Propter quod rursus in epistola clamat: Omnis qui credit quia Iesus est Christus ex Deo natus est, unum et eundem sciens Iesum Christum, cui apertae sunt portae caeli propter carnalem eius adumptionem, qui etiam in eadem carne in *qua* passus est ueniet, gloriam reuelans Patris; Dem. apost. praed. 38 (p. 64 Weber (trans.)): Et resurrectionem ostendit ipse priraogenitus mortuorum factus et in se ipso erigens eversum hominem, extollendo in altum supra caelum" ad dextram gloriae Patris, Sicut Deus per prophetam promisit dicendo: «Et erigam tabernaculum David eversum», id est corpus e Davide [progenitum].

⁸²¹ Zeno Veronensis, *Tract. I* 37 (CC SL 22, 15, l. 134-137): Scala autem proprio nomine crux uocatur, quia per ipsam dominus iesus christus mysteria uniuersa conficiens atque concludens *patri et adam reportauit et iter ad caelum omnibus se sequentibus patefecit.* Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *patefacio* I. *to make or lay open, to open, throw open*; with *iter*: *to open the way*, as a discoverer or pioneer, 1313. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 167;2, 3.2, n. 3-4.

⁸²² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 24-30): Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium ad introitum uitae et adapertionem noui Testamenti; unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri.

⁸²³ Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Sermo 1* (CC SL 9A, l. 85-86): Euangelica enim praedicationis caeli porta est, quia per eam nobis ascensus ad regna caelorum est.

reportavit et iter ad caelum omnibus se sequentibus patefecit";⁸²⁴ to join the wedding banquet of the Kingdom.⁸²⁵ Tatian explains the soul's ascent through spiritual revelation, albeit in a Platonic manner,⁸²⁶ which Victorinus may partly imitate, below. The Latin translation of Irenaeus refers to man's *ascensio* by virtue of *knowledge* of the Incarnation.⁸²⁷ **apertum ostenditur, clausum.** *Ostendere* is almost a technical word, analogous to *significare*, for how the Old Testament (that which was closed ("clausum"), but is now open ("apertum")) *prefigures* (*prefigare*) the truth of the New by foreseeing (*anticipare*, used here for the first time as analogous to *prophesying*) it.⁸²⁸ "Clausum fuisse" likely alludes to the locked door or key withheld of Matth. 23.13 (κλείετε/"clauditis")⁸²⁹ and Luc. 11.52 (ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως / "tulistis clavem scientiae").⁸³⁰

⁸²⁴ Zeno Veronensis, Tract. I 37 (CC SL 22, 15, l. 134-137).

⁸²⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 167; 2, 3.2, n. 6.

⁸²⁶ Tatianus, Orat. ad Graec. 13.1 (l. 1-Goodspeed)-3 (l. 9 Goodspeed): Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθάνατος, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν, θνητὴ δέ· ἀλλὰ δυνατὸς ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν. θνήσκει μὲν γὰρ καὶ λύεται μετὰ τοῦ σώματος μὴ γινώσκουσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀνίσταται δὲ εἰς ὕστερον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ κόσμου σὺν τῷ σώματι θάνατον διὰ τιμωρίας ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ λαμβάνουσα· πάλιν τε οὐ θνήσκει, κἂν πρὸς καιρὸν λυθῆ, τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ πεπονημένη. καθ' ἑαυτὴν γὰρ σκότος ἐστίν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ φωτεινόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἄρα τὸ εἰρημένον· ἡ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαμβάνει. ψυχὴ γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔσωσεν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ φῶς τὴν σκοτίαν κατέλαβεν ἢ λόγος μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς, σκότος δὲ ἡ ἀνεπιστήμων ψυχὴ. διὰ τοῦτο μόνη μὲν διαιτωμένη πρὸς τὴν ὕλην νεύει κάτω συναποθνήσκουσα τῇ σαρκί, συζυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀβοήθητος, ἀνέρχεται δὲ πρὸς ἅπερ αὐτὴν ὀδηγεῖ χωρὶα τὸ πνεῦμα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄνω τὸ οἰκητήριον, τῆς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐστὶν ἡ γένεσις. γέγονεν μὲν οὖν συνδίαιτον ἀρχήθεν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πνεῦμα· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ταύτην ἔπεσθαι μὴ βουλομένην αὐτῷ καταλέλοιπεν. ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἔναυσμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κεκτημένη καὶ διὰ τὸν χωρισμὸν τὰ τέλεια καθορᾶν μὴ δυναμένη, ζητοῦσα τὸν θεὸν κατὰ πλάνην πολλοὺς θεοὺς ἀνετύπωσε τοῖς ἀντισοφιστεύουσι δαίμοσι κατακολουθοῦσα. πνεῦμα δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, παρὰ δὲ τισι τοῖς δικαίως πολιτευομένοις καταγινόμενον καὶ συμπεριπλεκόμενον τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ προαγορεύσεων ταῖς λοιπαῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἀνήγγειλε· καὶ αἱ μὲν πειθόμεναι σοφίᾳ σφίσι αὐταῖς ἐφεῖλκον τὸ πνεῦμα συγγενές, αἱ δὲ μὴ πειθόμεναι καὶ τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεπονθότος θεοῦ παραιτούμεναι θεομάχοι μᾶλλον ἢπερ θεοσεβεῖς ἀνεφαίνοντο.

⁸²⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 19.1 (SChr 211, l. 13-18): Ad eos indubitate dicit qui non percipiunt munus adoptionis, sed contemnunt incarnationem purae generationis Verbi Dei, fraudantes hominem ab ea ascensione quae est ad Deum et ingrati existentes Verbo Dei qui incarnatus est propter ipsos.

⁸²⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 92; 2, 3.2, n. 36.

⁸²⁹ Matth. 23.13 (p. 65 Nestle-Aland): Οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε, οὐδὲ τοὺς

l. 4-5. Christ's bodily ascent establishes the new revelation, in a way Victorinus goes on to explain. **Satis...et plene patefactum est** *i.e.* the "ostium in caelo". **cum corpore**. A rejoinder to Cerinthian and other claims of a non-corporeal, solely spiritual resurrection and ascension; or Christ's having evaded crucifixion by ascending, spiritually or otherwise, beforehand.

Irenaeus had stressed Christ's corporeal ascension *e.g.* τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανὸς ἀνάληψιν (as did Epiphanius and Tertullian: ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανὸς ἐν αὐτῷ σῶματι)⁸³¹ and its re-acquiring access to heaven and the Father for humanity.⁸³² *Cf.* also

εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 14 Belsheim): Uae autem uobis scribae et pharisaei hypocritae quia cluditis regnum caelorum. ante homines. uos enim non introitis. neque introeuntes sinitis introire.

⁸³⁰ Luc. 11.52 (p. 199 Nestle-Aland): οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 69 Belsheim): Uae uobis legis doctoribus quoniam absconditis clauem scientiae uos non introitis, et introeuntes uetastes introire.

⁸³¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.8 (SChr 211, 320, l. 276-282): Propter quod rursus in epistola clamat: Omnis qui credit quia Iesus est Christus ex Deo natus est, unum et eundem sciens Iesum Christum, cui apertae sunt portae caeli propter carnalem eius adsumptionem, qui etiam in eadem carne in *qua* passus est ueniet, gloriam reuelans Patris; Dem. apost. praed. 38 (p. 64-65 Weber (trans.)): Et resurrectionem ostendit ipse primogenitus mortuorum factus et in se ipso erigens euersum hominem, extollendo in altum supra caelum" ad dextram gloriae Patris, Sicut Deus per prophetam promisit dicendo: «Et erigam tabernaculum David euersum», id est corpus e Davide [progenitum]. Et id vere perfecit Dominus noster Iesus Christus nostram redemptionem gloriose expugnando, ut nos vere resuscitet salvificans Patrii. Et si quis [factam] e uirgine nativitatem eius non acceperit, quo pacto [factam] e mortuis resurrectionem eius accipiet? Nam nihil admirabile est et nihil stupendum nihilque inopinatum. Nam si non natus surrexit a mortuis, neque amplius resurrectionem eius sine nativitate facti [surrexisse] dicere possumus. Nam ingenitus etiam immortalis, et qui non subditus est nativitati, nec etiam sub mortem subdetur. Nam qui initium hominis non assumpsit, quo pacto poterat accipere finem eius? Epiphanius Salaminis, Ancor. 8 (GCS 25, l. 1-4): εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ οὐ δύο, ὁ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεύς· παθόντα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἀναστάντα καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, ἐνδόξως καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ἐρχόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Cf.* Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III 24.9 (CC SL 1, 420, l. 30-421, l. 5): Ceterum ad esau praemittit benedictionem terrenam et subicit caelestem, de opimitate terrae, dicens, erit inhabitatio tua et a rore caeli. Iudaeorum enim dispositio in esau, priorum natu et posteriorum adfectu filiorum, a terrenis bonis, imbuta per legem, postea ad caelestia per euangelium credendo deducitur. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 4.1, n.116.

⁸³² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 10.1 (SChr 264, l. 1-23): Ecclesia enim per uniuersum orbem usque ad fines terrae seminata, et ab apostolis et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem quae est in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, qui fecit caelum et terram et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, et in unum Christum Iesum Filium Dei, incarnatum pro nostra salute, et in Spiritum Sanctum, qui per prophetas praedicauit | dispositiones Dei et aduentum et eam quae est ex Virgine generationem et passionem et resurrectionem a mortuis et in carne in caelos ascensionem dilecti Iesu Christi Domini nostri et de caelis in gloria Patris aduentum eius ad recapitulanda uniuersa et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis, ut Christo Iesu Domino nostro et Deo et Saluatori et Regi secundum placitum Patris inuisibilis omne genu curuet caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei, et iudicium iustum in omnibus faciat, spiritalia quidem nequitiae et angelos transgressos atque apostatas factos et impios et iniustos et iniquos et blasphemos homines in aeternum ignem mittat, iustus autem et aequis et praecepta eius seruauitibus et in dilectione eius perseuerantibus, quibusdam quidem *ab initio*,

Chromatius and Zeno.⁸³³ Early Symbols commonly mention the *ascensio*, if not “cum corpore”.⁸³⁴ Jerome alters to “in corpore”,⁸³⁵ perhaps literally echoing Irenaeus’ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν (“in carne in caelos ascensionem”).⁸³⁶ It perhaps echoes the confession of 1 Io. 4.2:⁸³⁷ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα. But why does he change Victorinus here, but not later, in *In Apoc.* 5.3, l. 7-8? Patrick may have thought it spurious to his otherwise borrowing this credal formula from the Poetovian.⁸³⁸

l. 5-13. **Vocem...ille populus ueteris testamenti...illa uoce aedificatus est. Illa...uox...id est Iesus Christus quem...ante quasi filium hominis...se uidisse fatetur.** Victorinus’ argument is not entirely clear, but it seems to be that, since John was a Jew, he would naturally only heed the voice of the God of the Old Testament. This he naturally (for Victorinus) identifies with that of the Son of Man, which John had heard earlier, *i.e.* that of Jesus Christ. More abstractly, Victorinus’ interpreting the open door as revealing what once was concealed *i.e. the divine revelation per se* necessarily implies John’s familiarity with the door when closed *i.e. the letter* of the Old Testament. This meaning of R/revelation will come to the fore later.

quibusdam autem ex paenitentia, uitam donans incorruptelam loco muneris conferat et claritatem aeternam circumdet.

⁸³³ Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 1 (CC SL 9A, 5, l. 85-86): Euangelica enim praedicatio caeli porta est, quia per eam nobis ascensus ad regna caelorum est. Zeno Veronensis, Tract. I 37 (CC SL 22, 15, l. 134-137).

⁸³⁴ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 167; 2, 3.2, n.4; 1, 232.

⁸³⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (R. H.; p. 45, l. 14 Haussleiter).

⁸³⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 2.1 (p. 91, l.10 Harvey): τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν.

⁸³⁷ 1 Io. 4.2 (p. 621 Nestle-Aland): ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ· πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν.

⁸³⁸ "morte deuicta in caelis ad patrem receptum": Hanson, The Rule of Faith of Victorinus and of Patrick, in: Bieler / O'Meara / Naumann (eds.), Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900, 25.

1. 7. **Arguuntur contumaces.** The obstinate (“contumaces”)⁸³⁹ are those who deny that Jesus Christ is the God of the Old Testament, and are refuted (“arguuntur”) by the logic of Victorinus’ argument.

1. 8. **Ex circumcissione.** Perhaps a deliberate circumlocution for the less acceptable *Iudaeus*. Like most Fathers, Victorinus avoids explicitly describing Jesus and the apostles as *Jews*.⁸⁴⁰

1. 10. **Ille uoce aedificatus erat.** By its proximity and repetition of the pluperfect (“audierat”), this likely refers to “ille populus” not “Iohannes” (which is qualified by the imperfect “erat”). Contrarily, Dulaey says *aedificare* is used here in the sense of the French *formation*, meaning an educative and literary upbringing, analogous to *institutio* or *eruditio*. However, this conflation of classical and biblical ideas is, I think, mistaken. It is the *house* of Israel that had been “built” by the voice of God, in many senses, including the moral.⁸⁴¹ Its rationale is that, as one of that people, John must have received its *national* education, as it were. Thus the voice that built the people of the Old Testament, and speaks in the New, has

⁸³⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *contumax*, I. *insolent, unyielding, obstinate, stiff-necked, stubborn, contumacious*, 460. TLL, s. v. *contumax*, c. 798, 18 s.

⁸⁴⁰ When Origen does so, it is because, as Jews, they have yet to comprehend the spirit of the Law over its letter e.g. Peter, yet, erroneously, observing the literal Law, is “being yet a Jew” (ὡς ἔτι Ἰουδαῖος: Origenes, Con. Cels. II 1 (SChr 132, l. 43-47): Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξῆς δηλοῦται ὅτι ὀπτασίας ἐδεήθη, ἵνα κοινωνήσῃ τῶν λόγων τῆς πίστεως τῷ μὴ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραηλίτῃ Κορνηλίῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς ἔτι Ἰουδαῖος καὶ κατὰ τὰς Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεις ζῶν, καταφρονῶν τῶν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ. Cf. Origen’s saying the disciples’ *upbringing* in the letter of the Law hampered reception of Jesus’ teaching: Origenes, Con. Cels. II 2 (SChr 132, l. 11-18): Καὶ φημι· μὴ ποθ’ ὡς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συντραφεῖσι τῷ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα Μωϋσέως νόμῳ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις εἶχε μὲν ἀλέγειν, τίς ὁ ἀληθὴς νόμος, καὶ τίνων «ἐπουρανίων» «ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ» ἢ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λατρεία ἐπετελεῖτο, καὶ τίνων «μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν» «σκιά» περιεῖχεν ὁ περὶ βρώσεων καὶ πόσεων καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ νομηνιῶν καὶ σαββάτων νόμος. Origen prefers to speak of the disciples as “having been brought up among the Jews”: Origenes, Con. Cels. II 2 (SChr 132, l. 33-36): ἀπολλὰ» γὰρ τὰ τῆς τοῦ νόμου κατὰ τὰ πνευματικὰ διηγῆσεως καὶ σαφηνείας· καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντό πως «βαστάζειν» αὐτὰ οἱ μαθηταί, ἐν Ἰουδαίοις γεγεννημένοι καὶ ἀνατετραμμένοι τότε; of Paul: Origenes, Com. in Io. X 5. Origen also distinguishes between those who are Jews *outwardly* and *inwardly*: Origenes, Com. in Io. I 9; or *secretly*: Origenes, Com. in Io. I 40.

⁸⁴¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 168; 2, 3.2, n. 11: for the Christian sense of the word, cf. Thibaut, Édification, in: DSP 4 (1960), c. 285-286.

spoken *twice*, but is yet *one and the same*. Nevertheless, compare Origen's describing Peter and the apostles' having the handicap of "having been brought up" in the letter of the Law.⁸⁴²

Dulaey plausibly suggests concerning the two utterances of the voice, for Victorinus, in the promise to reveal "what is to take place after *these things*" (Apoc.1.19),⁸⁴³ "these things" refers to the Old Testament, in contrast with Apoc. 4.1, which refers to what follows *i.e.* the New, or the Old-in-non-literal, -allegorical-sense. Dulaey excludes thereby an eschatological understanding in the Poetovian,⁸⁴⁴ but this goes perhaps too far.

1. 14. **recolit.** *Recolere* may mean simply *recall* or *consider*, and constitutes the closest Victorinus comes to a translating a technical term like ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, such as *instaurare/restaurare*,⁸⁴⁵ which first appear in Tertullian.⁸⁴⁶ Only later comes *recapitulare*, the origin of the term *recapitulatio*, although Victorinus is perhaps first to use the technique, as a *temporal-allegorical* hermeneutic, at least with regard to the chronology of the

⁸⁴² Cf. Origen's saying the disciples' *upbringing* in the letter of the Law hampered reception of Jesus' teaching: Origenes, Con. Cels. II 2 (SChr 132, l. 11-18): Καί φημιμή ποθ' ὡς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συντραφεῖσι τῷ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα Μωϋσέως νόμῳ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις εἶχε μὲν «λέγειν», τίς ὁ ἀληθῆς νόμος, καὶ τίνων «ἐπουρανίων» «ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ» ἢ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λατρεία ἐπετελεῖτο, καὶ τίνων «μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν» «σκιά» περιεῖχεν ὁ περὶ βρώσεων καὶ πόσεων καὶ ἑορτῶν καὶ νουμηγιῶν καὶ σαββάτων νόμος. Origen prefers to speak of the disciples as "having been brought up among the Jews": Origenes, Con. Cels. II 2 (SChr 132, l. 33-36): «πολλὰ» γὰρ τὰ τῆς τοῦ νόμου κατὰ τὰ πνευματικὰ διηγήσεως καὶ σαφηνείας· καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατό πως «βαστάζειν» αὐτὰ οἱ μαθηταί, ἐν Ἰουδαίους γεγεννημένοι καὶ ἀνατεθραμμένοι τότε.

⁸⁴³ Apoc. 1.19 (p. 634 Nestle-Aland): γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες καὶ ἃ εἰσὶν καὶ ἃ μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 105 Buchanan): Scribe *ergo* quae uidisti, et quae sunt, et quae oportet fieri post haec.

⁸⁴⁴ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 168.

⁸⁴⁵ Eph. 1.10 (VT; Ambrosius Autpertus, Expos. in Apoc. IX 20.14 (CC CM 27A, l. 63-68): Hinc rursus dicit: Secundum bonum placitum Dei quod proposuit in eo, in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum instaurare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in ipso; in quo etiam sorte uocati sumus praedestinati secundum propositum eius, qui omnia operatur secundum consilium uoluntatis suae, ut simus in laudem gloriae ipsius. Ambrosiaster, Com. in Eph. 1.10 (CSEL 81.3, 74, l. 6-8): et dispensationem adimpletionis temporum restaurans omnia in Christo, quae in caelis sunt et quae in terra [in] ipso|.

⁸⁴⁶ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 17.1 (CC SL 1, 632, l. 15-23): Cui *ergo* competet secundum boni existimationem, quam proposuerit in sacramento uoluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum - ut ita dixerim, sicut uerbum illud in graeco sonat - recapitulare - id est ad initium redigere uel *ab initio* recensere - omnia in christum, quae in caelis et quae in terris, nisi cuius erunt omnia *ab initio*, etiam ipsum initium, a quo et tempora et temporum adimple<tionis dispensatio, ob quam omnia ad initium recensentur in christo?

Apocalypse. But given its root meaning of *rework, cultivate again*,⁸⁴⁷ it may lend support to this author's asserting allegorical exegesis as a form of *colonizing* of the text.⁸⁴⁸ Hippolytus suggests strongly that, not only is ἀνακεφαλαίωσασθαι to explain the Law again (= Δευτερονόμιον),⁸⁴⁹ but that it also in some sense causes Christ to be both *expressed* and *begotten* (προετυπώθη...καὶ ἐγεννήθη).⁸⁵⁰ Dulaey writes *recolens* is the especial work of the Spirit,⁸⁵¹ and with this this author would not disagree.

l. 15. **quae...praenuniata**. May also allude to the ταῦτα of Apoc. 1.19.⁸⁵²

l. 16. **in similitudinibus**. *Similitudo* is rare in its technical sense of *parable* or *prefiguration*.⁸⁵³ Tertullian never so uses it, while Cyprian barely twice uses it.⁸⁵⁴ Both prefer

⁸⁴⁷ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *recolo* 1. *to till or cultivate again, to work anew*. I. *to inhabit again, to revisit a place*. I. B. thence, more figuratively, *to think over, recall to mind, reflect upon, consider*, 1535.

⁸⁴⁸ Agriculture comprises Christian exegesis from the beginning, in a biblical vein *e.g.* the parables of the Wicked Vinedressers (Matth. 21.33-46; Marc. 12.1-12; Luc. 20.9-19); the Sower (Matth. 13.1-23; Marc. 4.3-9; Luc. 8.4-8)); the Fig Tree (Luc. 13.6-9); the Tares (Matth. 13.24-30). That of the Wicked Vinedressers, which ends in their execution, and the vineyard's being given to others *i.e.* (largely) gentile Christians, especially has a temporal as well as spiritual dispossessive aspect. For Origen, breaking up the stoney soil of the literal Law is necessary for successfully sowing it with true, allegorical seed: Origenes, Origenes, Hom. in Jer. 5.13.2 (SChr 232, l. 14-19). The metaphor follows upon Christ resurrected erupting from the stoney soil of the literal Law / Jerusalem: Origenes, Hom. in Jer. 5.13.1 (SChr 232, l. 6-13), in an inverse process: before those of the literal Law are supplanted from without, they are supplanted from within.

⁸⁴⁹ Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Mos. (frag.) 1 (PO 27, l. 1-7): Ἄνωθεν τὸν νόμον τῇ μετὰ τοὺς ἡρημένους ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ γενεᾷ ἐπεξηγούμενος. ἐκδιδάσκει τὸν Δευτερονόμιον· οὐχ ὡς ἕτερον νόμον διδοὺς παρὰ τὸν πάλαι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ὠρισμένον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἀνακεφαλαίουμενος, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας φοβηθῶσι τὸν θεόν.

⁸⁵⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Mos. (frag.) 2 (PO 27, l. 1-4): Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προετυπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη· διὰ δὲ Συμεὼν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπεγνώσθη· διὰ τοῦ Ζαβουλὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστεύθη—ὡς φησιν ὁ προφήτης· γῆ Ζαβουλὼν—, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμίν, τοῦ Παύλου, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρυχθεὶς ἐδοξάσθη.

⁸⁵¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 104.

⁸⁵² See above.

⁸⁵³ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 39.

⁸⁵⁴ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De bon. pat. 5 (CC SL 3A, l. 94-100): Sic perfectos dixit fieri dei filios, sic consummari ostendit et docuit caelesti natiuitate reparatos, si patientia dei patris maneat in nobis, si similitudo diuina quam peccato adam perdiderat manifestetur et luceat in actibus nostris. Quae gloria est similem deo fieri, qualis et quanta felicitas habere in uirtutibus quod diuinis laudibus possit aequari!; De bon. pat. 10 (CC SL 3A, l. 183-187): Et isaac ad hostiae dominicae similitudinem praefiguratus quando a patre immolandus offertur, patiens inuenitur, et iacob fugatus a fratre de terra sua patienter excedit et maiore patientia postmodum supplex

the Latin transliteration of τύπος, *typus*,⁸⁵⁵ in its specialised exegetical sense of *sign of things to come*, hence *sign (in the Old Testament) of the New*.⁸⁵⁶ Unlike his predecessors, Victorinus hardly uses the precise Latin translation, *imago*, not even in its technical sense, and never *figura*.⁸⁵⁷ *Similitudo* subsequently appears in Hilary as both *parable* and *prefiguration*.⁸⁵⁸ **praenuntiata erant**. Both Cyprian and Tertullian use *praenuntiare*.⁸⁵⁹ The

adhuc magis impium et persecutorem muneribus pacificis ad concordiam redigit. Fahey, Cyprian and the Bible, 618. Doignon, Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil, 287. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion (CSEL 3.3, cap.: 14, pag.: 117, linea: 12-13 inuenimus uero in conuersu huius mundi in similitudinem spiritalem figuraliter esse uineam habentem dominum et possessorem suum. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion 4 (CSEL 3.3, 108, l. 19-109): hic ergo numerus quadragesimus sextus passionem declarat, eo quod sexto millesimo anno hora sexta passus, resurgens a mortuis quadragesimo die in caelis ascendit: uel quia Salomon quadraginta sex annis templum Deo fabricauerit, in cuius templi similitudinem Iesus carnem suam esse dixit, dicens Pharisaeis: destringite fanum istum et ego in tribus diebus excitabo illum. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De sing. cler. 22 (CSEL 3.3, 199, l. 7-10): noluit itaque de mulieribus circumducendis habere fiduciam, qui non ignorabat quantum aliae uirtutes ab aliis uirtutibus different et aliam claritatem solis et lunae aliam, aliam uero stellarum, de charismatibus ecclesiasticis similitudinem comparans intimaerat. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. sex. tric. (CSEL 3.3, c. 65, l. 32-39): nam cum Tobias per angelum Sarram liberaret et patrem ab squalido contactu inluminaret <et cum cetum> ad similitudinem Christi piscis spiritualiter prosilientem reuinceret, cuius carnem ad uictum in Christi imagine sustulerunt, et fel ad inluminandum Tobias acciperet, haec lex ostensa, quae <cum> inluminat credentes, amaritudinem facit, sed dulcedine sanat. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion 1 (CSEL 3.3, 104, l. 15-105, l. 2): nobis enim per Iesum Christum spiritalis intellectus datus est ipso Iesu dicente: uobis quidem datum est intellegere sacramenta Dei, aliis autem in similitudinibus, inuenimus in euangelio cata Iohannem scriptum: lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est. Again, its use as *likeness* or *simile* does not always clearly differ from that of *type*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.3 (SChr 423, 48, l. 3-6): Sed propter ortum et occasum et rursus ortum, quod natus sit et passus et resurrexit, ab eodem dedit similitudinem scriptura faciem eius gloriae solis.

⁸⁵⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *typus*, 1922.

⁸⁵⁶ Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon, τύπος, D.1-5, 1419.

⁸⁵⁷ The closest would be his explanation of the creature like a bull as the theme of priestly sacrifice in Luke, though it scarcely qualifies: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 21-23): Lucas autem sic: Fuit sacerdos nomine Zacharias de uice Abia <et> mulier illi erat de filiabus Aaron; haec est imago uituli. But cf. Cyprian, alongside *typus* and *figura*: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 3.2 (CC SL 3B, 63, l. 31-39): Inuenimus enim et in Genesi circa sacramentum Noe hoc idem praecurrisse et figuram dominicae passionis illic exitisse quod uinum bibit, quod inebriatus est, quod in domo sua nudatus est, quod fuit recubans nudis et patentibus femoribus, quod nuditas illa patris a medio filio denotata est et foras nuntiata, a duobus uero maiore et minore contacta, et cetera quae necesse non est exsequi, cum satis sit hoc solum complecti quod Noe typum futurae ueritatis ostendens non aquam sed uinum biberit et sic imaginem dominicae passionis expresserit. Cyprian, of circumcision: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 4.3 (CC SL 3B, 64, l. 70-71): Quae imago cessauit superueniente postmodum ueritate et data nobis spiritali circumcisione; and Tertullian, also of circumcision, alongside *figura*: T Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 9.22 (CC SL 2, l. 150-160): Nam quia iesus christus secundum populum, quod sumus nos nationes in saeculi deserto commorantes antea, introducturus esset in terram repromissionis melle et lacte manantem, id est in uitae aeternae possessionem, qua nihil dulcius, id que non per moysen, id est legis disciplinam, sed per iesum, id est per nouae legis gratiam, prouenire habebat circumcisis nobis petrina acie, id est christi praecceptis - petra enim christus multis modis et figuris praedicatus est -, ideo is uir, qui in huius sacramenti imagines parabatur, etiam nominis dominici inauguratus est figura, ut iesus nominaretur. J. E. L. Van Der Geest, *Le Christ et l'Ancien Testament chez Tertullien*, Nime'gue, 1972, p. 153-194; Fahey, p. 615-617; Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 2.2, n. 39.

⁸⁵⁸ E.g. Hilarius Pictauensis, Com. in Matth. 21.8 (SChr 258, 132, l. 18): Igitur ex condicione arboris propria et competens Synagogae similitudo proposita est; Com. in Matth. 26.2 (SChr 258, 194, l. 1-3): Cognoscendi autem temporis signum in similitudine ficus arboris posuit; cuius cum ramus tener fuerit atque fronderit, tum prope esse aestas intelligitur. Hilarius Pictauensis, Com. in Matth. 7.5 (SChr 254, 184, l. 4-7): Sed ut similitudinem

futuri haec ipsa ueritas aemularetur, idcirco uerbi ratio subiecta est tantam fidem, quanta gentium est, in Israel non reperiendam et cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum ex ultimis gentibus quieturos; Tract. super Ps. 119.5 (CSEL 22, 546, l. 23-547, l. 1): quae omnia in similitudinem antea gesta in uno domino nostro expleta esse, et fides nostra et ipse dominus nobis in euangelio auctor est dicens: non ueni legem soluere, sed adimplere; Hilarius Pictauiensis, Tract. super Ps. 67.9 (CC SL 61, psalmus: 67, 266, l. 6-12): Nam et patres nostri sub nube fuerunt et in Moyse in mari baptizati sunt et in similitudinem caelestis panis manna e caelis decedente saturati sunt et Christo aquam petra praebente potati sunt; quae quidem in illis salutariter gesta symbola quoque nostrae in se salutis habuerunt, ut sequens prophetiae sermo declarat dicens: DEVS, DVM EGREDIERIS CORAM POPVLO TVO, DVM TRANSGREDIERIS IN DESERTO, TERRA MOTA EST. It can also mean something like *parable* without quite meaning *prefiguration*: Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 13.7 (SChr 254, 300, l. 2-6): Per similitudinem thesauri in agro spei nostrae opes intra se positas ostendit, quia Deus in homine sit repertus, in cuius pretium omnes saeculi uendendae sunt facultates, ut uestitu, cibo potu que indigentium aeternas caelestis thesauri diuitias comparemus. Likewise the distinction between *mere likeness* and *prefiguration* is not always clear: Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 16.3 (SChr 258, 50, l. 8-12): Quod autem abstinere se eo apostoli iubentur, non admisceri doctrinae Iudaeorum monentur, quia legis opera in effectum fidei et in praeformationem rerum consequentium constituta sint, ut in quorum tempora atque aetatem ueritas contigisset, nihil ultra in ueritatis similitudine spei positum arbitrarentur, ne doctrina Pharisaeorum Christum nesciens effectus ueritatis euangelicae corrumperet. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 92; 2, 2.2, n. 37, 38.

⁸⁵⁹ Re *pronuntiare, praenuntiare, praenuntiatio, cf.* Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. I (CC SL 1, 316, l. 27): Quodsi et creator omnia haec iam pridem recusauerat et apostolus ea iam recusanda pronuntiabat, ipsa sententia apostoli consentanea decretis creatoris probat non alium deum ab apostolo praedicatum quam cuius decreta cupiebat iam agnosci, falsos et apostolos et fratres notans in hac causa, qui euangelium christi creatoris transferrent a nouitate praenuntiata a creatore ad uetustatem recusatam a creatore. [Tertullianus, De anim. 46 \(CC SL 2, l. 73-82\)](#): Nam de oraculis etiam ceteris, apud quae nemo dormitat, qui aliud pronuntiabimus quam daemonicam esse rationem eorum spirituum qui iam tunc in ipsis hominibus habitauerint uel memorias eorum affectauerint ad omnem malitiae suae scenam, in ista aequae specie diuinitatem mentientes eadem que industria etiam per beneficia fallentes medicinarum et admonitionum, praenuntiationum, quo magis laedant iuuando, dum per ea quae iuuant ab inquisitione uerae diuinitatis abducunt ex insinuatione falsae?

Cf. Tertullianus, De praescr. haer. 4 (CC SL 1, l. 1-7): Quin potius memores simus tam dominicarum pronuntiationum quam apostolicarum litterarum, quae nobis et futuras haereses praenuntiauerunt et fugiendas praefinierunt et, sicut esse illas non expauescimus, ita et posse id propter quod effugiendae sunt non miremur? Dominus in euangelio praemonet et praenuntiat dicens: si mundus uos odit, scitote quoniam me primo odit. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De bon. pat. 22 (CC SL 3A, l. 447-449): Et esaias eadem praenuntiat dicens: ecce enim dominus sicut ignis ueniet, et sicut procella currus eius retribuere in ira uindictam. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 57.5.2 (CC SL 3C, l. 130-137): Nos quod fidei et caritati et sollicitudini congruebat, quae erant in conscientia nostra protulimus, diem certaminis adpropinquasse, hostem uiolentum cito *contra* nos exurgere, pugnam non talem qualis fuit sed grauiorem multo et acriorem uenire, hoc nobis diuinitus frequenter ostendi, de hoc nos prouidentia et misericordia domini saepius admoneri; de cuius ope et pietate qui in eum confidimus possumus esse securi, quia qui in pace militibus suis futuram praenuntiat pugnam dabit militantibus in congressione uictoriam; 63.5.2 (CC SL 3C, l. 80-83): Vinum mixtum declarat, id est calicem domini aqua et uino mixtum prophetica uoce praenuntiat, ut adpareat in passione dominica id esse gestum quod fuerat ante praedictum.

Et ultra *cf.* Tertullianus, De cul. fem. II 12 (CC SL 1, l. 23-24): quid speratur in me quod auersor? quid non meos mores meus habitus praenuntiat, ne spiritus per aures ab impudentia uulneretur?; De orat. 1 (CC SL 1, l. 17-20): Docuerat et iohannes discipulos suos adorare; sed omnia iohannis christo praestruebantur, donec ipso aucto - sicut idem iohannes praenuntiabat illum augeri oportere, se uero deminui - totum praeministri opus cum ipso spiritu transiret ad dominum; De praescr. haer. 29 (CC SL 1, l. 12-14): Ceterum satis ineptum ut prior doctrina haeresis habeatur, uel quoniam ipsa est quae futuras haereses cauendas praenuntiabat.; De praescr. haer. 36 (CC SL 1, l. 21-22): Haec est institutio, non dico iam quae futuras haereses praenuntiabat sed de *qua* haereses prodierunt.

Pseudo-Cyprian uses it once: Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. sex. tric. (CSEL 3.3, col. 63, l. 21): proficiat tibi spiritualiter praenuntiatio Salomonis dicentis: Felix uir, inquit, qui post aurum non abiit, qui potuit transgredi et non est transgressus et facere male et non fecit.

Victorinus uses *praenuntiatio* once: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (SChr 423, 78, l. 1-4): Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus, apertio est ueteris testamenti praedicatorum et praenuntiatio in nouissimo tempore futurorum; quae licet scriptura prophetica per singula sigilla dicat, omnibus tamen simul apertis sigillis ordinem suum habet praedicatio. Re *praenuntiatio*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, p. 66, l. 19 Haussleiter; re *praenuntiare*: p. 54, 12; 58, l. 4; 64, l. 12 Haussleiter; *inter alia*. All above used by Cyprian: v. Fahey, 619-620.

word occurs in the sense of *prefigure, prophesy* in Rufinus, Augustine *etc.*⁸⁶⁰ It rarely occurs in the Latin translation of Irenaeus.⁸⁶¹

l. 15-16. **per hanc scripturam** *i.e.* the text of *John's Revelation itself. coniungit omnes priores prophetas.* *Initium fini coniungere* is common Latin Irenaeus for “recapitulation”.⁸⁶²

Thus John's individual scripture is a recapitulation, or summing up, of all scripture before it.

Priores prophetas is equivalent to those of the Old Testament, but may include *prophetae* of the New too.

l. 16. **adaperit scripturas.** The scriptures are revealed subsequently to be primarily or essentially those of the Old Testament, equivalent to “apertum ostenditur, clausum”, above.

For Victorinus, revelation does not only, or even necessarily mainly, disclose eschatologica

Re *praenuntiatio* in Tertullian v. Braun, 432, n. 1; Cyprian, v. Fahey, 619-620. The word occurs in the sense of *prefigure, prophesy* in Rufinus, Augustine *etc.* It never occurs in the Latin of Irenaeus, but re Irenaeus Latin, v. the lexicon of Reynders.

⁸⁶⁰ Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 51 (RB 91, 24, l. 33-35): ipse dixit, ipse antequam spectaretur praedixit, et tanquam factum esset quod futurum erat prophetico eloquio praenuntiavit, dicens in psalmo: foderunt manus meas et pedes meos, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XII 11 (CC SL 48, l. 30-36): porro si haec epistula alexandri, quae maxime innotuit, multum abhorret in spatiis temporum a probabili fide rerum: quanto minus credendum est illis litteris, quas plenas fabulosis uelut antiquitatibus proferre uoluerint *contra* auctoritatem notissimorum diuinorum que librorum, quae totum orbem sibi crediturum esse praedixit, et cui totus orbis, sicut ab ea praedictum est, credidit; quae uera se narrasse praeterita ex his, quae futura praenuntiavit, cum tanta ueritate implentur, ostendit.

⁸⁶¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 36.5 (SChr 100, l. 195-204): Qui igitur nos per Apostolos undique vocavit Deus, hic per prophetas vocabat eos qui olim fuerunt, quemadmodum ex sermonibus Domini ostenditur; et non ab alio quidem prophetae, ab alio autem Apostoli, etiamsi variis gentibus praeconabant, sed ab uno et eodem alii quidem Dominum annuntiabant, alii autem Patrem euangelizabant, et alii quidem adventum praenuntiabant Filii Dei, alii uero praesentem eum iam his qui longe erant praeconabant. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 31.2 (SChr 153, l. 52-58): Quomodo *ergo* magister noster non statim evolans abiit sed sustinens definitum a Patre resurrectionis suae tempus, quod et per Jonam manifestatum est, post triduum resurgens assumptus est, sic et nos sustinere debemus definitum a Deo resurrectionis nostrae tempus praenuntiatum a prophetis, et sic resurgentes assumi quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 23.1 (SChr 100, l. 39-43): Semetipsum quoque ostendens praenuntiatum per prophetas, dicebat eis: Hodie adimpleta est Scriptura haec in auribus uestris.

⁸⁶² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 22.3 (SChr 211, l. 43-49): Propter hoc Lucas genealogiam quae est a generatione Domini nostri usque ad Adam LXXII generationes habere ostendit, finem coniungens initio et significans quoniam ipse est qui omnes gentes exinde ab Adam dispersas et uniuersas linguae et generationes hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulatus est; IV 34.4 (SChr 100, l. 105-114): Et propter hoc quod initium fini conjungebat, et utrorumque Dominus existens, in fine quidem aratrum ostendit, lignum copulatum ferro, et sic ejus expurgavit terram, quoniam firmum Verbum adunitum carni et habitu tali confixus emundavit siluestrem terram; initio autem falcem figurabat per Abel, significans iusti generis hominum collectionem: Vide enim, inquit, quomodo iustus perit, et nemo intuetur, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo excipit corde.

(it depends on one's definition), rather the true meaning of scripture, by Christ himself. It iterates the paradigmatic exegesis of *Christ by Christ*, for the disciples on the road to Emmaus, who, “beginning with Moses and all the prophets, interpreted the things about himself in all the prophets” (Luc. 24.27)⁸⁶³ and “tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intellegent scripturas” (Luc. 24.45).⁸⁶⁴ Irenaeus has “...ad introitum uitae et adapertionem Noui Testamenti”.⁸⁶⁵ From Alexandria derives the idea of Christ as key to scripture, in whom disparate prophecies unite.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶³ Luc. 24.45 (VL; Cod. e; p. 90 Belsheim): tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intellegent scripturas; (VL; Cod. a; p. 111 Belsheim): Tunc aperuit sensum illorum, ad intelligendum Scripturas; (VL; Cod. b; p. 118 Belsheim): Tunc aperuit illis sensum, ut intellegent ea, quae scripta sunt; (VL; Cod. e; p. 262 Scrivener): tunc adaperti sunt eorum sensus ut intellegant scripturas.

⁸⁶⁴ Luc. 24.27 (VL; Cod. e; p. 89 Belsheim): Et fuit incipiens a moysen et omnibus profetis et interpretans illis in omnibus scripturis de eo; (VL; Cod. a²; p. 110 Belsheim): Et erat inchoans a Moysen et omnibus Prophetis, interpretans eis in omnibus Scripturis de se; (VL; Cod. b; p. 117 Belsheim): Et erat incipiens a Moysen et omnibus prophetis interpretans illis in omnibus scripturis, quae de ipso erant; (VL; Cod. d; p. 260 Scrivener): et erat incipiens a mosen. et omnium propheetarum interpretari illis in scripturis de eo.

⁸⁶⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 24-30): Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium ad introitum uitae et adapertionem noui Testamenti; unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri. Cf. also Orig. *princ.* 2, 7, 4. Origenes, De princ. II 7.4 (GCS 22, 152, l. 5-9): De spiritu vero sancto 'paracletus' 'consolator' debet intellegi, pro eo quod consolationem praestat animabus, quibus aperit et revelat sensum scientiae spiritalis.

⁸⁶⁶ From the fact of Christ the Door (Io. 10.9), Clement deduces the existence of an hermeneutical "key" from : Clemens Alexandrinus, Protr. 1.10.1 (SChr 2, l. 2-3): λογικαὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ λόγου πύλαι, πίστεως ἀνοιγνύμεναι κλειδί. Adducing the concept of a key, Origen interprets the loosing and tying of each of Jesus' shoes (Io. 1.27) as that of the enigma of the Word's incarnation (and, presumably, its "dissolution" in death, only to be assembled anew in resurrection and ascension), on the one hand, its descent into the prison of Hades (presumably to rescue men's spirits, and ascend again), on the other: Origenes, Com. in Io. VI (173-174; p. 217-218 Heine (trans.)). Essential to such a key is the unity of the code of scripture (Origenes, Com. in Io. V (5; p. 163 Heine (trans.))): following on from his concept of the gospel of John as the *firstfruits* of all four gospels (Origenes, Com. in Io. I (21; p. 36-37 Heine (trans.))), even as the Gospel if the firstfruits of all scripture (Origenes, Com. in Io. I (15; p. 35; 20 p. 36 Heine (trans.))), Origen posits John's Apocalypse as especially the encapsulation of all scripture, first of all specifying the books of the Old Testament (Origenes, Com. in Io. V (6; p. 163-164 Heine (trans.))), then including the gospels and apostles (Origenes, Com. in Io. V (6; p. 164 Heine (trans.))). Influence on Victorinus is suggested by his linking (what would come to be called) the Harrowing of Hell with an hermeneutical principle too: the spiritual interpretation (the sealing and unsealing) of the Old Testament / Scroll sealed seven times (Apoc. 5.-9; Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.9 (SChr 423, 74, l. 1-16): Esse autem in manu sedentis super tribunal librum scriptum deintus, signatus sigillis septem: uetus testamentum significatur, quod est datum in manu Domini nostri qui accepit a Patre iudicium. Praeco, inquit, praeconauit, an aliquis dignus esset aperire librum et soluere sigilla eius, et nemo inuentus est dignus neque in caelo neque in terra neque infra terram. Aperire autem testamentum pati et pro hominibus mortem deuincere est. Hoc dignus facere nemo est inuentus neque in angelis in caelo neque in hominibus in terra neque inter animas sanctorum in requie, nisi solus Christus filius Dei, quem dicit uidisse agnum tamquam occisum, habentem cornua numero septem. In illum erat praedicatum quicquid per uarias oblationes et sacrificia lex in illo meditata fuerat, ipsum implere oportebat. Et quia ipse erat testator et mortem deuicerat, ipsum erat iustum constitui heredem <a> Deo, ut possideret et substantiam morientis, id est membra humana.). But, like Origen, Victorinus assigns an ambiguous relationship to the apostles: on the one hand they comprise twelve of the twenty four books of the Old Testament / Fathers (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 65, l. 7-10): Sedentes XXIII seniores habentes tribunalia XXIII: libri <sunt> prophetarum et legis referentes

l. 16-19. **Et quia postquam inuitauit in caelum omnes credentes in nomine suo Dominus noster, statim Spiritum effudit, qui laturus est hominem ad caelum, ait : Statim factus sum in spiritu.** Victorinus associates Christ's reaching the Father with his pouring the Spirit on believers specifically (Act. 2.33); who then are either borne to heaven after the final judgment or more mystically, in a way he goes on to describe. The Poetovian then conflates this complex with John's being "made in the spirit" (Apoc. 1.10;⁸⁶⁷ cf. Iob 33.1)⁸⁶⁸ *i.e.* the reception of his *Revelation*, implying the intellectual inspiration elucidated below.

l. 16-17. **inuitauit in caelum.** Clarifies "ascende huc" in the light of Irenaeus ("qui inuitati erant ad nuptias")⁸⁶⁹ and Tertullian ("nos enim primo ad caelestia inuitamur cum a saeculo auellimur"),⁸⁷⁰ an invitation's implying a *decision* to believe, freely made or declined.⁸⁷¹

testimonia iudicii.Sunt autem uiginti quattuor patres duodecim apostoli et duodecim patriarchae); on the other, the gospels constitute four discrete entities (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66. l. 10-68, l. 6): Animalia igitur quod differenti uultu sunt, hanc habent rationem.4. Simile leoni animal euangelium cata Iohannem, quod, cum omnes euangelistae hominem factum Christum praedicaerunt, ille autem illum antequam descenderet et carnem sumeret deum praedicauit dicendo: Deus erat uerbum et quoniam tamquam leo fremens exclamauit, leonis uultum sustinet praedicatio eius.). Mondesert, Clément d'Alexandrie, 104-105; 102-103; De Lubac, Histoire et Esprit chez Origène, 169.

⁸⁶⁷ Apoc. 1.10 (p. 633 Nestle-Aland): ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσα ὀπίσω μου φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγξ; (VL; Cod. g; p. 64 Belsheim): Ego Iohannes fui in spiritu in dominica die, et audiui post me uocem magnam tamquam tubae.

⁸⁶⁸ Elihu describes the process of prophesying: Iob 33.4 (p. 325 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ ποιήσάν με πνοὴ δὲ παντοκράτορος ἡ διδάσκουσά με; (VL; p. 892 Sabatier 2; Hieronymus, Interpr. Iob; p. 225 de Largarde): spiritus diuinus qui fecit me, et inspiratio omnipotentis quae docet me.

⁸⁶⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.5 (SChr 211, l. 119-131): Quamuis enim possit Dominus ex nullo subiacente eorum quae sunt conditionis praebere epulantibus uinum et esca complere esurientes, hoc quidem non fecit; accipiens autem eos qui a terra essent panes et gratias agens et iterum aquam faciens uinum, saturauit eos qui recumbebant et potauit eos qui inuitati erant ad nuptias, ostendens quoniam Deus qui fecit terram et iussit eam fructus ferre et constituit aquas et edidit fontes, hic et benedictionem escae et gratiam potus in nouissimis temporibus per Filium suum donat humano generi, incomprehensibilis per comprehensibilem et inuisibilis per uisibilem, cum extra eum non sit, sed in sinu Patris existat.

⁸⁷⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 420, l. 26-28): Nos enim primo ad caelestia inuitamur, cum a saeculo auellimur, et ita postea inuenimur etiam terrena consecuturi.

⁸⁷¹ Iren. haer. 4, 39, 1: 'Since God, therefore gave [to man] such mental power (*magnanimitatem*; Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *magnanimitas*, I. *greatness of soul*,) man knew both the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience, that the eye of the mind, receiving experience of both, may with judgment make choice of the better things' *etc.* Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.1 (SChr 100, l. 5-14): Magnanimitatem igitur praestante Deo, cognouit homo et bonum obaudientiae et malum inobaudientiae, uti oculus mentis utrorumque accipiens experimentum electionem meliorum cum iudicio faciat, et nunquam segnis neque negligens praecepti fiat Dei; et id quod aufert ab eo vitam, hoc est non obaudire Deo, experimento discens quoniam malum est,

Tertullian, alone of the preceding Latins, uses *inuitatio*, as well as sundry forms of *inuitare*, of the invitation of the Bridegroom to his Wedding Banquet.⁸⁷² See note on “Ascende huc” (*In Apoc.* 4.1, 1.2), above. **credentes in nomine suo:** cf. *Io.* 1.12; 2.23 etc.⁸⁷³

1. 18. **Statim.** Translates εὐθέως of *Apoc.* 4.2⁸⁷⁴ i.e. *as soon as* Christ ascended to the Father, he received the Spirit. **Spiritum effudit.** Cf. *Act.* 2.33 and *Tit.* 3.6: ἐξέχεεν (a reprise of the LXX *Ioel* 3.1: ἐκχεῶ);⁸⁷⁵ also *Barnabas*;⁸⁷⁶ and *Irenaeus*.⁸⁷⁷ This last seems to deem the professed spiritual charismata of the Montanists tantamount to *rejecting* the Holy Spirit and

neque temptet quidem illud unquam, quod autem conservatorium vitae ejus est, obaudire Deo, sciens quoniam bonum est, cum omni intentione diligenter custodiat.; Tert. *marc.* 3, 24, 8.

⁸⁷² Tert. *Marc.* 4, 31 passim: Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* IV 31.1-6 (CC SL 1, 526, l. 18-528, l. 21): the Latin translation of Irenaeus similarly uses *inuitare* of for the Banquet of the Lamb: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.5 (SChr 211, l. 119-131).

⁸⁷³ *Io.* 1.12 (p. 247 Nestle-Aland): ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; 2.23 (p. 252 Nestle-Aland): Ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, θεωροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει.

⁸⁷⁴ *Apoc.* 4.3 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland): εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ioel* 3.1 (p. 522 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται.

⁸⁷⁶ *Barn.* 1.3a (SChr 172, l. 1-4): Διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον συγχαίρω ἑμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς βλέπων ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς.

⁸⁷⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.9 (SChr 211, l. 245-251): Alii uero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur quod in nouissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt <ejus> quod est secundum Iohannem Euangelium, in qua Paraclitum se missurum Dominus promisit, sed simul et Euangelium et propheticum repellunt Spiritum.

its Paraclete, as well as constituting false prophecy;⁸⁷⁸ as does Victorinus,⁸⁷⁹ who thinks its prophetic action *qua Comforter* chiefly exegetical.⁸⁸⁰

l. 18-19. **qui laturus est hominem ad caelum.** For Irenaeus, the Spirit causes one to ascend to heaven,⁸⁸¹ likely by the ladder⁸⁸² of Jacob, to whose angels ascending and descending Jesus alludes (Io. 1.51; Gen. 28.12), as does the bishop of Lyons; except he tends to stress Christ's *descent to hell*, prior to his ascent to heaven⁸⁸³ (after Paul's citing Deut. 30.12: Rom.

⁸⁷⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.9 (SChr 211, l. 251-260): Infelices uere qui pseudopphetas quidem esse uolunt, propheticam uero gratiam repellunt ab Ecclesia, similia patientes his qui propter eos <qui> in hypocrisi ueniunt etiam a fratrum communicatione se abstinent. Datur autem intellegi, quod huiusmodi neque apostolum Paulum recipiant. In ea enim epistula quae est ad Corinthios de prophetis charismatibus diligenter locutus est et scit uiros et mulieres in Ecclesia prophetantes. Per haec igitur omnia peccantes | in Spiritum Dei in irremissibile incidunt peccatum.

⁸⁷⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.4 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2-9): Sed et ibi quoque esse faciles homines ad illicitas paces dandas et nouas prophetias adtendendas ostendit et arguit et praemonet ceteros, quibus non placet hoc fieri, qui cognoscunt nequitias aduersarii, quibus malis et dolis quaerit inducere in capita fidelium pericula, et ideo ait: Non mitto super uos aliud pondus <id est non dedi uobis legis obseruationes et onera, quod est aliud pondus>, ut quod habetis teneatis, donec uenio. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, cap.: 8, par.: 2, linea: 8-10, pag.: 88) Nec requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus requirendus; est enim et pseudopphetia.

⁸⁸⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 10-12): Post illos iam fide confirmatis ecclesiis datum solatium prophetarum scripturarum interpretandarum; quos interpretes prophetas dixit.

⁸⁸¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 19.1 (SChr 211, 372, l. 13-18): Ad eos indubitate dicit qui non percipiunt munus adoptionis, sed contemnunt incarnationem purae generationis Verbi Dei, fraudantes hominem ab ea ascensione quae est ad Deum et ingrati existentes Verbo Dei qui incarnatus est propter ipsos; et cf. Adu. haer. III 24.1 (SChr 211, l. 17-22): Hoc enim Ecclesiae creditum est Dei munus, quemadmodum aspiratio plasmationi, ad hoc ut omnia membra percipientia uiuificentur; et in eo deposita est communicatio Christi, id est Spiritus sanctus, arrha incorruptelae et confirmatio fidei nostrae et scala ascensionis ad Deum;

Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. apost. praed. 45 (Armenian; p. 73 Weber (trans.)): Etiam Iacob proficiscendo in Mesopotamiam in somnio uidet eum, quomodo progressus [summa] stabat in scala, hoc est in ligno, quae constituta erat a terra usque ad caelum; nam per eam [sc. scalam ligni, quod est crucis] proficiscuntur credentes ei in caelum. Nam passionis eius in altum elevatio nostra sunt.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. sex. tric. (PLS 1, col. 63, l. 12-16 : ipse est enim gradus ascensionis in caelum, ipse est [enim] porta, ipse introitus uitae, a quo in redemptione tua a mundi contagione tribus testimoniis spiritaliter sis <re>ligatus.

⁸⁸² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 24.1 (SChr 211, l. 17-29): Hoc enim Ecclesiae creditum est Dei munus, quemadmodum aspiratio plasmationi, ad hoc ut omnia membra percipientia uiuificentur; et in eo deposita est communicatio Christi, id est Spiritus sanctus, arrha incorruptelae et confirmatio fidei nostrae et *scala ascensionis* ad Deum.

⁸⁸³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 6.2 (SChr 211, l. 44-45): Ipse est enim qui descendit et ascendit propter salutem hominum.

10.6;⁸⁸⁴ also linking Christ's *a priori* descent with the incarnating of the virginal conception),⁸⁸⁵ rather than the latter's entailing the descent of the Spirit.⁸⁸⁶ Likely so for Pseudo-Cyprian too.⁸⁸⁷ While clearly *implying* Christ's going down to hell by his vanquishing death,⁸⁸⁸ the Poetovian only *specifies* so for the Incarnation ("antequam descenderet et carnem sumeret"),⁸⁸⁹ or the Paraclete: he seems to have chiefly assimilated the concept that, as Christ goes up, so the Spirit must come down.⁸⁹⁰ This conversely constitutes the wings

⁸⁸⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 18.2 (SChr 211, l. 22-28 [*]Cui credere nos indubitate adhortans iterum dicit: Ne dixeris in corde tuo: Quis ascendit in caelum? hoc est Christum deducere, aut: Quis descendit in abyssum? hoc est Christum a | mortuis eliberare; deinde infert: Quoniam si confitearis in ore tuo Dominum Iesum et credideris in corde tuo quoniam Deus illum excitauit a mortuis, saluus eris.

Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 18.3 (SChr 211, l. 52-73): Et ubique in passione Domini nostri et humanitate et mortificatione eius, Christi usus est nomine, quemadmodum in illo: Noli esca tua illum perdere pro quo Christus mortuus est; et iterum: Nunc autem in Christo uos qui aliquando fuistis longe, facti estis proximi in sanguine Christi; et iterum: Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum, quoniam scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno; et iterum: Et periet infirmus in tua scientia, frater propter quem Christus mortuus est, significans quoniam non Christus impassibilis descendit in Iesum, sed ipse Iesus, Christus cum esset, passus est pro nobis, qui decubuit et resurrexit, qui descendit et ascendit, Filius Dei Filius hominis factus, quemadmodum et ipsum nomen significat: in Christi enim nomine subauditur qui unxit et ipse qui unctus est et ipsa unctio in *qua* unctus est; et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est uero Filius, in Spiritu qui est unctio; quemadmodum per Esaiam ait Sermo: Spiritus Dei super me, propter quod unxit me, significans et ungentem Patrem et unctum Filium et unctionem qui est Spiritus.

⁸⁸⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 19.3 (SChr 211, l. 63-79): Propter hoc et ipse Dominus dedit | nobis signum in profundum, in altitudinem susum, quod non postulauit homo, quia nec sperauit Virginem praegnantem fieri posse quae erat uirgo et parere filium, et hunc partum Deum esse nobis cum, et descendere in ea quae sunt deorsum terrae, quaerentem ouem quae perierat, quod quidem erat proprium ipsius plasma, et ascendere in altitudinem, offerentem et commendantem Patri eum hominem qui fuerat inuentus, primitias resurrectionis hominis in semetipso faciens, ut quemadmodum caput resurrexit a mortuis, sic et reliquum corpus omnis hominis qui inuenitur in uita, impleto tempore condemnationis eius quae erat propter inobaudientiam, resurgat, per compagine et coniunctiones coalescens et confirmatum augmento Dei, unoquoque membrorum habente propriam et aptam in corpore positionem.

⁸⁸⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 24-32): Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium ad introitum uitae et adapertionem noui Testamenti; unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri. Irenaeus Vnde et Dominus pollicitus est mittere se Paraclitum, qui nos aptaret Deo.

⁸⁸⁷ Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. sex. tric. (PLS 1, col. 63, l.12-16): *ipse est enim gradus ascensionis in caelum*, ipse est [enim] porta, ipse introitus uitae, a quo in redemptione tua a mundi contagione tribus testimoniis spiritaliter sis <re>ligatus.

⁸⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 29-35): Et cum praedicatus esset tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis, propter salutem hominum homo factus est ad mortem deuincendam et uniuersos liberandos; quod se ipsum obtulerit hostiam Deo Patri pro nobis, uitulul dictus est; et quod morte deuicta ascenderit in caelis extendens alas suas et protegens plebem suam, aquila uolans nominatus est.

⁸⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1-6): Simile leoni animal euangelium cata Iohannem, quod, cum omnes euangelistae hominem factum Christum praedicaerunt, ille autem illum antequam descenderet et carnem sumeret deum praedicauit dicendo: Deus erat uerbum et quoniam tamquam leo fremens exclamauit, leonis uultum sustinet praedicatio eius.

⁸⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8-14): Mensura autem fidei est mandatum Domini nostri, Patrem confiteri omnipotentem, ut didicimus, et huius Filium Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem genitum, factum hominem et morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a Patre receptum <effudisse Spiritum> Sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis.

whereby Christ both protects and airlifts believers,⁸⁹¹ eschatologically and intellectually. Psalm 138 strongly suggests the possibility of the soul's winged ascent within God's spirit (or its descent: Ps. 138.3; 7-9); as does apocryphal tradition.⁸⁹² For Tatian, in Platonistic fashion, the soul strives to regain its former spiritually winged ascendancy, lost through sin⁸⁹³ (though, paradoxically, it originates from below, as for Origen), by union (again) with the Holy Spirit.⁸⁹⁴ With this winged motif, Victorinus strongly associates the comprehension of Old Testament prophecies.⁸⁹⁵ In Philonic fashion, Theophilus of Antioch had associated the ungodly with reptiles and quadropeds, the converse with birds.⁸⁹⁶ Likewise Hippolytus,⁸⁹⁷ for whom Christ's Ascension is the type for all believers, eschatologically and tropologically,⁸⁹⁸ as for Victorinus. **ad caelum.** For Irenaeus and Tertullian, the opening of heaven is

⁸⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 29-35).

⁸⁹² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 168; 2, 3.2, n. 9.

⁸⁹³ Tatianus, Orat. ad Graec. 20.1 (l. 4-7 Goodspeed): πτέρωσις γὰρ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς πνεῦμα τὸ τέλειον, ὅπερ ἀπορρίψασα διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔπτηξεν ὡς περ νεοσσὸς καὶ χαμαιπετῆς ἐγένετο, μεταβάσα δὲ τῆς οὐρανοῦ συνουσίας τῶν ἐλαττόνων μετουσίαν ἐπεπόθησεν.

⁸⁹⁴ E.g. Tatianus, Orat. ad Graec. 15.1 (l. 1-3 Goodspeed): Καὶ χρὴ λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ὅπερ ἔχοντες ἀπολωλέκαμεν τοῦτο νῦν ἀναζητεῖν ζευγνύναι τε τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ τὴν κατὰ θεὸν συζυγίαν πραγματεύεσθαι; 13.2 (l. 1-7 Goodspeed): λόγος μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς, σκότος δὲ ἡ ἀνεπιστήμων ψυχῆ. διὰ τοῦτο μόνη μὲν διαιτωμένη πρὸς τὴν ὕλην νεύει κάτω συναποθνήσκουσα τῇ σαρκί, συζυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀβοήθητος, ἀνέρχεται δὲ πρὸς ἅπερ αὐτὴν ὀδηγεῖ χωρία τὸ πνεῦμα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄνω τὸ οἰκητήριον, τῆς δὲ κάτωθεν ἐστὶν ἡ γένεσις.

⁸⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 4-9): Alae testimonia ueteris testamenti sunt librorum ideoque uiginti quatuor sunt, tot numero quot et seniores super tribunalia. Sicut animal uolare non potest nisi pennas habeat, sic nec praedicatio noui testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat ueteris testamenti testimonia praenuntiata, per quae tollitur a terra et uolat; 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 17-19): Haeretici autem qui testimonio prophetico non utuntur, adsunt eis animalia, sed non uolant, quia sunt terrena.

⁸⁹⁶ Theophilus Antiochensis, Ad Auto. (l. 4-9 Grant): Ἄμα καὶ εἰς τύπον ἐγένοντο τὰ τε τετράποδα καὶ θηρία ἐνίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοούντων καὶ ἀσεβούντων καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονούντων καὶ μὴ μετανοούντων. οἱ γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες ὡς περ πετεινὰ ἀνίπτανται τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰ ἄνω φρονούντες καὶ εὐαρεστοῦντες τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁸⁹⁷ Hippolytus Romanus, Frag. in Ps. 17 (p. 180-181, l. 6-13 Nautin): Καὶ ἤδη ἀνιπτάμενος εἰς οὐρανοῦς κρύπτει ἐκεῖ, οὐκ ἀνατρεπόμενος δι' ἠδονῆς εἰς γῆν, ἀλλ' ὑψούμενος δι' ἀγαπῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. Δεῖ γὰρ ἀναπτερωσαίτην ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἵνα ἀναπτῆται ἅμα σώματι δυνηθῆ. ἐὰν δὲ πάντα εἰς τὰ κάτω φέρηται, εὐθέως ἀπόλλυται. Ἐνεδρεύει γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς λεληθότως πτέρναν δακεῖν ὁ δυνάμενος, πάρεστι δὲ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἐκ τῶν κατωτάτων ἀνεγείρειν σπουδάζων τὸν ἀνθρώπον, περὶ οὗ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει.

⁸⁹⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Frag. in Ps. 17 (p. 180-181, l. 13-19 Nautin): «Ἄνθρωπος, ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ». Οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτων εἰς τὰ ἄνω ἀνέτειλεν, ἵνα οἱ πάντες σπεύδοντες ἐκεῖ, λόγῳ ἀληθείας προσέχοντες, εἰς ὕψος ἀνέλθωμεν, ὅπου Χριστὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς. Ἄρα οὖν παρακολουθήσωμεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τὴν πιθανότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραιτούμενοι, λάβωμεν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου.

inextricably bound to the gift of the Spirit:⁸⁹⁹ to believe is to receive, and, paradoxically, to ascend with what descends, mortality's meeting immortality.

l. 19. **factus sum.** Victorinus' translation of ἐγενόμην. **in spiritu.** Cf. Apoc. 4.2.⁹⁰⁰

l. 20. **aperiatur per Spiritum Sanctum mens fidelium.** Cf. Luc. 24.45: “tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intellegerent scripturas”.⁹⁰¹ **mens fidelium.** It is *fides* that brings *reuelatio*. Thus the opening of the inner, New Testamental meaning of the Old Testament scriptures is also an opening of the mind, hitherto closed to it, by act of faith. Cf. Iob 33.4,⁹⁰² where God's spirit re-makes Elihu, that he prophesies. For the Poetovian, the Spirit is an endlessly transmutable medium, even as it abides unchanged.

⁸⁹⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 24-30 [*] Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium *ad introitum uitae et adapertionem noui Testamenti*; unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri.

; Tert. *praescr.* 13, 5: ‘misisse uicarium uim Spiritus Sancti qui credentes agat’. Tertullianus, De praescr. haer. 13 (CC SL 1, l. 9-16): Exinde praedicasse nouam legem et nouam promissionem regni caelorum, uirtutes fecisse, cruci fixum, tertia die resurrexisse, in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram patris, *misisse uicariam uim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat*, uenturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in uitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos iudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 168; 2, 3.2, n. 8-10.

⁹⁰⁰ Apoc. 4.3 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland): εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἶδὸν θρόνον ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος; (VL; Breviar. Goth.; PG 86, 953B): fui in Spiritu et uidi: et ecce sedes Dei posita erat in coelo, et supra sedem sedens.

⁹⁰¹ Luc. 24.45 (VL; Cod. e; p. 90 Belsheim): tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intellegerent scripturas; (VL; Cod. a; p. 111 Belsheim): Tunc aperuit sensum illorum, ad intelligendum Scripturas; (VL; Cod. b; p. 118 Belsheim): Tunc aperuit illis sensum, ut intellegerent ea, quae scripta sunt; (VL; Cod. e; p. 262 Scrivener): tunc adaperti sunt eorum sensus ut intellegant scripturas.

⁹⁰² Iob 33.4 (p. 325 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): πνεῦμα θεῖον τὸ ποιήσάν με πνοή δὲ παντοκράτορος ἡ διδάσκουσά με; (VL; p. 892 Sabatier 2; Hieronymus, Interpr. Iob; p. 225 de Largarde): spiritus diuinus qui fecit me, et inspiratio omnipotentis quae docet me.

l. 21. **illud illis manifestatur quod prioribus est praedicatum.** *Manifestare* is an alternative to *ostendere*. **prioribus** *i.e.* to ancient Israel. **praedicatum.**⁹⁰³ Here “preached”, rather than “prophesied”. Christians (≡ “illis”) *understand* what was preached to Israel (≡ “prioribus”), who did not.

4.2.

l. 1. **significanter.** *Cf.* Irenaeus: “per Helisaeum prophetam significanter ostensum est”:⁹⁰⁴ the term means *the object or event as a sign of more than itself*. **solium positum.** Translates θρόνος ἔκειτο. The oldest alternate Old Latin has “sedes Dei posita”.⁹⁰⁵

l. 1-2. **solium...sedes iudicii et regis.** Possibly the throne of a king, patron or jurisconsult,⁹⁰⁶ even the Father and Son in their roles as judge and king-Messiah. On the *Tribunalis Christi*, *cf.* Rom. 14.10,⁹⁰⁷ 2 Cor. 5.10.⁹⁰⁸ Jerome writes “the Ancient of Days is that one who in John

⁹⁰³ *Praedicare:* Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, 28, l. 14; 66, l. 19; 90, l. 8. *Cf.* Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 430-434. *Praedicare:* Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, 54, l. 19. *Cf.* Fahey, *Cyprian and the Bible*, 620. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 2.2, n. 35.

⁹⁰⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 75-77).

⁹⁰⁵ Apoc. 4.3 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland): εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος; (VL; Breviar. Goth.; PG 86, 953B): fui in Spiritu et uidi: et ecce sedes Dei posita erat in coelo, et supra sedem sedens.

⁹⁰⁶ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *solium*, I.A. *a seat, chair of state, throne* (*cf.* *thronus, tribunalis*), 1720. *DAGR*, s. v. *solium*, c. 1391.

⁹⁰⁷ Rom. 14.10 (p. Nestle-Aland): σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ; (VL; Cod. r; p. 68 Ziegler): omnes enim adstabimus ante tribunal Christi; (VL; Cod. z; p. 21 Buchanan): Tu autem quid iudicas. fratrem tuum. Aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum. Omnis enim stabimus ante tribunal di.; (VL; Cod. d; p. 76 Tischendorf): tu autem qui iudicas fratrem tuum in non manducando aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum omnes enim adstabimus ante tribunal di; (VL; Cod. e; p. 14 Belsheim): Tu autem qui iudicas fratres tuum in non manducando? aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim adstabimus ante tribunal dei.

⁹⁰⁸ 2 Cor. 10.5 (p. 479 Nestle-Aland): τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον; (VL; Cod. 64; p. 224, l. 18 Morin): (o)mne(s)e(nim) bis (manifestari oportet ante tribunal xpi ut (recipiat unusquis) secund(u)m (ea quae per) c(o)rpus ge(ssit) siue bonum si(ue) malum); (VL; Cod. 65 / z; p. 48 Buchanan): Omnis / Omnes enim nos manifestari oportet / oportet ante tribunal xpi. ut referat unusquisq;ppria

sits alone on the throne”, distinguishing him from the Lion of Judah / Root of David *i.e.* the One Like a Son of Man of Dan. 7.13,⁹⁰⁹ and that he possesses "eternal judgment (*aeternum iudicium*)".⁹¹⁰ Perhaps for Victorinus the two offices, judgment and kingship, represent the two Testaments, Old and New, both aspects of God the Word; or two persons: Father and Son. Jerome also writes that *thronus, throne* may mean *dominatio, dominion*.⁹¹¹

1. 2-3. **super quem solium uidisse se ait similitudine.** The grammar is extremely convoluted, and means something like “whom he says he saw above the throne to be the likeness *etc*”.

1. 3. **iaspis aquae.** Greek: ἰασπις. Victorinus refers to *green* jasper,⁹¹² whose watery colour evokes the Flood.

1. 3. **sardis ignis.** Sardine is the colour of fire, according to ancient usage, hence it evokes Judgement: Pliny considers sardine stone among the *ardentes gemmae*. It is cornelian, an orange-red. Epiphanius is even more explicit: ἔστι δὲ πυρωπὸν τῷ εἴδει. Victorinus likely consulted a common source.⁹¹³

corporis. p ut gessit siue bonum. siue malum; (VL; Cod. d / 75; p. 207 Tischendorf): nam omnes uos manifestari oportet ante tribuna xpi ut ferat unusquisque propria corporis secundum quod gessit siue bonum siue malum.

⁹⁰⁹ Hieronymus, Com. in Dan. II 7 (CC SL 75A, 845, l. 621-624): uetustus autem dierum ille est qui apud ioannem solus in throno sedet; filius quoque hominis, qui uenit ad uetustum dierum, ipse est qui apud ioannem: leo dicitur de tribu iuda, radix dauid, et cetera his similia. hos thronos esse reor de quibus et paulus apostolus loquitur: siue throni siue dominationes; et in euangelio legimus: uos autem sedebitis super duodecim thronos, iudicantes duodecim tribus israel.

⁹¹⁰ Hieronymus, Com. in Dan. II 7 (CC SL 75A, l. 628-630): sedens autem et uetustus dierum dicitur deus, ut aeterni iudicis habitus demonstratur.

⁹¹¹ Hieronymus, Com. in Dan. II CC SL 75A, l. 624-628): hos thronos esse reor de quibus et paulus apostolus loquitur: siue throni siue dominationes; et in euangelio legimus: uos autem sedebitis super duodecim thronos, iudicantes duodecim tribus israel. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *dominatio* I. *rule, dominion*, 609.

⁹¹² Plinius maior, Nat. hist. XXXVII 114 (p. 432, l. 3 Ian / Mayhoff 5): Viret et saepe tralucet iaspis, etiam victa multis antiquitatis gloriam retinens.

⁹¹³ DB. s. v. *pierres précieuses*, c. 424. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 168-169; 2, 3.2, n. 20.

l. 3-4. **haec duo testamenta posita...super tribunal Dei.** “Iudicia” stands in place of “testamenta” in other manuscript groups of the Victorinus tradition,⁹¹⁴ not only in Jerome,⁹¹⁵ but also in Caesarius of Arles,⁹¹⁶ Aspringius of Beja⁹¹⁷ and Isidore of Seville;⁹¹⁸ presumably because there was some discomfort at identifying the old and new covenants with, respectively, past and future judgments or, potentially, with Father and Son, as suggested above. Marcion had especially identified the God of the Old Testament with justice.⁹¹⁹ But Victorinus seems to have no less associated judgment with the New: perhaps Jerome and his successors wanted to stave off all potential Marcionite deductions. *Διαθήκη/testamentum* may mean something like *decree* or *law*,⁹²⁰ as well as will or legacy.⁹²¹ Certainly the Old Testament was inextricably linked with the Law, while the Fathers also often attributed to the New a new law.⁹²² Thus both might have the same *grauitas* as *iudicium*. Cf. Matth. 24.16-18,

⁹¹⁴ MS T: Haussleiter, Victorinus, 51, n. 6.

⁹¹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (R. H.; p. 47, l. 16 Haussleiter). Manuscript *I* indicates “duorum (iudiciorum) dei”: Haussleiter, Victorinus, 47, n. 18.

⁹¹⁶ Caesar. in Apoc. ed. Morin, p. 214, 21-215, 3. Caesarius Arelatensis, Expos. in Apoc. 2 (p. 214, l. 23-215, 3 Morin): Iaspis aquae colorem habet, et sardius ignis: in his duobus lapidibus duo iudicia intelleguntur; unum quod iam per aquam factum est in diluuiio, aliud quod erit per ignem in consummatione saeculi; Expos. in Apoc. 3 (p. 219, l. 15-17 Morin): Iaspis aquae colorem habet, et sardius ignis: per haec, sicut iam dictum est, duo iudicia vult intellegi: unum per aquam, quod iam factum est per diluuium; aliud quod futurum est per ignem.

⁹¹⁷ Apringius Pacensis, Tract. in Apoc. II 4.3 (CC SL 107, 61, l. 65-66): Haec duo iudicia posita esse usque ad consummationem orbis super tribunal dei exinde manifestantur.

⁹¹⁸ Isidorus Hispalensis, De nat. rerum 31.2 (l. 19-21 Fontaine): Alii ex duobus coloribus eius, id est aquoso et igneo, duo iudicia significari dixerunt: unum per quod dudum impii perierunt in diluuiio, alterum per quod postmodum peccatores cremandi sunt in inferno.

⁹¹⁹ Hill, From the Lost Teaching of Polycarp: Identifying Irenaeus' Apostolic Presbyter and the Author of Ad Diognetum, WUNT 186, 89.

⁹²⁰ Eccclus. 14.2; Act. 7.8. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 15. But I am not wholly convinced this is the case.

⁹²¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *testamentum*, I. *the publication of a last will or testament; a will, testament*, 1864.

⁹²² E.g. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 6 (CC SL 2, l. 13-31): Itaque necessitas nobis incumbit ut, quoniam praedicatam nouam legem a prophetis praediximus et eam non talem, qualis iam data esset patribus eorum eo tempore, quo eos de terra aegypti produxit, ostendere et probare debeamus tam illam legem ueterem cessasse quam legem nouam promissam nunc operari: et quidem primum quaerendum, an expectetur nouae legis lator et noui testamenti heres et nouorum sacrificiorum sacerdos et nouae circumcisionis purgator et aeterni sabbati cultor, qui legem ueterem compescat et nouum testamentum statuat et noua sacrificia offerat et ceremonias antiquas reprimat et circumcisionem ueterem cum suo sabbato compescat et nouum regnum, quod non corrumpatur, adnuntiet. Nam etiam hic nouae legis lator, sabbati spiritalis cultor, sacrificiorum aeternorum antistes, regni aeterni aeternus dominator quaerendum, an iam uenerit necne, ut, si iam uenit, seruiendum sit illi, si necdum uenit, sustinendus sit, dummodo manifestum sit aduentu eius comprimi legis ueteris praecepta et oriri debere nouae legis exordia.

where both fire and flood are implied.⁹²³ Thus the throne is *empty*, but for the two stones/Testaments *i.e. the Word, or invisible God*. In John, the Word is judge;⁹²⁴ as, perhaps, in Deuteronomy, where the corollary of obeying God's word is Israel's *possessing the land*:⁹²⁵ this may be why Victorinus here stresses *covenant*, where Jerome would rather see *judgment*.

Irenaeus, also stressed the freedom of choosing grace or judgement, and likely influenced Victorinus' enthroning the Word as judge.⁹²⁶ Indeed the bishop of Lyons seems to associate free will with the "law of liberty" of James 1.25.⁹²⁷ This echoes elsewhere Christ's "covenant of liberty", which abrogates the Mosaic law, while augmenting natural law,⁹²⁸ which Irenaeus equates with the law written on hearts and minds (Rom. 2.15; Heb. 10.16; Jer.

⁹²³ Matth. 24.16 and 18 (p. 68; 69 Nestle-Aland): fleeing to the mountains, from the field *i.e.* to escape fire; Matth. 24.17 (p. 69 Nestle-Aland): fleeing to the roof *i.e.* to escape flood.

⁹²⁴ Io. 12.48 (p. 293 Nestle-Aland): ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησα, ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

⁹²⁵ The corollary of obeying the word being Israel's entry into *the land*: Deut. 30.14-20 (p. 343 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἔστιν σου ἐγγὺς τὸ ῥήμα σφόδρα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου σήμερον τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐὰν εἰσακούσης τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ὡς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου πορεύεσθαι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ζήσεσθε καὶ πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε καὶ εὐλογήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ εἰς ἣν εἰσπορεύῃ ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν καὶ ἐὰν μεταστῇ ἡ καρδία σου καὶ μὴ εἰσακούσης καὶ πλανηθῆεις προσκυνήσης θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ λατρεύσης αὐτοῖς ἀναγγέλλω σοι σήμερον ὅτι ἀπωλεία ἀπολεῖσθε καὶ οὐ μὴ πολυήμεροι γένησθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς διαβαίνετε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν διαμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κατάραν ἔκλεξαι τὴν ζωὴν ἵνα ζῆς σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου εἰσακούειν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔχεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοῦτο ἡ ζωὴ σου καὶ ἡ μακρότης τῶν ἡμερῶν σου κατοικεῖν σε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς ὤμοσεν κύριος τοῖς πατράσιν σου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς.

⁹²⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 37.1 (SChr 100, l. 1)-IV 39.4 (SChr 100, l. 96).

⁹²⁷ *Lex libertatis*: Iac. 1.25 (p. 589-590 Nestle-Aland): ὁ δὲ παρακύψας εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ παραμείνας, οὐκ ἀκροατῆς ἐπιλησμονῆς γενόμενος ἀλλὰ ποιητῆς ἔργου, οὗτος μακάριος ἐν τῇ ποιήσει αὐτοῦ ἔσται. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 37.1 (SChr 100, l. 1-6): Illud autem quod ait: Quotiens volui colligere filios tuos et noluisti, veterem legem libertatis hominis manifestavit, quia liberum eum Deus fecit, *ab initio* habentem suam potestatem sicut et suam animam, ad utendum sententia Dei voluntarie, et non coactum ab eo.

⁹²⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.5 (SChr 100, l. 95-106): Servitutis autem praecepta separatim per Moysen praecepit populo, apta illorum eruditioni sive castigationi, quemadmodum ipse Moyses ait: Et mihi praecepit Dominus in tempore illo docere vobis justificationes et judicia. Haec *ergo* quae in servitutum et in signum data sunt illis circumscripsit novo libertatis testamento; quae autem naturalia et liberalia et communia omnium auxit et dilatavit, sine invidia largiter donans hominibus per adoptionem Patrem scire Deum et diligere eum ex toto corde et sine aversatione sequi ejus Verbum, non tantum abstinentes a malis operationibus, sed etiam a concupiscentiis earum.

31.33);⁹²⁹ as does often Origen.⁹³⁰ Rejecting the Mosaic law while choosing the natural Irenaeus associates with the Deuteronomistic principle of *choosing life*,⁹³¹ and the pre-Sinaitic *i.e.* superior covenant made with the patriarchs ⁹³² *i.e.* an *internalized* form of the Law, which became extinct in Israel's sinning in the wilderness,⁹³³ and rejecting the evil and choosing the good of Is. 7.16.⁹³⁴ He seems to assume that men *begin* in possession of (the knowledge of) good (and evil), which is also a *great intellectual capacity (magnanimitas)*.⁹³⁵

⁹²⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.3 (SChr 100, l. 50-56): Quoniam lex non est posita justis; justi autem patres, virtutem decalogi | conscriptam habentes in cordibus et animabus suis, diligentes scilicet Deum qui fecit eos et abstinentes erga proximum ab iniustitia: propter quod non fuit necesse admoneri eos correptoriis litteris, quoniam habebant in semetipsis iustitiam legis.

⁹³⁰ E.g. Origenes, Com. in Rom. III 8.2 (p. 128-129 Heine).

⁹³¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.4 (SChr 100, l. 87-91): Et propter hoc iterum Moyses ait eis: Elige uitam, ut vivas tu et semen tuum: diligere Dominum Deum tuum, exaudire vocem ejus et apprehendere eum, quoniam haec est vita tua et longitudo dierum tuorum.

⁹³² Deut. 5.2-3, albeit interpreted in a way some might call perverse. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.2 (SChr 100, l. 41)-16.3 (SChr 100, l.50): Sed et reliqua autem omnis multitudo eorum qui ante Abraham fuerunt justi et eorum patriarcharum qui ante Moysen fuerunt sine his quae praedicta sunt et sine lege Moysi justificabantur, quemadmodum et ipse Moyses in Deuteronomio ait ad populum: Dominus Deus tuus testamentum disposuit in Choreb; et non patribus vestris disposuit Dominus testamentum hoc, sed ad vos. 16, 3. Quare igitur patribus non disposuit testamentum?

⁹³³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 16.3 (SChr 100, l. 56-73): Cum autem haec iustitia et dilectio quae erat erga Deum cessisset in oblivionem et extincta esset in Aegypto, necessario Deus propter multam suam erga homines benivolentiam semetipsum ostendebat per vocem; et eduxit de Aegypto populum in virtute, uti rursus fieret homo discipulus et sectator Dei; et affligebat indictioaudientes, ut non contemneret eum qui se fecit; et manna cibavit eum, uti rationalem acciperet escam, quemadmodum et Moyses in Deuteronomio ait: Et cibavit te manna, quod non sciebant patres tui, uti cognoscas quoniam non in pane solo vivet homo, sed in omni verbo Dei quod procedit de ore ejus vivet homo; et erga Deum dilectionem praecipiebat et eam quae ad proximum est iustitiam insinuabat, ut neque iniustus neque indignus sit Deo, praestruens hominem per decalogum in suam amicitiam et eam quae circa proximum est concordiam: quae quidem ipsi proderant homini, nihil tamen indigente Deo ab homine.

⁹³⁴ Is. 7.16 (p. 575 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): διότι πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἀπειθεῖ πονηρία τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καταλειφθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἣν σὺ φοβῆ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν δύο βασιλέων.

⁹³⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.1 (SChr 100, l. 1-30): [Agnitionem autem accepit homo boni et mali]. Bonum est autem obaudire Deo et credere ei et custodire ejus praeceptum, et hoc est vita hominis, quemadmodum non obaudire Deo malum, et hoc est mors ejus. Magnanimitatem igitur praestante Deo, cognovit homo et bonum obaudientiae et malum inobaudientiae, uti oculus mentis utrorumque accipiens experimentum electionem meliorum cum judicio faciat, et nunquam segnis neque negligens praecepti fiat Dei; et id quod aufert ab eo vitam, hoc est non obaudire Deo, experimento discens quoniam malum est, neque temptet quidem illud unquam, quod autem conservatorium vitae ejus est, obaudire Deo, sciens quoniam bonum est, cum omni intentione diligenter custodiat. Propter hoc et duplices habuit sensus utrorumque agnitionem habentes, ut electionem meliorum cum disciplina faciat. Disciplinam autem boni quemadmodum habere potuisset, ignorans quod est contrarium? Firmior est enim et indubitata subiacentium apprehensio, quam ea quae est ex suspitione conjectura. Quemadmodum enim lingua per gustum accipit experimentum dulcis et amari et oculus per visionem discernit quod est nigrum ab albo et auris per auditum differentias sonorum scit, sic et mens, per utrorumque experimentum disciplinam boni accipiens, firmior ad conservationem ejus efficitur obaudiens Deo; inobaudientiam quidem primum respuens per paenitentiam quoniam amarum et malum est, deinde ex comprehensione discens quale sit quod contrarium est bono et dulcedini, ne temptet quidem unquam inobaudientiam gustare Dei.

But through their willfully *rejecting* it they are consequently found wanting at judgment.⁹³⁶ Indeed it is consciously rejecting this invitation to the Wedding Feast of the Lamb⁹³⁷ that brings culpability. For transgressing this this "law of liberty"⁹³⁸ Jesus judges Jerusalem, in the name of universal peace, and turning the other cheek⁹³⁹ (albeit extremely violently!), who is thus bereft of her (presumably Jewish) children (Luc. 13.34),⁹⁴⁰ while both it and "the kingdom of heaven is the portion of 'the violent [who] take it by force (Matth. 11.12)'"⁹⁴¹ (presumably the gentiles). Conversely, those who end in the abode of darkness flee there of their own free will,⁹⁴² and *defraud themselves* (cf. 1 Cor. 6.8)⁹⁴³ of good things (*se bonis fraudare*),⁹⁴⁴ as Victorinus precisely agrees.⁹⁴⁵

⁹³⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.1 (SChr 100, l. 30-31): Si autem utrorumque eorum cognitionem et duplices sensus cogitationis quis defugiat, latenter semetipsum occidit hominem.

⁹³⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.3 (SChr 100, l. 56-68): Si autem non credideris ei et fugeris manus ejus, erit causa imperfectionis in te qui non obaudisti, sed non in illo qui vocavit. Ille enim misit qui vocarent ad nuptias; qui autem non obaudierunt ei semetipsos privaverunt regia cena. Non igitur ars deficit Dei, potens est enim de lapidibus suscitare filios Abrahae, sed ille qui non consequitur eam sibimet suae imperfectionis est causa. Nec enim lumen deficit propter eos qui semetipsos excaecaverunt, sed illo perseverante quale et est excaecati per suam culpam in caligine constituuntur. Neque lumen cum magna necessitate subjiciet sibi quemquam, neque | Deus cogit eum qui nolit continere ejus artem.

⁹³⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.3 (SChr 100, l. 68): Qui igitur abstiterunt a paterno lumine et transgressi sunt legem libertatis per suam abstiterunt culpam, liberi arbitrii et suae potestatis facti.

⁹³⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 34.4 (SChr 100, l. 92-101): Si autem libertatis lex, hoc est verbum Dei ab Apostolis qui ab Hierusalem exierunt annuntiatum in universam terram, in tantum transmutationem fecit, uti gladios et lanceas bellatorias in aratra <quae> fabricaverit ipse et in falces quas donavit ad metendum frumentum, in organa pacifica, demutaverint, et jam nesciunt pugnare, sed percussi et alteram praebent maxillam, non de aliquo alio prophetae dixerunt haec, sed de eo qui fecit ea.

⁹⁴⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 36.8 (SChr 100, l. 308-313): Et sine parabola autem dicebat ad Hierusalem Dominus: Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae interficis prophetas et lapidas eos qui mittuntur ad te, quotiens volui colligere filios tuos, sicut gallina pullos sub ascillas, et noluisti. Ecce remittitur vobis domus vestra deserta; Adu. haer. IV 37.5 (SChr 100, l. 103-107): Secundum hanc igitur rationem, et suum proprium bonum ostendens Dominus et sui arbitrii ac suae potestatis hominem significans, dicebat ad Hierusalem: Quotiens volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina pullos suos sub ascillis, et noluisti. Quapropter relinquetur vobis domus uestra.

⁹⁴¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 37.7 (SChr 100, l. 135-137): Et propter hoc Dominus violentum dixit regnum caelorum, et qui vim faciunt, inquit, diripiunt illud, hoc est qui cum vi et agone vigilantes instanter diripiunt illud.

⁹⁴² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.4 (SChr 100, l. 78-96): Subjectio autem Dei requietio est aeterna, ut hi qui fugiunt lumen dignum fugae suae habeant locum, et qui fugiunt aeternam requiem congruentem fugae suae habeant habitationem. Cum enim apud Deum omnia sint bona, qui ex sua sententia fugiunt Deum semetipsos ab omnibus fraudant bonis; fraudati autem omnibus erga Deum bonis, consequenter in Dei justum iudicium incident. Qui enim fugiunt requiem juste in poena conversabuntur, et qui fugerunt lumen juste inhabitant tenebras. Quemadmodum autem in hoc temporali lumine, qui fugiunt illud ipsos se tenebris mancipant, ita ut ipsi sibi causa fiant quod destituuntur a lumine et inhabitant tenebras, et non lumen causa est eis ejusmodi conversationis, quemadmodum praediximus: sic aeternum Dei qui fugiunt lumen, quod continet in se omnia bona, ipsi sibi causa sunt ut aeternas inhabitent tenebras, destituti omnibus bonis, sibimetipsis causa hujusmodi habitationis facti.

2 Peter first *explicitly* associates the two judgements.⁹⁴⁶ Its holding the last judgment delayed for the Church's benefit,⁹⁴⁷ Justin follows likewise.⁹⁴⁸ He distinguishes the Christian eschatological conflagration from the Stoic by stressing the impossibility of virtue without free will, and thus judgment for failure, according, he says, with right philosophy.⁹⁴⁹ For Tertullian, the flood as medium for the ark prefigures the salvation of baptism, but also then the fiery judgment, if the Christian returns to sin.⁹⁵⁰ Conversion and baptism are equivalent to

⁹⁴³ 1 Cor. 6.8 (p. 449 Nestle-Aland): ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ἀδελφούς; (VL; Cod. 64; p. 80 Ziegler): sed uos iniquitatem facitis et fraudatis et hoc fratres; (VL; Cod. z / 65; p. 31 Buchanan): Sed vos iniuriam facites / facitis et fraudatis. et hoc fratribus; (VL; Cod. d / 75; p. 115 Tischendorf): sed uos fraudatis et iniuriam facitis et hoc fratribus; (VL; Cod. e / 76; p. 21 Belsheim): Sed uos fraudatis et iniuriam facitis et hoc fratribus; (VL; Cod. f / 78; p. 64 Scrivener): Sed uos in iuriam facitis et fraudatis et hoc fratribus.
⁹⁴⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 39.4 (SChr 100, l. 82-86): Cum enim apud Deum omnia sint bona, qui ex sua sententia fugiunt Deum semetipsos ab omnibus fraudant bonis; fraudati autem omnibus erga Deum bonis, consequenter in Dei justum iudicium incident.

⁹⁴⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.1 (SChr 423, 56, l. 7-9): Sed et tales uiros et talem classem tales que electionis homines oportet omnimodo admoneri ne debitis sibi bonis fraudentur.

⁹⁴⁶ 2 Pet. 3.6-8 (p. 613 Nestle-Aland): δι' ὧν ὁ τότε κόσμος ὑδατι κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπόλετο· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶν πυρὶ, τηρούμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη καὶ χίλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα μία.

⁹⁴⁷ Iustinus Martyrus, 2 Apol. 7.1 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed) Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιμένει ὁ θεὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ κατάκλυσιν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου μὴ ποιῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι ἄγγελοικαὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι μηκέτι ᾧσι, διὰ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὃ γινώσκει ἐν τῇ φύσει ὅτι αἰτιὸν ἐστίν.

⁹⁴⁸ Iustinus Martyrus, 2 Apol. 7.2 (l. 1-8 Goodspeed): ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἔτι ποιεῖν καὶ ἐνεργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων δυνατὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως κατελθὸν ἀνέδην πάντα διέκρινεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὁ κατακλυσμὸς μηδένα λιπὼν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν μόνον σὺν τοῖς ἰδίῳ παρ' ἡμῖν καλούμενον Νῶε, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ Δευκαλίωνα, ἐξ οὗ πάλιν οἱ τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν φαῦλοι, οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι.

⁹⁴⁹ Iustinus Martyrus, 2 Apol. 7.3 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-7.7 (l. 4 Goodspeed): οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φάμεν γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοί, κατὰ τὸν τῆς εἰς ἀλληλαπάντων μεταβολῆς λόγον, ὃ αἰσχιστον ἐφάνηρ' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' εἰμαρμένην πράττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ πάσχειν τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἕκαστον κατορθοῦν ἢ ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαν τοὺς σπουδαίους, οἷον Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους, διώκεσθαι καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς εἶναι, Σαρδανάπαλον δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ δοκεῖν εὐδαιμονεῖν. ὃ μὴ νοήσαντες οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην πάντα γίνεσθαι ἀπεφήναντο. ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτεξούσιον τό τε τῶν ἀγγέλων γένος καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, δικαίως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν πλημμελήσωσι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κομίσονται. γεννητοῦδὲ παντὸς ἤδε ἡ φύσις, κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἐπαινετὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, εἰ οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα τρέπεσθαι καὶ δύναμιν εἶχε. δεικνύουσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ πανταχοῦ κατὰ λόγον τὸν ὀρθὸν νομοθετήσαντες καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαγορεύειν τάδε μὲν πράττειν, τῶνδε δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι.

⁹⁵⁰ Tertullianus, De bapt. 8.5 (PLS 1, l. 17-32): Ideo que: estote, inquit, simplices ut columbae, ne hoc quidem sine argumento praecedentis figurae: quemadmodum enim post aquas diluuii quibus iniquitas antiqua purgata est, post baptismum ut ita dixerim mundi, pacem caelestis irae praeco columba terris adnuntiauit dimissa ex arca et cum olea reuersa - quod signum etiam ad nationes pacis praetenditur -, eadem dispositione spiritualis effectus terrae id est carni nostrae emergenti de lauacro post uetera delicta columba sancti spiritus aduolat pacem dei adferens emissa de caelis ubi ecclesia est arcae figura.

the military oath of loyalty, the *sacramentum*, which guarantees salvation *only if kept*.⁹⁵¹
usque consummationem orbis. “Consummatio⁹⁵² mundi/saeculi” is more usual, but *orbis*
can also mean “the universe”.⁹⁵³ This corresponds to the *consummation* of the seventh,
Millennial world week in the scheme of *De fabrica mundi*.⁹⁵⁴

l. 5. **quorum iudiciorum duorum.** Most manuscripts have the “duum” which Dulaey
corrects to “duorum”. On the two judgements, by water and by fire, see 2 Pet. 3.6-7 *etc* and
above.

l. 6. **cataclismo.** *Cataclismus* (a vernacular Latinizing of the transliteration *catalysmos*) is
often equivalent to *diluuium* in the Fathers,⁹⁵⁵ but could mean “the pouring of water upon a
diseased member” or “a shower bath”⁹⁵⁶ *i.e.* a *purging*.

⁹⁵¹ Tertullianus, De bapt. 8.2 (PLS 1, l. 6-12): sed est hoc quoque de ueteri sacramento quo nepotes suos ex ioseph, [et] ephrem et manassem, iacob [capitibus] inpositis et intermutatis manibus benedixit et quidem ita transuersim obliquatis in se ut christum deformantes iam tunc portenderent benedictionem in christo futuram. The sacramentum of baptism frees the nations as Israel from Egypt, drowning the devil and his army as Pharaoh's: De bapt. 9 (l. 1-9): Quot igitur patrocina naturae, quot priuilegia gratiae, quot sollempnia disciplinae, figurae praestructiones praedicationes religionem aquae ordinauerunt! primum quidem, cum populus de aegypto [libere] expeditus uim regis aegypti per aquam transgressus euadit, ipsum regem cum totis copiis aqua extinguit. Quae figura manifestior in baptismi sacramento? liberantur de saeculo nationes, per aquam scilicet, et diabolum dominatorem pristinum in aqua obpressum derelinquunt. Daniélou, Sacramentum futuri, 62-64. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 168-169; 2, 3.2, n. 15-17.

⁹⁵² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *consummatio* II. A *finishing, completing, accomplishing, consummation*, 443. TLL, s. v. *consummatio*, c. 597, 55 s.

⁹⁵³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *orbis* I. Lit. *Of the circle of the world, the world, the universe*, 1276. TLL, s. v. *orbis*, c. 914, 44.

⁹⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 6 (SChr 423, 142, l. 10-20): Et apud Matthaenum scriptum legimus Esaias quoque et ceteri collegae eius sabbatum resolverunt, ut uerum illud et iustum sabbatum septimo miliario annorum obseruaretur. Quamobrem septem diebus istis Dominus singula milia annorum adsignauit. Sic enim cautum est: In oculis tuis, Domine, mille anni ut dies una. *ergo* in oculis Dei singula milia annorum constituta sunt: septem enim habeo oculos Domini. Quapropter, ut memorauit, uerum illud sabbatum est septimum miliarium, in quo Christus cum electis suis regnaturus est.

⁹⁵⁵ TLL, s. v. *cataclismus*, c. 587, 36 s.; 58 s.

⁹⁵⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *cataclismus* I. In medicine, *a pouring of water upon a diseased member, a shower-bath, douche*, 301.

l. 7-8. **iris... circum solium ardentem colorem habet.** *Iris* is a common Latin Hellenism,⁹⁵⁷ which Jerome calls (and Ambrose intimates is) a vernacular term.⁹⁵⁸ Victorinus may be tempted to supply some degree of consciousness to the ἴρις, even as he supplies it to the stones that sit on the throne of God. Ezekiel compares the Lord's glory, round about, to a rainbow.⁹⁵⁹ "Ardentem colorem" is an awkward expression, which Jerome alters,⁹⁶⁰ unless Victorinus meant by *iris* the precious stone *ceraunia*.⁹⁶¹

l. 8. **iris...arcus dicitur.** This tends to support the above thesis, since it suggests Victorinus had *not* previously meant an *arcus*/τόξον.

l. 9. **de quo...locutus est Deus.** Victorinus is distinguishing between the terms ἴρις and τόξον, the latter one found in Gen. 9.13.⁹⁶² **locutus est Deus.** It is thus possible Victorinus

⁹⁵⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *iris*, II. Transf. *The rainbow*, 1000. TLL, s. v. *iris*, c. 378, 38 s. .

⁹⁵⁸ Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. I 1 (CC SL 75, l. 626-641): ea uero quae a lumbis deorsum, ubi coitus, ubi generatio est, ubi incentiua uitiorum purgatione indigere flammaram, ut cum purgata fuerint habeant sicut arcus similitudinem, quae uulgo *iris dicitur*, cum fuerit in nube in die pluuiiae - *iris~g enim quae in sancta scriptura uocatur arcus*, et in *apocalypsi iohannis eodem nomine iris~g dicitur*, nisi in pluuiia et in aquosa nube non potest apparere, diuersorum colorum et pulcherrimorum et sensim in alios transeuntium; unde et poeta: mille rapit uarios aduersa luce colores; sed et morem uulgi sequens idem poeta: cum bibit, inquit, arcus, ex quo significat numquam arcum apparere nisi in nube et in aquis -. hic arcus signum est clementiae et testamenti dei quod fecit cum hominibus, ut, quando apparuerit in nube, sciamus nos, secundum antiquitatis exemplum, nequaquam perituros esse diluuiio. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De Noe 27.102 (CSEL 32. 484, l. 14-16): *arcum hunc irim quidam appellant*, sed absit ut hunc arcum dei esse dicamus; hic enim arcus, qui *iris dicitur*, per diem uideri solet, nocte non apparet.

⁹⁵⁹ Ez. 1.28 (p. 772 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὡς ὄρασις τόξου ὅταν ᾗ ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὑετοῦ οὕτως ἡ στάσις τοῦ φέγγους κυκλόθεν αὐτῆ ἢ ὄρασις ὁμοιώματος δόξης κυρίου καὶ εἶδον καὶ πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν λαλοῦντος; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Hom. in Hiez. proph. I 8 (CC SL 142, l. 621-622; PL 76, col. 867D): uelut aspectus arcus, cum fuerit in nube in die pluuiiae.

⁹⁶⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (R. H.; p. 49, l. 1-2 Haussleiter): eosdem colores habet *iris* et *arcus dicitur*.

⁹⁶¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *iris* II. Transf. C. (*Iris stone*.) *A precious stone*, prob. *a very pure six-sided prismatic crystal*, 1000: Plinius maior, Nat. hist. XXXVII 136 (p. 442, l. 3-9 Ian / Mayhoff 5): Proximum *cerauniae* nomen apud eos habet quae uocatur *iris*. effoditur in quadam insula Rubri maris, quae distat a Berenice urbe L'X' p., cetera sui parte crystallus. itaque quidam eam radicem crystalli esse dixerunt. ex argumento uocatur *iris*, nam sub tecto percussa sole species et colores arcus caelestis in proximos parietes eiacularur, subinde mutans magna que uarietate admirationem sui augens.

⁹⁶² Gen. 9.13 (p. 13 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): τὸ τόξον μου τίθημι ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἔσται εἰς σημεῖον διαθήκης ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς; (VL; p. 35 Sabatier 1): arcum meum ponam in nube, et erit signum testamenti aeterni inter me et inter terram.

associates τόξον μου as specifically σημεῖον διαθήκης *i.e. signum testamenti* with the Word, which would again suggest his hypostatizing it. Jerome's translation, "signum foederis",⁹⁶³ may have been to discourage such as Victorinus' inferring of Old and New Testaments as watery and fiery judgments respectively. Of course, in pagan tradition, *Iris* was a *person*, the heavenly *herald*-κήρυξ.⁹⁶⁴

l. 10. **ne...timerent inrigationem aquae.** *Inrigatio* sometimes designates the Flood.⁹⁶⁵

l. 10-11. **in nubibus.** Differs from the normative VL "in nube", which translates the singular ἐν τῇ νέφελῃς of the normative LXX of Gen. 9.13, as does the normative VL "in nube".⁹⁶⁶

l. 11. **ne...timeatis.** Another rare apostrophe. **sed ignem.** An unusual use of *sed* equivalent to *magis / potius quam*.

l. 11-15. **Ante solium...tamquam mare uitreum...donum est baptismi...ante iudicium.**

“Ante” is taken temporally even as “solium” (*De fabrica mundi* universally (and uniquely hitherto) has “ante **thronum Dei**”⁹⁶⁷) is taken “significanter” as *Judgment: id est ante iudicium*. Thus baptism must precede:⁹⁶⁸ **antequam iudicium**. A striking allegorical transposition of space for time. **mare uitreum...donus est baptismi**. Israel’s descent through the Red Sea is an early *type* of baptism: the elect, standing on the crystal sea, singing the song

⁹⁶³ Gen. 9.13 (Vg; p. 33 Sabatier 2): arcum meum ponam in nubibus, et erit signum foederis inter me et inter terram.

⁹⁶⁴ *Lexicon*, Lewis and Short, London, 1855.

⁹⁶⁵ TLL, s. v. *irrigatio*, c. 417, 61.

⁹⁶⁶ v. s..

⁹⁶⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8-9); 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 3): 10 (SChr 423, 148, l. 7).

⁹⁶⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 169; 2. 3. 2, n. 22.

of Moses (Apoc. 4.6; 15.2), clearly allude to that event.⁹⁶⁹ The typology of Israel's crossing the Red Sea as a shadow of baptism is an ancient *quasi*-allegorical interpretation, here seen encoded within John's vision.

l. 13-14. **paenitentiae tempore.** "Tempore" is a kind of temporal locative. Philo, in explicating the seven days that Noah spent in the ark on dry land (Gen. 7.10), a respite before the flood wherein men could repent, had already stressed that the final week *before* the destruction of the world *recapitulated* the first week of creation.⁹⁷⁰ A similar idea seems to occur in Apocalypse 11, where the two witnesses preach repentance for three and a half years (Apoc. 11.3) *i.e.* half the final week of years of Dan. 9.7 (of a total of seventy week-years: Dan. 9.24). Victorinus seems to extrapolate thus. The Targums had already asserted that God had specifically *lengthened* the time for repentance before the flood to 120 years,⁹⁷¹ the lifespan assigned to men (Gen. 6.3), and Pseudo-Philo seems to have agreed.⁹⁷² Justin too held that God had mercifully given scope for penitence by delaying the fiery judgment,⁹⁷³

⁹⁶⁹ RLAC, s. v. *Exodus*, c. 22-44. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 168, n. 23, 24.

⁹⁷⁰ For Philo, the seven days' interval between Noah's entering the ark and the flood's arrival signify the time allotted humanity to repent before the Creator: Philo Iudeus, Quaest. in Gen. II 13a (l. 1-12 Petit); which span is mystically bound up with that of human life and history: Philo Iudeus, Quaest. in Gen. II 13b (l. 1-6 Petit): Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἐναργῶς δηλοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι καὶ τότε κοσμοποιῶν καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἄγων εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα διαφθείρων ἄλλα τοῦ μὲν αἴτιον ἀγαθότης ἐμῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν εὐεργετηθέντων ἀσέβεια. Ginzburg / Szold-Radin (trans.), *The Legends of the Jews: From the Creation to Exodus*, *The Legends of the Jews* 5, 86; 142; 175.

⁹⁷¹ Targ. Onq. Gen. 6.3 (p. 52 Maher / McNamara / Cathcart / Grossfeld (trans.)).

⁹⁷² Pseudo-Philo, Lib. ant. bib. (p. 459 Jacobson 1). Burnette-Bletsch, *The Reception of Genesis in Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, in: Evans / Lohr / Petersen (eds), *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, *Vetus Testamentum, Suppl.* 152, 459. Feldman, "Remember Amalek!": Vengeance, Zealotry, and Group Destruction in the Bible According to Philo Iudaeus, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus, 101.

⁹⁷³ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 28.2 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ μηδέπω τοῦτο πράξει τὸν θεὸν διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος γεγένηται ἵνα προκινώσκει γὰρ τινὰς ἐκ μετανοίας σωθήσονται μέλλοντας καὶ τινὰς μηδέπω ἴσως γεννηθέντας; even as they all have the reason to choose good: Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 28.2 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἰρεῖσθαι τάληθῆ καὶ εὖ πράττειν τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· λογικοὶ γὰρ καὶ θεωρητικοὶ γεγένηται; Justin seems to think that the existence of believers (whether specifically Jewish or gentile is not entirely clear in context) delays judgment (again whether specially a final one on Jews or gentiles in context is not entirely clear): Dial. c. Tryph. 39.2 (l. 1-8 Goodspeed). He also sees a specifically *Jewish* repentance (Justin' harping often on the theme of alleged Jewish *impenitence*, seemingly above all other nations) in the last days: Dial. c. Tryph. 118.1 (l. 1-5 Goodspeed): Ὡστε μᾶλλον

albeit one perhaps both imminent and immanent, in the lives of his contemporaries.⁹⁷⁴ In a similar vein, Victorinus sees the whole period between the Incarnation and second coming, albeit stressing the extent of God's mercy as the timeless gift of baptism and grace (as with Justin),⁹⁷⁵ as compressed by/into an eschatological sense of urgency from John's revelation onward (*cf.* Com. in Apoc. 10.2, l. 13-16).⁹⁷⁶ Hilary calls the whole period of this world, when believers yet may die, "the tarrying of the Bridegroom, a time for repentance".⁹⁷⁷

l. 16-17. **simile cristalo, aquam mundam.** "Aquam mundam" confirms Victorinus conceives of "cristallo" as *ice*, *crystallum*'s chief meaning,⁹⁷⁸ rather than crystal, although both senses are sometimes conflated in antiquity.⁹⁷⁹ **tamquam donum Dei.** Ice, moreover, preserves the pure water of the gift of baptism: **non profluuiio deflentem...immobilem**, which neither flows nor moves. "Profluuiio" is the *lectio difficilior*. Haussleiter's reading, "pro fluuiio" *i.e.* "for reason of a river or flow" seems a forced use of *pro*.⁹⁸⁰ *Profluuium* means a *flux*, but it seems reserved for corporeal flows. *Profluuiio* is perhaps here adverbial (Jerome takes it in

παυσάμενοι τοῦ φιλεριστεῖν μετα- νοήσατε πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, ἐν ἣ κόπτεσθαι μέλλουσι πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ὑμῶν ἐκκεντήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἀπὸ γραφῆς ἀπέδειξα προειρημένον; (gentile?) Christians' being more *intelligent* (συνετοί) than the Jews: Dial. c. Tryph. 118.3 (l. 1-6 Goodspeed): καὶ οὐ μάτην ἡμεῖς εἰς τοῦτον πεπιστεύκαμεν, οὐδ' ἐπλανήθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν οὕτως διδασκάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστῆ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, τῶν νομιζομένων οὐκ ὄντων δὲ οὔτε φιλοθέων οὔτε συνετῶν, συνετώτεροι καὶ θεοσεβέστεροι εὐρεθῶμεν διὰ τῆς κλήσεως τῆς καινῆς καὶ αἰωνίου διαθήκης, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. He also associates general repentance, seemingly by gentiles in general, with an eschatological Christian possession of the land (Dial. c. Tryph. 139.4 (l. 6-10 Goodspeed)), the sons of Japheth *i.e.* the Greeks, having already conquered and possessed the land in place of the sons of Shem / the Jews (Dial. c. Tryph. 139.3 (l. 4-6 Goodspeed)). Thus Justin seems to envisage of sequence of possessions / dispossessions of the land: 1) by Shem / Israel / the Jews of Canaan 2) by Japheth / the Greek(-Romans, surely, like his colonial parents) 3) the nations in general. This would accord with a) Victorinus' view and b) Victorinus' probable view of Origen's.

⁹⁷⁴ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 28.2; 40.7.

⁹⁷⁵ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 39.2 (l. 1-8 Goodspeed).

⁹⁷⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.1 (SChr 423, 90, l. 13-16): Clamasse uoce magna: uox magna est caelestis; omnipotentis Dei uerba hominibus nuntiare, quoniam post clausam paenitentiam spes postea futura non est.

⁹⁷⁷ Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 27.4 (SChr 258, 206, l. 19-21): Mora sponsi paenitentiae tempus est. Exspectantium somnus credentium quies est et in paenitentiae tempore mors temporaria uniuersorum. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3.2, n. 18.

⁹⁷⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *crystallum* I. *Ice* II. *A crystal, mountain- or rock-crystal*, 486.

⁹⁷⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 169.

⁹⁸⁰ *Pro* is sometimes used in cases of payment or reward *for* or *on account* of something *e.g.* "misimus, qui pro uectura solueret": M. Tullius Cicero, Epist. ad Att. I 3.2 (p. 5, l. 6 Shackleton Bailey 2). Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *pro* II. B. Trans. 5. *On account of, for the sake of*, 1445.

the sense of flux differential: “in procliuo”, “on a slope”), analogous to the adjective *profluuius* (= *fluctuating, inconstant*). According to Braun, Tertullian uses *immobilis* for ἀκίνητος *i.e.* as a *quasi*-philosophical term for divine immutability,⁹⁸¹ though, curiously, Frontinus uses it specifically to designate the proper *constancy* of water supply by individual *ajutages*.⁹⁸² It is an allegorically temporal symbol, too, of eternity. Irenaeus calls the Spirit “the water which is from heaven”⁹⁸³ (*cf.* Io. 4.14).

4.3.

1. 1-6. **Quattuor animalia...Dominus Deus omnipotens.** *Cf.* Ez 1, 5-12, of which Apoc. 4.6-8, where the four מַרְכָּבָה, *hayyōwā* / ζῴα, *creatures* accompany the מְרֻכָּבָה, *merkkāvāh*, *chariot-throne* of God, an image much discussed by the rabbis, and the subject of, later, Qabbalistic mystical speculation.⁹⁸⁴

1.1. **Quattuor animalia quattuor sunt euangelia.** The *De fabrica mundi* makes a similar association: “ecce quattuor animalia – quattuor euangelia”.⁹⁸⁵ Victorinus is the first Latin to express this early Christian deduction.

⁹⁸¹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 57. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 3.2, n. 25. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, ἀκίνητος A.1. *unmoved, motionless* A.2. *unaltered*, 47. But it also has a *mystical* sense: Plato uses it of sacred things that thus must remain *secret*: Plato, *Theaet.* 181a (l. 6-8 Burnett). *Cf.* Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* l. 624 (Lloyd-Jones / Wilson); *Ant.* l. 1060 (Lloyd-Jones / Wilson).

⁹⁸² S. Iulius Frontinus, *De aq. urb. Rom.* 34.3 (p. 18, l. 25 Kunderewicz): omnia autem, quae mensura continentur, certa et inmobilia congruere sibi debent; ita enim universitati ratio constabit.

⁹⁸³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 32-35): Sicut enim de arido tritico massa una fieri non potest sine humore neque unus panis, ita nec nos multi unum | fieri in Christo Iesu poteramus sine aqua quae de caelo est.

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⁹⁸⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 3.8 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8-10): Et ut ex ea re longius enarrem, ecce quattuor animalia ante thronum Dei - quattuor euangelia.

1. 5. ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος. Haussleiter restored the triasagion to Victorinus' text, in Greek characters, as Jerome's edition witnesses.⁹⁸⁶ Such a Hellenism is found in Pseudo-Cyprian before Victorinus, and in the Cappadocian liturgy shortly afterwards.⁹⁸⁷ It suggests a Greco-Latin Poetovian liturgy at the end of the third century. Dulaey fruitfully evokes Roman Catholic liturgy in her French translation by "sanctus, sanctus, sanctus", of the Catholic Latin Mass.

1. 7. <habentes>. A conflation of John's repeated, individual ἔχων.⁹⁸⁸ **sedentes XXIII** **seniores**. The *De fabrica mundi* identifies the twenty four elders with the angels of the hours of day and night, and that they antedate both angels and men⁹⁸⁹ *i.e.* that they are divine entities, superior in God's scheme to both angels and men. Such a belief resembles that of Origen.⁹⁹⁰ **habentes tribunalia XXIII**. Victorinus translates θρόνος by *solium* (Apoc. 3.21; 4.2 *etc*) as much as

⁹⁸⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (R. H.; p. 49, l. 20 Haussleiter).

⁹⁸⁷ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Orat. I 1 (CSEL 3.3, 144, l. 5-145, l. 6): Hagios, hagios, hagios, sancte sanctorum, pater patrum nostrorum, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob, Deus prophetarum, Deus apostolorum, Deus uirginum, Deus bene uiuentium, Deus credentium, Deus et pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi filii tui: te inuocamus supplices pariter et deprecamur [fili unigenite], qui ex ore altissimi procreatus es ante mundi dispositionem et ex Mariae sanctae uirginis utero per mysterium editus: orantibus nobis desiderium animae, etiam integritatem cordis praestare dignare, ut lauacro salutari expiatum pectus delictis carnalibus incolume persistat, petimus fide inlibata, mente incorrupta, deuotione robusta, operatione seu dilectione continua, in tua ecclesia sancta semper nos florere permittas: quoniam tibi flectimus genua, curuamus ceruices, cui angeli archangeli milia milium martyrum chorus apostolorum et prophetarum gloria exultant, cui omnes aues laudes canunt, linguae confitentur caelestium terrestrium et infernorum: tibi omnes aquae in caelo et sub caelo confitentur, te insensibilia sentiunt: tu es solus et praeter te nemo. In liturgy it first occurs in the Cappadocian Asterius Sophista: Com. in Psalm., Hom. 15.16 (l.6 Richard). Spinks, The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer, 117. *TLL*, s. v. *hagios*. c. 2513.

⁹⁸⁸ Apoc. 3, 1 (p. 637 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας γράψον· τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας· οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ.

⁹⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 10 (SChr 423, 148, l. 4-9): Constituti sunt itaque sine dubietate diei angeli duodecim, noctis angeli duodecim, pro numero scilicet horarum. Hi sunt namque XXIII testes dierum et noctium, qui sedent ante thronum Dei, coronas aureas in capitibus suis habentes, quos Apocalypsis Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae seniores uocat, idcirco quia seniores sunt et aliis angelis et hominibus.

⁹⁹⁰ Origen accords to each apostle his own angelic aid: Origenes, Hom. in Num. 11.4 (CB 30, 83, l. 11-33): 3-11): Quamvis et ipsi Apostoli angelis utantur adiutoribus ad explendum praedicationis suae munus et opus euangelii consummandum; sic enim dicebatur in Actibus Apostolorum quia 'angelus' Petri esset, qui 'pulsaret ad ostium'. Similiter *ergo* intelligitur esse et alius Pauli angelus, sicut est Petri, et alius alterius Apostoli et singulorum per ordinem vel pro meritis, quos utique in laboribus et doctrina sive Apostolorum sive reliquorum

by *tribunal* (Apoc. 4.4; 5.1). *De fabrica mundi* uses the transliteration *thronus*.⁹⁹¹ Victorinus likely prefers *tribunal* for its connotation of the court of magistrates over which it presided.⁹⁹²

l. 8. **libri <sunt> prophetarum et legis referentes.** Victorinus later repeats this same interpretation.⁹⁹³ Josephus counted *twenty two* books of the Old Testament.⁹⁹⁴ Origen is reported to have said this corresponded to the twenty two letters of the Hebrew alphabet,⁹⁹⁵ though Josephus says no such thing. Hengel speculates that Josephus alone inspired this patristic view, since all other known Jewish sources cite *twenty four* (starting with 4 Ezra 14.45), albeit rabbinic ones not until the early third century.⁹⁹⁶ However, following

post eos doctorum necesse est primas partes habere et animarum quae per eos profecerunt, fructum una cum his, per quos operati sunt, ad aream Domini comportare; furthermore, Christ, by virtue of being the chief angel of the Church, seems to preform angelic beings, by virtue of the hidden future good things hidden in the Law (Heb. 10.1), in believers *qua* their identity with Israel, which refers, in fact, to a rank of angels: Origenes, Hom. in Num. 11.4 (CB 30, 83, l. 11-33): Erit *ergo* in congregatione fructuum, id est in electione credentium, ille, verbi gratia, qui fuit illius ecclesiae praecipuus et eximius, primitiae, et ille etiam hoc superior illius ecclesiae, primogenitus, ab illo, verbi gratia, angelo oblatus. Et ita omne hoc, quod adumbratum est in lege, quoniam 'lex umbram habet futurorum bonorum', tali quodam modo per angelorum ministeria in 'futurorum bonorum' veritate complebitur, ut, quae praeformata sunt in illo Istrahel, qui 'secundum carnem Istrahel' dicitur, in Istrahelitis veris et coelestibus impleantur. Nomen enim Istrahel pervenit usque ad angelicos ordines, nisi quia multo verius illi appellabuntur Istrahel, quanto verius illi sunt mens videns Deum; hoc enim Istrahel interpretatur.

⁹⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 10 (SChr 423, 148, l. 1-10): De duodenario numero, dies, ut supra memoravi, per duodenas horas bifarie diuisus est lucis et noctis. Per has namque horas menses et anni et tempora et saecula computantur. Constituti sunt itaque sine dubietate diei angeli duodecim, noctis angeli duodecim, pro numero scilicet horarum. Hi sunt namque XXIII testes dierum et noctium, qui sedent ante thronum Dei, coronas aureas in capitibus suis habentes, quos Apocalypsis Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae seniores uocat, idcirco quia seniores sunt et alii angelis et hominibus. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 17-20): Itaque ob captiuitatem eius tetradem, ob maiestatis operum suorum et <ut> tempora humanitati salubria, frugibus laeta, tempestatibus tranquilla decurrant, ideo <aut stationem> aut superpositionem facimus.

⁹⁹² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *tribunal* I. Lit.1. *A raised semicircular or square platform, on which the seats of magistrates were placed, a judgment-seat, tribunal*, 1897.

⁹⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, in Apoc. 4, 5 (SChr 423m 70, l. 4-9): Alae testimonia ueteris testamenti sunt librorum ideoque uiginti quatuor sunt, tot numero quot et seniores super tribunalia. Sicut animal uolare non potest nisi pennas habeat, sic nec praedicatio noui testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat ueteris testamenti testimonia praenuntiata, per quae tollitur a terra et uolat Vict. p. 70, 4-5.

⁹⁹⁴ Josephus argues that the Jews *mere* twenty-two books, wholly in agreement, is superior to those innumerable of the Greeks, an argument later adopted by the Fathers: Flavius Iosephus, Con. Ap. I 8 (38; l. 1-4 Niese 5): οὐ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰςὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα. Strack-Billerbeck, Exkurse zu einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash 4.1, 415-19.

⁹⁹⁵ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. VI 25.1 (SChr 41, l. 1)-2 (SChr 41, l. 20).

⁹⁹⁶ Hengel, Septuagint as Christian Scripture, 62. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 2, 318-343: "Zählungen der biblischen Bücher". Strack-Billerbeck, Exkurse zu einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments, 419-422. Katz, The Old Testament Canon in Palestine and Alexandria, in: ZNW 47 (1956), 191-217. Kaestli /

Bickerman's suggestion that Jews such as Ben Sira had set the Bible as the basis for a Jewish *paideia* as Homer was for the Greek,⁹⁹⁷ Van Seters suggests *both* traditions likely arose among Hellenistic Jews. The original division into twenty two books, corresponding with the Hebrew alphabet, imitated the Homeric division into twenty four, according with the Greek one. Later Greek speaking Jews expanded/divided the original twenty two books into twenty four to match Homer more precisely.⁹⁹⁸ But Hengel *et al.* see merely competing Jewish rationales for a division: Josephus' twenty two are likely merely *4 Ezra's* twenty four divided differently⁹⁹⁹ (the fluidity and ambiguity of number and quantity figure strongly in Victorinus too, where twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles can yet comprise inclusively the books of the *Old Testament*).¹⁰⁰⁰ Melito's twenty *one* book canon¹⁰⁰¹ (twenty two with the division of the four books of Kings into two) probably derives from Palestine ("the east...the place where it [the Old Testament] was proclaimed and done"),¹⁰⁰² along with the first recorded use of the term *Old Testament*;¹⁰⁰³ in line with the second century Church's "total appropriation of the

Wermelinger, *Le Canon de l'Ancien Testament, sa formation, son histoire*, Monde de la Bible, 135-151; 197-210 (a collation of Greek and Latin sources).

⁹⁹⁷ Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age*, 171.

⁹⁹⁸ Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "editor"* in *Biblical Criticism*, 354.

⁹⁹⁹ *I.e.* Josephus' 22 books are likely *4 Ezra's* 24 divided differently: Hengel, *Septuagint as Christian Scripture*, 62. Collins, Seers, Sibyls, and Sages, in: *Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, JSJS 54, 6. Origen and Jerome both conflate Judges-Ruth and Jeremiah-Lamentations respectively, while Josephus may not have distinguished the apocryphal 1 Esdras (which he seems to use as a source) from an Ezra-Nehemiah unit: Collins, "Before the Canon: Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism," in Mays / Petersen / Richards (eds), *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future. Essays in Honor of Gene M Tucker*, 228-229.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Hengel notes that in Justin's time (mid-second century), "the reminiscences of the apostles or the scriptures of the prophets were read before the Eucharist" (1 *Apol.* 67.3). It is only later, likely under impress of the Marcionite dispute, that a division of old and new writings is made, in Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria: Hengel, *Septuagint as Christian Scripture*, 61.

¹⁰⁰¹ Melito Sardis, Frag. 3.14, l. 15-22 (p. 66-67 Hall). Eusebius Caesariensis, *Hist. Eccl.* IV 26.12-13.

¹⁰⁰² Melito Sardis, Frag. 3.14, l. 14 (p. 66-67 Hall). The phrase is perhaps echoes in Victorinus' explication of Judea as where the apostles first stood and proclaimed the gospel: Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 7-10): *Vnde propheta anticipauit dicendo: Adoremus ubi steterunt pedes eius, quoniam ubi illi primi steterunt et ecclesiam confirmauerunt, id est Iudeam, ibi omnes sancti conuenturi sunt et deum suum adoraturi.*

¹⁰⁰³ C. 170 C.E. Melito sent one Onesimus a *florilegium* of (likely fulfilled prophetic) excerpts from the Law and prophets (Melito Sardis, Frag. 3.13, l. 6-8 (p. 66-67 Hall)), as perhaps the first recorded pilgrim to Palestine: Melito Sardis, Frag. 3.13, l. 4-14, l. 23 (p. 66-67 Hall). Hengel specifies the source as "Jewish Christians" (Hengel, *Septuagint as Christian Scripture*, 60-61), which may or may not be the case. A Greco-Roman gentile Christian colonial presence, dating to at least Justin's day, probably has amassed itself a mass of indigenous data which it used to consolidate its identity and legitimacy. Doubtless some Jews contributed, directly or indirectly. Such a selection echoes the *Epitomae of Theodore* later mentioned by Victorinus: Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 23-24): *Sunt autem libri ueteris testamenti qui excipiuntur uiginti quattuor,*

LXX", which may have simply assumed the Jewish canon as well. In fact such an investigation may constitute something like the first recorded Greco-Roman gentile Christian tentative essay into Hebrew scholarship. In a similar vein, while a colonial citizen in Palestine, Origen also adopted it (and for this reason likely rejected the Judaeic 4 Ezra, with its twenty four book canon,¹⁰⁰⁴ albeit including the likely wholly Hellenistically composed additions to Daniel and Esther),¹⁰⁰⁵ yet assimilated a twenty two book canon to the twelve patriarchs by having twenty generations from Adam to Jacob-Israel.¹⁰⁰⁶ The same number is adopted by the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila (dated between the third and sixth centuries),¹⁰⁰⁷ Epiphanius, Pseudo-Eusebius and Jerome (who all assimilate the Old

quos in epitomis Theodori inuenimus. Dulaey considers this may have been a collection of testimonia: Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 70.

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¹⁰⁰⁵ Sextus Julius Africanus, Chron. (GCS 15, 5; 9; 19; 21). Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. VI 31.1 (SChr 41, l. 1-5).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Origenes, Hom. in Num. 4.1 (CB 30, 20, l. 12-17): 'Viginti duo' quidem numerus in scripturis divinis, si qui observet, quod principalibus quibusdam causis adscriptus sit, frequenter inueniet. Nam viginti duo prima apud Hebraeos elementa tradunt esse litterarum. Viginti et duo rursus a protoplasto Adam usque ad Iacob, es cuius semine initium duodecim tribus sumunt, patres fuisse numerantur. Casteren, L' Ancien Testament d' Origène, in: RB 10 (1901), 413-423.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* has twenty two divisions, whereby the dual-volumes of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, Ecclesiastes-the Song of Songs, the twelve prophets, Ezra-Nehemiah are treated as discrete units; further while Judith is included, Esther is consigned to the Apocrypha: Dial. Tim. et Aquil. (p. 66 Conybeare). Gallagher, Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text, VC Suppl. 114, 89. Harnack and Conybeare thought the dialogue based on an earlier, second century text, common to the *Chronicon Pascale* and *De mensuris et ponderibus* of Epiphanius, on account of shared details of the Hadrianic Jewish suppression (Conybeare, xxv-xxxiii), Aquila's being allegedly a Jew employed in the rebuilding of Jerusalem in 119 C.E. (Conybeare, xxx). Williams set the date around 200 C.E. because the canonical number: Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos: A Bird's-eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, 67-68. For a late date, no earlier than the fourth century: Conybeare, xxxv; Kraft, *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts*, SJSJ 137, 183; Albi, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, NTS 96, 122. However, Satran cautions against precision: Satran, *Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Peri Pasca of Melito of Sardis*, in Limor / Stroumsa (eds), *contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics Between Christians and Jews*, TSMEJ 10, 57. The Christian Timothy's declaring himself "of the Gentiles", and the likely Alexandrian provenance of the work (Conybeare, liii), may suggest a construct of Jewish beliefs of literary origin *i.e.* the canon number is from an Hellenistic Jewish source common with Epiphanius (Conybeare, xxvi).

Epiphanius reckons there are twenty seven books of the Old Testament, but acknowledges the Jewish division into twenty two: Epiphanius Salaminis, Pan. I 6.3 (GCS 25, 192, l. 4-6): αὐταῖ εἰσιν αἱ εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ βιβλοὶ ἐκ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· εἴκοσι δύο δὲ εἰσιν ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμούμεναι διὰ τὸ διπλοῦσθαι δέκα βιβλους εἰς πέντε λογιζομένας; plus two more disputed, Wisdom books: Pan. I 6.4 (GCS 25, 192, l. 7-9): εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι δύο βιβλοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ, ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σιρᾶχ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος, χωρὶς ἄλλων τινῶν βιβλίων ἐναποκρύφων; cf. Pan. III 22 (GCS 37, 369, l. 19-20): ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ βιβλοῖς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης εἴκοσι δύο ἀριθμούμεναις. The number twenty two is found in the Greeks: Kaestli / Wermelinger, *Le Canon de l' Ancien Testament*, 140-141; 145-148.

Testament canon with the twenty four hours)¹⁰⁰⁸ as does *De fabrica mundi*, see immediately above. Victorinus is the first Father to count twenty four books of the Old Testament, most likely derived from 4 Ezra. One might speculate that this was also a case of anti-Jewish, (Latin?) Christian self-definition, perhaps in response to what the Poetovian had read in Origen, given his tendency elsewhere, under Tertullian's proscription of an "Athenian", philosophizing Christianity.¹⁰⁰⁹ This ironically yet served a Greco-Roman cultural agenda, as Hilary seems to deduce, that the number be brought mete with the alphabets of the most gentiles of the empire, albeit only by adding Tobit and Judith.¹⁰¹⁰ Jerome perhaps alludes to this fortuitous cultural change by speaking of how in his new Latin translation of the original scriptures "the number of twenty two Hebrew books and the mystery of that number will be

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. 4 Esdr. 14.44-46 (Fischer / Gribomont / Sparks / Thiele / Weber): scripti sunt autem in quadraginta diebus libri nongenti quattuor. et factum est cum completi essent quadraginta dies, et locutus est Altissimus dicens: priora quae scripsisti in palam pone, et legant digni et indigni. novissimos autem septuaginta conservabis, ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo; analysis of these numbers are in Kaestli / Wermelinger, 84-97. Zahn, *Geschichte de Neutestamentumlichen Kanons* 2, 334. Strack-Billerbeck, 4.1, 419-422. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 69-71.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Tertullianus, *De praescr. haer.* 7 (CC SL 1, l. 18-39): Miserum aristotelen! qui illis dialecticam instituit, artificem struendi et destruendi, uersipellem in sententiis, coactam in coniecturis, duram in argumentis, operariam contentionum, molestam etiam sibi ipsam, omnia retractantem ne quid omnino tractauerit. Hinc illae fabulae et genealogiae interminabiles et quaestiones infructuosae et sermones serpentes uelut cancer, a quibus nos apostolus refrenans nominatim philosophiam et inanem seductionem contestatur caueri oportere scribens ad colossenses: videte ne qui sit circumueniens uos per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, praeter prouidentiam spiritus sancti. Fuerat athenis et istam sapientiam humanam affectatricem et interpolatricem ueritatis de congressibus nouerat, ipsam quoque in suas haereses multipartitam uarietate sectarum inuicem repugnantium. Quid *ergo* athenis et hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae? quid haereticis et christianis? nostra institutio de porticu solomonis est qui et ipse tradiderat dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quaerendum. Viderint qui stoicum et platicum et dialecticum christianismum protulerunt. Nobis curiositate opus non est post christum iesum nec inquisitione post euangelium. Cum credimus nihil desideramus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus non esse quod ultra credere debeamus.

¹⁰¹⁰ Hilarius Pictauiensis, *Tract. super Ps. 15* (CC SL 61, 12, l. 1-21): Et ea causa est ut in uiginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur, ut cum litterarum numero conuenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones ueterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, Iesu Naue sextus, Iudicum et Ruth septimus, primus et secundus Regnorum octauus, tertius et quartus in nonum, Paralipomenon duo in decimum sint, sermones dierum Esdrae in undecimum, liber Psalmorum duodecimus sit, Salomonis Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum in tertium decimum et quartum decimum et quintum decimum, duodecim autem omnes Prophetiae in sextum decimum, Esaias deinde et Hieremias cum lamentatione et epistula, sed et Daniel et Ezechiel et Iob et Hester uiginti duum librorum numerum consumment. Quibusdam autem uisum est, additis Tobia et Iudith, uiginti quattuor libros secundum numerum graecarum litterarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebraeos Graecos que conlecta, quia his maxime tribus linguis sacramentum uoluntatis Dei et beati regni expectatio praedicatur; ex quo illud Pilati fuit ut his tribus linguis regem Iudaeorum Dominum Iesum Christum esse praescriberet. Nam quamuis multae barbarae gentes Dei cognitionem secundum apostolorum praedicationem et manentium hodie illic ecclesiarum fidem adeptae sint, tamen specialiter euangelica doctrina in Romano imperio, sub quo Hebraei et Graeci continentur, consistit.

changed utterly";¹⁰¹¹ while he knew of the twenty four book division.¹⁰¹² Rufinus of Aquilea seems to follow Origen, with twenty two books, although his has the option of becoming twenty four if his (admitted) double-volumes of Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah are divided.¹⁰¹³

l. 9-10. **sunt...uiginti quattuor...duodecim apostoli et duodecim patriarchae.** Clement seems to have known a tradition of twenty four prophets,¹⁰¹⁴ perhaps originally Hellenistic Jewish in origin. The Gospel of Thomas declares: "Twenty four prophets spoke in Israel, and all of them have spoken about you":¹⁰¹⁵ in the Apocalypse, this idea seems to have been Christianized. The fourth century Cheltenham Canon (origin unclear)¹⁰¹⁶ first *lists* twenty four books of the Old Testament,¹⁰¹⁷ then says "our forebears ("maiores nostri", where Victorinus has "seniores") demonstrate these to be the canonical books and it [the Apocalypse thus]

¹⁰¹¹ Hieronymus, Praef. in lib. Psal. iux. Heb. (p. 768, l. 9-15 Fischer / Gribomont / Sparks / Thiele / Weber): si enim amen, pro quo aquila transtulit pepistōmenōs~g, in fine tantum librorum ponitur et non interdum aut in exordio aut in calce sermonis siue sententiae, numquam et saluator in euangelio loqueretur: "amen amen dico uobis", et pauli epistulae in medio illud opere continerent, moyses quoque et hieremias et ceteri in hunc modum multos haberent libros, qui in mediis uoluminibus suis amen frequenter interserunt, sed et numerus uiginti duorum hebraicorum librorum et mysterium eiusdem numeri commutabitur. Hier. *praef. in Sam. et Mal.* (ed. R. Weber, *Vulgata*, p. 365-366).

¹⁰¹² Hieronymus, Prol. in lib. Reg. (p. 365, l. 45-52 Fischer / Gribomont / Sparks / Thiele / Weber): quamquam nonnulli ruth et cinoth inter agiografa scriptitent et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos, ac per hoc esse priscae legis libros uiginti quattuor, quos sub numero uiginti quattuor seniorum apocalypsis iohannis inducit adorantes agnum et coronas suas prostratis uultibus offerentes, stantibus coram quattuor animalibus oculatis retro et ante, id est et in praeteritum et in futurum, et indefessa uoce clamantibus: "sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui futurus est".

¹⁰¹³ Rufinus, *Expos. symb.* 35 (CC SL 20, 170-171, l. 1-10): Itaque ueteris instrumenti primo omnium mosi quinque libri sunt traditi: genesis exodus leuiticus numeri deuteronomium. Post hos iesu naue et iudicum simul cum ruth. Quattuor post haec: regnorum libri, quos hebraei duos numerant; paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber; et esdrae duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur; et esther. Prophetarum uero esaias ieremias ezechiel daniel; praeterea duodecim prophetarum liber unus. Iob quoque et psalmi dauid singuli sunt libri. Solomonis uero tres ecclesiastes cantica canticorum. In his concluderunt librorum numerum ueteris testamenti.

¹⁰¹⁴ Although Clement lists thirty five prophets, strictly the twelve minor was usually treated as one: thus one arrives at twenty four, the number he surely received: Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* I 133-136. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 228-229. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse*, 85 and n. 21.

¹⁰¹⁵ Eu. Thom., *Log.* 52 (p. 37 De Conick (trans.)). P. Prigent, *Ibid.* Clem. *strom.* 1, 135-136; Clement could have spoken more explicitly in his *Hypotyposes*.

¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹⁷ Counting four books of Kings, Chronicles as one; adding both Maccabees, Tobit and Judith; omitting Ezra-Nehemiah: Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie*, in *Hermes* 21 (1886), 145.

called [them] 'elders'".¹⁰¹⁸ Clement says the twenty four thrones of Apoc. 4.4 signify the the roll of apostles (≡ *all true* presbyters of the Church) and their co-regency with Christ.¹⁰¹⁹ But they also signify the alleged equal honour and glory of Jews and gentiles in said regency.¹⁰²⁰ This may have suggested to Victorinus, then, their signifying the patriarchs (of the Old Testament ≡ apostles to the Jews) and apostles (of the New Testament ≡ apostles to (as it were) the gentiles), and it is hard not surmise it was in Clement's thoughts too. It surely is also echoed in Victorinus' view of eschatological Jewish conversion in the hundred and forty four thousand, though he does not seem to explicitly assign any of these high office in the Millennial kingdom.

Irenaeus had similarly somewhat conflated the status of presbyter/elder with that of bishop, as an important guardian of the tradition between apostolic and post-apostolic Church.¹⁰²¹ To such as these Clement's *presbyter-apostles* and the Cheltenham list's "seniores" may refer, though the possibility cannot be discounted the latter may also include Victorinus himself.

Mommsen thought the Cheltenham list African and fourth century, but pre-dating 393.¹⁰²² However, Augustine speaks of forty four books,¹⁰²³ while the *Acts of the Council of*

¹⁰¹⁸ Mommsen, Zur lateinischen Stichometrie, in: Hermes 21 (1886), 144-146: Sed ut in apocalypsis (*sic*) Iohannis dictum est: "uidi XXIII seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum", maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores. Et v. Turner, Appendix to The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books, in: SBE 3, 304.

¹⁰¹⁹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 13.106.2 (GCS 52, l. 1-8): οὗτος πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διάκονος ἀληθῆς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως, ἐὰν ποιῆ καὶ διδάσκη τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων χειροτονούμενος οὐδ', ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζόμενος, ἀλλ', ὅτι δίκαιος, ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καταλεγόμενος· κὰν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ γῆς πρωτοκαθεδρία μὴ τιμηθῆ, ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι καθεδεῖται θρόνοις τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης.

¹⁰²⁰ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VI 13.107.2 (GCS 52, l. 1-5): καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, φησίν, ἐκλεκτότεροι οἱ κατὰ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῆς ἀπηνθισμένοι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ δόξῃ τετιμημένοι, κριταί τε καὶ διοικηταί, ἐπ' ἴσης ἔκτε Ἰουδαίων ἔκ τε Ἑλλήνων, οἱ τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι, διπλασιασθείσης τῆς χάριτος.

¹⁰²¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 2.2; IV 26.2; 32.1; V 202. Irenaeus invokes the "elders" as source for his Rule of Faith: Dem. apost. praed. 3 (Arm.; p. 28 Weber (trans.)): Fides *ergo* efficit nobis hoc, sicut seniores, apostolorum disci- puU, tradiderunt nobis. Hill, From the Lost Teaching of Polycarp: Identifying Irenaeus' Apostolic Presbyter and the Author of Ad Diognetum, WUNT 186, 7-8. Cf. Act. 20.17, 28, where "presbyter" likely refers to all those in ecclesial authority: Hall, Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church, 31.

¹⁰²² The *Breuiarium Hipponense* (393 C.E.: Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 2.1: Urkunden und Belege, 247; Van de Wiel, History of Canon Law, 45) names twenty four books of the Old Testament, including

Carthage of 397 mention but twenty three.¹⁰²⁴ The possibility must be considered that Victorinus is the closer source. Rufinus affirms a similar canon in Aquileia, minus all but apocrypha, by a *traditio maiorum*.¹⁰²⁵ In this the Aquileian church perhaps influenced Poetovio, the capital of Pannonia Superior.

However, the fact that Victorinus conflates the twenty four elders merely with the books of the *Old Testament* is perhaps awkward when dividing them among representatives of Old and New Testaments. Below (In Apoc. 4.7, l. 15-16), Victorinus will only specify one of the peoples represented at the Triumphal Entry, elder Israel (“unum patrum et prophetarum”).

By equating both Old Testament patriarchs and New Testament disciples with the Old Testament itself, Victorinus has appropriated the latter as a uniquely Christian possession, since its essence consists in a Christian, New Testamental component. It is a kind of reverse

some Apocryphal: Sunt autem canonicae scripturae: genesis. exodus. leuiticus. numeri. deuteronomium. iesu naue. iudicum. ruth. regnorum libri iiii. paralipomenon libri ii. iob. psalterium. salomonis libri v. liber xii prophetarum minorum. item isaias. hieremias. ezechiel. daniel. tobias. iudith. esther. esdrae libri ii. machabeorum libri ii. Noui autem testamenti: euangelia libri iiii. actus apostolorum liber i. pauli apostoli epistolae xiiii. petri ii. iohannis iii. iude i. iacobi i. apocalipsis iohannis (Munier, Concilia Africae: A.D. 345- A.D. 525, 43). But the Cheltenham list only has 13 Pauline epistles compared with the *Breuiarium Hipponense's* 14, thus is judged earlier: Mommsen, Zur lateinischen Stichometrie, in: Hermes 21 (1886), 148.

The term "libri canonici" of the books of the Old Testament is common with Augustine: Augustinus Hipponensis, Spec. 24 (CSEL 12, 154, l. 12-19): iam nunc quoniam non omnes libri canonici ueteres que huic operi nostro necessaria dederunt, neque hi qui dederunt ex omnibus suis locis conueniebat ut darent, sed ex his tantum ubi apertiora morum bonorum praecepta conperimus, siue ubi utilia iubentur, siue ubi contraria prohibentur: ad sacras litteras euangelicas et apostolicas transeamus. Mommsen, Zur lateinischen Stichometrie, in: Hermes 21 (1886), 144. Lagrange, Histoire ancienne du canon des Ecritures, 86-88.

¹⁰²³ Augustinus Hipponensis, Retract. II 4 (CC SL 57, l. 16-19): ubi autem dixi: his quadraginta quattuor libris testamenti ueteris terminatur auctoritas, ex consuetudine qua iam loquitur ecclesia uetus testamentum appellauit. his quadraginta quattuor libris testamenti ueteris terminatur auctoritas.

Interestingly, Augustine observes that Paul only strictly calls the Pentateuch the Old Testament: Augustinus Hipponensis, Retract. II 4 (CC SL 57, l. 20): apostolus autem non uidetur appellare testamentum uetus nisi quod datum est in monte sina.

¹⁰²⁴ Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum Et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei Et Morum, 44. Kaestli-Wermelinger, 168; 200; *Ibid.* 198.

¹⁰²⁵ Rufinus, Expos. symb. 34 (CC SL 20, 171, l. 20-35): Et ideo quae sint noui ac ueteris instrumenti uolumina, quae secundum maiorum traditionem per ipsum sanctum spiritum inspirata creduntur et ecclesiis christi tradita, competens uidetur hoc in loco euidenti numero, sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare. Itaque ueteris instrumenti primo omnium mosi quinque libri sunt traditi: genesis exodus leuiticus numeri deuteronomium. Post hos iesu naue et iudicum simul cum ruth. Quattuor post haec: regnorum libri, quos hebraei duos numerant; paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber; et esdrae duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur; et esther. Prophetarum uero esaias ieremias ezechiel daniel; praeterea duodecim prophetarum liber unus. Iob quoque et psalmi dauid singuli sunt libri. Solomonis uero tres ecclesiis traditi: proueria ecclesiastes cantica canticorum. In his concluderunt librorum numerum ueteris testamenti.

process to Origen's identifying the scrolled sealed seven times with all scripture, old and new (Apoc. 5.1-5; 3.7),¹⁰²⁶ since here Victorinus implies, in effect, that the Old Testament itself contains and is the New. This will prove essential to his thesis of exegetical prophecy.

While partial to the twenty two book division, Jerome not only knew of the twenty four one, he associated it with the twenty four elders of the Apocalypse, this perhaps being the mystery of the canon transformed of which he speaks,¹⁰²⁷ the Bible Hebrew's being transformed into the Greek, then Latin, of the gentiles.

1. 10-11. **Animalia...quod differenti uultu sunt, hanc habent rationem.** "Igitur" implies this sentence holds the logical conclusion of what has gone before *i.e.* because the books of the Old Testament and the twenty four elders are interchangeable aspects of each other, so the *animalia* may have the same quality *i.e.* "differenti uultu sunt. hanc...rationem": "rationem" may have the double meaning of "reason" *i.e.* "calculation" or "cause".¹⁰²⁸ Here it may be ambiguous: the *libri* of the Old Testament have *reason* insofar as they are conscious intelligent entities, *qua* the "uiginti quattuor patres", and which the *animalia* surely also have. Otherwise "hanc rationem" may mean simply "the cause (that follows)".

4.4

¹⁰²⁶ Origenes, Com. in Io. V 6.1: (SChr 120, l. 5-6); V 7.1 (SChr 120, l. 6-21).

¹⁰²⁷ Hieronymus, Praef. in lib. Psal. iux. Heb. (p. 768, l. 9-15 Fischer / Gribomont / Sparks / Thiele / Weber): si enim amen, pro quo aquila transtulit pepistōmenōs~g, in fine tantum librorum ponitur et non interdum aut in exordio aut in calce sermonis siue sententiae, numquam et saluator in euangelio loqueretur: "amen amen dico uobis", et pauli epistulae in medio illud opere continerent, moyses quoque et hieremias et ceteri in hunc modum multos haberent libros, qui in mediis uoluminibus suis amen frequenter interserunt, sed et numerus uiginti duorum hebraicorum librorum et mysterium eiusdem numeri commutabitur.

¹⁰²⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *ratio* I. *a reckoning, account, calculation, computation*, 1525; II. Trop. B. (g). 2. b. The *reasonable cause* of a thing, 1527. Rhet. ad Heren. II 18.28 (p. 48, l. 7-10 Marx): Ratio est quae causam demonstrat, uerum esse id, quod intendimus, breui subiectione. Rationis confirmatio est ea, quae pluribus argumentis conroborat breuiter expositam rationem.

1. 1. **Simile leoni animal** etc. Irenaeus first expounded at length on the four animals,¹⁰²⁹ and is likely Victorinus' source. **cata Iohannem**. "Cata" is a Hellenism,¹⁰³⁰ of which there were likely many in the Poetovian liturgy.

1. 2-4. **praedicaerunt...praedicauit**. A use of *praedicare* (basic meaning: *cry in public*) as *preach*, not *prophesy*.¹⁰³¹

1. 3. **ille autem illum...deum**. The first pronoun refers to John, the second to Christ: a possible effort at style. "Illum...deum": the ellipsis of *esse* is typical of Victorinus' compressed style, perhaps suggesting the work is in note form: Jerome elaborates on this

¹⁰²⁹ Irenaeus, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, 168-169, l. 1-25): Τί δήποτε οὔτε πλείονα οὔτε ἐλάττονα τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰσι τὰ εὐαγγέλια; Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, κατέσπαρται δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, στῦλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ Πνεῦμα ζωῆς, εἰκότως τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐξ ὧν φανερόν ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων Τεχνίτης Λόγος, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ καὶ συνέχων τὰ πάντα, φανερωθεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνὶ δὲ Πνεύματι συνεχόμενον. Καθὼς ὁ Δαυὶδ αἰτούμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν φησὶν· «Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, ἐμφάνηθι.» Καὶ γὰρ τὰ Χερουβίμ τετραπρόσωπα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰκόνες τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. «Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ζῶον», φησὶν, «ὅμοιον λέοντι», τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον· «τὸ δὲ δευτέρον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ», τὴν ἱερουργικὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν τάξιν ἐμφαίνον· «τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἔχον πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου», τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν φανερώτατα διαγράφον· ἄτὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετωμένῳ», τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον. Καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια οὖν τούτοις σύμφωνα, ἐν οἷς ἐγκαθέζεται Χριστός; (SChr 211, 169-170, l. 175-198): Neque autem plura numero quam haec sunt neque rursus pauciora capit esse Euangelia. Quoniam enim quattuor regiones | mundi sunt in quo sumus et quattuor principales spiritus et disseminata est Ecclesia super omnem terram, columna autem et firmamentum Ecclesiae est Euangelium et Spiritus uitae, consequens est quattuor habere eam columnas undique flantes incorruptibilitatem et uiuificantes homines. Ex quibus manifestum est quoniam qui est omnium Artifex Verbum, qui sedit super Cherubim et continet omnia, declaratus hominibus, dedit nobis quadriforme Euangelium quod uno Spiritu continetur. Quemadmodum et Daud postulans eius aduentum ait: Qui sedes super Cherubim, appare. Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans. Et Euangelia igitur his consonantia, in quibus insidet Christus Iesus.

¹⁰³⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *cata*, κατὰ, *by*, 300.

¹⁰³¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praedico* I. *to cry in public, publish, proclaim*; I. B. Trans. 3. *to preach the gospel*; II. A. *predict, foretell*, 1416-1417.

passage at considerable length. In any case, for Victorinus, John *especially* preaches Christ's eternal divinity.

l. 3. **Antequam descenderet.** “Descenderet” is Johannine,¹⁰³² while “antequam” stresses the interest in Christ's pre-existence unique to John's Gospel.

l. 3-4. **carnem sumeret.** The language of *taking up* surely reflects Io. 10.18.¹⁰³³ Tertullian had first used the expression explicitly of the Incarnation.¹⁰³⁴

l. 4. **Deus erat uerbum.** “Erat” shows that what concerns Victorinus is Christ's pre-existence as the Word, corresponding to “qui erat” in the triadic chant of the *animalia*.

l. 5. **tamquam leo fremens.** Cf. Is. 31.4.¹⁰³⁵ **exclamauit.** Cf. Io. 1.23;¹⁰³⁶ Is. 40.3.¹⁰³⁷ The verb common to all is βoᾶν, which is why Victorinus interprets a human cry in terms of an

¹⁰³² Io. 3.13 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 21 Belsheim): Nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui erat in caelis; 6.38 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 27 Belsheim): quoniam non discendi de caelo ut faciam uoluntatem meam. Sed uoluntatem eius qui me misit pater.

¹⁰³³ For the use of *sumere*: Io. 10.18 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 34 Belsheim): nemo tollit eam a me sed ego ponam illam a me ipso. potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo sumendi eam. hoc mandatum accepi a patre meo.

¹⁰³⁴ Tertullianus, De carn. Christ. . 6 (CC SL 2, l. 60-63): Igitur cum relatum non sit, unde sumpserint carnem, relinquatur intellectui nostro non dubitare hoc esse proprium angelicae potestatis, ex nulla materia corpus sibi sumere. Irenaeus alludes to the flesh taken from Mary: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 22.1 (SChr 211, l. 30-41): Aut si nihil sumpsisset ex Maria, numquam eas quae a terra erant percepisset escas, per quas id quod a terra sumptum est nutrireretur corpus; nec XL diebus, quemadmodum Moyses et Helias, ieiunans esurisset corpus eius, suam quaerens escam; sed nec Iohannes discipulus eius de eo scribens dixisset: Iesus autem fatigatus in itinere sedit; nec Daud praeclassasset in eum: Et super dolorem uulnerum meorum apposuerunt; nec lacrymasset super Lazarum; nec sudasset globos sanguinis; nec dixisset quod Tristis est anima mea; nec percusso latere exisset sanguis et aqua.

More commonly he refers to the flesh or body as *taken (sumptum) from the earth*: e.g. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 22. (SChr 211, l. 41-42): Haec enim omnia signa carnis quae a terra sumpta est, quam in se recapitulatus est, suum πλάσμα saluans. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 27.3 (SChr 264, l. 34-37): Salutem autem solum animarum esse futuram earum quae eius doctrinam didicissent, corpus autem, uidelicet quoniam a terra sit sumptum, impossibile esse participare salutem. Dunn, The Ancestry of Jesus according to Tertullian: ex David per Mariam, in: Wiles / Yarnold (eds), SP 36, 355. Braun, Deus Christianorum, 310.

¹⁰³⁵ Is. 31.4 (p. 607 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὅτι οὕτως εἶπέν μοι κύριος ὃν τρόπον ἐὰν βοήσῃ ὁ λέων ἢ ὁ σκύμνος ἐπὶ τῇ θήρᾳ ἢ ἔλαβεν καὶ κεκράξῃ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἕως ἂν ἐμπλησθῇ τὰ ὄρη τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ

animal's roar. *Fremere* can mean *to growl* or *to murmur*, as much as *to roar*,¹⁰³⁸ hence Jerome's less ambiguous "in heremo rugiens auditur", which follows his use of *rugire* in translating of the verse Is. 31.4 as used in Io. 1.23. This might be a good instance of the imprecision of Victorinus' Latin, wherewith the Stridonian charges it. Thus he also moderates Victorinus' "exclamantis" to "clamantis".¹⁰³⁹

I. 5-6. **leonis uultum sustinet praedicatio eius.** Victorinus surely draws on Irenaeus: "For the first living creature', [scripture] says, 'was like a lion, representing his effectual power, chiefly and royal'".¹⁰⁴⁰ "Vultum sustinet" is possibly a theatrical metaphor, *uultus* being equivalent to *persona* or *mask*,¹⁰⁴¹ with an implied personification of *praedicatio*.

καὶ ἠττήθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐπτοήθησαν οὕτως καταβήσεται κύριος σαβαωθ ἐπιστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σιών ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη αὐτῆς; (Vg; p. 655 Hetzenauer): Quia haec dicit Dominus ad me: Quomodo si rugiat leo et catulus leonis super praedam suam; et cum occurrerit ei multitudo pastorum, a uoce eorum non formidabit, et a multitudine eorum non pauebit: sic descendet Dominus exercituum ut praelietur super montem Sion et super collem eius.

¹⁰³⁶ Io. 1.23 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 18 Belsheim): et dixit ego sum clamantis in deserto dirigite uiam dni rectas rectas facite semitas di nostri sicut dixit eseias profeta; (VL; Cod. a / 3; p. 40 Belsheim): Qui respondit: Ego uox clamantis in deserto: Dirigite uiam Domini sicut dixit Esaias profeta.

¹⁰³⁷ Is. 40.3 (p. 619 Rahlfs-Hanhart): φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; (Vg; p. 661 Hetzenauer): uox clamantis in deserto: Parate uiam Domini, rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri.

¹⁰³⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *fremo* I. a. 1. *to make a low roaring, to roar, resound, to growl, murmur, rage, snort, howl*; II. *to murmur, grumble, growl, rage at or after anything, to complain loudly*, 779.

¹⁰³⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (R. H.; p. 51 Haussleiter): in heremo rugiens auditur: uox clamantis in deserto: parate uiam domino.

¹⁰⁴⁰ My translation: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, 169, l. 14-23): Καὶ γὰρ τὰ Χερουβὶμ τετραπρόσωπα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰκόνες τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. «Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ζῶον», φησὶν, ὁμοίον λέοντι, τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον. «τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ, τὴν ἱερουργικὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν τάξιν ἐμφαίνον. «τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἔχον πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου», τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν φανερώτατα διαγράφον. «τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετωμένῳ», τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον; (SChr 211, 170, l. 188-197): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: *primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans*; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.

¹⁰⁴¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *uultus* II. Transf. 2. *a painted face or portrait*, 2017; *sustinere* I. Lit. A. *hold up e.g. of arma membraque*: Titus Liuius, Ab urb. cond. XXIII 45.3 (p. 43, l. 26 Weissenborn / Müller / Dorey / Walsh / Briscoe): reliquias illorum virorum vix arma membra que sustinentis pugnare.

l. 6-7. **Hominis Matheus enititur...genus Mariae.** “Hominis” could be a partitive genitive with “enititur” in its less common sense of “gives birth to”:¹⁰⁴² Matthew’s Gospel is born from its author’s labour pains. Jerome perhaps misunderstands and supplies “figura”.¹⁰⁴³ **nobis.** Another sermonal apostrophe. **genus Mariae...accepit Christus.** The lineage (“genus”) given by the *canonical* Matthew ends in “Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born” (Matth. 1.16), not Mary, unlike in Luc. 3.23). But *genus* can also mean *birth*,¹⁰⁴⁴ and here equates to *Μαριάς ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς* (likely translating Irenaeus’ *γέννησιν*)¹⁰⁴⁵ and surely by no means coincidentally echoes the use of *gignere* in the Old Latin reading found in the Codex Bobiensis, “Maria genuit hin[=Iesum]...Christus”.¹⁰⁴⁶

l. 8-9. **ab Abraham...ad Ioseph.** Victorinus omits specifying the third of Matthew’s sets of fourteen names, that from the exile: Jechoniah to Joseph (Matth. 1.12-16), which he assumes to “ab Dauid usque ad Ioseph”. The omission almost certainly occurs because he is following Irenaeus’ citing of only Abraham and David as Christ’s forebears.¹⁰⁴⁷

l. 8-9. **dum enumerat...tamquam de homine locutus est.** A curious mix of present and perfect tenses that perhaps illustrates Victorinus concern with *pre-existent* truth (a thoroughly patristic concern): while Matthew recounts the lineage of Christ, he *has spoken*, as from a

¹⁰⁴² Lewis and Short, *enitor* II. Act. A. *to bring forth, bear* children or young, 648.

¹⁰⁴³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Io. 4.4 (R. H.; p. 51, l. 11 Haussleiter)

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lewis and Short, *genus* 1. *birth, descent, origin; a race, stock etc (cf. familia, gens, stirps)*, 810.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, 168, l. 11): Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν κηρύττει, λέγων· «Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαυίδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ.»

¹⁰⁴⁶ Matth. 1.16 (p. Nestle-Aland): ; (VL; Cod. k / 1; p. 24 Wordsworth): et iacob genuit iosef cui de sponsata uirgo maria genuit hin; (VL; Cod. a / 3; p. 1 Belsheim): Iacob autem genuit Ioseph; cui desponsata Virgo Maria genuit Iesum, qui dicitur Christus.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, 170, l. 208-212): Matthaesus uero eam quae est secundum hominem generationem eius enarrat: Liber, dicens, generationis Iesu Christi, filii Dauid, filii Abraham; et iterum: Christi autem generatio sic erat. Humanae formae igitur Euangelium hoc: propter hoc et per totum Euangelium humiliter sentiens et mitis homo seruatus est.

human point of view. “De” is in its basic sense of *from* rather than *about*.¹⁰⁴⁸ “Homine”, in the same sense as “hominis” above *i.e.* “genus”, “race” or “stock”, is the material essence of what it is to be human. The interpretation owes much to Irenaeus. In Rufinus' Latin translation the terms *humanus*, *homo* and *humiliter* are closely linked,¹⁰⁴⁹ possibly around a root of *humus*, *soil*,¹⁰⁵⁰ so there is unlikely a connection with the original Greek. Victorinus' use of *effigies* below, usually of *plastic* representations, likely echoes the bishop of Lyons' using *πλάσις* (*plasmatio*)¹⁰⁵¹ of Adam from the primal mud.¹⁰⁵²

1. 10. **praedicatio eius effigiem hominis accepit.** “Praedicatio eius” is again a personification of the act of preaching. *Effigies* has the basic meaning of an *artistic copy* of something, often a *plastic statue* or *portrait*.¹⁰⁵³ It *could* allude to the clay mask of Greek and Roman theatre.¹⁰⁵⁴

1. 11. **Zachariae offerentis hostiam pro populo.** A conflation of Luc. 1.9-10 and Heb.

7.27,¹⁰⁵⁵ in which Victorinus alone before Jerome employs *offerre hostiam* of Old Latin

¹⁰⁴⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *de I. from*; I. C. (g). 4. *about, concerning*, 514.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 211, 170, l. 212-214): *Humanae formae igitur Euangelium hoc: propter hoc et per totum Euangelium humiliter sentiens et mitis homo seruat est.*

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. Hieronymus, *Lib interpret. hebr. nom.* (CC SL 72, 2 l. 25): *adama humus uel terra siue terrena.*

¹⁰⁵¹ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, *πλάσις* A. *a moulding, conformation*, 1190. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *plasmatio* I. *a forming, fashioning, creating*, 1386.

¹⁰⁵² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* I 1.20 (l. 13-15 Harvey): *Σὰρξ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχαία ἐκ τοῦ χοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἠγγεγονυῖα πλάσις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν ἀληθῶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ Ἰωάννης;* I 9.3 (SChr 264, l. 66-68): *Caro autem est illa uetus de limo secundum Adam facta plasmatio a Deo, quam uere factum Verbum Dei manifestauit Iohannes.*

¹⁰⁵³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *effigies* II. the plastic (less freq. the pictorial) representation of an object, *an image, statue, portrait*; from *effigio* I. *to form, fashion, portray*, 630.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De uerb. sign.* XI (p. 385, l. 3-4 Valpy): *Manduci effigies in pompa antiquorum inter ceteras ridiculas, formidolosas queres ire solebat.* Beare, *The Roman Stage: A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic*, 366, n. 8 (for chapter 16).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Luc. 1.9-10 (p. 151 Nestle-Aland): *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἔξω τῆ ὥρα τοῦ θυμιάματος;* (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 49 Belsheim): *secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii sors illi exiuit ut incens--neret et ingressus in templum dni. et omnes turba populi fuit adhorans illa hora supplicationis eius;* (VL; Cod. a / 3; p. 71 Belsheim): *...censum poneret ingres... tem....* Heb. 7.27 (p. 573 Nestle-Aland): *ὃς οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνάγκην, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμαρτιῶν θυσίας ἀναφέρειν, ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ*

readings (usually *incensum ponere*) to translate Luke's/Hebrews'/Irenaeus'

θυμιᾶσαι/θυμιᾶν¹⁰⁵⁶ (which Rufinus renders by *sacrificare*,¹⁰⁵⁷ witnessed once by the Vetus Latina).¹⁰⁵⁸ "Pro populo" translates Hebrews' ὑπὲρ... τοῦ λαοῦ.

l. 12. <a> **sacerdotio** i.e. *from the time of*¹⁰⁵⁹ Zachariah's priesthood. **et apparente sibi angelo**. Cf. Luc. 1.11.¹⁰⁶⁰ **dum enumerat**. The subject is surely Luke, picked up in the following clause by the circumlocution "conscriptio". Resembling *In Apoc.* 4.4, l. 8, the peripheral *dum* clause probably suggests Luke narrates *from Zacharias'* sacrificing and Gabriel's appearance. *Enumerare* originally means *reckon* or *count up*, thence *recount*,¹⁰⁶¹ in the VL and the Vg: cf. Luc. 1.8-11.¹⁰⁶² Thus Jerome prefers "enarrat".¹⁰⁶³ But is Victorinus intending to partly translate ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ, "in the rank of his [priestly] division" of Luc. 1.8, generally "in ordine suae uicis" in the Old Latin?¹⁰⁶⁴

Improperly understood or remembered, it may echo for the Poetovian the opening of Luke,

τοῦτο γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἐπάπαξ ἑαυτὸν ἀνενέγκας.; (Vg; p. 1102 Hetzenauer): qui non habet necessitatem quotidie, quemadmodum sacerdotes, prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populi: hoc enim fecit semel, seipsum offerendo.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 28-30): Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, ἅτε ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτηῆρος ὑπάρχων, ἀπὸ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιῶντος τῷ Θεῷ ἤρξατο.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 204-208): Id uero quod est secundum Lucam, quoniam quidem sacerdotalis characteris est, a Zacharia sacerdote sacrificante Deo inchoauit. Iam enim saginatus parabatur uitulus, qui pro inuentione minoris filii inciperet mactari. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 171; 2, 3.2, n.36.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Luc. 1.9 (VL; Cod. d / 5; p. 160 Scrivener): sacrificare. Cod. 27 (p. 195 Rettig) witnesses once to "thimiamatizare".

¹⁰⁵⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *a, ab* II. A. 1. *From a point of time*, 1.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Luc. 1.11 (p. 151 Nestle-Aland): ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστῶς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμιάματος; (VL; Cod. b / ; p. 77 Belsheim): Apparuit autem illi angelus stans a dextris altarii incensi.

¹⁰⁶¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *numero* I. *to reckon up, count over, count out* II. *to enumerate in speaking, to recount, relate*, 649. TLL, s. v. *enumerare*, c, 618, 53.

¹⁰⁶² Luc. 1.8-11 (p. 150 Nestle-Aland): ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλήθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἔξω τῆ ὥρα τοῦ θυμιάματος. ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστῶς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμιάματος.

¹⁰⁶³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. (R. H.; p. 51, l. 17 Haussleiter).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Luc. 1.8 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 49 Belsheim): Factum est autem cum sacerdotium administraret in ordine uicis suae ante dnm.

ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν,¹⁰⁶⁵ "to set in order a narrative" (one example of the VL: "ordinare rerum narrationem"),¹⁰⁶⁶ which may be why he repeats the phrase.

l. 12-13. **propter sacerdotium et hostiam.** Dulaey observes that Victorinus likely alludes to Christ as both victim and officiating priest at his own sacrifice (Heb. 7.27).¹⁰⁶⁷

l. 13. **ipsa conscriptio.** "Ipsa" again suggests personification of Luke's account.

"Conscriptio" means here a "representation in writing".¹⁰⁶⁸ **uituli tulit imaginem.** *Imago* can mean *the image on a seal or signet ring*; or the *wax image* of a distinguished Roman, carried in a funeral procession.¹⁰⁶⁹ Luke the Gospel is the executed Mosaic law of atonement, incarnate in Christ as both priest and victim.

l. 14-15. **Marcus interpres Petri...non ordine.** Victorinus derives all this from Irenaeus, in Latin "Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri et ipse quae a Petro adnuntiata erant per scripta nobis tradidit",¹⁰⁷⁰ but for two details. What underlies "In munere docebat" does not appear in Irenaeus, but surely conveys the detail found in Eusebius: πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας. *Munus* renders χρεία, *qua* their shared sense of *public* or *military service*;¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁶⁵ Luc. 1.1. (p. 150 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Luc. 1.1. (VL; Cod. c / 6; p. 65 Belsheim): Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare rerum narrationem quae in nobis completae sunt; (VL; Cod. ff² / 8; p. 60 Belsheim): Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare rerum narrationem quae in nobis complete sunt.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio, 171.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *conscriptio* II. In concr., *a representation, treatise, writing*, 426. TLL, s. v. *conscriptio*, c. 377, 20s. .

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lewis and Short, *imago* I. Lit. A. *the image on the seal, the signet* B. In partic., *an ancestral image* of a Roman noble, set in an atrium, or borne in a funeral procession.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 3.1 (SChr 211, l. 20-23): Post uero horum excessum, Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri et ipse quae a Petro adnuntiata erant per scripta nobis tradidit; cf. Adu. haer. III 10.6 (SChr 211, 134, l. 175); et cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV 5.3 (CC SL 1, 551, l. 7): licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri adfirmetur, cuius interpres Marcus.

¹⁰⁷¹ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, χρεία A. II. b. *military or naval service*

thus it means *duty, function or obligation i.e. as necessity dictated*,¹⁰⁷² in contrast with “ordine”. **commemoratus** ≡ *mentionem facere*.¹⁰⁷³ “flattens” (to use Houghton's term)¹⁰⁷⁴ Papias' ἐμνημόνευσεν of Peter directly, as Victorinus often does with scripture in his lemma. **conscriptit**. Presumably stands for ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, in the sense that Victorinus associates *writing accurately* (ἀκριβῶς) with *writing fully*.¹⁰⁷⁵ **non ordine**. A detail also found in Eusebius' account of the tradition of Papias, who stresses Peter made no attempt to compose a biography with a beginning, middle and end.¹⁰⁷⁶ Or else Victorinus must have read another version of Papias' saying. In any case there is surely an analogy between *conscribere* and Luke-the-Gospel *qua* his *conscriptio i.e.* he is mystically both messenger and message.

l. 15-16. **incipit prophetiae uerbo per Esaiam praenuntiato**. Cf. Marc. 1.2,¹⁰⁷⁷ which this compresses *e.g. uerbum praenuntiatum* renders “angelum...qui praeparauit uiam tuam”, for instance. In a similar fashion, the *Anonymous Preface to Mark* infers that Mal. 3.1 (albeit (mis)attributed to Isaiah (Is. 40.1)) signifies that “Malachi/Malachias” means “angel/angelus”,

¹⁰⁷² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *munus* I. Lit. *duty, office, obligation* II. Transf. 2. B. *A service, favor* C. a. *A public show, spectacle, entertainment, exhibition*, 1178.

¹⁰⁷³ TLL, s. v. *commemorare*, c. 1835, 56.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Whereby an active is often turned passive, to make it more concise.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *conscribo* II. *compose* (d). B. Meton. *to write something all over, to fill with writing*, 427.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. III 39.15 (SChr 31, l. 1-9): «καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ· ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σὺν ταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ᾧ ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς».

¹⁰⁷⁷ Marc. 1.2 (p. 88 Nestle-Aland): καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου; (VL; Cod. d / 5; p. 263 Scrivener): sicut scriptum est in esaiam prophetam ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparauit uiam tuam; (VL; Cod. c / 6; p. 40 Belsheim): Sicut scriptum est in Ysaia propheta Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit uiam tuam.

even as "angel" means "messenger/nuntius" and hence "herald of Christ / praenuntium Christi"), in Hebrew, Greek and Latin respectively.¹⁰⁷⁸

l. 17. **incipiunt...dicendo.** "Incipiunt" as the third person plural refers either to the Godhead; or to the Gospels themselves, implying that, in some sense, that of *John* precedes the others, as Victorinus' citing of his prologue affirms. He surely echoes Origen's defining John as the *first fruits* of both Gospels and all scripture.¹⁰⁷⁹

l. 17-18. **In principio...erat Verbum.** Cf Io. 1.1.¹⁰⁸⁰ Irenaeus first links the primacy of the first creature with the beginning of the beginning of John.¹⁰⁸¹

l. 19. **haec facies leonis.** This derives from Irenaeus, who associates Io. 1.1's Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος with Apoc. 4.7's καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι,¹⁰⁸² and which he says points to Christ's regal character and confidence.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁸ Anonymus, Praef. sec. Marc. (CC SL 108B, l. 88-90): Apte duo haec nomina marcus posuit ad initium euangelii, nam malachias ebraicae, angelus grece, nuntius latine praenuntium christi <interpretatur et> significat iohannem.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. I 4 (21; SChr 120, l. 8-11): ἀπαρχὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων εἶναι τὸ προστεταγμένον ἡμῖν ὑπὸ σοῦ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐρευνῆσαι, τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, τὸν γενεαλογούμενον εἶπὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγενεαλογήτου ἀρχόμενον.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Io. 1.1 (p. 247 Nestle-Aland): Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος; (VL; Cod. ; p.): In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.

¹⁰⁸¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 16-18): «Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ζῶον», φησίν, «ὅμοιον λέοντι», τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 188-204): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans. Aliud enim illam quae est a Patre principalem et efficabilem et gloriosam generationem eius enarrat, dicens sic: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; et: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Propter hoc et omni fiducia plenum est Euangelium istud: talis est enim persona eius.

¹⁰⁸² Apoc. 4.7 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland): καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῶον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῶον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῶον ὅμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.

¹⁰⁸³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 16-18): «Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ζῶον», φησίν, «ὅμοιον λέοντι», τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον; Irenaeus

1. 19-20. **Matheus...liber generationis Iesu Christi...haec facies hominis.** For Victorinus “generationis Iesu Christi” (translates Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Matth. 1.1) is analogous to “genus Mariae” (*In Apoc.* 4.4, 1.7): procreation¹⁰⁸⁴ is the (rather obvious) material essence of humanity. This derives from Irenaeus.¹⁰⁸⁵ **filius Dei.** Cf. the Irenaeian and Vulgate tradition of Marc. 1.1,¹⁰⁸⁶ which Victorinus' version does not reflect, and yet with which Victorinus may have joined Matth. 1.1. Jerome separates both, albeit in succession, Matthew remaining human, Mark now leonine, rather than aquiline, for his voice.¹⁰⁸⁷ This line is missing from the earliest Greek and Latin codices of Marc. 1.1,¹⁰⁸⁸ omitted by Origen,¹⁰⁸⁹ and first appears in the Latin Irenaeus (but omitted in the Greek).¹⁰⁹⁰ Victorinus

Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 188-198): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans. Et Euangelia igitur his consonantia, in quibus insidet Christus Iesus.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *generatio* I. *a begetting, generating, generation*, 806.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (Greek: SChr 211, 168, l. 11); (Latin: SChr 211, 170, l. 208-212): *Iren. haer.* 3, 11, 8 (SC 211, p. 160-170): . ‘Matthew, again, relates His generation as a man, saying, “The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham;” and also, “The birth of Jesus Christ was on the wise.” This, then, is the Gospel of His humanity; for which reason it is, too, that [the character of] a humble and meek man is kept up through the whole Gospel.’

¹⁰⁸⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 10. 6 (SChr 211, l. 175-179): Quapropter et Marcus, interpres et sectator Petri, initium Euangelicae conscriptionis fecit sic: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit uiam tuam. Marc. 1.1 (Vg; p. 929 Hetzenauer): Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi, filii Dei.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. I 1 (CC SL 75, l. 191-194): quidam quattuor euangelia, quos nos quoque in prooemio commentariorum matthaei secuti sumus, horum animalium putant nominibus designari: matthaei, quod quasi hominem descripserit: liber generationis iesu christi, filii dauid, filii abraham; leonis ad marcum referunt: initium euangelii iesu christi, filii dei. sicut scriptum est in esaia propheta: uox clamantis in deserto: parate uiam domini, rectas facite semitas eius;

¹⁰⁸⁸ In Codex Sinaiticus Marc. 1.1-3 are corrupt: Nestle-Aland, 88, n. 1. VL: Cod. 1, Wordsworth; Cod. 2, p. 90 Belsheim: om..

¹⁰⁸⁹ Origenes, Com. in Matth. X 4 (GCS 40.1, l. 25-28): Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν, [ὁ Μάρκος], φησὶν· [«Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐατῶ προφήτῃ.»]

¹⁰⁹⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 10.6 (SChr 211, l. 175-179): Quapropter et Marcus, interpres et sectator Petri, initium Euangelicae conscriptionis fecit sic: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit uiam tuam.

Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.3 (SChr 211, l. 98-104): Propter hoc et Marcus ait: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis, unum et eundem sciens Filium Dei Iesum Christum, qui a prophetis adnuntiatus est, qui ex fructu uentris Dauid, Emmanuel, magni consilii Patris nuntius.

has curiously substituted "filii Dei" for υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ (Matth. 1.1: Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ), clearly *qua* the sense of both as "Messiah". Could Victorinus have been aware of a primitive sense of messianic *son of God* as a purely human, royal figure (*e.g.* 1 Chron. 28.6)?¹⁰⁹¹ This may be the assumption of John, which evinces no explicit knowledge of the virginal conception, though it may of course be alluded to. Charles thinks John originally thought Christ "one born naturally in the midst of the community", *via* "a Jewish source".¹⁰⁹² In Revelation, the title "Son of God" occurs but once (Apoc. 2.18), and Charles considers it more subordinationist than equal and one with the Father.¹⁰⁹³ Thus, perhaps significantly, the author may have seen such a Sonship as compatible with natural conception and birth. Victorinus would never had read John in this way, of course, but is he at some level aware of the problem, perhaps *contra* assertions of such as Gaius? Was this his attempt to reconcile the Davidic and divine sons of God?¹⁰⁹⁴ Most likely Victorinus so expresses himself because he feels it insufficient to stress Jesus' human facet without mentioning his divine sonship, while evincing a concern with Ebionism which he shows elsewhere.¹⁰⁹⁵ The problem was, of course, that Joseph's Davidic ancestry (Matthew 1.6-16) scarcely affects Jesus' genetic humanity, which is why Matthew has to tag on its relevance to Jesus' birth indirectly *i.e.* his legal status as Joseph's assumed son by his wife Mary, whereby

Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11 (SChr 211, l. 35-38): Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο λέγων· «Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ.» Lamarche, "Commencement de l'Évangile de Jésus-Christ Fils de Dieu" (Mc 1, 1), in: NRT 92.10 (1970), 1032-1033.

¹⁰⁹¹ 1 Chron. 28.6 (LXX; p. 808 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ θεός Σαλωμων ὁ υἱός σου οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκόν μου καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν μου ὅτι ἡρέτικα ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι μου υἱόν κἀγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα; (VL; Orosius, Lib. apol. con. Pelag. 24.5 (CSEL 5, 643, l. 3-4): de Salomone uero testatur: ipsum elegi mihi in filium, et ego ero ei in patrem.

¹⁰⁹² Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, cxi.

¹⁰⁹³ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1. 1, cxii.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Lamarche, "Commencement de l'Évangile de Jésus-Christ Fils de Dieu" (Mc 1, 1), in NRT 92 / 10 (1970), 1033-1034.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 4-8): Cum essent enim Valentinus et Cerinthus et Ebion et cetera scola <Satanae> sparsa per orbem, conuenerunt ad illum de finitimis ciuitatibus episcopi et compulerunt eum, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet in Dominum.

he is royal Messiah (Matth. 1.16).¹⁰⁹⁶ Victorinus' is an attempt to square this particular circle, "son of God" bridging the gap of Jesus' non-human paternity.

l. 21-23. **Lucas...Fuit sacerdos...Zacharias...est imago uituli.** Partly derived from Irenaeus.¹⁰⁹⁷ **de uice abia.** The normal Old Latin rendering of Luc. 1.5.¹⁰⁹⁸ **mulier.** A literal though unique rendering here in the Vetus Latina of γυνή, which almost always has "uxor", and an odd choice, given *mulier* need not mean a *married* woman.¹⁰⁹⁹ It translates Jesus' rude address of Mary in Io. 2.4.¹¹⁰⁰ Victorinus also uses the term of the seven churches-women of his midrash of Apoc. 1.4-20 and Is. 4.1a.¹¹⁰¹ It may indicate Victorinus' awkwardness with Latin, or a colloquial usage in Poetovio. **illi erat de filiabus Aaron.** The usual Old reading, unless it is Victorinus' explanation for Irenaeus' "For now was made ready the fatted calf, about to be immolated for the finding again of the younger son". Perhaps "the younger son" is Jesus, while the implicit "elder son" is John the Baptist, and "mulier illi erat de filiabus Aaron" is intended to introduce *Elizabeth*, his mother. **Haec est imago uituli.** In Irenaeus, the calf is that which figuratively Zacharias was preparing to sacrifice, *qua* the fatted calf of Luc.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Kingsbury, *The Birth Narrative of Matthew*, in: Aune (ed.), *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson*, 163-164.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 211, 160-170, l. 188-197): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Luc. 1.5 (VL; Cod. e / 2; p. 49 Belsheim): Fuit in diebus herodes reges iudae sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias de uice abiam et uxor illius de filiabus aron et nomen eius elisabet; (VL; Cod. d / 5 ; p. 160 Scrivener): Fuit in diebus herodis regis iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias de uice abia et uxor illi de filiabus aaron et nomen eius elisabet; (VL; Cod. c / 6; p. 65 Belsheim): Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae Sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de uice Abia, et uxor illi de filiabus Aaron, et nomen eius Elisabet.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *mulier* I. *a woman, a female*, whether married or not, 1172.

¹¹⁰⁰ Io. 2.4 (VL; Cod. e / 2 ; p. 19 Belsheim): Et respondens ihs dixit mihi et tibi mulier nondum uenit hora mea.

¹¹⁰¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.7 (SChr 423, 54, l. 16-21): Hunc typum a Spiritu Sancto per Esaia praedicari legimus de septem mulieribus quae adprehenderunt hominem unum. Septem mulieres ecclesiae sunt, or panem accipientes suum et tunicis suis uelatae, quae petunt auferri improprium suum, ut inuocetur nomen illius super illas.

15.23, slain for the younger son (likely ≡ the gentiles; despite the elder ≡ the Jews), which is thus Christ himself.¹¹⁰²

l. 23-25. **Initium euangelium Iesu Christi sicut scriptum est in Esaia.** Cf. Marc. 1.1-2, of which version this is the earliest Old Latin, and perhaps any, witness.¹¹⁰³ **aduolante Spiritu coeptum est, ideo uolantis aquilae habet et effigiem.** Derives closely from Irenaeus: «τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον ἀετῶ πετωμένῳ», τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιτήν ἐκκλησίαν ἐφιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον,¹¹⁰⁴ *effigies* rendering the μορφή of ἡ τῶν ζώων μορφή.¹¹⁰⁵ Victorinus omits the rest of Irenaeus' explaining the wing-ed, prophetic nature of Mark's Gospel as consisting in its "concise and vanguard message" ("compendiosam et praecurrentem adnuntiationem fecit");¹¹⁰⁶ but then follows its moral, in a summary of the

¹¹⁰² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 207-208): *Iam enim saginatus parabatur uitululus, qui pro inuentione minoris filii inciperet mactari.*

¹¹⁰³ Marc. 1.1 (Cod. s; p. 88 Nestle-Aland): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [υἱοῦ θεοῦ]; (VL: Cod. 1, Wordsworth; Cod. 2, p. 90 Belsheim): om. Marc. 1.2 (p. 88 Nestle-Aland): καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου; (VL; Cod. d / 5; p. 263 Scrivener): *sicut scriptum est in esaia prophetam ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparauit uiam tuam;* (VL; Cod. c / 6; p. 40 Belsheim): *Sicut scriptum est in Ysaia propheta Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit uiam tuam.* Cf. the Greek of Irenaeus: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 37-38): «Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ.»; also Origenes, Com. in Rom. I 5 (AGLB 16, 53, l. 44-47): *In aliis locis scripturae euangelium Christi esse || dicunt sicut et Marcus euangelista scribit: 'initium euangelii Iesu Christi sicut scriptum est in Esaia profeta'.* But Cf. the variation beneath the Latin translation of Irenaeus: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 10.6 (SChr 211, l. 175-179): *Quapropter et Marcus, interpres et sectator Petri, initium Euangelicae conscriptionis fecit sic: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit uiam tuam.* Which seems to source Jerome's version repeatedly: Marc. 1.1 (Vg; p. 929 Hetzenauer): *Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi, filii Dei.*

¹¹⁰⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 21-23): «τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον ἀετῶ πετωμένῳ», τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιτήν ἐκκλησίαν ἐφιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον; (SChr 211, l. 188-197): *Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.*

¹¹⁰⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 45-46): *τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν ζώων ἡ μορφή· καὶ ὅποια ἡ τῶν ζώων μορφή.*

¹¹⁰⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 214-220): *Marcus uero a prophético Spiritu ex alto adueniente hominibus initium fecit: Initium, dicens, Euangelii, quemadmodum scriptum est in Esaia propheta, uolatilem et pennatam imaginem Euangelii monstrans; propter hoc et compendiosam et praecurrentem adnuntiationem fecit: propheticus enim character est hic; ["the fourth was like a flying eagle," pointing out the*

Rule of Faith. Charles notes how the eagle was an ancient Babylonian symbol of the winds.¹¹⁰⁷ Irenaeus associates the Gospels with "the four universal (catholic) winds".¹¹⁰⁸

1. 26-28. **Non solum autem Spiritus propheticus...sed ipsum Verbum Dei Patris**

omnipotentis, qui est filius ipsius, Dominus noster Iesus Christus. *Propheticus* is a rare Latin adjective, first appearing in Tertullian,¹¹⁰⁹ perhaps reflecting Victorinus' Greek cultural background. The concept following, the description of Mark, perhaps alludes to that in Irenaeus above. Here "prophetic spirit" may suggest the Father in contrast with the Son. This would be odd, given that the following "imagines" clearly refer to the evangelists *i.e.* the (at some level) later New Testament. But it would accord well with the Poetovian's agenda to commingle and equate both covenants. "qui est filius ipsius" is a slightly awkward expression, "ipsius" referring to "Dei Patris omnipotentis", *not* the subject "filius...Dominus noster Iesus Christus", unless in some way Victorinus so conceives of the Father, which again might suggest an allusion to the Old Testament as witness to the New,¹¹¹⁰ despite the apparent logical contradictions. This interpretation would be aided by Irenaeus' apparently assigning the four cherubim four "universal covenants" respectively, the first with Adam until Noah

gift of the Spirit hovering with his wings over the Church]... Mark, on the other hand, commences with [a reference to] the prophetic spirit coming down from on high to men, saying, 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Esaias the prophet,' – *pointing to the winged aspect of the Gospel; and on this account he made a compendious and cursory narrative, for such is the prophetic character*": this last is an interesting comment on prophetic literature, and it is perhaps comparable to the notion of Classical Greek and Latin epic, and other, poetry, as derived from the Muses, or other deities. Tertullian seems to make an implicit association: Tertullianus, De cor. mil. 7 (CC SL 2, l. 20): Moyses propheticus, *non poeticus* pastor.

¹¹⁰⁷ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 122-123.

¹¹⁰⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 2-3): Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ᾧ ἔσμην καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα.

¹¹⁰⁹ Tertullianus, De uirg. uel. 5 (CC SL 2, l. 51): *ergo* non ad euam pertinet, quia nec ad adam, quod propheticum dictum est; De uirg. uel. 6 (CC SL 2, l. 24): Hic certe nihil propheticum dictum uideri potest, ut futuram mulierem, id est nuptam, apostolus nominarit, dicendo factum ex muliere; Tertullianus, De mon. 4 (CC SL 2, l. 12-15): Adiecit et legem de futuro, siquidem propheticum dictum est: et erunt duo in unam carnem; non tres, neque plures: ceterum iam non duo, si plures. Cf. Tertullianus, De cor. mil. 7 (CC SL 2, l. 20). Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *propheticus* I. *predicting, prophetic, prophetic* (eccl. Lat.), 1469.

¹¹¹⁰ Charles thinks the two witnesses of Apoc. 11.4 both the Law and the Prophets, *qua* Moses and Elijah *i.e.* the entire Old Testament: Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 283.

(whose flood corresponds in part with the Old Testament-judgment);¹¹¹¹ the middle two corresponding with Abraham-circumcision and Moses-the Law *i.e.* the Old Testament; the last with Christ-the gospel *i.e.* the New Testament.¹¹¹² That Christ here for Victorinus represents the New Testament-gospel might be evinced by his subsequently echoing Irenaeus' attributing to the latter winged flight (thereby) for humanity.¹¹¹³

l. 28-29. **fert easdem imagines.** *Ferre* can carry the sense of *public disclosure*,¹¹¹⁴ while *imagines* of wax were typically *carried* in funeral processions.¹¹¹⁵ **in tempore aduentus sui ad nos** *i.e.* the Incarnation. The coming of Christ reveals the true aspects of the Word (For Irenaeus, "the forms of *the system / disposition* of the Son of God", ¹¹¹⁶ *πραγματεία/dispositio*'s surely having a *chronological aspect*.¹¹¹⁷ Jesus Christ-the Word comprises the very Gospels *themselves* (for Irenaeus, he *sits upon them*, as God upon the wheels-cherubim: Ez. 11.22).¹¹¹⁸

¹¹¹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 1-7): Significanter solium positum, quod est sedes iudicii et regis; super quem solium uidisse se ait similitudinem iaspidis et sardi, quia iaspis aquae color est et sardius ignis, haec duo testamenta posita esse usque ad consummationem orbis super tribunal Dei exinde manifestabatur; quorum iudiciorum duum unum iam consummatum est in cataclismo per aquam, aliud autem per ignem consummabitur.

¹¹¹² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 47-54) Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τέσσαρες ἐδόθησαν καθολικαὶ διαθήκαι τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· μία μὲν <μετὰ> τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῷ Νῶε, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόξου ῥ δευτέρα δὲ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου τῆς περιτομῆς· τρίτη δὲ ἡ τῆς νομοθεσίας διὰ Μωϋσέως· τετάρτη δὲ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; (SChr 211, l. 230-236): Et propter hoc quattuor data sunt testamenta humano generi: unum quidem ante cataclysmum sub Adam; secundum uero post cataclysmum sub Noe; tertium uero legislatio sub Moyses; quartum uero quod renouat hominem et recapitulat in se omnia, quod est per Euangelium, eleuans et pennigerans homines in caeleste regnum.

¹¹¹³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 236): eleuans et pennigerans homines in caeleste regnum.

¹¹¹⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *fero* II. Trop. B. (g). 6., 739.

¹¹¹⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *imago* I. Lit. B, 890.

¹¹¹⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 14-15): Καὶ γὰρ τὰ Χερουβὶμ τετραπρόσωπα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰκόνες τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (Greek: SChr 211, l. 188-198): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.

¹¹¹⁷ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *πραγματεία* A. III., 1262. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *dispositio* I., 595.

¹¹¹⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 197): Et Euangelia igitur his consonantia, in quibus insidet Christus Iesus.

l. 29-33. **cum praedicatus esset**. The pluperfect is confusing (Jerome alters this to the perfect “*praedicatus est*”),¹¹¹⁹ since it suggests Christ preached *before* he was made man (“*homo factus est*”). Perhaps Victorinus means that Christ the Word *prophesied* (the other meaning of *praedicare*) *beforehand* by the Old Testament. In which case, **tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis** (translates ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος) is Jacob’s (Israel’s) prophesying (Gen. 49.1 et seq.) of Christ directly through Gen. 49.9.¹¹²⁰ **ad mortem deuincendam**. This gloss derives from Hippolytus’ interpretation of ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης> ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος> τίς ἐγερει αὐτόν; as, respectively, Christ’s *death* (ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης)¹¹²¹ and resurrection (ἀνέβης),¹¹²² *via* Act. 2.24 of Christ’s inability “to be mastered (κρατεῖσθαι)” by death.¹¹²³ Upon this Victorinus innovates, perhaps, influenced by Origen, to interpret Gen. 49.9 (ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς

¹¹¹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (R. H.; p. 53, l. 13-14 Haussleiter):

¹¹²⁰ Gen. 49.9 (p. 82 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰουδα ἐκ βλαστοῦ υἱέ μου ἀνέβης ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος τίς ἐγερει αὐτόν?

¹¹²¹ Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Is. et Iac. 78 (PO 27, l. 3-5): Τὸ δὲ «ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος», ἵνα τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς τριημέρου αὐτοῦ ταφῆς ἐπιδείξῃ, ἦν ἀνεπαύσατο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς. ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰπὼν.

¹¹²² Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Is. et Iac. 78 (PO 27, l. 8-10): «τίς ἐγερει αὐτόν»; <καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ οὐδὲς ἐγείρει αὐτόν,> ἀλλὰ τίς, ἵνα νοήσωμεν τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

¹¹²³ Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Is. et Iac. 78 (PO 27, l. 11-12): καὶ ὁ Πέτρος λέγει· «ὄν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν, λύσας τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου, καθ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ»; cf. De antichr. 7 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-6): Λέγει οὖν ὁ μακάριος Ἰακώβ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις προαναφωνῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν οὕτως· „Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσασαι οἱ ἀδελφοί σου αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· προσκυνήσουσί σε οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου. σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰουδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος; 8 (GCS 1.2, l. 4-15): „σκύμνον γὰρ λέοντος“ εἰπὼν ὁ προφήτης τὸν ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ Δαβὶδ, τὸν κατὰ σάρκα γενόμενον παῖδα θεοῦ ἐσήμανεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰπεῖν „ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου ἀνέβης“ ἔδειξε τὸν βλαστήσαντα καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου, μὴ ἐκ σπέρματος γεννώμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀγίου πνεύματος συλλαμβανόμενον, καὶ τούτου ὡς ἐκ βλαστοῦ ἀγίου ἐκ γῆς προερχομένου. Ἡσαΐας μὲν γὰρ λέγει· „ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαΐ, καὶ ἄνθος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναβήσεται.“ τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐα „ἄνθος“ εἰρημένον ὁ Ἰακώβ „βλαστὸν“ εἶρηκεν· πρῶτον γὰρ ἐβλάστησεν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ ὁ λόγος, εἶτα ἦνθησεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. τὸ δὲ λέγειν „ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος“ τὴν τριήμερον κοίμησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδήλωσεν, ὡς καὶ Ἡσαΐας λέγει; Frag. in Prou. 73 (l. 1-3 Richards): «Ὅς οὐκ ἀναστρέφεται οὐδὲ καταπτῆσει κτήνος». Ὁ Χριστὸς γὰρ «ἀναπρασῶν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος». Λέγεται δὲ ὁ λέων κοιμώμενος μὴ θροεῖσθαι, μέγα πεπορθῶς ἐν ἰσχύϊ.

σκύμνος) through Apoc. 5.5 (ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαυίδ)¹¹²⁴ as Christ's conquering death ("ad mortem deuincendam"). Cf. Heb. 2.15,¹¹²⁵ to which Victorinus' is an early Latin allusion, which originates the concepts of freeing all from death: **uniuersos liberandos**. Equivalent to *liberare* rendering ἀπαλλάσσειν, "uniuersos" is a transposition from διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν (ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας). This interpretation may have figured in Victorinus' *In Genesim*. 32-33. **se ipsum obtulerit hostiam Deo Patri pro nobis**. Likely Victorinus' summary of Heb. 9.14:¹¹²⁶"se ipsum obtulerit" corresponds to ἐαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν; "hostiam" to ἄμωμον (*spotless <sacrifice>*); "Deo Patri" to τῷ θεῷ; *pro nobis* may come from καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν; or Heb. 10.20, which may supply ἡμῖν¹¹²⁷). **uitulus**. Corresponds to the previous "hostiam", which combination also echoes Irenaeus' "sacrificing...the fatted calf".¹¹²⁸

1. 33-35. **morte deuicta ascenderit in caelis extendens alas suas et protegens plebem suam aquila uolans nominatus est**. Cf. Deut. 32.11, one Old Latin version which Victorinus closely matches: Sicut aquila tegit nidum suum et super pullos suos conf(s) idit Extendit alas

¹¹²⁴ Apoc. 5.5 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι, μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαυίδ, ἀνοίξει τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ.

¹¹²⁵ Heb. 2.15 (p. 565 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἀπαλλάξει τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.

¹¹²⁶ Heb. 9.14 (p. 575 Nestle-Aland): πόνω μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἐαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ, καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι.

¹¹²⁷ Heb. 10.20 (p. 578 Nestle-Aland): ἦν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ.

¹¹²⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 204-208): Id uero quod est secundum Lucam, quoniam quidem sacerdotalis characteris est, a Zacharia sacerdote sacrificante Deo inchoauit. Iam enim saginatus parabatur uitulus, qui pro inuentione minoris filii inciperet mactari; *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 188-197): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalement | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.

suas.¹¹²⁹ Irenaeus has “being made man for us, he sent the gift of the celestial spirit over all the earth, σκεπάζων ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πτέρυξιν / *protegens nos alis suis*”.¹¹³⁰ His ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος seems to correspond to Victorinus’ “homo factus est”, which similarly refers to the Incarnation. But Victorinus compresses it further, associating it with the Passion, Resurrection (“ad mortem deucendam”), *thence* associated with the Ascension (“morte deuicta ascenderit in caelis”). Irenaeus ascribes protective wings to the Spirit, not to Christ.¹¹³¹ Victorinus associates the gift/descent of the Spirit specifically with Christ’s Ascension to heaven (received from the Father), which simultaneously *lifts* men to heaven (*In Apoc.* 4.1, l. 17-19; *cf.* Act. 2.33). For Irenaeus, strictly, it is *the gospel* which both “raises and *wings* (‘pennigerans’) men”.¹¹³² This is thus equivalent to “laturus hominem” (a figure perhaps derived from Hippolytus’ ἵχνη ἀετοῦ πετομένου...τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάληψιν,¹¹³³ even as “suam plebem” might equate to “homines”. Victorinus integrates the Spirit with Christ in a unique way, comparable to his identifying him with the Word as scripture, itself inspired by that same prophetic spirit.¹¹³⁴ For Irenaeus, the flying eagle is the

¹¹²⁹ Deut. 32.11 (p. 347 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόθησεν διεὶς τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων αὐτοῦ; (VL; Cod. 100 / Lugd.; p. 44 Robert): sicut aquila operiens nidum et pullos suos confident, expandens alas suas, adsumpsit eos et suscepit illos super scapulas suas; (VL; Cod. 104 / Monac.; p. 75 Ziegler): sicut aquila tegit nidum suum, et super pullos suos...expandens alas suas, adsumpsit eos, et suscepit illos super scapulas suas; (VL; Cod. 250; p. 339 Fleck): Sicut aquila tegit nidum suum. et super pullos suos conf(s) idit Extendit alas suas et accepit eos. et suscepit illos super scapulas suas.

¹¹³⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 42-43): μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς πᾶσαν ἐξέπεμψε τὴν γῆν, σκεπάζων ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πτέρυξιν. Ὅποια οὖν ἡ πραγματεία τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν ζώων ἡ μορφή; (SChr 211, l. 220-226): Et ipsum autem Verbum Dei illis quidem qui ante Moysen fuerunt patriarchis secundum diuinitatem et gloriam colloquebatur; his uero qui in lege, sacerdotalem et ministerialem actum praebebat; post deinde nobis homo factus, munus caelestis | Spiritus in omnem misit terram, protegens nos alis suis.

¹¹³¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11(SChr 211, l. 21-23): «τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον ἀετῶ πετωμένων», τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον.

¹¹³² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 236): eleuans et pennigerans homines in caeleste regnum.

¹¹³³ Hippolytus Romanus, Frag. in Prou. 54 (p. 86, l. 13-15 Richard): „Τρία ἐστὶν ἀδύνατά μοι νοῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκω· ἵχνη ἀετοῦ πετομένου“ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάληψιν.

¹¹³⁴ In Irenaeus, the “rain” of the Spirit, removed from the Jews, now protects gentiles / Christians from the “fire” of the devil: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. 17.3 III (SChr 211, l. 51-73): Hanc muneris gratiam praeuidens Gedeon ille Israelita, quem elegit Deus ut saluaret populum Israel de potentatu alienigenarum, demutauit petitionem, et super uellus lanae in quod tantum primum ros fuerat, quod erat typus populi, ariditatem

Spirit "swooping at" (*aduolans*) the Church with grace.¹¹³⁵ And *cf.* Matth. 23.37, where Jesus would gather Israel as a hen her chicks under wings (*ἐπισυναγαγεῖν* (= root of *συναγωγή*) *ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας* / *congregare sub alas*);¹¹³⁶ also Mal. 4.2: ἀνατελεῖν ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἴασις ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ.¹¹³⁷

The eagle was a symbol employed in late antique Jewish iconography *e.g.* synagogue lintels and funerary inscriptions. Some suggest it was a symbol of God's throne, his intervention or *psychopompus*, the transporting of souls to heaven. But others think it merely decorative.¹¹³⁸ The eagle, unlike the hen, is a bird of prey, selected, above all other animals, for the Roman military standard,¹¹³⁹ and was also the vehicle of imperial *apotheoses*.¹¹⁴⁰ But this fact is surely not unrelated to its common near eastern symbolism as bearer of the soul to

futuram prophetans, hoc est non iam habituros eos a Deo Spiritum sanctum, sicut Esaias ait: Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam in omni autem terra fieri ros, quod est Spiritus Dei, qui descendit in Dominum, Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, Spiritus consilii et uirtutis, Spiritus scientiae et pietatis, Spiritus timoris Dei, quem ipsum iterum dedit Ecclesiae, in omnem terram mittens de caelis Paraclitum, ubi et diabolus tamquam fulgur proiectum ait Dominus. Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei ut non comburamur neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi accusatorem habemus illic habeamus et Paraclitum, commendante Domino Spiritui sancto suum hominem qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est et ligauit uulnera eius, dans duo denaria regalia ut, per Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum Domino adnumerantes.

¹¹³⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* III 11.8 (SChr 211, l. 188-197): Et enim Cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei: primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, efficabile eius et principale et regale significans; secundum uero simile uitulo, sacrificalem et sacerdotalem | ordinationem significans; tertium uero habens faciem quasi humanam, eum qui est secundum hominem aduentum eius manifeste describens; quartum uero simile aquilae uolanti, Spiritus in Ecclesiam aduolantis gratiam manifestans.

¹¹³⁶ Matth. 23.37 (p. 67 Nestle-Aland): Ἱερουσαλὴμ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν, ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία [αὐτῆς] ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας, καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε; (VL; Cod. 2 / e; p. 15 Belsheim): Hierusalem hierusalem quae interficis profetas et lapidas eos qui missi sunt ad te quotiens uolui congregare filios tuos quomodo gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas et noluisti?

¹¹³⁷ Mal. 4.2 (3.20 LXX; p. 565 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἴασις ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξελεύσεσθε καὶ σκιρτήσετε ὡς μοσχάρια ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνειμένα.

¹¹³⁸ Van Henten, Ruler or God? The Demolition of Herod's Eagle, in: Fotopoulos (ed.), *New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, NTS, 272.

¹¹³⁹ Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army: From Republic to Empire*, 67.

¹¹⁴⁰ An eagle was released from the burning pyre of the dead emperor, which bore his soul upwards: Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* LVI 42.3.(p. 553, l. 2-4 Boissesevain 3): καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀετὸς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφειδὸς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων. Swann, *The Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 55-56* (9 B.C.-A.D. 14, 343. For a survey of the iconography of the eagle as imperial soul bearer: Arce, *Funus Imperatorum: Los funerales de los emperadores romanos, 131-140. Cumont, After life in Roman paganism: lectures delivered at Yale University on the Silliman foundation*, 159. Hardie, Another look at Virgil's Ganymede, in: *Classics in Progress*, 357.

the after life.¹¹⁴¹ Thus some discount an imperial Roman "value" in Jewish eagle depictions, absent in the west, rather one closer to the "the solar deities of the East" than to to such as Zeus (contra such as Schürer),¹¹⁴² as in the Bosphorus inscription to the "Most High God", even if this suggests a highly hellenized Judaism.¹¹⁴³ So also *could* be construed Herod's Temple eagle.¹¹⁴⁴ However, it was precisely the symbolism of the "king of the birds" as the supreme god that might bolster the legitimacy of a ruler.¹¹⁴⁵ So may be interpreted the combination of lions and (surely originally pagan) eagles in relief in the third century synagogue at Sardis.¹¹⁴⁶ Similarly, the lions and eagles depicted in the third century Dura Europos frescoes, crouching below Solomon's and Ahasuerus' thrones respectively, seem regally imperial,¹¹⁴⁷ though this source may have been Persian.

But both Ptolemaic and Roman iconography employed the eagle as signifying imperial power, and this was surely an influence on Herod's coinage. Thus his temple eagle may have been understood as the impious pressing of his royal character on God's house,

¹¹⁴¹ Cumont, *After life in Roman paganism: lectures delivered at Yale University on the Silliman foundation*, 157-158. Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix, According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions*, EPROER 24, 270-271. For Plato the eagle symbolized the desire to escape all traffickings with men, so Agamemnon chooses to be reborn as such: Plato, *Rep. X* (620b; l. 4-5 Burnett): ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη ἀετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον.

¹¹⁴² Schürer, *Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψιστον ebendasselbst*, in: SPAW (1887.1), 221.

¹¹⁴³ Goodenough, *The Bosphorus Inscriptions to the Most High God*, in: JQR 47.3 (Jan., 1953), 232-233.

¹¹⁴⁴ Flavius Iosephus, *Bell. Iud.* I 33.2-3 (p. 486 Whiston (trans.)); II 1.2 (p. 488 Whiston (trans.)); *Ant. Iud.* XVII 6.2-3 (p. 376-377 Whiston (trans.)); XVII 7.9 (206; p. 254 Whiston (trans.)); XVII 9.1 (p. 380 Whiston (trans.)). Goodenough, *Jewish symbols in the Greco-Roman period* 12, 149. Van Henten, *Ruler or God? The Demolition of Herod's Eagle*, in: Fotopoulos (ed.), *New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune, NTS*, 272.

¹¹⁴⁵ So signifies for Romans the king of the birds, according to Josephus: Flavius Iosephus, *Bell. Iud.* III 4.2 (p. 527 Whiston (trans.)).

¹¹⁴⁶ Van Henten, *Ruler or God? The Demolition of Herod's Eagle*, in: Fotopoulos (ed.), *New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune, NTS*, 273.

¹¹⁴⁷ Van Henten, *Ruler or God? The Demolition of Herod's Eagle*, in: Fotopoulos (ed.), *New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune, NTS*, 273.

which he ultimately owed to Rome.¹¹⁴⁸ Victorinus choice of Deut. 32.11 suggests the eagle as Nurturer Supreme.¹¹⁴⁹

l. 35-37. <Hae> *ergo praedicationes quamuis quattuor sint i.e. the Gospels. una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore processit, sicut fluuius in paradiso de uno fonte in quattuor partes diuisus est. Cf. the Old Latin Gen. 2.10.*¹¹⁵⁰ For Hippolytus, the source of this exegesis, the one river out of Eden waters all the earth by its four offspring, even as Christ tends all humanity through the fourfold gospel;¹¹⁵¹ likely derived, directly or indirectly, from Philo, for whom the four virtues flow from the one divine, Wisdom.¹¹⁵² In the *De fabrica mundi* Victorinus notes both the rivers' number *and* their being specifically named as analogous to that of the four, *different* species of creature *i.e.* their unity in divergence,¹¹⁵³ which he explicates here. Cyprian likens the four river-Gospels to the (likely presumed, if unspecified, *one*) grace of baptism,¹¹⁵⁴ and the motif may appear in baptistry iconography as early as the fourth century.¹¹⁵⁵ "una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore

¹¹⁴⁸ Van Henten, Ruler or God? The Demolition of Herod's Eagle, in: Fotopoulos (ed.), *New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, NTS, 273; 278.

¹¹⁴⁹ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 171; 2, 3.2, n. 39, 40, 41, 42.

¹¹⁵⁰ Gen. 2.10 (p. 3 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ποταμός δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Εδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς; (VL; Cod. Ard. / 61; p. 646): quatuor quoque flumine inde fluunt: unus fluuius dicitur Geon, secundus Physon, tertius Tigris, et quartus Euphrates: Potamo'v de' e]kporeu;etai e]x]Ede'm poti;zein to'n para;deison> e]kei#yen alfori;zetai ei]v te;ssarav alrca;v.

¹¹⁵¹ Hippolytus Romanus, *Com. in Dan.* I 18.10 (l. 1-5 Richard): Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ [Ἐδὲμ] ποταμός ἀεννάω[ν ὑδάτ]ων [ἀ]π[ορ]ρέει καὶ τέσσαρε[ς ποτα]μοὶ ἐξ[ερχ]όμ[ε]ν[οι ἐ]ξ [αὐτοῦ] ποτίζουσιν π[ᾶ]σαν τὴν τῶν [ἀ]ν[θρώπων] γῆν, [ὡς] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δεικνυται· ποταμός γ[ὰρ] ὁ Χριστός· διὰ τὸ τε]τραμερές σωτ[ήρι]ον εὐαγγέλιον <πάντα> ἐκφυλάτ[τει] καὶ εἰς [πάν]τα πρόσεστιν. Richard, *Les difficultés d'une édition du Commentaire de Saint Hippolyte sur Daniel*, in: RHT 2 (1972): 10; 6; cf. SChr 14, 105. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2; 5.2, n. 109.

¹¹⁵² Philo Iudaeus, *Leg. alleg.* I 19 (63; l. 1 Cohn 1-66; l. 10 Cohn 1).

¹¹⁵³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 3 (SChr 423, 140, l. 8-15): Et ut ex ea re longius enarrem, ecce quattuor animalia ante thronum Dei - quattuor euangelia -, quattuor flumina in paradiso fluentia; quattuor generationes populorum: ab Adam usque ad Noe, a Noe usque ad Abraham, ab Abraham usque ad Moysen, a Moysen usque ad Christum Dominum filium Dei. Et quattuor animalia: hominis uituli leonis aquilae; et quattuor flumina: Fison Geon Tigris et Eufrates.

¹¹⁵⁴ Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, *Epist.* 73.10.3 (CC SL 3C, l. 168-170): Has arbores rigat quattuor fluminibus id est euangeliiis quattuor, quibus baptismi gratiam salutari et caelesti inundatione largitur.

¹¹⁵⁵ Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions*. 188. Cf. Paulinus Nolanus, *Epist.* 32.10 (CSEL 29, 286, l. 19-21): Petram superstat ipse petra ecclesiae, De qua sonori quattuor fontes meant, Euangelistae uia Christi flumina. Engemann, *Zu den Apsis-Tituli des Paulinus von*

processit": This principle surely applies to the word of the Old Testament, too, even as Victorinus analyses the chorus of twenty four elders who circle the four Gospel-creatures about the throne of God the twofold Word.

4.5.

1.1. **Oculos autem intus et deforis.** As noted above for *In Apoc.* 4.3, l. 3, this is closest to the variant *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν* of the eighth to ninth century MS 046 Apoc.

4.8, rather than the normative *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν*,¹¹⁵⁶ which Charles et al. call "a meaningless phrase", much preferring that which lies beneath Victorinus' reading.¹¹⁵⁷

1. 2. **praedicationem noui testamenti.** *Praedicatio* here may mean *preaching, prophecy* and *teaching* all together.¹¹⁵⁸ For Victorinus, the New Testament is an act of *seeing*, suggestive of his belief in exegesis of *i.e. seeing into* the correct Christian meaning of the Old Testament.

providentiam spiritalem ostendit. *Prouidentia* here does not mean merely *foresight* in the

Nola, in *JbAC* 17 (1974), 21-46. Dinkler-von Schubert, *Fluss, II (ikonographisch)*, in: *RLAC* 7 (1969), 73-100.. Nilgen, *Evangelisten und Evangelistensymbole*, in: Kirschbaum / Bandmann (eds.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1 (1968), c. 706. Poeschke, *Paradiesflüsse*, in: Kirschbaum / Bandmann / Braunfels, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 3 (1971), 382-384. Fevrier, *Les quatre fleuves du paradis*, in: *RivAC* 32 (1956), 179-199).

¹¹⁵⁶ Apoc. 4.6 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 599C): Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile cristallo. Et in medio sedis: et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 624B): Sex quaternus numerus seniorum: bis bina illa animalia oculata bis ternis alis alata summoque in gaudio dilatata in celestibus regnis: egregitis uocibus unimodum carmen personant: ita dicentes. Apoc. 4.8 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland); (VL; (VL; Breuiar. Goth. ; PL86, 638B): Quattuor formis senis alis singulis, Ante et retro cuncta plena oculis; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 139C): Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens. Qui erat et est et uenturus est...; (VL; Faustinus Luciferianus, *De trin.* 30 (CC SL 69, l. 33-35): Sed et apostolus iohannes in apocalypsi haec dicit: amen, testis fidelis, initium creaturae dei, qui est et qui erat et qui uenturus est dominus deus omnipotens; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, *Mor.* in *Iob XIX* 12 (CC SL 143A, l. 47): Hinc est quod animalia quae per prophetam uidentur, in circuitu et intus plena oculis esse memorantur quisquis enim exteriora sua honeste disponit, sed interiora neglegit, in circuitu oculos habet, sed intus non habet. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannes*, 295.

¹¹⁵⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com.* in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 2-7): Primum, inquit, simile leoni, secundum simile uitulo, tertium simile homini, quartum simile aquilae uolanti; <habentes> alas senas in circuitu, oculos et intus et deforis: et non cessant dicere, inquit: <hagios~g, hagios~g, hagios~g>, sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* 1, 125.

¹¹⁵⁸ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *praedicatio* I. A public proclaiming, a proclamation, publication III. A prediction, prophecy, soothsaying IV. (Eccl. Lat.) *Preaching*, 1416. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 430-434.

sense of *foretelling the future*, rather an ability to *discern beyond the merely mortal*.

Tertullian relates how the interpreters of the Septuagint were selected for being philosophers who shared with Menedemus the concept of a *divine providence*, *πρόνοια* / *providentia*.¹¹⁵⁹

It is by partaking in this divine providence, a concept that Christianity shared with, or part-inherited from, at least, Middle Platonism, Stoicism and Aristotelianism,¹¹⁶⁰ albeit already crossbred with Hellenistic Judaism: the *Wisdom of Solomon* already uses

πρόνοια/providentia in something like this sense of timeless omniscient beneficence,¹¹⁶¹

doubtless derived from the secondary meaning of its root, *προνοέω/provideo, provide, care for*;¹¹⁶² while Philo treats upon it widely.¹¹⁶³ "Spiritalem" is a variant of *spiritualis*;¹¹⁶⁴

"ostendit" one of Victorinus' common impersonal uses, and a standard Latin exegetical formula.¹¹⁶⁵

1. 3. **quae secreta cordis et superuenientia uidet.** The subject is "providentiam". "Secreta cordis" imply God's omniscience. Cf. 1 Cor. 2.10-11, which explicates that of *revelation per*

¹¹⁵⁹ Lewis and Short, *providentia* I. *Foresight, foreknowledge* II. *Foresight, forethought, forecast, precaution, providence* B. Transf. 1. *The government of the world by infinite wisdom and foresight, providence* (post-class.), 1480. Tertullianus, *Apol.* 18 (CC SL 1, l. 32-36): Sed ne notitia uacaret, hoc quoque a iudaeis ptolemaeo subscriptum est, septuaginta et duobus interpretibus indultis, quos menedemus quoque philosophus, *providentiae uindex, de sententiae communione suscepit*. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 136.

¹¹⁶⁰ Rankin, *From Clement to Origen: The Social And Historical Context of the Church Fathers*, 11.

¹¹⁶¹ Sap. 14.3 (p. 365 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἡ δὲ σὴ πάτερ διακυβερνᾷ πρόνοια; (Vg; p. 594 Hetzenauer): *Tua autem, Pater, providentia gubernat mundum, in his dumtaxat quae gubernatione eius indigent; which curiously echoes M. Tullius Cicero, De nat. deor. II 75 (p. 79, l. 14-16 Ax): Dico igitur providentia deorum mundum et omnes mundi partes et initio constitutas esse et omni tempore administrari; et v. Act. 24.2.*

¹¹⁶² Liddell and Short, *Greek Lexicon*, *προνοέω* A. II. 2. c. gen., *provide for, take thought for*, 1292. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *provideo* II. Act. B. Trop. 2. *To see to, look after, care for, give attention to; to prepare or provide for any thing*, 1480.

¹¹⁶³ Philo Iudaeus, *De opif.* 172 (Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt, vol. 1, 60, l. 2-5): καὶ ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ὑπάρχει θεὸς καὶ ὅτι εἶς ὁ πρῶτος ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον καὶ πεποίηκεν ἕνα, ὡς ἐλέγθη, κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐξομοι-ώσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅτι ἀεὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ γεγονότος. Frick, Peter, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria*, *TSAJ* 77, 2 et passim.

¹¹⁶⁴ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *spiritālis* or *spīritūālis* (the MSS. vary between the two forms II. *Of or belonging to spirit, spiritual*, 1744.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ebbesen, *Greek-Latin Philosophical Interaction Volume 1 of Ashgate Studies in Medieval Philosophy Volume 1 of Collected Essays of Sten Ebbesen*, 99. The term "Hic ostendit" would dominate Latin literary commentating a Millennium later: Hunt, Tony, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-century England: Texts Volume 1 of Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-century England*, 155.

se (ἀπεκάλυψεν/"reuelait") with the *Spirit's scrutinising* (τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾶ / "sps scrutat / scrutatur)¹¹⁶⁶ the "deep things of God" (≡ Victorinus's "secrets of the heart"). That God is acquainted with the secrets of men's hearts is a biblical commonplace.¹¹⁶⁷

inspicit. The use of *inspicere* is not very common in either the Old or New Latin. The Vulgate of Prou. 24.12 has "inspector cordis", "examiner of the heart",¹¹⁶⁸ for the MT תִּבְחַן תִּבְחַן, *tochēn libbōth*, the "weighing hearts"¹¹⁶⁹ (LXX: [ὁ] κύριος καρδιάς πάντων γινώσκει, "[the] Lord knows the hearts of all"),¹¹⁷⁰ which may have an Old Latin precedent in Comodian ("Deus inspector [qui] penetrat...singula corda").¹¹⁷¹ The association of divine introspection and *foreknowledge* had already been made in Ecclus. 42.18-20: "He searches out abyss and [human] heart; he thinks on their cunning deeds. For the Most High came to know all knowledge; he saw within (ἐνέβλεψεν (LXX) / inspexit (VL / Vg)) the indication[s] of the [present] age. He explains what has passed and will be, and he reveals the traces of hidden things. No thought passes him by, and nothing is hidden from him."¹¹⁷²

¹¹⁶⁶ 1 Cor. 2.10-11 (p. 443 Nestle-Aland): ἡμῖν γὰρ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος: τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾶ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ. τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ; οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔγνωκεν εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 100 Tischendorf): nobis avtem revelavit ds per spm svvm sps enim omnia scrvat etiam alta di. qvis enim scit hominum qvae sit hominvm nisi sps qvi in homne qvi in ipso est ita et qvae di nemo cognovit nisi sps di; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 28 Buchanan): NOBIS AUTEM REUELAUIT DS per spm suum. Sps enim omnia scrutatur etiam profunda di. Quis enim scit hominum quae sint hominis nisi sps hominis qui in ipso est. Ita et quae di sunt nemo cognouit nisi sps di.

¹¹⁶⁷ E.g. 1 Cor. 14.25 Ps. 44.21. Cf. 1 Cor. 4.5; Ps. 44.22; 139.23; 1 Sam. 9.19; Jer. 20.12; 11.20; Iud. 16.15; Prou. 15.11; Gen. 49.6.

¹¹⁶⁸ Prou. 24.12 (VL; Ps. Ale. I.1; p. 98): cum magis inspector cordis sit dominus quam operis.

¹¹⁶⁹ Prou. 24.12 (MT; p. 1307 Elliger-Rudolph).

¹¹⁷⁰ Prou. 24.12 (LXX; p. 223 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): εἰ δὲ εἴπῃς οὐκ οἶδα τοῦτον γίνωσκε ὅτι κύριος καρδιάς πάντων γινώσκει καὶ ὁ πλάσας πνοὴν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς οἶδεν πάντα ὅς ἀποδίδωσιν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

¹¹⁷¹ Comodianus, Instruct. II 18.9 (CC SL 128, 39): {E}st Deus inspector, penetrat qui singula corda. Cf. Ambrosiaster, Quaest. Uet. et Nou. test. 109 (CSEL 50, 258, l. 15-18): Heli enim sacerdos Annam benedixit et prosecutus effectus est non utique merito sacerdotis, sed ipsius Annae, cuius mundum cor inspexit deus.

¹¹⁷² Ecclus. 42.18-20 (p. 452 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἄβυσσον καὶ καρδίαν ἐξίχνευσεν καὶ ἐν πανουργεύμασιν αὐτῶν διενοήθη ἔγνω γὰρ ὁ ὕψιστος πᾶσαν εἴδησιν καὶ ἐνέβλεψεν εἰς σημεῖον αἰῶνος ἀπαγγέλλων τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ἴχνη ἀποκρύφων οὐκ ἀπαρῆλθεν αὐτὸν πᾶν διανόημα οὐκ ἐκρύβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ εἰς λόγος; (Old Latin; Cod. A; p. 361 Lagarde): abyssum et cor hominum inuestigauit, et in astutia illorum excogitauit. Cognouit enim dominus omnem

Clement seems to have united the myth of the all-seeing eyes of the Zeus and Helios-Apollo of Homer, Hesiod and Orphism¹¹⁷³ with the spirit-of-man-lamp-of-the-Lord, that "searches the recesses" (Prou. 20.27),¹¹⁷⁴ fulfilled in Christ.¹¹⁷⁵ This ancient concept is applied to Christ the Shepherd in the inscription of Abercius.¹¹⁷⁶ Ecclus. 42.16 ("The sun looks down on everything with its light, and the work of the Lord is full of his glory")¹¹⁷⁷ strongly hints at a Hellenistic Jewish co-opting of such.

l. 3. **superuenientia uidet.** This could be an allusion to Io. 16.13,¹¹⁷⁸ according to which prescience is the *sine qua non* of the Spirit: τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν (Cf. Ecclus. 42.19),¹¹⁷⁹ translated by Tertullian with "superuenientia renuntiabit uobis".¹¹⁸⁰

l. 4. **quae sunt intus et deforis.** As indicated above, this is closest to the variant κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν of the eighth to ninth century MS 046 Apoc. 4.8, rather than the

scientiam, et inspexit in signum aevi, annuntians quae prae terierunt et quae superuentura sunt, reuelans uestigia occultorum et non praeterit illum omnis cogitatus, et non abscondit se ab eo ullus sermo.

¹¹⁷³ Pettazzoni, *The All-Knowing God: Researches into Early Religion and Culture*, 155. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, 107.

¹¹⁷⁴ Prou. 20.27 (p. 217 Rahlfs-Hanhart): φῶς κυρίου πνοῇ ἀνθρώπων ὃς ἐρευνᾷ ταμίεια κοιλίας.

¹¹⁷⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* VII 7.37.6 (GCS 17, l. 1-4): ἢ οὐχὶ πάντῃ εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπάσης τὸ φῶς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλάμπει, «τὰ ταμιεῖα ἐρευνῶντος», ἢ φησιν ἡ γραφή, «τοῦ λύχνου» τῆς δυνάμεως; ὅλος <γὰρ> ἀκοή καὶ ὅλος ὀφθαλμός, ἵνα τις τούτοις χρήσῃται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὁ θεός.

¹¹⁷⁶ Beard / North / Price, *Religions of Rome 2, A Sourcebook*, 334.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ecclus. 42.16 (p. 451 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ἥλιος φωτίζων κατὰ πᾶν ἐπέβλεψεν καὶ τῆς δόξης κυρίου πλήρης τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ; (VL; p. 486 Sabatier 2): Sol illuminans per omnia respexit, et gloria Domini plenum est opus eius.

¹¹⁷⁸ Io. 16.13 (p. 302-303 Nestle-Aland): ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὀδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν· οὐ γὰρ λαλήσει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούει λαλήσει, καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 42 Belsheim): cum autem uenerit ille sps ueritatis inducet uobis ueritatem omnem. non enim loquitur ad se sed quae audit loquitur et futura nuntiauit uobis; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 63 Belsheim): sed cum autem uenerit ille Spiritus ueritatis, ille uos deducet omnem ueritatem. Non enim loquitur a se, sed quaecumque audierit, loquetur, et quae uentura sunt, adnuntiauit uobis.

¹¹⁷⁹ Cf. Ecclus. 42.19 (p. 452 Rahlfs-Hanhart; VL; Cod. a; p. 361 Lagarde).

¹¹⁸⁰ Tertullianus, *De uirg. uel.* 1 (CC SL 2, 1209, l. 31-34): Adhuc, inquit, multa habeo loqui uobis, sed nondum potestis ea baiulare; cum uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis, deducet uos in omnem ueritatem et superuenientia renuntiabit uobis.

usual *κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν*¹¹⁸¹ (Charles' "meaningless phrase", *contra* Victorinus' reading).¹¹⁸² In Ez. 1.15-12, the cherubim are indistinguishable from the wheels that accompany the throne of God, and are full of eyes (Ez. 1.18: *πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν*; 10.12: including their wings).¹¹⁸³ An Old Latin reading of Ez. 10.12, "in circuitu et *intus* plena oculis", is clearly influenced by the Apocalypse,¹¹⁸⁴ while Jerome explicates that the eyes are on the cherubim's *backs* ("dorsa", probably ≡ *ἔξωθεν*),¹¹⁸⁵ which strongly suggests retrospection. The eyes within and without, before and behind, figure the doubly moral and prophetic nature of the *animalia* which comprise the New Testament: omniscient and prescient,¹¹⁸⁶ prophecy is both prescriptive and predictive.

1. 4. **Alae testimonia ueteris testamenti.** For Victorinus, the (inherent motion of a) wing signifies *life* (*uita*; In *Apoc.* 4.5, l. 11-13 empowered by the prophecies of the Old Testament.

For the Old Testament's *testifying* cf. Rom. 3.21: "iustitia dei...testificata a lege et

¹¹⁸¹ Apoc. 4.6 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 599C): Et in conspectu sedis tanquam mare vitreum simile crystallo. Et in medio sedis: et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 624B): Sex quaternus numerus seniorum: bis bina illa animalia oculata bis ternis alis alata summoque in gaudio dilatata in celestibus regnis: egregitis uocibus unimodum carmen personant: ita dicentes. Apoc. 4.8 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland); (VL; (VL; Breuiar. Goth. ; PL86, 638B): Quattuor formis senis alis singulis, Ante et retro cuncta plena oculis; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 139C): Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens. Qui erat et est et uenturus est...; (VL; Faustinus Luciferianus, De trin. 30 (CC SL 69, l. 33-35): Sed et apostolus iohannes in apocalypsi haec dicit: amen, testis fidelis, initium creaturae dei, qui est et qui erat et qui uenturus est dominus deus omnipotens; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob XIX 12 (CC SL 143A, l. 47): Hinc est quod animalia quae per prophetam uidentur, in circuitu et intus plena oculis esse memorantur quisquis enim exteriora sua honeste disponit, sed interiora negligit, in circuitu oculos habet, sed intus non habet. Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannes, 295.

¹¹⁸² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 2-7): Primum, inquit, simile leoni, secundum simile uitulo, tertium simile homini, quartum simile aquilae uolanti; <habentes> alas senas in circuitu, oculos et intus et deforis: et non cessant dicere, inquit: <hagios~g, hagios~g, hagios~g>, sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 125.

¹¹⁸³ Ez. 1.18-19 (p. 771-772 Rahlfs-Hanhart); 10.12 (p. 788 Rahlfs-Hanhart).

¹¹⁸⁴ Ez. 10.12 (VL; PL 76, 109A): Hinc est quod animalia quae per prophetam uidentur, in circuitu et intus plena oculis esse memorantur.

¹¹⁸⁵ Hieronymus, Com. i in euang. Matth., praef. (CC SL 77, l. 67-72): cetera quae sequuntur in eundem sensum proficiunt, crura eorum recta, et pinnati pedes, et quocumque spiritus ibat, ibant et non reuertebantur, et dorsa eorum plena oculis, et scintillae ac lampades in medio discurrentes, et rota in rota, et in singulis quattuor facies.

¹¹⁸⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 171-2; 2, 3.2, n. 45, 46, 47.

prophetis."¹¹⁸⁷ Lactantius defines *diuina testimonia* as "that which the sacred writings and voices of the prophets teach",¹¹⁸⁸ and *testimonium* appears to be a standard patristic term for (chiefly Old Testament) scriptural Christian proof,¹¹⁸⁹ which Lactantius distinguishes from evangelical *argument*¹¹⁹⁰ (Albi defines a *testimonium* as "the direct application to a certain conclusion [= Irenaeus' Christ the Final Cause],¹¹⁹¹ without exegetical argument", a kind of irreducible premise).¹¹⁹² Collections of such proofs likely date from even before the canonizing of the New Testament.¹¹⁹³ Harris surmised an *Ur*-book, the earliest literary product of the Church, in fact,¹¹⁹⁴ so concluding since a) such collections were often named *Testimonia* e.g. Cyprian's so titled *Testimonia ad Quirinum* (itself containing an earlier

¹¹⁸⁷ Rom. 3.21 (p. 414 Nestle-Aland): Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 17 Tischendorf): nunc autem sine lege iustitia dei manifestata est testificata a lege et prophetis. Pseudo-Cyprian's Moses sprinkles the people witnessing ("testes") with the scroll of the Law: Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. IV 80-82 (CC SL 2, l. 80-82): Auditum, uisum, gressum mundauit inertem, aspersit que libros testes praesaga locutos, demonstrans legem suo uinctam sanguine sancto.

¹¹⁸⁸ Lactantius, Epit. diu. inst. 65.6 (CSEL 19, 755, l. 755, l. 10-11): sed quid argumentis colligimus aeternas esse animas, cum habeamus testimonia diuina? id enim sacrae litterae ac uoces prophetarum docent.

¹¹⁸⁹ Those these could also be extended to non-biblical sources, on occasion: These also seem to have included excerpts from such as the Sibylline Oracles which Lactantius (Lactantius, Epit. diu. inst. 68 (73).1 (CSEL 19, 760, l. 17-761, l. 2): Quare cum haec omnia | uera et certa sint prophetarum omnium consona adnuntiatione praedicta, cum eadem Trismegistus, eadem Hystaspes, eadem Sibyllae cecinerint, dubitari non potest quin spes omnis uitae ac salutis in sola dei religione sit posita) had yet inherited from or with Justin Martyr (Dial. c.

Tryph. Iustinus Martyr 1 Apol. 20.1 (l. 1-2 Goodspeed): Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὑστάσπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν φθαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασσαν). It is this apparently common collection of non-scriptural citations that Harris thinks evinces an original written source: Harris / Burch, Testimonies, 89.

¹¹⁹⁰ Lactantius, Diu. Inst. IV 22.2 (CSEL 19, 368, l. 20-369, l. 2): et quamquam apud bonos iudices satis habeant firmitatis uel testimonia sine argumentis uel argumenta sine testimoniis, nos tamen non contenti alterutro sumus, cum subpetat nobis utrumque, ne cui peruerse ingenioso aut non intellegendi aut *contra* disserendi locum relinquamus.

Lactantius, Diu. Inst. VII 1.5 (CSEL 19, 581, l. 20-582, l. 3): satis et huic parti faciamus cum testimoniis diuinarum litterarum tum etiam probabilibus argumentis, ut aequae clarum sit et futura praesentibus et diuina terrenis et perpetua breuibibus esse anteponenda, quoniam temporalia sunt praemia uitiorum, sempiterna uirtutum; VII 7.5 (CSEL 19, 607, l. 2-7): neque enim potest aliter repudiare quae falsa sunt, eligere ac probare quae uera: sed si uel casu id efficeret, certissime philosopharetur, et quamuis non posset diuinis testimoniis illa defendere, tamen se ipsa ueritas inlustraret suo lumine.

¹¹⁹¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 12.4 (SChr 100, l. 77-81).

¹¹⁹² Albi, And Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections, NTS 96, . Curiously its most common appearance today is as the *Testimonium Flavianum*, the passage in Josephus about Christ (Antiq. Iud. XVIII 63 (l. 1 Niese)-64 (l. 6 Niese)), interpolated or not.

¹¹⁹³ Harris, Testimonies, 41-60. Lee, From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of messianic Psalms, WUNT 192, 31-32.

¹¹⁹⁴ Harris, Testimonies, 61-110.

specifically *anti-Jewish* collection)¹¹⁹⁵ while b) the New Testament authors all seem to quote a common pool of biblical proofs.¹¹⁹⁶ Contrariwise, the often "non-standard" citing of scripture, their midrash and conflation, such as is usual in Victorinus, suggested to Dodd an oral origin.¹¹⁹⁷ Such wide-ranging ideas of *testimonia* suggest a (living) body of proofs, oral or written, of a scarcely remote if somewhat hazy Christian provenance, yet with a status analogous to scripture itself. The same sense occurs in Origen (who explicates that Old Testament prophetic testimonies may teach as much New Testament *theology* as did the apostles, nor only of Christ's coming) and Rufinus.¹¹⁹⁸

Victorinus seems to semi-hypostatize these as "prophets" in their own right,¹¹⁹⁹ analogous to the Word, critical to the process of exegesis.¹²⁰⁰ Origen uses similar terminology (αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαι vs. *testimonia dictionis propheticae* or [*ueteris testamenti*])

¹¹⁹⁵ Harris, *Testimonies*, 5; 28-29. Also by Lactantius (Lactantius, *Diu. Inst.* IV 18.21 (CSEL 19, 355, l. 4-5): fore autem ut Iudaei manus inferrent deo suo eum que interficerent, testimonia prophetarum haec antecesserunt; et seq.), whose collection draws heavily on Cyprian: Harris, *Testimonies*, 77ff.

¹¹⁹⁶ Harris, *Testimonies*, 25-26; 30-31; et al.

¹¹⁹⁷ Harris, *Testimonies*, 124 et passim. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology*, 125.

¹¹⁹⁸ Origenes, *Hom. in Leu.* 7.4 (GCS 29, 382, l. 9-14): Sed ad haec investiganda Scripturae divinae testimoniis indigemus, ne qui putet - amant enim homines 'exacuere linguas suas ut gladium' - ne qui, inquam, putet quod ego vim faciam scripturis divinis et ea, quae de animalibus, quadrupedibus vel etiam avibus aut piscibus mundis sive immundis in lege referuntur, ad homines traham et de hominibus haec dicta esse confingam.

Origenes, *Com. in Io.* II 34(205; SChr 120, l. 1-3): Τάχα δὲ αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαι οὐ μόνον κηρύσσουσι Χριστὸν ἐλευσόμενον οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι καὶ ἄλλο οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ πολλήν θεολογίαν σχέσιν τε πατρὸς.

Rufinus writes of "gathering testimonies": Rufinus, *Expos. symb.* 27 (CC SL 20, l. 40-43): Nullus super hoc propheta, nullus legislator aut psalmographus siluit, sed omnis pene sacra de his pagina loquitur: et ideo superfluum uidetur immorari nos ad congreganda testimonia; *Expos. symb.* 32 (CC SL 20, l. 2-3): Plura autem testimonia cum uolueris, ipse tibi de scripturarum latitudine congregabis.

¹¹⁹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-21): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis propheticae.

¹²⁰⁰ Rufinus' Origen employs *testimonia* in a similar quasi-personal prophetic sense: Origenes, *Hom. in Leu.* 7.4 (GCS 29, 382, l. 9-14): Sed ad haec investiganda Scripturae divinae testimoniis indigemus, ne qui putet - amant enim homines 'exacuere linguas suas ut gladium' - ne qui, inquam, putet quod ego vim faciam scripturis divinis et ea, quae de animalibus, quadrupedibus vel etiam avibus aut piscibus mundis sive immundis in lege referuntur, ad homines traham et de hominibus haec dicta esse confingam.

testimonia praenuntiata),¹²⁰¹ also citing the need for two or three "witnesses" (μάρτυρες; Deut. 19.15) from scripture to justify any interpretation.¹²⁰²

Alongside collections of testimonia were comparisons of Greek, Roman and Hebrew chronologies, which established the priority of the latter over the former, and a certainty in the biblical past which grounded confidence in the prophesied future.¹²⁰³ Indeed against the ignorant, testimonies and *readings* (*lectiones*) alone, without argument, were inadequate, and were to be supplemented with secular testimonies (*humana testimonia*).¹²⁰⁴

l. 5-6. librorum...uiginti quattuor sunt...seniores super tribunalia. Twenty four are the wings of the Gospel-creatures as well as the books of the Old Testament-elders: thus Victorinus marries the Old and New Testaments indissolubly, the former as the

¹²⁰¹ Where Victorinus speaks of *testimonia dictionis propheticae* (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-21): Origen uses αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαι [οὐ μόνον κηρύσσουσι Χριστὸν ἐλευσόμενον] (Origenes, Com. in Io. II 34 (205; SChr 120, l. 1-7): Τάχα δὲ αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαι οὐ μόνον κηρύσσουσι Χριστὸν ἐλευσόμενον οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι καὶ ἄλλο οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν θεολογίαν σχέσιν τε πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ υἱοῦ πρὸς πατέρα ἔστι μαθεῖν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, δι' ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διηγουμένων τὴν μεγαλειότητα <τοῦ> υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ), which also resembles "[ueteris testamenti] testimonia praenuntiata" (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 6-9): Sicut animal uolare non potest nisi pennas habeat, sic nec praedicatio noui testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat ueteris testamenti testimonia praenuntiata, per quae tollitur a terra et uolat).

¹²⁰² Smith, Testify: Origen, Martyria and the Christian Life, 53-54.

¹²⁰³ Lactantius, Diu. Inst. IV 5.3 (CSEL 19, 284, l. 13-26): sed priusquam incipiam de deo et operibus eius dicere, pauca mihi de prophetis ante dicenda sunt, quorum testimoniis nunc uti necesse est: quod in prioribus libris ne facerem temperaui. ante omnia qui ueritatem studet comprehendere, non modo intellegendis prophetarum uocibus animum debet intendere, sed etiam tempora per quae quisque illorum fuerit diligentissime requirere, ut sciat et quae futura praedixerint et post quot annos praedicta completa sint. nec difficultas in his colligendis inest ulla. testati sunt enim sub quo quisque rege diuini spiritus fuerit passus instinctum, multi que scriptores libros de temporibus ediderunt initium facientes a propheta Moyse, qui Troianum bellum nongentis fere annis antecessit.

¹²⁰⁴ Lactantius, Diu. Inst. V 4.4 (CSEL 19, 412, l. 7-19): *qua* materia non est usus ut debuit: non enim scripturae testimoniis, quam ille utique uanam fictam commenticiam putabat, sed argumentis et ratione fuerat refellendus. nam cum ageret *contra* hominem ueritatis ignarum, dilatis paulisper diuinis lectionibus formare hunc a principio tamquam rudem debuit ei que paulatim lucis principia monstrare, ne toto lumine obiecto caligaret. nam sicut infans solidi ac fortis cibi capere uim non potest ob stomachi teneritudinem, sed liquore lactis ac mollitudine alitur, donec firmatis uiribus uesci fortioribus possit, ita et huic oportebat, quia nondum poterat capere diuina, prius humana testimonia offerri id est philosophorum et historicorum, ut suis potissimum refutaretur auctoribus.

life/livelihood of the latter. The same interpretation is found perhaps contemporaneously in Pseudo-Tertullian.¹²⁰⁵

1. 6-9. **Sicut animal non potest uolare nisi pennas habeat, sic nec praedicatio noui testamenti fidem habet.** πίστις/*fides* is a technical term in rhetoric meaning *proof*,¹²⁰⁶ even *truth*,¹²⁰⁷ that of the New testament consisting in the fulfilled prophecies of the Old. The explicit association of this with wings seems novel to Victorinus, though for the concept of *faith*, πίστις/*fides*, in (the shadow of) God's *wings*, πτέρυγες/*alae* cf. Ps. 57 (56).2.¹²⁰⁸ However, it is a logical extension of the role of the Spirit in prophecy, and the exegesis which sees its being fulfilled, while its inherent intellectual and spiritual ascent was already established.¹²⁰⁹ The rhetorical association of *fides* may echo Victorinus' choice of *tribunalia*, the seats of judges' presiding over a court of justice,¹²¹⁰ for the twenty four elders. **nisi habeat ueteris testamenti testimonia praenuniata.** Cf. Origen's αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαι

¹²⁰⁵ Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 128, l. 198-210): Alarum numerus antiqua uolumina signat, esse satis certa uiginti quattuor ista, quae domini cecinere uias et tempora pacis. Haec cohaerere nouo cum foedere cuncta uidemus. Sic quoque iohannes, sic pandit spiritus illi: tot numero soliis senioribus insuper altis, atque coronatis cohibentibus omnia mira, ad solium domini uitreum et mare stare sub igne, quattuor aligera atque oculis animalia plenaintus et exterius; quae sunt arcana pateresignificat uerbo simul omnia clausa uideri; nam uitreum flammae mixtum mare dona lauacrispiritu conflata credentibus esse tributa. Quae pietas domini! quis tantum dicere possit! ante tribunale, ante pauimentum que parauit, ut fora iudicium que sibi anticipare uolentes effugerent, esset properanti copia lata.

¹²⁰⁶ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, πίστις A. II. 2. *means of persuasion, argument, proof*, 1217. Garver, Aristotle's Rhetoric: An Art of Character, 253.

¹²⁰⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *fides* II. Transf. I. *that which produces confidence or belief*; II. Transf. A. 1. b. *truth*, 746-747. M. Fabius Quintilianus, Inst. orat. 7.36 (p. Radermacher / Buchheit 245, l. 9-10): aliter enim oraculorum, aliter haruspicum, augurum, coniectorum, mathematicorum fides confirmari aut refelli potest, cum sit rerum ipsarum ratio diuersa.

¹²⁰⁸ Ps. 57 (56).2 (p. 58 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἐλέησόν με ὁ θεός ἐλέησόν με ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν πτερύγων σου ἐλπῖω ἕως οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ἀνομία; (VL; Psalt. Amros.; p. 60 Magistretti): Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei: quoniam in te confidit anima mea. Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo: donec transeat iniquitas.

¹²⁰⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.8 (SChr 211, l. 276-282); Dem. apost. praed. 38 (p. 64 Weber (trans.)).

¹²¹⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *tribunal* I. Lit. 1. *A raised semicircular or square platform, on which the seats of magistrates were placed, a judgment-seat, tribunal*, 1896.

[αί] κηρύσσουσι Χριστὸν ἐλευσόμενον κτλ, which he distinguishes from the apostles.¹²¹¹

per quae tollitur a terra et uolat. The subject is the human soul-*animal*. This is surely an echo of the *Phaedrus*,¹²¹² refracted through Tatian (who explicitly says such spiritual flight is "to cling to testimony (μαρτυρία)",¹²¹³ Clement,¹²¹⁴ Origen and Hippolytus (both of whom explicitly refer to Plato).¹²¹⁵ Hippolytus calls the wings (≡ sails) of the Ship of the Church the churches themselves;¹²¹⁶ the Old and New Testaments the tillers;¹²¹⁷ the Spirit the wind;¹²¹⁸ and the mast-ladder the ascent to heaven *via* the cross.¹²¹⁹

¹²¹¹ Origenes, Com. in Io. II 34 (205; SChr 120, l. 1-7): Τάχα δὲ αἱ προφητικαὶ μαρτυρίαὶ οὐ μόνον κηρύσσουσι Χριστὸν ἐλευσόμενον οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι καὶ ἄλλο οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν θεολογίαν σχέσιν τε πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ υἱοῦ πρὸς πατέρα ἔστι μαθεῖν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, δι' ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διηγουμένων τὴν μεγαλειότητα <τοῦ> υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹²¹² Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b-c; 249c-e.

¹²¹³ For the necessity of "testimony": Tatianus, *Orat. ad Graec.* 20.2 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): Κἂν θεραπεύσθε φαρμάκοις (κατὰ συγγνώμην ἐπιτρέπω σοι), τὴν μαρτυρίαν προσάπτειν σε δεῖ τῷ θεῷ. κόσμος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔτι καθέλκει, καὶ δι' ἀτονίαν τὴν ὕλην ἐπιζητῶ. For the winged flight of the soul thereby: Tatianus, *Orat. ad Graec.* 20.2 (l. 4-7 Goodspeed): κόσμος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔτι καθέλκει, καὶ δι' ἀτονίαν τὴν ὕλην ἐπι-ζητῶ. πτέρωσις γὰρ ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς πνεῦμα τὸ τέλειον, ὅπερ ἀπορρίψασα διὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἔπτηξεν ὡσπερ νεοσσός καὶ χαμαιπετῆς ἐγένετο, μεταβάσα δὲ τῆς οὐρανοῦ συνουσίας τῶν ἐλαττόνων μετουσίαν ἐπεπόθησεν.

¹²¹⁴ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* V 13.83.1 (GCS 52(15), 381, l. 1-7): Πᾶν τοίνυν, ὃ ὑπὸ ὄνομα πίπτει, γεννητόν ἐστιν, ἐάν τε βούλωνται ἐάν τε μή. εἴτ' οὖν ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸς ἔλκει πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν καθαρῶς βεβιωκότα καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως κευρωκότα, εἴτε τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτεξούσιον εἰς γνῶ-σιν ἀφικόμενον τὰγαθοῦ σκιρτᾷ τε καὶ πηδᾷ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα, ἢ φασιν οἱ γυμνασταί, πλὴν οὐ χάριτος ἄνευ τῆς ἐξαιρέτου πτεροῦταί τε καὶ ἀνίσταται καὶ ἄνω τῶν ὑπερκειμένων αἴρεται ἢ ψυχῇ, πᾶν τὸ βρῖθον ἀποτιθεμένη καὶ ἀποδιδούσα τῷ συγγενεῖ.

¹²¹⁵ Origenes, *Con. Cels.* IV 40 (GCS 2, 313, l. 25-314, l. 1): Καὶ ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, τοὺς «δερματίνους» ἠμφισμένους ἀχιτῶνας, οὓς διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀμαρτήσασιν ὁ θεός, ἀπόρρητον τινα καὶ μυστικὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὑπὲρ τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα κάθοδον τῆς ψυχῆς, πτερορρούσης καὶ δεῦρο φερομένης, «ἕως ἂν στερεοῦ τινος λάβηται»; while the devil and his minions lose their wings when they fell: VI 43 (GCS 3, 115, l. 14-17): ἀφ' ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγα τις ἂν μανθάνοι περὶ τῆς κακίας, ποίαν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν καὶ γένεσιν, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τινῶν πτερορρυσάντων καὶ κατακολουθησάντων τῷ πρώτῳ πτερορρυσάντι ὑπέστη ἢ κακία. Hippolytus Romanus, *Ref. omn. haer. / Elench.* VII 22 10 (PTS 25, 290, l. 47-51): <ἀν>-επτέρωσεν οὖν αὐτὴν ἢ υἰότης ἢ παχυμερεστέρα τοιοῦτω τινὶ πτεροῦ, ὁποῖω διδάσκαλος ὦ<ν> Ἀριστοτέλους Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδ(ω)νι τὴν ψυχὴν πτεροῖ, καὶ καλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο Βασιλείδης οὐ πτερόν ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὃ εὐεργετῆ ἢ υἰότης ἐνδυσσάμενη καὶ εὐεργετεῖται; VII 22 15-16 (PTS 25, 290, l. 76-291, l. 82): <τουτέστιν> ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου φερομένη ὁσμη ἄνωθεν κάτω μέχρι τῆς ἀμορφίας καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὅθεν ἤρξατο ἀνελεῖν ἢ υἰότης, οἰονεῖ ἐπὶ <τῶν> πτερυγῶν αἰετοῦ, φησί, καὶ τῶν μεταφρένων <ἀν>ενεχθεῖσα. Nautin, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton*, 178-181. Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, 120-122, n. 50.

¹²¹⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 59 (GCS 1.2, l. 3): ἰπλοίων γὰρ πτέρυγες εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι.

¹²¹⁷ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 59 (GCS 1.2, l. 8-9): οἷακες δύο αἱ δύο διαθήκαι.

l. 10. **quod ante dictum est futurum et postea factum inuenitur, illud fidem facit**

indubitabilem. *Fides* here has its original meaning of *trust*.¹²²⁰ Justin had already argued, somewhat circuitously, that the very improbability of a virginal conception, as allegedly prophesied by Is. 7.14, confirmed belief by its coming to pass.¹²²¹ However, almost as significant in terms of *visibly* or *tangibly* fulfilled prophecies which confirm belief are those of Jews' dispossession, on the one hand, and gentile Christians' conversely superior numbers;¹²²² if not possession of the land themselves, Japheth-Greece's conquering the land of Shem, and thence the nations in general.¹²²³ Similarly, for Irenaeus, Japheth-Greece's / the gentiles' likewise "manifest[ly]" inhabiting the place of Shem-the Jews,¹²²⁴ confirms belief

¹²¹⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 59 (GCS 1.2, l. 11-13): ὁθόνῃ δὲ ταύτῃ λαμπρὰ πάρεστιν ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, δι' οὗ σφραγίζονται οἱ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ.

¹²¹⁹ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 59 (GCS 1.2, l. 16-18): κλίμαξ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς ὕψος ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἀνάγουσα ὡς εἰκὼν σημείου πάθους Χριστοῦ, ἔλκουσα τοὺς πιστοὺς εἰς ἀνάβασιν οὐρανῶν.

¹²²⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *fides* I. *trust in a person or thing, faith, confidence, reliance, credence, belief*, 746.

¹²²¹ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 *Apol.* 33.1 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-2 (l. 5 Goodspeed): Καὶ πάλιν ὡς αὐτολεξεῖ διὰ παρθένου μὲν τεχθῆσόμενος διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαίου προφητεύθη, ἀκούσατε. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως· Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. ἃ γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστα καὶ ἀδύνατα νομιζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς προεμήνυσε διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος μέλλειν γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὅταν γένηται μὴ ἀπιστηθῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προειρηθῆσθαι πιστευθῇ.

¹²²² Iustinus Martyrus, 1 *Apol.* 53.2 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-3 (l. 6 Goodspeed): τίνοι γὰρ ἂν λόγῳ ἂν θρόπῳ σταυρωθέντι ἐπειθόμεθα, ὅτι πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ παντός ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποιήσεται, εἰ μὴ μαρτύρια πρὶν ἢ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον κεκηρυγμένα περὶ αὐτοῦ εὔρομεν καὶ οὕτως γενόμενα ἐρωῶμεν, γῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίων ἐρήμωσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ παντός ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ διδασχῆς πεισθέντας καὶ παραιτησαμένους τὰ παλαιά, ἐν οἷς πλανώμενοι ἀνεστράφησαν, ἔθνη, ἑαυτοὺς ἡμᾶς ὀρώντες, πλείονάς τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρέων Χριστιανοὺς εἰδότες;

¹²²³ Iustinus Martyrus, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 139.4 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-5 (l. 5 Goodspeed): δύο οὖν λαῶν εὐλογηθέντων, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ τοῦ Ἰάφεθ, καὶ πρώτων κατασχεῖν τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ Χαναὰν ἐγνωσμένων τῶν ἀπὸ Σὴμ, καὶ πάλιν διαδέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὰς αὐτὰς κτήσεις τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰάφεθ προειρημένων, καὶ τοῖς δυσὶ λαοῖς τοῦ ἐνὸς λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ Χαναὰν εἰς δουλείαν παραδοθέντος, ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος πατρὸς δύναμιν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρεγένετο, εἰς φιλίαν καὶ εὐλογίαν καὶ μετάνοιαν καὶ συνοικίαν καλῶν, τὴν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γῆ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι, ἧς, ὡς προαποδέδεικται, διακατάσχεσιν ἐπήγγελται. ὅθεν οἱ πάντοθεν ἄνθρωποι, εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν, ἐπίστανται ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐκείνῃ γενησόμενοι καὶ τὰ αἰώνια καὶ ἄφθαρτα κληρονομήσειν.

¹²²⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Dem. apost. praed.* (p. 68 Robinson (trans.)): Nam hoc modo [se] habere [debent] credentes, (constanter) permanente semper in eis Spiritu Sancto, qui datus est in baptisate illo (?) (ab eo) et

(*fides*) by its fulfilment ("cuncta haec ita futura esse prius annuntiauit Spiritus Dei per prophetas, ut firma apud illos fides sit ueritate Deum colentium" (Robinson's translation)),¹²²⁵ since it was (seemingly) impossible and predicted long beforehand.¹²²⁶ In a similar vein Theophilus of Antioch¹²²⁷ (though he prefers the cycles of seasons, day and night and the alleged resurrection of seeds as visible proofs (τεκμήρια) of the universal one);¹²²⁸ and Tertullian, for whom the fulfilment of prophecy is its (self-evident) proof: "Idoneum, opinor, testimonium diuinitatis ueritas diuinationis",¹²²⁹ all prophecies, pertaining to past or future, fulfilled in eternity, constituting "an assured proof of future things".¹²³⁰ Even as he sees Jewish antiquity as a kind of proof of its validity,¹²³¹ he sees obvious Jewish humiliation as proof (*fiducia*) of both Christian prophecy and the gentile Church's exaltation.¹²³² Hippolytus

custoditur ab accipiente [et in] ueritate et sanctitate et iustitia et patientia conversante; nam huius animae resurrectio est fidelibus, cum corpus rursus accipiat animam et una cum ea uirtute Spiritus Sancti suscitetur et intus introducatur in regnum Dei. Hic est benedictionis lapheti fructus in uocatione gentium per Ecclesiam apparens, quod constanter intendentes [intendens] habitationem [laphet] accipere[n]t in domo Sem secundum repromissionem Dei.

¹²²⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. apost. praed. (p. 68 Robinson (trans.)): Cuncta haec ita futura esse prius annuntiauit Spiritus Dei per prophetas, ut firma apud illos fides sit ueritate Deum colentium.

¹²²⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. apost. praed. (p. 68 Robinson (trans.)): Nam quod penitus impossibilitas erat nostrae naturae et propter hoc parvam fidem erat adducturum hominibus, haec Deus per prophetas fecit prius annuntiari, ut e [priore] praedictione ante multa tempora [facta] tum tandem eventu habito ita, sicut etiam antea dictum fuerat, cognoscamus quod Deus erat, qui antea annuntiauit nobis redemptionem nostram.

¹²²⁷ Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad Auto. I 14 (l. 2-5 Grant): ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, οἱ καὶ προεῖπον διὰ πνεύματος θεοῦ τὰ προγεγονότα ᾧ τρόπῳ γέγονεν καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα τίνι τρόπῳ γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ποῖα τάξει ἀπαρτισθήσεται.

¹²²⁸ Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad Auto. I 13 (l. 7-11 Grant): Ὁ μὲν οὖν θεός σοι πολλὰ τεκμήρια ἐπιδείκνυσιν εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ. εἰ γὰρ βούλει, κατανόησον τὴν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν τελευτήν, πῶς καὶ αὐτὰ τελευτᾶ καὶ ἀνίσταται. τί δὲ καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ καρπῶν γινομένη ἐξανάστασις, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. For Victorinus, sun and moon represent, respectively, hope in the resurrection and hope (*i.e.* a kind of demonstration) that that hope need never be extinguished, even in death: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.1 (SChr 423, 100, l. 7-13): Sole autem amicta, spem resurrectionis significat et gloriae repromissionem. Luna uero, casus sanctorum corporum ex debito mortis, quod deficere numquam potest. Nam quemadmodum minuitur uita hominibus, sic et augebitur, nec in toto extincta est spes dormientium, ut quidam putant, sed habebunt in tenebris lucem sicut lunam.

¹²²⁹ Tertullianus, Apol. 20 (CC SL 1, l. 15-17): Idoneum, opinor, testimonium diuinitatis ueritas diuinationis.

¹²³⁰ Tert. apol. 20, 1; 19, 8. Tertullianus, Apol. 20 (CC SL 1, l. 17-21): Hinc igitur apud nos futurorum quoque fides tuta est, iam scilicet probatorum, quia cum illis, quae cottidie probantur, praedicabantur; eadem uoces sonant, eadem litterae notant, idem spiritus pulsant.

¹²³¹ Tertullianus, Apol. 19 (CC SL 1, l. 1-4): Primam igitur instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas uindicat. Tertullianus, Apol. 19 (CC SL 1, l. 2-4): Apud uos quoque religionis est instar, fidem de tempore adserere. Auctoritatem litteris praestat antiquitas summa.

¹²³² *i.e.* the Jews' Beginning and End, Life and Death, constitute a kind of indirect proof of the legitimacy of the Christianis: Tertullianus, Apol. 21.6 (CC SL 1, l. 20-31): Sed quanta deliquerint, fiducia patrum inflati ad declinandum disciplinam in profanum modum, etsi ipsi non confiterentur, probaret exitus hodiernus ipsorum.

has a similar view, in that one is assuredly a prophet (by which he means the biblical prophets) if one's prophecy comes to pass¹²³³ (and may be thus believed about the future, it is implied). As for Tertullian, the prophecy of Jewish exile fulfilled, and strangers-Romans in their place, is a key, concrete Hippolytan witness.¹²³⁴ Justin's principle may derive, directly or indirectly, from Aristotle's (likely humorous) justification of his criterion for Tragedy, that it usually treats historical, or *quasi*-historical events, their having happened rendering it both believable and *de facto* possible (τὰ γενόμενα...πιστεύομεν εἶναι δυνατά).¹²³⁵ The fulfilment of prophecies of the Old Testament is thus a kind of divine *paedagogy* of men.¹²³⁶

1. 12. **alae si non haereant in animalibus.** An odd notion. It recalls the notion of

Empedocles and Lucretius that living things began with random associations of disparate limbs.¹²³⁷

Dispersi, palabundi, et soli et caeli sui extorres uagantur per orbem sine homine, sine deo rege, quibus nec aduenarum iure terram patriam saltim uestigio salutare conceditur. Cum haec illis sanctae uoces praeminarentur, eadem semper omnes ingerebant fore, uti sub extimis curriculis saeculi ex omni iam gente et populo et loco cultores sibi allegeret deus multo fideliores, in quos gratiam transferret plenior ob disciplinae auctoris capacitem.

¹²³³ Hippolytus Romanus, De. antichr. 2 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-4): Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ μακάριοι προφήται ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, προορῶντες διὰ πίστεως τὰ τοῦ λόγου μυστήρια· ἄτινα καὶ ταῖς μεταγενεστέραις διηκόνησαν γενεαῖς, οὐ μόνον τὰ παρωχηκότα εἰπόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀπαγγείλαντες.

¹²³⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, De. antichr. 30 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-14): δεῦρο οὖν, ᾧ μακάριε Ἡσαΐα, ἐξεγέρθητι, εἰπὲ σαφῶς τί ἐπροφήτευσας περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης Βαβυλῶνος. ὡς εἶπας γὰρ καὶ περὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τετέλεσται. σὺ γὰρ εἶπας μετὰ παρρησίας „ἔστω ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἔρημος, αἱ πόλεις ὑμῶν πυρίκαυστοι· τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἀλλότριον κατεσθίουσιν αὐτήν, καὶ ἡρήμωται κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀλλοτρίων. ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιών ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι, καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηράτῳ, ὡς πόλις πολιορκουμένη.“ τί οὖν; οὐ γέγονται ἤδη ταῦτα; οὐ πεπλήρωται τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰρημένα; οὐκ ἡρήμωται αὐτῶν ἡ Ἰουδαία γῆ; οὐκ ἐμπέρησται τὸ ἅγιάσμα; οὐ κατέστραπται τὰ τείχη; οὐ καθηρέθησαν αἱ πόλεις; οὐ τὴν χώραν ἀλλότριον κατεσθίουσιν; οὐ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι κρατοῦσιν; ἀλλὰ μισήσαντές σε οἱ ἄνομοι ἐνέπρισαν· καὶ γὰρ Χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν. ἀπέθανες ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν Χριστῷ ζῆς.

¹²³⁵ Arist. De art. poet. 1451b (l. 11-19 Kassel): ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμωδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δηλὸν γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑπο-τιθέασιν, καὶ οὐκ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγωδίας τῶν γενομένων ὀνομάτων ἀντέχονται. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι πιθανόν ἐστι τὸ δυνατόν· τὰ μὲν οὖν μὴ γενόμενα οὐπω πιστεύομεν εἶναι δυνατά, τὰ δὲ γενόμενα φανερόν ὅτι δυνατά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο, εἰ ἦν ἀδύνατα.

¹²³⁶ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 93-94.

¹²³⁷ Empedocles, Frag. 58 (l. 2-3 Diels / Kranz): μουνομελῆ ἐπλανᾶτο; 59 (l. 6-8): αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μεῖζον ἐμίσηγετο δαίμονι δαίμων, ταυτὰ τε συμπίπτεσκον, ὅπη συνέκυρσεν ἕκαστα, ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς

l. 12-13. **uitam unde trahant.** *Vita* has here the sense of *living, livelihood, subsistence*.¹²³⁸

Trahare may have the sense of *carry off* or *plunder*¹²³⁹ i.e. Victorinus has in mind winged *predators*, real or mythical. In a sense Christians prey on the Old Testament, at the expense of Jews, who are dispossessed, or exiled, from it.

l. 13-14. **Nisi enim quae praedixerant prophetae in Christo essent consummata.** Cf. Luc.

18.31: "consummabuntur omnia quae scripta sunt per profetas de filio hominis";¹²⁴⁰ broadly equivalent to "si autem christus non resurrexit" in 1 Cor. 15.14,¹²⁴¹ with whose conditional clause it is melded, as follows. Cf. also Apoc. 10.7.¹²⁴²

l. 14-15. **inanis fuerat praedicatio.** 1 Cor. 15.14,¹²⁴³ especially κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα

ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν/ὕμῶν, "inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra, inanis est fides

πολλὰ διηνεκῆ ἐξεγένοντο. Lucretius, De rer. nat. V 837-844 (p. 205 Martin): Multa que tum tellus etiam portenta creare conatast mira facie membris que coorta, androgynem, interutras necutrumque utrimque remotum, orba pedum partim, manuum viduata vicissim, muta sine ore etiam, sine voltu caeca reperta, vincta que membrorum per totum corpus adhaesu, nec facere ut possent quicquam nec cedere quoquam nec vitare malum nec sumere quod volet usus. Campbell, Lucretius on Creation and Evolution: A Commentary on De Rerum Natura, Book Five, Lines 772-1104, 103-104.

¹²³⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *uita* II. Transf. A., 1999.

¹²³⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *traho* I. Lit. B. 5. *To drag away violently, to carry off, plunder*, 1886.

¹²⁴⁰ Luc. 18.31 (p. 221 Nestle-Aland): Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 100 Belsheim): Sumpsit autem duodecim et dixit ad illos ecce ascendimus hierosalem et consummabuntur omnia quae scripta sunt per profetas de filio hominis; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 100 Belsheim): Conuocatis autem duodecim discipulis, dixit ad illos: Ecce ascendimus Hierosolyma, et consummabuntur omnia, quae scripta sunt per Prophetas de Filio hominis.

¹²⁴¹ 1 Cor. 15.14 (p. 467 Nestle-Aland): εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 171 Tischendorf): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra uacuas est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 30 Belsheim): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra, inanis est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 37b Matthai): si autem christus non resurrexit inanis est igitur et praedicatio nostra inanis est et fides uestra.

¹²⁴² Apoc. 10.7 (p. 651 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας.

¹²⁴³ 1 Cor. 15.14 (p. 467 Nestle-Aland): εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν (B, D) / ὕμῶν (0243, 270); (VL; Cod. 75; p. 171 Tischendorf): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra uacuas est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 30 Belsheim): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra, inanis est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 37b Matthai): si autem christus non resurrexit inanis est igitur et praedicatio nostra inanis est et fides uestra.

uestra". **illorum**. Third person, perhaps a compromise between ἡμῶν...ἡμῶν and ἡμῶν...ὑμῶν in the tradition, established as "nostra...uestra" in the Old Latin. While the pluperfect of the protasis makes sense, this is awkward: Jerome changes "fuerat" to the imperfect "erat".¹²⁴⁴

l. 15. **hoc tenet ecclesia catholica**. A declaration of principle of acceptance of the Old Testament against Marcionites and those who reject it.

l. 15-17. **et antea praedicata et postea consummata**. Suggests Victorinus' timeless quality of scripture and its recapitulation: in God's eyes, what it has prophesied is somehow fulfilled *simultaneously*. **uolat et tollitur a terra**. A image which conforms to Daniélou's theory of the patristic reception of the wings of the soul from Plato's *Phaedrus*.¹²⁴⁵ **uiuus animal**. Hardly a redundancy: *uiuus* can mean *lively*. There is a close parallel from Pliny: "uiuus et ingenuus animus".¹²⁴⁶ Perhaps it is analogous to Plato's description of the soul's having settled on earth, lost its wings and acquired a body as ζῶον τὸ σύμπαν ἐκλήθη, ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα παγέν, θνητόν τ' ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν, "it is called a living thing with all, soul and body solidified, and has the eponym 'mortal'". But Plato's point is that "wings" give the soul immortality *i.e. eternal life*, while the body implicitly brings death.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁴ Victorinu Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.; p. 61, l. 18 Haussleiter).

¹²⁴⁵ Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b (l. 6 Burnet)-246c (l. 6 Burnet): ψυχὴ πᾶσα παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ, ἄλλοτ' ἐν ἄλλοις εἶδεσι γιγνομένη. τελέα μὲν οὖν οὔσα καὶ ἐπερωμένη μετεωροπορεῖ τε καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διοικεῖ, ἢ δὲ πτερορρυήσασα φέρεται ἕως ἂν στερεοῦ τινος ἀντιλάβηται, οὐ κατοικισθεῖσα, σῶμα γήϊνον λαβοῦσα, αὐτὸ αὐτὸ δοκοῦν κινεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνης δύναμιν, ζῶον τὸ σύμπαν ἐκλήθη, ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα παγέν, θνητόν τ' ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν. Plato, *Phaed.* 246-255. Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, 120-122, n. 50.

¹²⁴⁶ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *uiuus* II. Transf., *lively, ardent*, 2002. C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Epist.* 8.17 (p. 248, l. 3-5 Schuster): scio, quam sit tibi vivus et ingenuus animus: ideo facilius est, ut me, quamquam indignationem quibusdam in locis fortasse ultra epistulae modum extulerim, parum doluisse quam nimis credas. vale.

¹²⁴⁷ Plato, *Phaedr.* 246d (l. 1-2 Burnet): ἀθάνατόν τι ζῶον, ἔχον μὲν ψυχὴν, ἔχον δὲ σῶμα, τὸν ἀεὶ δὲ χρόνον ταῦτα συμπεφυκότα.

Victorinus likely acquired the motif from his Christian predecessors, however.

Hippolytus describes such a Platonic notion as related by Basilides: all souls generated by the Cosmic Seed comprise three parts: a refined one which rises upwards to join with God; a grosser part which, deficient, cannot rise¹²⁴⁸ and needs the third element of such as Plato's wing (= νόημα),¹²⁴⁹ which fastens on the soul¹²⁵⁰ and for Basilides is the Holy Spirit,¹²⁵¹ whose wings are eagle's wings, whereby the inferior ascends to the superior.¹²⁵² For Valentinus, the brain had membranous "wings" by which the divine spirit moved the human.¹²⁵³ Origen explains the fallen angels lost their wings,¹²⁵⁴ while the exile from paradise and "coats of skins" (Gen. 5.31) signify something like Plato's wingless soul, which

¹²⁴⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 7-9 (PTS 25, 198, l. 23-199, l. 6): ἴδωμεν οὖν τί λ(έγ)ουσιν πρῶτον ἢ τί δεύτερον ἢ τί τρίτον <τ>ὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ κοσμικοῦ γεγεννημένον. ἦν <οὔν>, φησίν, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σπέρματι υἰότης τριμερῆς, κατὰ πάντα τῷ οὐκ ὄντι θε<ῶ> ὁμοούσιος, γεν<ν>ητὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. ταύτης τῆς υἰότητος τῆς τρι(ι)χῆ διηρημένης τὸ μὲν τι ἦν λεπτομερές, τὸ δὲ <παχυμερές, τὸ δὲ> ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμενον. Τὸ μὲν οὖν λεπτομερές εὐθέως πρῶτον, ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι τοῦ σπέρματος τὴν πρώτην καταβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ <οὐκ> ὄντος, διέσφυξε καὶ ἀνήλθε καὶ ἀνέδραμε κάτωθεν ἄνω, ποιητικῶς τινὶ χρησάμενον τάχει· ὡσεὶ πτερὸν ἢ νόημα, καὶ ἐγένετο, φησί, πρὸς τὸν οὐκ ὄντα· ἐκείνου γὰρ δι' ὑπερβολὴν κάλλους καὶ ὠραιότητος πᾶσα φύσις ὀρέγεται, ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως. Ἡ δὲ παχυμερεσττέρα ἔτι μένουσα ἐν τῷ σπέρματι, μιμητικὴ τις οὖσα, ἀναδραμεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνδεεσττέρα <οὖσα> τῆς λεπτομερείας, ἣς εἶχεν ἢ δι' αὐτῆς υἰ(ό)τ(ης) ἀναδραμοῦσα, ἀπελίπετο.

¹²⁴⁹ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 8 (PTS 25, 199, l. 1): ὡσεὶ πτερὸν ἢ νόημα.

¹²⁵⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 10 (PTS 25, 199, l. 6-8): <ἀν>επτέρωσεν οὖν αὐτὴν ἢ υἰότης ἢ παχυμερεσττέρα τοιοῦτω τινὶ πτερῷ, ὁποῖω διδάσκαλος ὦ<ν> Ἀριστοτέλους Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδ(ω)νι τὴν ψυχὴν πτεροῖ.

¹²⁵¹ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 10 (PTS 25, 199, l. 8-10): καὶ καλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο Βασιλείδης οὐ πτερὸν ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὃ εὐεργετῆ ἢ υἰότης ἐνδυσσάμενη καὶ εὐεργετῆται.

¹²⁵² Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 15-16 (PTS 25, 200, l. 4-11): <τουτέστιν> ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου φερομένη ὁσμὴ ἄνωθεν κάτω μέχρι τῆς ἀμορφίας καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὅθεν ἤρξατο ἀνελθεῖν ἢ υἰότης, οἶονεὶ ἐπὶ <τῶν> πτερύγων ἀετοῦ, φησί, καὶ τῶν μεταφρένων <ἀν>ενεχθεῖσα. σπεύδει γὰρ, φησί, πάντα κάτωθεν ἄνω, ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα, οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστι τῶν <ἐν> τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἵνα μὴ <μένη, ἀλλὰ> κατέλθῃ κάτω.

¹²⁵³ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. IV 11 (PTS 25, 76, l. 11-15): ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλος ἀνατμηθεὶς ἔνδον ἔχει τὸ καλούμενον καμάριον, οὗ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑμένες εἰσι λεπτοί, οὓς πτερύγια προσαγορεύουσιν, ἡρέμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος κινούμενα καὶ πάλιν ἀπελαύνοντα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν παρεγκεφαλίδα.

¹²⁵⁴ Origenes, Con. Cels. VI. 43 (SChr 147, l. 37-40): ἀφ' ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγα τις ἀν' ἀνθρώπων περὶ τῆς κακίας, ποίαν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν καὶ γένεσιν, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τινῶν πτερορρησάντων καὶ κατακολλησάντων τῷ πρῶτῳ πτερορρησάντι ὑπέστη ἢ κακία.

falls and is joined with corporeality.¹²⁵⁵ A less likely direct source, the mid-second century Albinus, says that intelligence, ensconced in a body (as φυσικὴ ἔννοια), then constitutes the "winged feathering (πτέρωμα) of a soul" *i.e.* "memory (μνήμη)".¹²⁵⁶ The notion of "repeated sense-perceptions...stirring up...recollection" is probably intimately connected with the that of "the wing of the soul" as its rational part, and appears in Philo.¹²⁵⁷

1. 17-19. **Haeretici...qui testimonio prophético non utuuntur.** Refers to Marcionites or those who reject the Old Testament. **animalia.** It is not entirely clear what Victorinus means by "animal natures", but it is clearly a *human* quality which Jews, it seems, do *not* possess. **terrena.** The quality a wingless soul acquires when it falls, a Platonistic deduction surely

¹²⁵⁵ Origenes, Con. Cels. IV. 40 (SChr 136, l. 20-26): Καὶ ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἄνθρωπος μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, τοὺς «δερματίνους» ἠμφιεσμένος ἀχιτῶναςή, οὐς διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀμαρτήσασιν ὁ θεός, ἀπόρρητόν τινα καὶ μυστικὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὑπὲρ τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα κάθοδον τῆς ψυχῆς, πτερορρούσης καὶ δεῦρο φερομένης, «ἕως ἂν στερεοῦ τινοῦ λάβηται».

¹²⁵⁶ Albinus, Epit. doct. Plat. sive Διδασκ. 4.6 (l. 7-12 Louis): Ὅταν οὖν φῶμεν τὴν νόησιν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ λόγου, οὐχὶ τὴν νῦν λεγομένην φαμέν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὅτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος ἦν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἥτις, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τότε μὲν νόησις ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ φυσικὴ ἔννοια, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ φυσικὴ ἔννοια καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἀπλή καὶ πτέρωμα ψυχῆς, ἐσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ μνήμη.

¹²⁵⁷ He strongly associates the eyes of the soul with its wings: Philo Iudeus, De plant. 22 (l. 1-7 Wendland 2): ὁπότε γὰρ οἱ ἐκ φθαρτῆς παγέντες ὕλης ὀφθαλμοὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέβησαν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς χωρίου πρὸς τὸν μακρὰν οὕτως ἀφεστῶτα ἀνατρέχειν οὐρανὸν καὶ ψαύειν τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ, πόσον τινὰ χρὴ νομίσαι τὸν πάντη δρόμον τῶν ψυχῆς ὀμμάτων; ἄπερ ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ τὸ δὴν κατιδεῖν τηλαυγῶς ἡμέρου πτερωθέντα οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον αἰθέρα τείνεται, παραμειψάμενα δὲ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοὺς ὄρους ἐπέιγεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγένητον; even as divine wisdom is so winged, with which is associated ability to see Aristotle's beginning, middle and end in things: Quis rer. diu. her. 126 (l. 1-6 Wendland 3): „λάβε μοι“ καὶ τὴν ἄττουςαν αἴσθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, „αἶγα“, πάντα „τριετίζοντα“, κατ' ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγέντα, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τελευτὴν ἔχοντα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις „τρυγὸνα καὶ περιστεράν“, τὴν τε θείαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν, πτηνὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἄνω πηδᾶν μεμελετηκυίας, διαφερούσας δ' ἀλλήλων, ἣ διαφέρει γένος εἶδους ἢ μίμημα ἀρχετύπου. Also Plutarch, Quaest. Plat. 1004C, l. 8-D, l. 7 (Hubert): 'Πῶς ποτ' ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω λέγεται τὸ τὴν τοῦ πτεροῦ φύσιν, ὑφ' ἧς ἄνω τὸ ἐμβριθὲς ἄγεται, κεκοινωνηκέναι μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ θείου;' Πότερον ὅτι περὶ ἔρωτος ὁ λόγος ἐστί, κάλλους δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ὁ ἔρωτος, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ὁμοιότητι τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα κινεῖ καὶ ἀναμνησκει τὴν ψυχὴν; ἢ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν περιεργαστέον ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἀκουστέον ὅτι, τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων πλειόνων οὐσῶν, ἢ διαλογιστικὴ καὶ διανοητικὴ μάλιστα τοῦ θείου κεκοινωνήκεν, ἦν τῶν θείων καὶ οὐρανίων ἔφησεν; ἦν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου πτερόν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ θνητῶν ἀναφέρουσεν. Dillon (trans.), Alcinoous, The Handbook of Platonism, 68.

derived from other sources. Justin says the demons rivet to earthly things those who cannot raise themselves from the ground.¹²⁵⁸ Origen holds the fallen soul trapped on earth.¹²⁵⁹ In a similar vein, Hermas ascribes to his (likely gentile) false prophet an "earthly spirit (ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά)".¹²⁶⁰

Again Victorinus does not elaborate, but this seems to be a *human, earthly* quality which gentile heretics possess, but Jews lack. This is odd given the frequent patristic attributing to Jews of an earthy nature, sometimes associated with the literal Holy *Land*;¹²⁶¹ sometimes merely with a literal understanding of Old Testament praxis;¹²⁶²¹²⁶³ or both.¹²⁶⁴

¹²⁵⁸ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 58.3 (l. 4-5 Goodspeed): καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῆς γῆς μὴ ἐπαίρεσθαι δυναμένους τοῖς γηϊνοῖς καὶ χειροποιήτοις προσήλωσαν καὶ προσηλοῦσι; in contrast with those who contemplate the divine, whom they seduce into impiety: Apol. 1.58.3 (l. 5-8 Goodspeed): τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ θεωρίαν θείων ὁρμῶντας ὑπεκκρούοντες, ἦν μὴ λογισμὸν σάφρονα καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆ βίον ἔχουσιν, εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐμβάλλουσιν.

¹²⁵⁹ Origenes, Con. Cels. IV. 40 (SChr 136, l. 26):

¹²⁶⁰ Hermas, Past. 39.11 (GCS 48, l. 3): ἡ δὲ διψυχία ἐπίγειον πνεῦμά ἐστι παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, δύναμις μὴ ἔχουσα; 43.11 (GCS 48, l. 1-2): ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐπιγείου καὶ κενοῦ καὶ δύναμις μὴ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος μωροῦ; 43.13 (GCS 48, l. 6-7): ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων προφητῶν ἐπίγειόν ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα; 43.14 (GCS 48, l. 2-3): καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπίγειον ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; 43.17 (GCS 48, l. 2-3): τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν; 43.14 (GCS 48, l. 1-4): ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ εἰς συναγωγὴν πλήρη ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἐχόντων πνεῦμα θεότητος, καὶ ἔντευξις ἀπ' αὐτῶν γένηται, κενούται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπίγειον ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ κωφοῦται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅλως συνθραύεται, μηδὲν δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι; cf. 43.19 (GCS 48, l. 2-3): οὕτω καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀδύνατά ἐστι καὶ ἀδρανῆ.

¹²⁶¹ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion 11 (CSEL 3.3, 116, l. 7-15): Ecce probauimus per omnium scripturarum deificarum fidem duo montes Sina in terra et Sion in caelo duorum testamentorum portare figuram, ueteris Sina et noui Sion: ex quibus duobus montibus, uidelicet duobus testamentis posteriori tempore demonstratos et depalatos duos populos, ueterem et priorem Iudaeorum et nouum et posteriorem populum christianorum: Iudaeos terrenos quibus terra promissa a Deo (acceperunt carnales) et christianos caelestes quibus regna caelorum a Deo promissa (accepturi sunt in futuro saeculo).

¹²⁶² Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Faust. XII 9 (CSEL 25, 337, l. 15-21): sicut cain sacrificium ex terrae fructibus reprobatur, abel autem sacrificium ex ouibus et earum adipe suscipitur, ita noui testamenti fides ex innocentia gratiae deum laudans ueteris testamenti terrenis operibus anteponitur, quia etsi ante iudaei recte illa fecerunt, in eo tamen infidelitatis rei sunt, quia christo ueniente iam tempus noui testamenti a tempore ueteris testamenti non distinxerunt.

¹²⁶³ Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Faust. XII 9 (CSEL 25, 337, l. 15-21): sicut cain sacrificium ex terrae fructibus reprobatur, abel autem sacrificium ex ouibus et earum adipe suscipitur, ita noui testamenti fides ex innocentia gratiae deum laudans ueteris testamenti terrenis operibus anteponitur, quia etsi ante iudaei recte illa fecerunt, in eo tamen infidelitatis rei sunt, quia christo ueniente iam tempus noui testamenti a tempore ueteris testamenti non distinxerunt.

¹²⁶⁴ Origen stresses Christians must inhabit a heavenly Holy Land (albeit while in and to the inhabitants of the literal one): Origenes, Hom. in Num. 28.2 (CB 30, 282, l. 14-20): Consequens igitur est, ut, sicut sunt etiam aliae civitates circa Hierusalem terrenam sitae et vici et diversae quaeque regiones, ita et illa 'coelestis Hierusalem' secundum imaginem terrenorum habeat circa se et alias civitates ac vicus diversas que regiones, in

Hippolytus says that "in *earthly foods* Jews do not agree with the gentiles, but in views and every deed, in these they universally come to share together".¹²⁶⁵ Origen, that the "earthly Jews" only have "myths and trumpery" in their understanding of the Old Testament scriptures.¹²⁶⁶ The bible already associates the gentiles with the earth (or γῆ/terra in the sense of *earth* e.g. Is. 42.6, recycled in Act. 13.47), even as there is sometimes a potential ambiguity concerning *the land* (i.e. of Canaan: אֶרֶץ / γῆ, Gen. 28.4; Ps. 25.14),¹²⁶⁷ whereby it becomes *the world* in Paul (κόσμος, Rom. 4.13).¹²⁶⁸ Justin makes a similar association of the earth with gentiles, though he also plays on the ambiguity of land/earth,¹²⁶⁹ even inheriting the gentiles of the desolate cities of Judah, even as they are inherited by Christ.¹²⁷⁰ He positively assigns "earthly things / τὰ ἐπίγεια" with pristine, unfallen, humanity, as a blessing under the pre-Mosaic, "divine law" (cf. Rom. 2.26);¹²⁷¹ though he accuses Trypho of

quibus populus Dei et verus Istrahel per Iesum verum, cuius ille Iesus Nave ferebat imaginem, collocandus est quandoque et hereditatem sortis distributione, id est meritum contemplatione, capturus.

¹²⁶⁵ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. I 15.5 (SChr 14, l. 2-4): τοῦτο σημαίνει ὅτι ἐν μὲν τοῖς βρώμασι τοῖς ἐπιγείοις οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐ συμφωνοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς θεωρίαις καὶ παντὶ πράγματι, κοσμικῶ τούτοις συνερχόμενοι κοινωνοῦσιν.

¹²⁶⁶ Origenes, Con. Cels. II 5 (SChr 132, l. 13-17): Διὸ καὶ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς ἰδεῖν πάντα μὲν τὰ Ἰουδαίων τῶν νῦν μύθους καὶ λήρους—οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ φῶς τῆς γνώσεως τῶν γραφῶν—, τὰ δὲ Χριστιανῶν ἀλήθειαν, ἐπᾶραι καὶ μετεωρίσαι ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν δυνάμενα καὶ πείθοντα ἔχειν τι ἀπολίτευμάη οὐχ ὅμοιον τοῖς κάτω Ἰουδαίοις κάτω που ἀλλ' «ἐν οὐρανοῖς».

¹²⁶⁷ Gen. 28.4 (p. 42 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ δῶη σοι τὴν εὐλογίαν αβρααμ τοῦ πατρός μου σοὶ καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου μετὰ σέ κληρονομήσει τὴν γῆν τῆς παροικησεώς σου ἣν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ αβρααμ. Ps. 25 / 24.13 (p. 23 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀυλισθήσεται καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ κληρονομήσει γῆν.

¹²⁶⁸ Rom. 4.13 (p. Nestle-Aland): Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμος, ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως.

¹²⁶⁹ He has the fathers—the Jews cease to rule in the land / world in place of the sons—the gentiles (Ps. 45.16): Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 38.5 (l. 7-9 Goodspeed): ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ σου ῥ καταστήσεις αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

¹²⁷⁰ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 13.8, l. 7-9, l. 5 (Goodspeed): καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἔθνη κληρονομήσει, καὶ πόλεις ἠρημωμένας κατοικεῖς, μὴ φοβοῦ ὅτι κατησχύνθης, μηδὲ ἐντραπῆς ὅτι ὠνειδίσθης, ὅτι αἰσχύνῃν αἰώνιον ἐπιλήση καὶ ὄνειδος τῆς χηρείας σου οὐ μνησθήσῃ ὅτι κύριος ἐποίησεν ὄνομα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε, αὐτὸς θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, πάση τῇ γῇ κληθήσεται.

¹²⁷¹ Iustinus Martyrus, 2 Apol. 5.2 (l. 1-7 Goodspeed): ὁ θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα εἰς αὔξησιν καρπῶν καὶ ὥρων μεταβολὰς κοσμήσας καὶ θεῖον τούτοις νόμον τάξας, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ δι' ἀν-θρώπους φαίνεται πεποικῶς, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρόνοιαν ἀγγέλοις, οὓς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔταξε, παρέδωκεν.

interpreting scripture "in a *lowly* sense (ταπεινῶς)".¹²⁷² Victorinus' is not a simple gentile pagan / Jewish contrast/association, though it has similarities. Seemingly the New Testament alone offers even heretics life, albeit of a wingless and terrestrial sort. But perhaps exiled Jews are inherently *land*-less.

l. 19-20. **Iudaei...adsunt eis alae, sed non uiuunt.** Quoting Basilides, Hippolytus says a birdless wing can no more fly than a wingless bird.¹²⁷³ A most disturbing image: Jews have wings yet do not live, presumably because they *lack living bodies i.e. the human, earthly* qualities of gentiles. Jews are winged cadavers. The Jews are among, or constitute, the undead, in a way that not even gentile pagans or heretics do. The nineteenth century, proto-Zionist Moses Hess was to write of the exiled Jews as a ghost among the nations.¹²⁷⁴ See above for the possibility that to Victorinus Jews' inherently dispossessed nature makes them, properly, quintessentially landless.

l. 20-21. **id est inanem.** The spirit of the false prophet of (the Vulgate) Hermas is both empty and utters inanities: "ille autem propheta inanis est et inania respondet inanibus" (fourth

¹²⁷² Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph 112 (l. 1 Goodspeed): Ὑμεῖς δέ, ταῦτα ταπεινῶς ἐξηγοῦμενοι.

¹²⁷³ Hippolytus Romanus, Ref. omn. haer. / Elench. VII 22 11 (PTS 25, 199, l. 1-6): εὐεργετεῖ μὲν <οὖν καὶ εὐεργετεῖται>, ὅτι καθάπερ ὄρνιθος πτερόν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ <καὶ> τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἀπηλλαγμένον οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε ὑψηλὸν οὐδὲ μετάρσιον, οὐδ' αὖ ὄρνις ἀπολελυμένος τοῦ πτεροῦ οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ὑψηλὸς οὐδὲ μετάρσιος, τοιοῦτόν τινά τοι λόγον ἔσχεν ἢ υἰότης πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὴν υἰότητα.

¹²⁷⁴ Herzberg, The Zionist idea: a historical analysis and reader, 184-185 (quoting Hess): "But after the Jewish people had ceased to exist as an actual state, as a political entity, they could nevertheless not submit to total annihilation -- they lived on spiritually as a nation. The world saw in this people the uncanny form of one of the dead walking among the living. The Ghostlike apparition of a living corpse, of a people without unity or organization, without land or other bonds of unity, no longer alive, and yet walking among the living -- this spectral form without precedence in history, unlike anything that preceded or followed it, could but strangely affect the imagination of the nations. And if the fear of ghosts is something inborn, and has a certain justification in the psychic life of mankind, why be surprised at the effect produced by this dead but still living nation. A fear of the Jewish ghost has passed down the generations and the centuries. First a breeder of prejudice, later in conjunction with other forces we are about to discuss, it culminated in Judeophobia."

century Vulgate translation).¹²⁷⁵ **uaticinationem**. Cf. 1 Cor. 15.14: κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν, especially Tertullian's version: " Si christus non resurrexit, inanis est praedicatio nostra, inanis est et fides uestra".¹²⁷⁶ One version of the Old Latin has "inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra uacuas est fides uestra",¹²⁷⁷ "uacuas" possibly suggesting *uaticinatio*.¹²⁷⁸ It is once used by Tertullian of true, biblical prophecy,¹²⁷⁹ another time more disparagingly as "poetic foresight (*poetica uaticinatio*)".¹²⁸⁰ Rufinus uses "prophetarum uaticinatio"¹²⁸¹ to translate something like τὸ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἔνθεον,¹²⁸² "the

¹²⁷⁵ Hermas, Past. 43.13 (GCS 48. l. 2-4): κολλᾶται δὲ τοῖς διψύχοις καὶ κενοῖς, καὶ κατὰ γωνίαν αὐτοῖς προφητεύει, καὶ ἀπατᾷ αὐτοὺς λαλῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πάντα κενῶς· κενοῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀποκρίνεται; 43.15 (GCS 48, l. 4-5): οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφηῆται οἱ κενοὶ ὅταν ἔλθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα δικαίων, ὅποιοι ἦλθον, τοιοῦτοι καὶ εὐρίσκονται; Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.) Mand. 11 (p. 59, l. 11-12): Hilgenfeld): ille autem propheta inanis est et inania respondet inanibus. Even as his enquirers are vain: Hermas, Past. 43.3 (GCS 48, l. 2-3): ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπερωτηθῆ, πρὸς τὸ κένωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκρίνεται. Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.) Mand. 11 (p. 59, l. 12-13 Hilgenfeld): quotquot autem interrogatur a vanis hominibus, vana respondet illis; his spirit is empty: Hermas, Past. 43.17 (GCS 48, l. 2-3): τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πιστεύει, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν.

¹²⁷⁶ Tertullianus, De res. mort. (CC SL 2, cap. : 48, linea : 14-16. Cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 390, l. 11-12): Atque ita inanis est et fides nostra, inanis et praedicatio apostolorum.

¹²⁷⁷ 1 Cor. 15.14 (p. 467 Nestle-Aland): εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 171 Tischendorf): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra uacuas est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 30 Belsheim): inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra, inanis est fides uestra; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 37b Matthai): si autem christus non resurrexit inanis est igitur et praedicatio nostra inanis est et fides uestra.

¹²⁷⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *uaticinatio* I. a foretelling, soothsaying, prophesying; a prediction, vaticination, 1961.

¹²⁷⁹ Tertullianus, Apol. 19 (CC SL 1, l. 4-12): Primus enim propheta, moyses, qui mundi conditionem et generis humani pullulationem, et mox ultricem iniquitatis illius aevi uim cataclysmi de praeterito exorsus est per uaticinationem usque ad suam aetatem, et deinceps per res suas futurorum imagines edidit, penes quem et temporum ordo, digestus ab initio, supputationem saeculi praestitit, superior inuenitur annis circiter quadringentis quam ille antiquissimus penes uos danaus in argos transuenisset.

¹²⁸⁰ Tertullianus, Apol. 19 (CC SL 1, l. 28-29 De sophia amor eius philosophia uocitatus est: de prophetia affectatio eius poeticam uaticinationem deputauit.

¹²⁸¹ Origenes, De princ. IV 1.6 (GCS 22, 301, l. 30-33): Quibus etiam illud addendum est, quod sive prophetarum vaticinatio sive Moysi lex divina esse et diuinitus inspirata ex eo maxime inluminata est et probata, ex quo in hunc mundum Christus aduenit.

¹²⁸² Origenes, De princ. IV 1.6 (l. 7-8 Gorgemanns / Karpp): λεκτέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἔνθεον καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου ἔλαμψεν ἐπιδημήσαντος Ἰησοῦ.

inspired divinity of the words of the prophets".¹²⁸³ Less clear is why Jerome uses it to translate ψαθη, *śēl*, "destruction" in Lam. 3.47.¹²⁸⁴

But despite the generally positive use of *uaticinatio* even by Christian authors, yet it likely had a lesser status to *prophetia*, which is why Victorinus may use it in this pejorative sense. Caesar associates it with "lots (*sortes*)",¹²⁸⁵ while Cicero says it more accurately means "oracles (*oracla*)", pertaining to "divination of nature (*naturalis diuinatio*)",¹²⁸⁶ associated with Sibylline cult.¹²⁸⁷ Pliny uses of it the fearful presages that afflicted the survivors of the Vesuvius eruption.¹²⁸⁸ **hominibus adferunt**. This presumably refers to Jews *still preaching*, inadvertently or otherwise, to *gentiles*, as well as Jews (≡ "hominibus"? In third century Poetovio?). **facta dictis non conferentes**. Tertullian stresses that the prophets' "acts (*res*)" and "deeds (*facta*)" predicted the Resurrection as much as their "voices (*uoces*)" and "assertions (*dicta*)".¹²⁸⁹ Sometimes he thinks that allegedly accomplished Christian *facta* may sometimes suffice for *dicta*; subtract Christ's *uoces*, and his *res* will speak for themselves.¹²⁹⁰

¹²⁸³ Cf. Hieronymus, In Hier. proph. IV (CC SL 74, 290, l. 21-291, l. 3): ubicumque *ergo* graue est, quod dominus comminatur, et plenum ponderis ac laboris et inportabile, in titulo quoque arma~g, hoc est 'pondus', dicitur; ubicumque autem prospera dominus pollicetur sine post comminationem meliora promittit, ibi 'uisio' dicitur uel certe 'uerbum domini'; et perspicuum erat ex ipso titulo prophetiae 'ponderis' siue 'uisionis' et 'uerbi dei', qualis uaticinatio sequeretur.

¹²⁸⁴ Lam. 3.47 (ab Hieron.transl.) (p. 732 Hetzenauer): fe formido et laqueus facta est nobis uaticinatio et contritio.

¹²⁸⁵ C. Iulius Caesar, Com. bel. Gal. I 50 (p. 24, l. 9-14 Heringliber): cum ex captiuis quaereret Caesar, quamobrem Ariouistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiēbat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres familiae eorum sortibus uaticinationibus que declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; 5 eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

¹²⁸⁶ M. Tullius Cicero, De diu. II 70 (p. 110, l. 12-15 Giomini): Satis multa de ostentis; auspicia restant et sortes eae, quae ducuntur, non illae, quae uaticinatione funduntur, quae oracla uerius dicimus; de quibus tum dicemus, cum ad naturalem diuinationem uenerimus; De nat. deor. II (p. 115, l. 26-116, l. 3 Ax): est enim profecto diuinatione, quae multis locis rebus temporibus apparet cum in privatis tum maxime publicis: multa cernunt haruspices multa augures provident, multa oraclis declarantur multa uaticinationibus multa somniis multa portentis; quibus cognitis multae saepe res <ex> hominum sententia atque utilitate partae, multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt.

¹²⁸⁷ M. Tullius Cicero, De nat. deor. II 10 (p. 52, l. 29-53, l. 1 Ax): Multa ex Sibyllinis uaticinationibus, multa ex haruspicum responsis commemorare possum quibus ea confirmantur quae dubia nemini debent esse.

¹²⁸⁸ C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, Epist. VI 20.19 (p. 192, l. 2-3 Schuster): metus praeualebat; nam et tremor terrae perseverabat, et plerique lymphati terrificis uaticinationibus et sua et aliena mala ludificabantur.

¹²⁸⁹ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 28 (CC SL 2, l. 1-3): Scimus autem sicut et uocibus ita et rebus prophetatum; tam dictis quam et factis praedicatur resurrectio.

¹²⁹⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV 7.6 (CC SL 1, 435, l. 4-5): Sufficiunt mihi facta pro dictis. Detrahe uoces christi mei: res loquentur.

“Facta” likely means the *a priori* assumed Old Testament prophecies, or prophetic actions, *fulfilled* in the life of Christ and subsequently. Alternatively, it may mean alleged deeds, actions or events in Jewish life or history, such as literal observance of the Mosaic law; or the destruction of the temple or other events, which, allegedly, Jews cannot find prophesied in their bible, indicative of Christ's advent.¹²⁹¹ Although he is a millenarian, who believes in the Antichrist's rebuilding of the temple, unlike other church fathers, Victorinus does not *explicitly* refer to the loss of temple and sovereignty that signalled for many the proof positive of the Jews' losing their inheritance.¹²⁹² Thus “facta” may be his only reference to such historical events. “Dictis” may mean the alleged *assertions* of the Jews (of Poetovio?); or simply what is prophesied in the bible.¹²⁹³ **non conferentes.** *Conferre*'s basic meaning of *bring together* can evolve into *bring together in comparison* hence *compare*.¹²⁹⁴ Dulaey writes that this is “une image cohérente et très parlante de l'unité des deux testaments”,¹²⁹⁵ and, in so far as this is likely the view of Victorinus, she is correct. **non audiendam.** Victorinus may mean that Jewish teaching or interpretation concerning the Old Testament is *not to be heard*, either because it is unconvincing, seductive but unedifying or

¹²⁹¹ In addition to ridiculing Jews for failing to acknowledge the prophesied coming of Christ, Tertullian mocks them for failing to acknowledge their dispossession or its significance as punishment for recognising it: Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 178-187): Haec igitur cum pati praedicarentur iudaei propter christum et passos eos inueniamus et in dispersionem demorari cernamus, manifestum est propter christum iudaeis ista accidisse, conspirante sensu scripturarum cum exitu rerum et ordine temporum. Aut si nondum uenit christus, propter quem haec passuri praedicabantur, cum uenerit ergo, patientur. Et ubi tunc filia sion relinquenda, quae in iudaea hodie <non> est? ubi ciuitates exurendae, quae iam in tumulis? ubi dispersio gentis, quae iam extorris est? redde statum iudaeae, quem christus inueniat, et alium contende uenire.

¹²⁹² E.g. Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 119. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 3; 13. Origenes, De princ. IV 3.

¹²⁹³ Cf. Victorinus' *dictio prophetica*, which must agree with (*congruere*) *testimonia*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-21): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis propheticae.;

or *scriptarum dictiones*: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 27.2 (SChr 294, l. 29-42): Cum itaque uniuersae Scripturae et prophetae, et euangelicae in aperto et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint etsi non omnes credunt, unum et solum Deum ad excludendos alios praedicent omnia fecisse per Verbum suum, siue uisibilia, siue inuisibilia, siue caelestia, siue terrena, siue aquatilia, siue subterranea, sicut demonstrauius ex ipsa Scripturarum dictionibus, et ipsa autem creatura in *qua* sumus per ea quae in aspectum ueniunt hoc ipsum testante, unum esse qui eam fecerit et regat, ualde hebetes apparebunt qui ad tam lucidam adapertionem caecutiunt oculos et nolunt uidere lumen praedicationis, sed constringunt semetipsos et per tenebras parabolarum absolutiones unusquisque eorum putat proprium inuenisse Deum.

¹²⁹⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *confero* I. (d). 4. *To bring together for comparison, to compare*, 411.

¹²⁹⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 172.

dangerous, or all of these. It may witness to the appeal of Jewish preachers or teachers in Poetovio.

l. 23-24. **sunt...libri ueteris testamenti qui excipiuntur uiginti quattuor.** *Excipere* has a *quasi*-legal sense in rhetoric of *express by name, make particular mention of, state expressly*.¹²⁹⁶

l. 24. **epitomis Theodori.** Anonymously written,¹²⁹⁷ these are likely the source of the Poetovian canon and are one of only two occasions when Victorinus even alludes to his sources (the other consists in his mentioning “ueteres nostri”).¹²⁹⁸ *Epitome/epitoma, abridgment*,¹²⁹⁹ is an uncommon Latinized form.¹³⁰⁰

l. 24-25. **Sed et uiginti quattuor ut diximus patres et apostoli.** Dulaey speculates the original source may be Papias.¹³⁰¹ The *Epitomae* may be the source of the conflation of the books of the Old Testament with the elders of Revelation, but not necessarily. For other traditions from them, see below.

l. 25-26. **iudicare suum populum oportet.** The use of *oportere* suggests that the appropriateness of the number of twenty four elders’ judging the Church is Victorinus’ *own*

¹²⁹⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *excipio* I. (b). b., 677.

¹²⁹⁷ TLL, s. v. *epitome*, c, 692, 36 s.; Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 271-272.

¹²⁹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.3 (SChr 423, 94, l. 3-7): Per omnia ueteres nostri tradiderunt illum esse Hieremiam; nam et ipsum uerbum, quod factum est ad illum, testificatur dicens: Priusquam te figurarem in utero matris tuae, noui te, et priusquam de uulua procederes sanctificaui te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te.

More common is *maiores nostri*: Pontius diaconus, Uit. Cyp. 1.2 (p. 4, l. 11-17 Bastiaesen): Certe durum erat, ut cum maiores nostri plebeis et catecuminis martyrium consecutis tantum honoris pro martyrii ipsius ueneratione debuerint, ut de passionibus eorum multa aut ut prope dixerim paene cuncta conscripserint, utique ut ad nostram quoque notitiam qui nondum nati fuimus pervenirent, Cypriani tanti sacerdotis et tanti martyris passio praeteriretur, qui et sine martyrio habuit quae doceret.

¹²⁹⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *epitome* I. *an abridgment, epitome*, 652.

¹³⁰⁰ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ἐπιτομή A. II. *epitome, abridgement*, 560.

¹³⁰¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 272.

interpretation of the number of the canon he found in Theodore: for δεῖ κρίνεσθαι / oportet iudicari, the obligation of the Israelite judges to judge their own people contrasts with Paul's implicitly denying that right to the Jews whom he avers he has not wronged, rather imputing it to the βῆμα / tribunal of Caesar (Act. 25.10).¹³⁰² Thus the Word judges its people Israel-the Church (Io. 12.48).

1. 26-30. **Interrogantibus enim apostolis et dicentibus.** Cf. Matth. 19.27-28,¹³⁰³ which this and the ensuing contracts: thus Victorinus conflates Peter's individual question with Jesus' answering the disciples *in toto*. **nos his omnibus nostris relictis secuti te sumus.** For "we have left...and followed you". **respondit Dominus noster.** The verse has "Jesus said to them": Victorinus incorporates the earlier verse's "Peter (having) answered". **cum sederit filius hominis super solium.** Distinguished from the "tribunalia" of the twelve, where the Greek has a θρόνος for all of them. Victorinus represents the twelve as magistrates of the one God. Those of the *septima classis* of *In Apoc.* 3. 3, 1.1 are promised, if faithful, "sedere

¹³⁰² Act. 25.10 (p. 393 Nestle-Aland): εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος· ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος εἶμι, οὐ με δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. Ἰουδαίους οὐδὲν ἠδίκηκα, ὡς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις; (VL; Cod. 50; p. 56 Belsheim): Dixit autem Paulus Ad tribunal caesaris stans sum, ubi me oportet iudicari: Iudaeos non nocui, sicut tu melius cognoscis; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 53 Belsheim): Ait autem paulus : Ad tribunal Cearis sto, ibi me oportet iudicium experiri. Iudeos non nocui, sicut tu quoque melius nosti.

¹³⁰³ Matth. 19.27-28 (p. 56-57 Nestle-Aland): Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι· τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 9 Belsheim): Tunc respondit petrus et dixit illi ecce nos dimsimus omnia et secuti sumus te quidnam erit nobis? Ille autem dixit illis amen dico uobis quoniam uos qui me saecuti estis me in resurrectione cum sederit filius hominis in throno claritatis suae sedetis et uos super duodecim thronos iudicantes duodecim tribus israhel; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 25 Belsheim): Tunc respondens Petrus dixit ei: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, et secuti sumus te: quid ergo erit nobis? Jesus autem dixit illis: Amen dico vobis, quod uos qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae sedebitis et vos super sedes XII. iudicantes XII. tribus Israhel; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 26 Belsheim): Tunc respondens Petrus, dixit ei: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te, quid ergo erit nobis? Jesus autem dixit illis: Amen dico uobis, quod uos qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae, sedebitis et uos super sedes XII iudicantes duodecim tribus Istrahel; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 55 Scrivener): tunc respondens petrus dixit ei ecce nos dimisimus omnia et secuti sumus te: quid igitur erit nobis. ihs autem dixit ei: amen dico uobis quoniam uos: qui secuti estis me in regeneratione cum sederit filius hominis super sedem gloriae suae: sedebitis et uos super duodecim sedes iudicantes duodecim tribus israhel.

super *tronum iudicii*",¹³⁰⁴ which may be another class of millenarian authority, inferior to the disciples, yet reflecting the more classless *θρόνος gloriae suae*. The manifestation of Christ at the *parousia*. **iudicantes**. More likely in the Millennial kingdom than at the Last Judgment, but perhaps both. **duodecim tribus Israel**. Likely refers to Jewish believers past, present and to come, especially the hundred and forty four thousands of Elijah's call to repentance (*In Apoc.* 7, 1. 10-11; 12.4, 1. 3-4; 20.1, 1. 10-12).

This is the basis for hope of restitution and restoration in the Millennial kingdom to come (*In Apoc.* 21.5). That the apostles will judge the twelve tribes of Israel *i.e.* are both their superiors and brethren, allows Victorinus to elide both patriarchs and apostles as the *patres* of the tribe of Israel, below.

l. 30-33. **Sed et de patribus**. Refers to both patriarchs *and* apostles, thus eliding both into *Israel* proper. **quia iudicaturi sunt, ait Iacob patriarcha: Et ipse iudicabit populum suum...sicut una tribus Israel**. Cf. Gen. 49.16,¹³⁰⁵ which refers to *Dan* not Judah. "Et ipse" suggests Victorinus may have taken *Dan* as a substantive of the verb יָדַן, D Y N, *judge*,¹³⁰⁶ typological of Christ the son of Judah. ὥσει καὶ μία φυλὴ ἐν ἰσραηλ originally meant "as one tribe *among* Israel" *i.e.* Dan was included as such. This play on words already exists in the Hebrew: יָדַן דָּן, *yādiyn Dan*, "Dan shall judge".¹³⁰⁷ This is one of the few instances which

¹³⁰⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 3.3 (SChr 423, 62, 1. 17-20): Et quoniam si huius<modi> homines de magno excidio ad magnam redeant paenitentiam, non solum sibi utiles esse, sed multis prodesse possunt, non mediocre mercedem eis promisit, id est: sedere super tronum iudicii.

¹³⁰⁵ Gen. 49.16 (p. 43 Elliger-Rudolph):

יָדַן

יָדַן

עָמוּ-

כְּאַחַד-

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁבְּטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; (p. 83 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): Δαν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαὸν ὥσει καὶ μία φυλὴ ἐν Ἰσραηλ; (Vg; p. 43 Hetzenauer): Dan iudicabit populum suum sicut et alia tribus in Israël.

¹³⁰⁶ Brown / Briggs / Driver, Hebrew Lexicon, דָּן, 192. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse 1, 172.

¹³⁰⁷ Gen. 49.16 (MT; p. 83 Elliger-Rudolph).

betray a knowledge of Hebrew, albeit more likely derived from a Judeo-Christian tradition than from a deeper linguistic understanding, though the latter cannot be excluded.

However, "sicut una tribus Israel", quite different from the Vulgate's "sicut et alia tribus in Israel",¹³⁰⁸ suggests Victorinus might have read it as "one tribe (consisting) in Israel" *i.e. comprising* both Christian Jews and gentiles. *Israel* is taken as both its root *i.e.* Jacob and his descendants *i.e.* the twelve tribes, Jewish believers and the gentile church which follows. **inter fratres suos**. Cf. Gen. 49.26,¹³⁰⁹ which refers to Joseph, but whose καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῆς ὧν ἠγήσατο ἀδελφῶν, "and upon his crown foremost of his brothers", may allow Victorinus to *separately* refer to Judah. This might especially be the case if the Poetovian were acquainted with a more literal translation of the Hebrew נָזִירֵיךָ נָזִירֵיךָ,¹³¹⁰ *nəziyr echaw*, "distinct from¹³¹¹ his brothers", rendered by the Vulgate as "in uertice Nazarei",¹³¹² in which he likely saw a type of Christ the son of David.

4.6.

l. 1-2. **Exire autem fulgora et uoces et tonitura a solio Dei et septem faces <ignis ardentis>**. Cf. Ex. 19.16,¹³¹³ of which no Old Latin version survives.

¹³⁰⁸ Gen. 49.16 (p. 43 Hetzenauer): Dan iudicabit populum suum sicut et alia tribus in Israel.

¹³⁰⁹ Gen. 49.26 (p. 84 Rahlfs-Hanhart): εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρός σου ὑπερίσχυσεν ἐπ' εὐλογίαις ὀρέων μονίμων καὶ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις θινῶν ἀενάων ἔσσονται ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν Ἰωσηφ καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῆς ὧν ἠγήσατο ἀδελφῶν.

¹³¹⁰ Gen. 49.26 (MT; p. 83 Elliger-Rudolph).

¹³¹¹ Brown / Briggs / Driver, Hebrew Lexicon, נָזִירֵי, 634.

¹³¹² Gen. 49.26 (p. 43 Hetzenauer): Benedictiones patris tui confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum eius, donec ueniret desiderium collium aeternorum: fiant in capite Ioseph, et in uertice Nazaraei inter fratres suos.

¹³¹³ Ex. 19.16 (p. 117 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γεννηθέντος πρὸς ὄρθρον καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ νεφέλη γνοφώδης ἐπ' ὄρους Σινα φωνὴ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤχει μέγα καὶ ἐπτοήθη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ; (VL; Cod. : p.): .

1. 2-4. **significabat praedicationes et repromissiones a Deo et minas.** Cf. Ios. 23.15,¹³¹⁴ for the combination of promises and threats, as to induction into and expulsion from the Land; Deut. 28.1-2,¹³¹⁵ for the blessings on hearing the Lord's commandments; Deut. 28.15,¹³¹⁶ for the curse on ignoring it; also Io. 12.46-48,¹³¹⁷ for the Word's dual role as judge of good and evil.¹³¹⁸ Behind Victorinus' interpretation is an equation between the manifestations from the throne of God and those on Mount Sinai, where the Law, its preaching, promises and threats of punishment, was given to Israel. For *preaching (praedicare)* from Mount Zion (Apoc. 14.1), cf. Ps. 2.6;¹³¹⁹ Is. 52.7¹³²⁰ (via Rom. 10.15).¹³²¹

¹³¹⁴ Ios. 23.15 (p. 401 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἔσται ὃν τρόπον ἦκει ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τὰ καλὰ ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἐπάξει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἕως ἂν ἐξολεθρεύσῃ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς ταύτης ἧς ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν.

¹³¹⁵ Deut. 28.2 (p. 335 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ σὲ πᾶσαι αἱ εὐλογίαι αὐταὶ καὶ εὐρήσουσίν σε ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσης τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

¹³¹⁶ Deut. 28.15 (p. 336 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ εἰσακούσης τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου φυλάσσειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ ὅσας ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι σήμερον καὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ σὲ πᾶσαι αἱ κατάραι αὐταὶ καὶ καταλήψονται σε.

¹³¹⁷ Io. 12.46-48 (p. 293 Nestle-Aland): ἐγὼ φῶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθα, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ μὴ μείνῃ. καὶ ἐὰν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ μὴ φυλάξῃ, ἐγὼ οὐ κρίνω αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον ἵνα κρίνω τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσω τὸν κόσμον. ὁ ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνων τὰ ῥήματά μου ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν· ὁ λόγος ὃν ἐλάλησα, ἐκεῖνος κρινεῖ αὐτόν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ; (VL; Cod. ; p.): Ego lux in mundum veni, ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat. 47 Et si quis audierit verba mea, et non custodierit, ego non iudico eum; non enim veni ut iudicem mundum, sed ut salvificem mundum. 48 Qui spernit me et non accipit verba mea, habet qui iudicet eum. Sermo quem locutus sum, ille iudicabit eum in novissimo die.

¹³¹⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 173; 2, 3.2, n. 50.

¹³¹⁹ Ps. 2.6-7 (p. 2 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου; (VL; Cod. 300; p. 2 Bianchini): Ego autem constitutus sum Rex ab eo super Sion, montem sanctum eius, praedicans praeceptum Domini.

¹³²⁰ Is. 52.7 (p. 638 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοῆν εἰρήνης ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ ὅτι ἀκουστὴν ποιήσω τὴν σωτηρίαν σου λέγων Σιών βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 18 Buchanan): quomodo uero praedicabant nisi mittantur. Sicut scriptum est. Quā speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem. euangeliumzantium bona; (VL; Cod. 75 ; p. 57 Tischendorf): aut quomodo uero praedicabant nisi mittatur sicut scriptum est quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona.

¹³²¹ Rom. 10.15 (p. 427-428 Nestle-Aland): quomodo vero praedicabant nisi mittantur? sicut scriptum est: Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona!

l. 3-4. **fulgora aduentem Domini significabant** . Cf. Matth. 24.27: "Sicut fulgor...ita erit et aduentus filii hominis".¹³²² Perhaps following Origen's combining the devil's fall and the Son of Man's coming like lightning,¹³²³ Hippolytus' Son of Man not only arrives like lightning, but his coming from the east occurs in paradise (whither implicitly Satan fell like lightning).¹³²⁴

l. 4-5. **uoces...tonitrua**. Translates Apoc. 4.5's φωναὶ... βρονταί,¹³²⁵ which is undoubtedly in origin a Hebraism: תִּלְלוֹת / *qoloth, qolōth*,¹³²⁶ the plural's usually being of thunder;¹³²⁷ cf. Ex. 19.16, where φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ, "*lightnings and thunders*", are parallel with φωνὴ τῆς σάλπιγγος;¹³²⁸ also Est. 11.5,¹³²⁹ which seems to conflate as the natural phenomena φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβος βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός τάραχος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, "voices,

¹³²²Matth. 24.27 (p. 69 Nestle-Aland): ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 31 Belsheim): Sicut enim fulgur exit ab oriente et paret usque in occidentem: ita erit et aduentus filii hominis: (VL; Cod. 4; p. 33 Belsheim): Sicut enim fulgur exit ab oriente et paret usque in occidentem, ita erit et aduentus filii hominis; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 32 Belsheim): Sicut enim fulgur exit ab oriente et paret usque in occidentem, ita erit et aduentus filii hominis; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 38 Wordsworth): Sicut enim fulgor exit ab orientem: et paret usque in occidentem: ita erit et aduentus filii hominis.

¹³²³Origenes, De princ. I 5.5 (GCS 22, 77, l. 1-8): Sed et dominus noster, qui 'veritas' est, gloriosi adventus sui potentiam nihilominus 'fulguri' comparavit dicens: "Sicut enim fulgur a summo caeli fulget usque ad summum caeli, ita erit et adventus filii hominis" Et hunc nihilominus fulguri comparat et dicit eum de caelo cecidisse, ut ostenderet per hoc fuisse et ipsum aliquando in caelo, habuisse locum inter sanctos, participasse de hac luce, de qua omnes sancti participant, ex qua et 'angelis lucis' efficiuntur et apostoli 'lux mundi' dicuntur a domino.

¹³²⁴Hippolytus Romanus, De antichri. 64 (GCS 1.2, l. 11-14): „ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἐγείρεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνει μέχρι δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ὅπου ἂν ἦ τὸ πτώμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ ἀετοί.“ πτώμα δὲ γεγένηται ἐν παραδείσῳ; in Matth. 24 A (GCS 1, 2, p. 204, 6 s.): Ethiopic version.

¹³²⁵Apoc. 4.5 (p. 640 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί· καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, ἃ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹³²⁶Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 116.

¹³²⁷Ex. 9.23; Ex. 20.18; Sam. 2.17. Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, 873.

¹³²⁸Ex. 19.16 (p. 114 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γεννηθέντος πρὸς ὄρθρον καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ νεφέλη γνοφώδης ἐπ' ὄρους Σινα φωνὴ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤχει μέγα καὶ ἐπτοήθη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ.

¹³²⁹Est. 11.5 (p. 755 Swete 2): καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβος βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμός τάραχος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

tumults, thunders and earthquakes". But *cf.* Ps. 29.3: "the voice of the Lord thundered":¹³³⁰
caelestia sunt uerba. *Cf.* Io. 12.19, for those interpreting thunder as an angel's speaking.¹³³¹
 For Victorinus the utterances of the seven thunders of Apoc. 10.4-5 (ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί)¹³³² are initially as unintelligible¹³³³ as for John they are unprintable. **autem noui testamenti praedicationes.** Surely here "preachings" rather than "prophecies".¹³³⁴ But surely a double sense is intended, since New Testament preaching itself consists in no small part in the fulfilling of Old Testament prophesying.

1. 5-6. **faces...ignis ardentis.** *Cf.* Apoc. 4.5, whose λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι this literally renders; where Jerome has "faculae ignis ardentis", although why is not entirely clear: *facula* means *little torch*,¹³³⁵ perhaps because λαμπάς may mean *faggot*.¹³³⁶ Another Old Latin variant "lampades"¹³³⁷ may influence Jerome's "lampades ardentis". *Fax* can mean *fiery meteor, fire-ball, shooting star*¹³³⁸ (as may λαμπάς).¹³³⁹ This likely explains

¹³³⁰ Ps. 29 / 28.2 (p. 26 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): φωνή κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ἐβρόντησεν κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν; (VL; Cod. 136; p. 20 Amelli): Vox domini super aquas fortissimus in gloria tonuit Dominus in aquis multis; (VL; Cod. 300; p. 40 Bianchini): Vox Domini super aquas: Deus maiestatis intonuit: Dominus super aquas multas.

¹³³¹ Io. 12.29 (p. 292 Nestle-Aland): ὁ [οὖν] ὄχλος ὁ ἐστὼς καὶ ἀκούσας ἔλεγεν βροντὴν γεγονέναι ἄλλοι ἔλεγον ἄγγελος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.

¹³³² Apoc. 4.4-5 (p. 651 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἤμελλον γράφειν· καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν, σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὃν εἶδον ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦρεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν.

¹³³³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, 10.2 Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, 90, l. 3-6): Sed quia dicit se scripturum fuisse, quanta tonitrua locuta fuissent, id est, quaecumque in ueteri testamento erant obscure praedicata, uetatur scribere, sed relinquere et signare.

¹³³⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praedicatio* III. A prediction, prophecy, soothsaying; IV. (Eccl. Lat.) *Preaching*, 1416.

¹³³⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *facula* I. a little torch, a splinter used as a torch, 718.

¹³³⁶ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, λαμπάς A. 1. a faggot, 827.

¹³³⁷ Apoc. 4.5 (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PG 86, 637D): Et throno prodent fulgura, et tonitrua, Septem ardentis ante thronum lampades, Septem ubique missi Dei Spiritus; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 599C): Et de throno procedunt fulgura et uoces et tonitrua et septem lampades ante thronum: qui sunt septem spiritus Dei; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. I 4 (CC SL 72, l. 61, 68-69, 74; p. 93 Haussleiter): et ex illo throno exeunt coruscationes et uoces et tonitrua; et septem faculae ignis ardentis erant in conspectu throni. Illae septem faculae sunt septem spiritus dei; qui sunt, iniqui septem spiritus dei.

¹³³⁸ E.g. Lucretius, De rer. nat. V 1190 (p. 218 Martin): noctivagae que faces caeli flammae que volantes: Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *fax* I. Lit. B. Transf. 3. A fiery meteor, fire-ball, shooting-star, comet, 732.

Victorinus' choice, for *facula* has no precedent in meaning geophysical or meteorological phenomena.¹³⁴⁰ Victorinus may try to evoke a quality which suits the geographical setting of Ex. 19.16. Jerome may stress a more celestial, unearthly one, especially if he envisages the λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι, as the “donum Spiritus Sanctus” (below), held by the Spirit, or its ministering angels. Victorinus' translation of λαμπάδες by *faces* also occurs in the *De fabrica mundi*.¹³⁴¹ The seven *faces* figure the Holy Spirit, even as do the seven stars (Apoc. 1.4 and 20; 3.1); and the *lamps* of the seven branched candelabra (מְנֹרֹת, *mənōrāh* / “*lucerna cum septem orificiis*”), in which all seven are joined as one. The *faces-Spiritus* proceed “a solio Dei”, even as the Spirit proceeds “filioque”.¹³⁴² **donum Spiritus Sancti**. This is Victorinus' inverse interpretation of ἅ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, harkening back to his elucidation of the sevenfold Spirit / seven spirits of God as the seven spiritual gifts.¹³⁴³ Cf. Act. 2.2-4, where tongues of fire explicitly represent the Spirit.

l. 6-7. **quod cum in ligno**. Cf. ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον / “in ligno” of Gal. 3.13;¹³⁴⁴ 1 Pet. 2.24.¹³⁴⁵ The Latin is common in Tertullian's rendering of the Gal. 3.13 / Deut. 21.23.¹³⁴⁶ **perdiderit**. The

¹³³⁹ E.g. Aristoteles, *De mun.* (p. 395b, l. 10-13 Lorimer): Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι φαντασμάτων ἰδέαι θεωροῦνται, λαμπάδες τε καλούμεναι καὶ δοκίδες καὶ πίθοι καὶ βόθυνοι, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα ὁμοιότητα ὧδε προσαγορευθεῖσαι. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, λαμπάς A. 1. *a faggot*, 827.

¹³⁴⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *facula* I., *a little torch, a splinter* used as a torch, 720.

¹³⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Tract. de fabr. mund.* 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1-11): Ecce septem cornula agnuli, septem oculi Dei, septem oculi stagni, septem spiritus, septem faces ardentes ante thronum Dei, septem candelabra aurea, septem ouiculae, septem mulieres apud Esaiam, septem ecclesiae apud Paulum, septem diacones, septem angeli, septem tubae, septem signacula libri, septem septimanae quibus Pentecoste concluditur, septem septimanae item sexaginta tres septimanae apud Danihelum, apud Noe septem omnia munda in arca, septem uindictae de Cain, septem anni remittendi debiti, lucerna cum septem orificiis, septem columnae sapientiae in domum Salomonis.

¹³⁴² Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 173.

¹³⁴³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 1.0 (SChr 423, 46, l. 6-11): Septiformi spiritu: in Esaia legimus: Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini. Isti septem spiritus unius scilicet dona <sunt> Spiritus Sancti. Et ab Jesu Christo qui est testis fidelis primogenitus ex mortuis.

¹³⁴⁴ Perhaps merely coincidentally resembling the future perfect of *pendere* which appears in the *Vetus Latina* of Gal. 3.13 in the *Codex Comicus* alone, forming “qui pependit in ligno”: Gal. 3.13 (p. 497 Neste-Aland): Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται, ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 161, l. 12 Morin): Xps nos redemit de maledicto legis. factus pro nobis maledictus. , Quia scriptum est. , Maledictus omnis. qui pependit in

motif derives from Irenaeus (whose fourth century Latin translator employs *amittere*).¹³⁴⁷ But Victorinus may have been influenced by Tertullian's choice of *perire*,¹³⁴⁸ not to mention *pendere*.¹³⁴⁹ **primus homo.** ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος [Ἄδὰμ] / primus homo [Adam] of 1 Cor. 15.45 and 47;¹³⁵⁰ the Latin expression is common in Tertullian and Cyprian.¹³⁵¹ **per lignum.** The expression appears in Tertullian¹³⁵² and the Latin Irenaeus.¹³⁵³ **passionis.** Tertullian

ligno. For the use of future perfect, cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 405, l. 25-406, l. 5): De exitu plane, puto, diuersitatem temptatis inducere, negantes passionem crucis in christum creatoris praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut in id genus mortis exposuerit creator filium suum, quod ipse maledixerat: maledictus, inquit, omnis qui pependerit in ligno.

¹³⁴⁵ 1 Pet. 2.24 (p. 602 Nestle-Aland): ὁς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν· οὐ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθητε.

¹³⁴⁶ E.g. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 10 (CC SL 2, l. 1-5): De exitu plane passionis eius ambigitis, negantes passionem crucis in christum praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut ad id genus mortis exposuerit deus filium suum, quod ipse dixerit: maledictus omnis qui pependerit in ligno. Dicit enim in deuteronomio: si autem fuerit in aliquo delictum ita ut iudicium mortis sit et morietur et suspendetis eum in ligno; non manebit corpus eius in ligno, sed sepultura sepelietis eum ipsa die, quoniam maledictus a deo est omnis, qui suspensus fuerit in ligno, et non inquinabitis terram, quam dominus deus tuus dabit tibi in sortem; Adu. Iud. 10 (CC SL 2, l. 12-16): Igitur non in hanc passionem christum maledixit, sed distinctionem fecit, ut qui in aliquo delicto iudicium mortis habuisset et moreretur suspensus in ligno, hic maledictus a deo esset, <ut> qui propter merita delictorum suorum suspenderetur in ligno.

¹³⁴⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 84-87): firmum Verbum Dei, quod per lignum neglegenter amiseramus nec inueniebamus, recepturi essemus iterum per ligni dispositionem; Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 93-95): Quoniam enim per lignum amisimus illud, per lignum iterum manifestum omnibus factum est. Cf. the fact that, for Irenaeus, man *lost* ("perdit") man his (*true*) *rationality* ("scientiam") at the Fall: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 33.4 (SChr 294, l. 76-77): Sic et de reliquis ei communicans, neque scientiam ipsorum perdit neque memoriam inspectorum.

¹³⁴⁸ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 12 (CC SL 2, l. 106-110): Quid manifestius huius ligni sacramento, quod duritia huius saeculi mersa est in profundo erroris et a ligno christi, id est passionis eius, in baptismo liberatur, ut quod perierat olim per lignum in adam, id restitueretur per lignum christi? Perhaps merely coincidentally resembling the future perfect of *pendere* appears in the Vetus Latina of Gal. 3.13 in the Codex Comicus alone, forming "qui pependit in ligno": Gal. 3.13 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 161, l. 12 Morin).

¹³⁴⁹ See above; in comparison with *suspendere* e.g. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 55-58): Haec dauid passus non est, ut de se merito dixisse uideatur, sed christus, qui crucifixus est: manus et pedes non exterminantur nisi eius, qui in ligno suspenditur.

¹³⁵⁰ 1 Cor. 15.45 (p. 469 Nestle-Aland): οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται, ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἄδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· ὁ ἔσχατος Ἄδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 178 Tischendorf): factus est primus homo adam in animam viventem novissimus adam in spu vivificante; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 31 Belsheim): Factus est primus homo Adam in animam uiuentem, novissimus Adam in spiritum uiuificantem; 1 Cor. 15.47 (p. 469 Nestle-Aland): ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεῦτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 42 Buchanan): Primus homo de terra terrenus: secundus homo de caelo, caelestis; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 178 Tischendorf): primus homo de terra terrenus secundus homo de caelo; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 32 Belsheim): Primus homo de terra terrenus, secundus homo de caelo. Cf. also Iob 15.7 (p. 291 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): τί γάρ μὴ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐγενήθη ἢ πρὸ θινῶν ἐπάγης; (VL; Cod. 132 / 161; p. 208 deLagarde): Numquid primus homo tu natus es, et ante colles formatus?

¹³⁵¹ E.g. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 607, l. 10-17): ad hoc enim et de ipso christo praestruit: factus primus homo adam in animam uiuam, nouissimus adam in spiritum uiuificantem, licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse; dominum enim posuit nouissimum pro nouissimo adam, ueritus scilicet ne, si et [dominum] nouissimum haberet adam, et eiusdem christum defenderemus in adam nouissimo, cuius et primus. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. II 10 (CC SL 3, l. 19-21): Item in epistula pauli ad corinthios i: primus homo de terrae limo, secundus homo de caelo.

¹³⁵² Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 109-110).

defines the tree *as the passion*.¹³⁵⁴ **est redditum**. Tertullian had used the verb *restituere*,¹³⁵⁵ Victorinus may have been influenced by Apoc. 22.2, whose *tree of life returns/yields* (ἀποδίδου) its fruit every month,¹³⁵⁶ to which he refers, albeit admittedly using *facere*, instead.¹³⁵⁷ Cf. Gal. 3.13;¹³⁵⁸ 1 Pet. 2.24:¹³⁵⁹ the antithesis of the two trees, *via* Paul's midrash on Deut 21.23 ("accursed by God [is] everyone hung on a tree"),¹³⁶⁰ is based on Paul's antithesis of Adam and Christ, the first and last man, the first and second Adam (1 Cor. 15.45-46; Rom. 5.14). The two trees/Adams, by the former of which humanity lost the Spirit, which is also the true *gnōsis* (*scientia*) in Irenaeus,¹³⁶¹ is also treated earlier in Tertullian,¹³⁶² and often thereafter in antiquity.¹³⁶³ Does Victorinus recapitulate the wooden brands of the *faces* as the wooden tree-cross exit-entrance of the Spirit?

4.7.

¹³⁵³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 86); Adu. haer. V 17.4 (SChr 153, l. 93).

¹³⁵⁴ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 107-108): a ligno christi, id est passionis eius

¹³⁵⁵ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 110).

¹³⁵⁶ Apoc. 22.2 (p. 678 Nestle-Aland): ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδίδου τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἔθνων.

¹³⁵⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. (SChr 423, cap.: 21, par.: 1, linea: 5-9, pag.: 116 Cristallo, inquit, plateam eius stratam; flumen uitae per medium effluens et uitae fontes aquarum; lignum uitae in circuitu, per singulos menses faciens fructus differentes; lumen ibi solis non esse propter eminentiorem gloriam.

¹³⁵⁸ See above.

¹³⁵⁹ 1 Pet. 2.24 (p. 602 Nestle-Aland): ὃς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν· οὐ τῷ μάλωπι ἰάθητε.

¹³⁶⁰ Deut. 21.23 (p. 323 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

¹³⁶¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 33.4 (SChr 294, l. 76-77): Sic et de reliquis ei communicans, neque scientiam ipsorum perdit neque memoriam inspectorum. Fantino, Le passage du premier Adam au second Adam comme expression du salut chez Irénée de Lyon, in: VG 52.4 (1998), 429. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.2, n. 54: Io. 19.34; 1 Io. 5.6-8; Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 24.1; cf. d'Alès, La doctrine de l'Esprit en saint Irénée: in: RSR 14 (1924), 512-514.

¹³⁶² Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 13 (CC SL 2, l. 106): ut quod perierat olim per lignum in adam, id restitueretur per lignum christi? Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 22.4 (SChr 211, l. 211): Et propter hoc lex eam quae desponsata erat uiro, licet uirgo sit adhuc, uxorem eius qui desponsauerat uocat, eam quae est a Maria in Euam recirculationem significans: quia non aliter quod colligatum est solueretur, nisi ipsae compagine adligationis reflectantur retrorsus.

¹³⁶³ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 173; 2, 3.2, n. 53, 54, 55.

1. 1-2. **cedisse**. Renders προσκυνήσουσιν of Apoc. 4.10.¹³⁶⁴ Though the elders (and creatures and angels) prostrate themselves throughout the Apocalypse (Apoc. 5.8 and 14; 6.13; 7.11; 11.16; 19.4), this is the only time Victorinus comments on it.¹³⁶⁵ **uniuersos maiores natu et adorasse Dominum**. Cf. Apoc. 4.10; Ex. 33.10,¹³⁶⁶ where *all the people worshipped* ("totus populus adorauerunt") at the entrance of the Tabernacle. "Miores natu" translates πρεσβύτεροι (Apoc. 4.10), where earlier (In Apoc. 4.3, 1. 7) does "seniores".

1. 2-3. **cum darent animalia gloriam et honorem**. Charles notes that the creatures give praise continually (Apoc. 4.8), yet the elders fall down and worship "on the occasion of great crises in the Apocalypse".¹³⁶⁷ Thus the elders mediate the will of the eternal, timeless one, *via* the four creatures, by paradoxically acting within time.

1. 3-4 **id est cum euangelium...adimpletset ante per illos praenuntiatum uerbum**. Cf. Act. 3.18,¹³⁶⁸ for Christ's *fulfilling (adimplere)* what the prophets *announced beforehand (praenuntiare)*; for Christ's *fulfilling (adimplere)* the Law and prophets generally, cf. Matth. 5.17;¹³⁶⁹ Luc. 24.44;¹³⁷⁰ for (*implere* alone) Act. 13.27.¹³⁷¹

¹³⁶⁴ Apoc. 4.10 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): πεσοῦνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου λέγοντες.

¹³⁶⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 173; 2, 3.2, n. 56, 57.

¹³⁶⁶ Ex. 33.10 (VL; Cod. 100; p. 189 Robert): Et uidebat omnis populus columnam nubis stantem in ianuam tabernaculi: et stans totus populus adorauerunt unusquisque ab osteo tabernaculi sui.

¹³⁶⁷ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 127.

¹³⁶⁸ Act. 3.18 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 337): ds autem quae praenuntiauit per os omnium prophetarum pati xpm suum impleu it sic; (VL; Cod 50; p. 13 Belsheim): deus autem quae praenuntiauit per os omnium profetarum pati Christum suum impleuit sic; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 6 Belsheim): Deus autem quae praenuntiauerat per os omnium prophetarum pati christum ipsius ita impleuit.

¹³⁶⁹ Matth. 5.17 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 29 Wordsworth): nolite putare quoniam ueni soluere legem aut profetas: non ueni dissoluere set implere; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 6): Nolite putare quoniam ueni soluere legem, aut profetas: non ueni soluere, sed adimplere; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 5 Belsheim): Nolite putare quia ueni soluere legem aut profetas: non ueni soluere sed adimplere.

“Euangelium...per illos praenuntiatum uerbum” has a close parallel in 1 Pet. 1.12: ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς.¹³⁷² Victorinus defines the gospel as the record of Christ’s deeds and teaching, that is the Word written (incarnated?) in word form: **Actio...Domini** *i.e.* Christ’s miracles and good deeds: the *actio*, frequently meaning *public, civil acts*,¹³⁷³ is the Latin analogue of *πρᾶξις*,¹³⁷⁴ and may allude to Irenaeus’ quotation of Plato’s definition of God: "ancient word (uetus sermo) [who] does perfectly, rightly (recte perficit)".¹³⁷⁵ **Doctrina.** Likely “teaching”;¹³⁷⁶ sometimes *prophecy*;¹³⁷⁷ *i.e.* διδασχῆ; of the Lord, cf. Act. 13.12;¹³⁷⁸ of Christ, cf. 1 Io. 9;¹³⁷⁹ and Justin:¹³⁸⁰ also of the Saviour (God);¹³⁸¹ Irenaeus' "the doctrine of the apostles",¹³⁸² as in Hippolytus,¹³⁸³ for whom

¹³⁷⁰ Luc. 24.44 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 90 Belsheim): et dixit illis isti sermones quos locutus sum ad uos cum adhuc essem uobiscum quoniam oportebat adimpleri omnia quae scripta sunt in lege moysi et profetis et psalmis de me.

¹³⁷¹ Act. 13.27 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 373 Scrivener): qui enim habitabat in hierusalem et principes eius non intellegentes scripturas prophetaru quae per omnem sabbatum leguntur et cum iudicassent impleverunt.

¹³⁷² 1 Pet. 1.12 (p. 599 Nestle-Aland): οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτά, ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.

¹³⁷³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *actio* II. A. *Public functions, civil acts, proceedings, or duties*, 25.

¹³⁷⁴ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *πρᾶξις*, A. *doing, transaction, business* VII. public office, 1231.

¹³⁷⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 25.5 (SChr 211, l. 53-60): Quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eundem Deum et iustum et bonum confessus est, habentem potestatem omnium, ipsum facientem iudicium, sic dicens: Et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et uetus sermo est, initium et finem et medietates omnium | quae sunt habens, recte perficit, secundum naturam circumiens; hunc autem semper consequitur iustitia ultrix in eos qui deficiant a lege diuina.

¹³⁷⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *doctrina* I. *teaching, instruction*, 605.

¹³⁷⁷ Which is also that of the apostles: Hippolytus Romanus, De consum. mund. 3 (GCS 1.2, l. 5-6): καὶ μετέπειτα καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν διδασχῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ προφητείαν.

¹³⁷⁸ Act. 13.12 (p. 358 Nestle-Aland): τότε ἰδὼν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τὸ γεγονός ἐπίστευσεν ἐκπλησσομένης ἐπὶ τῇ διδασχῇ τοῦ κυρίου; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 78 Belsheim): Et potestatem prioris bestiae facit coram illo. Et facit terram et omnem faciebat in conspectu ejus: et fecit terram, et habitantes in ea, adorare bestiam primam, cujus curata est plaga mortis.

¹³⁷⁹ 2 Io. 9 (p. 326 Nestle-Aland): πᾶς ὁ προάγων καὶ μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδασχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεὸν οὐκ ἔχει ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ διδασχῇ, οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει.

¹³⁸⁰ Iustinus Martyrus, 2 Apol. 2.13 (l. 1-3 Goodspeed): καὶ πάλιν, τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασχῆν, τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν.

¹³⁸¹ Tit. 2.10 (p. 558 Nestle-Aland): μὴ νοσφιζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθῆν, ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν; (VL; Cod. ; p.) : .

¹³⁸² Which Irenaeus defines as "the tradition in the Church and kerugma of the truth": Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III (SChr 211, l. 7-10): Τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδασχῇ ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήν-τηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς; and is also, together with the universal constitution of the Church, "true knowledge": Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV, Frag. 17 (SChr 100, l. 8-10): γινώσις ἀληθείας, ἢ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασχῆ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου.

it may be written or oral (γραφῆ ἢ φωνῆ);¹³⁸⁴ or of the parousia;¹³⁸⁵ or διδασκαλία, of God, cf. Tim. 6.1;¹³⁸⁶ or δόγμα, of which, surprisingly, there are few Greek patristic instances in this sense: Irenaeus has it in the sense of "the beliefs of the elders before us".¹³⁸⁷ Tertullian uses *doctrina Domini*.¹³⁸⁸ In an oddly phrased assertion, Justin says it is by his deeds and teaching *i.e. his life in its entirety* that Christ is "blameless and irreproachable in all things".¹³⁸⁹ For Tertullian, Cain's denying to God knowledge of the brother he slew serves as a negative example of confession, itself comprising paradoxically thereby "the evangelical doctrine (euangelica doctrina)".¹³⁹⁰ In a similar vein, "doctrina" can consist in a "new testimony (nouum testimonium)" that is "the whole of humanity...[his] soul...[as a] divine...eternal [*i.e.* God-given] substance".¹³⁹¹ **adimplesset**. A kind of hypostasis of the *euangelium* in/through the *actio* and *doctrina* (below) of Christ. The New Testament is the

¹³⁸³ Hippolytus Romanus, De consum. mund. 3 (GCS 1.2, l. 5-6): τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι.

¹³⁸⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, Refut. om. haer. .V 23.1 (PTS 25, l. 1-3): Ἰουστίνος πάντη ἐναντίος τῆ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν γενόμενος διδαχῆ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῆ τῶν μακαρίων εὐαγγελιστῶν [γραφῆ ἢ] φωνῆ <*> ὡς ἐδίδασκειν ὁ Λόγος τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων.

¹³⁸⁵ Hippolytus Romanus, De consum. mund. 21 (GCS 1.2, l. 11-12): ἀλλὰ πέμψει αὐτοὺς πρὸς διδαχὴν ἡμῶν καὶ πληροφορίαν καὶ ἐπιστρο- φὴν τῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου παρουσίας.

¹³⁸⁶ Varies according to Greek or Hebrew: 1 Tim. 6.1 (p. 548 Nestle-Aland): Ὅσοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δοῦλοι, τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότης πάσης τιμῆς ἀξίους ἡγείσθωσαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημηται.

¹³⁸⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Frag. deperd. op. 2 (l. 5-6 Harvey 2).

¹³⁸⁸ Tertullianus, De pat. 8 (CC SL 1, l. 19-23): Cum *ergo* percussero maledictus, quomodo secutus inueniar doctrinam domini *qua* traditum est non uasculorum inquinamentis sed eorum quae ex ore promuntur hominem communicari, item manere nos omnis uani et superuacui dicti reatum?

¹³⁸⁹ Dial. c. Tryph. 35.8 (l. 3-7 Goodspeed): ἵνα μεταγρόντες σὺν ἡμῖν μὴ βλασφημητε τὸν διὰ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν γινομένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς διδαχῆς λόγων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητευθεισῶν εἰς αὐτὸν προφητειῶν ἄμωμον καὶ ἀνέγκλητον κατὰ πάντα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

¹³⁹⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. II (CC SL 1, 370, l. 13-24): Stulte, qui tantum argumentum diuinae maiestatis et humanae instructionis naso agis! interrogat deus quasi incertus, ut, et hic liberi arbitrii probans hominem, in causa aut negationis aut confessionis daret ei locum sponte confitendi delictum et hoc nomine releuandi, sicut de cain sciscitatur, ubinam frater eius, quasi non iam uociferatum a terra sanguinem abelis audisset, [sed] ut et ille haberet potestatem ex eadem arbitrii potestate sponte negandi delicti et hoc nomine grauandi, atque ita nobis conderentur exempla confitentorum potius delictorum quam negandorum, ut iam nunc initiaretur euangelica doctrina: ex ore tuo iustificaberis et ex ore tuo damnaberis.

¹³⁹¹ Tertullianus, De test. anim. 1 (CC SL 1, l. 32-42): Nouum testimonium aduoco immo omni litteratura notius, omni doctrina agitatius, omni editione uulgatius, toto homine maius, id est totum quod est hominis. Consiste in medio, anima; seu diuina et aeterna res es secundum plures philosophos, eo magis non mentieris, seu minime diuina quoniam quidem mortalis, ut epicuro soli uidetur, eo magis mentiri non debebis, seu de caelo exciperis, seu de terra conciperis, seu numeris seu atomis concinnaris, seu cum corpore incipis seu post corpus induceris, undeunde et quoquo modo hominem facis animal rationale, sensus et scientiae capacissimum.

New Law given on the New Sinai: *adimplere* is used in the oldest Vetus Latina to "fulfil *the law of Christ*" (Gal. 2.6).¹³⁹²

l. 5-6. **digne meritoque exultabant.** *Exsultare* renders εὐφραίνειν or χαίρειν: cf. Apoc.

18.20; 19. 7;¹³⁹³ Io. 4.36, although the Old Latin invariably translates χαίρη by "gaudeat".¹³⁹⁴

scientes. Irenaeus expounds Marc. 1.1-2a,¹³⁹⁵ "the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the prophets", as "*knowing* (sciens) the Son of God [is the] one and the same [as he] *who was announced by the prophets* (qui a prophetis adnuntiatus est)".¹³⁹⁶ **rite.**

Echoes the Irenaeian Platonic God, who "does perfectly rightly (recte perficit)".¹³⁹⁷

se...uerbum Domini ministrasse. Cf. Act. 6.2, for ministering to the word;¹³⁹⁸ *ministers of*

¹³⁹² Gal. 6.2 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 372 Morin): Alter alterius honera portantes. sic adimpleuitis legem xpisti. „Amen; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 62 Buchanan): Alter alterius honera portate: et sic adimplebitis legem xpi.

¹³⁹³ Apoc. 18.20 (p. 670 Nestle-Aland): εὐφραίνου ἐπ' αὐτῆ, οὐρανέ, καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς; 19.7 (p. 672 Nestle-Aland): χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιωμέν, καὶ δώσομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἠτοίμασεν ἑαυτήν.

¹³⁹⁴ Io. 4.36 (p. 257-258 Nestle-Aland): ὁ θερίζων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἵνα ὁ σπείρων ὁμοῦ χαίρη καὶ ὁ θερίζων; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 23 Belsheim): iam qui metit mercedem accipit et colliget fructum in uitam aeternam ut et qui seminat simul gaudeat cum eo qui metit; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 44 Belsheim): Qui metit mercedem accipit, et congeret, et fructum in uitam aeternam: ut, et qui serit, simul gaudeat, et qui metit. Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer IV 25.3 (SChr 100, l. 51-54): Propter hoc et ipsi orant habere tabernaculum in ea, Hieremia dicente: Quis dabit mihi in deserto habitationem novissimam? uti et qui seminat et qui metit simul gaudeant in Christi regno, qui omnibus adest de quibus *ab initio* bene sensit Deus, attribuens adesse eis Verbum suum.

¹³⁹⁵ Based on a minority reading of Marc. 1.1-2a (p. 88 Nestle-Aland; A, W f¹³ R): Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2 καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς [] προφήταις.

¹³⁹⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.3 (SChr 211, l. 98-104): Propter hoc et Marcus ait: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis, unum et eundem sciens Filium Dei Iesum Christum, qui a prophetis adnuntiatus est, qui ex fructu uentris Dauid, Emmanuel, magni consilii Patris nuntius.

¹³⁹⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 25.5 (SChr 211, l. 53-60): Quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eundem Deum et iustum et bonum confessus est, habentem potestatem omnium, ipsum facientem iudicium, sic dicens: Et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et uetus sermo est, initium et finem et medietates omnium | quae sunt habens, recte perficit, secundum naturam circumiens; hunc autem semper consequitur iustitia ultrix in eos qui deficient a lege diuina.

¹³⁹⁸ Act. 6.2 (p. 335-336 Nestle-Aland): προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπαν, οὐκ ἄρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διακονεῖν τραπέζαις; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 347 Scrivener): Conuocantes itaque: xii multitudinem discipulorum dixerunt ad eos non est enim placet nobis derelicto uerbo di ministrare mensis; (VL; Cod. 50; p. 16 Belsheim): Vocantes autem duodecim multitudinem discipulorum dixerunt Non placitum est reliquentes nos uerbum dei ministrare mensis.

the word: Luc. 1.2: ὑπηρεῖται...τοῦ λόγου / ministri...uerbi;¹³⁹⁹ 1 Pet. 1.12: διηκόνουν αὐτά, ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν.¹⁴⁰⁰ Dulaey says διηκόνουν/*ministrare* here is equivalent to ἀποδιδούν/*tradere*.¹⁴⁰¹

.1. 6-7. **quia uenerat qui mortem deuinceret**. If taken literally, the initial *pluperfect*, where a perfect would be expected, suggests Christ's first coming, either at his birth or in his timeless *pre*-existence (since it occurs *before* the past), while the second subjunctive imperfect sets the Resurrection in more recent, historical time.

1. 7. **coronam immortalitatis**. A conflation of 1 Cor. 15.53:¹⁴⁰² καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν; and 2 Tim. 4. 8:¹⁴⁰³ λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος. **solus**. Refers to Christ's "deuincendam mortem". **sumeret**. Cf. 1 Tim. 6.12:¹⁴⁰⁴ ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Here *sumere* = λαμβάνειν: to *lay hold of*.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹³⁹⁹ Luc. 1.2 (p. 151 Nestle-Aland): καθὼς παρέδωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεῖται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 49 Belsheim): sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt uerbi; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 160 Scrivener): sicut tradiderunt nobis qui *ab initio* ipsi uiderunt et ministri fuerunt uerbi.

¹⁴⁰⁰ 1 Pet. 1.12 (p. 599 Nestle-Aland): οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτά, ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.

¹⁴⁰¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *ministro* I. to attend, wait upon, serve, esp. at table, to serve up, pour out, hand food or drink II. Transf. to provide, furnish, supply, give; present, produce, 1147. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 173-4; 2, 3.2, n. 58, 59. TLL, s. v. *ministrare*, c. 1023, 11.

¹⁴⁰² 1 Cor. 15.53 (p. 470 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 32; p. 61 Dold): Oportet enim corruptibile hoc indui (e)re incorruptellam et mortale hoc induere in mortalitatem; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 43 Buchanan): Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere Incorruptionem: Et mortale hoc induere Immortalitatem; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 179 Tischendorf): oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem.

¹⁴⁰³ 2 Tim. 4.8 (p. 555 Nestle-Aland): λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὃ δίκαιος κριτῆς, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁴⁰⁴ 1 Tim. 6.12 (p. 549 Nestle-Aland): ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, λαμβάνω A. I. take 1. take hold of, grasp, seize, 873. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *sumo* I. to take, take up, lay hold of, assume, 1803.

1. 7-8. **Pro gloria aliqua actus sui optimi coronas.** The metaphor of a military or athletic victory (τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, 1 Tim. 6.12). **actus.** Cf. Act. 19.18.¹⁴⁰⁶ The Old Latin seems to distinguish between *πραξις* as *action* (*actus*) and *deed* (*i.e.* accomplished action: *operafacta*).¹⁴⁰⁷ While this *may* mean merely the *performance* of a thing, it commonly means the *representation of a part in a play*,¹⁴⁰⁸ and is again, in this sense, analogous to, say, Aristotle's *πραξις* or *πᾶγμα* in the Poetics.¹⁴⁰⁹

1. 9-10. **proiecerunt** = βαλοῦσιν of Apoc. 4.10.¹⁴¹⁰ **sub pedibus.** Equivalent to ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (Apoc. 4.10). An original conflation of Heb. 1.13 and/or Ps. 110 (109).1 (especially, perhaps, the VL Codex Casinensis):¹⁴¹¹ κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου / "Sede a dextram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabillum pedibus tuis" with Apoc. 4.10.¹⁴¹² **eminentem uictoriam Christi.** Again, a military simile of Christ the conqueror. **omnes uictorias.** Equivalent to the "enemies" of Ps.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Act. 19.18 (p. 312 Nestle-Aland): πολλοί τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρχοντο ἕξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 400 Scrivener): Multique credentium ueniebant, confitentes et annuntiantes actus suos.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Rom. 8.13 (p. 422 Nestle-Aland): εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζητετέ μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε ζήσεσθε; (VL; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De zel. et liu. 14 (CC SL 3A, l. 247-249): Si enim secundum carnem uiuatis, incipietis mori: si autem spiritu opera carnis mortificatis, uiuetis; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 15 Buchanan): Si enim secundū carnē uiixeritis moriemini: Si autem spiritu facta spū : facta carnis mortificaueritis uiuetis.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *actus* II. *The doing or performing or a thing, an act, performance* II. B. 2. b. *the representation of a play, a part, a character*, 25.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *πραξις*: Aristoteles, Poet. 1450a (l. 16-17 Kassel): ἡ γὰρ τραγωδία μίμησις ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ πράξεων καὶ βίου; *πᾶγμα*: (l. 15 Kassel): μέγιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις.

¹⁴¹⁰ Apoc. 4.10 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): πεσοῦνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου λέγοντες.

¹⁴¹¹ Ps. 109 (MT: 110).1 (p. 124 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2); (Cod. Casin.; p. 79 Amelli): Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextram meam donec ponam inimicos tuos scabillum pedibus tuis; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 126 Magistretti): Dixit dominus domino meo sede ad dextra meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabillum pedum tuorum.

¹⁴¹² Apoc. 4.10 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): πεσοῦνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ βαλοῦσιν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου λέγοντες.

110.1: the elders' *coronae*/στειφάνοι are *garlands of military victory*, although *corona* has festal or sacral connotations¹⁴¹³ more often than the στεφανος¹⁴¹⁴ it translates.

l. 11. **Hoc et in euangelio suppleuit Spiritus ostendo.** The sole contrary witness, MS A, has "Christus",¹⁴¹⁵ likely a misreading of a similar abbreviation of "Spiritus" (xps for sps, or the like),¹⁴¹⁶ by *homoioteleuton*.¹⁴¹⁷ Given Victorinus' use of *supplere* with *the Spirit* elsewhere (almost a technical term for "furnish additional information"),¹⁴¹⁸ Dulaey concludes that this is the more natural reading. *Supplere* has a basic meaning *to complete*;¹⁴¹⁹ while it has a further *military* sense of *make up a complement*.¹⁴²⁰ It occasionally renders πληροῦν, where the VL usually has *implere* or *adimplere*,¹⁴²¹ but more usually translates ἀναπληροῦν, *to fill up a void* (e.g. in an office: hence 1 Cor. 14.16).¹⁴²² Is "euangelio" envisaged as a *quasi-military* body, appropriate to Christ's conquest?¹⁴²³ The twenty four elders are, after all, *complementing* his Victory *with their own*, lesser ones. "dicendo" of MS A is dubious, for Christ *personally* says *nothing* corresponding to it in the Gospel texts alluded to, nor in *Apocalypse* 4. Jerome's tradition has "ostendo",¹⁴²⁴ suiting better with the E. V.'s near

¹⁴¹³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *corona* I. a garland, chaplet, wreath. I. Lit., of natural or artificial flowers, etc. (very freq. used for personal adornment at festivals, when sacrificing, or as a gift for friends, etc., for ornamenting the images of the gods, edifices, victims, the dead, etc.); thus 2. *the crown of martyrdom*, 471.

¹⁴¹⁴ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, στεφανος A. II. 2. *crown of victory* at the public games, 1428.

¹⁴¹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (E. v.; p. 58, l. 11 Haussleiter):

¹⁴¹⁶

¹⁴¹⁷ Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why*, 91.

¹⁴¹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 5-8): Nec aspiciendus ordo dictorum, quoniam septiformis Spiritus Sanctus, ubi ad nouissimum temporis finem que percucurrit, redit rursus ad eadem tempora et supplet quae minus dixit.

¹⁴¹⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *suppleo* I, 1814. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 175.

¹⁴²⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *suppleo* II, 1815.

¹⁴²¹ E.g. Matth. 13.35 (p. 35 Nestle-Aland): ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν λέγοντος ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου ἐρεύξομαι, κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 2 Belsheim): Ut suppleretur quod dictum erat eis per prophetam dicentem aperiā in parabolas os meum er...tuabor occulta ab origine.

¹⁴²² E.g. 1 Cor. 14.16 (p. 464-465 Nestle-Aland): ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῆς [ἐν] πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδεν; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 40 Buchanan): Ceterum si benedixeritis spū: qui supplet locum idiotae: Quomodo dicet amen: super tuam benedictionem qm̄ quidem quid dicas nescit.

¹⁴²³ Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 173.

¹⁴²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (E. v.; p. 58, l. 11 Haussleiter).

universal "Spiritus Sanctus". Probably "Christus" results here from *periblepsis* between his appearance in the lines immediately before and after.¹⁴²⁵

l. 11-13. **cum enim passurus**. Matth. 17.2: μέλλει πάσχειν / passurus est.¹⁴²⁶ Cf. Io.

11.51:¹⁴²⁷ ἔμελλεν Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν. **nouissime ueniret**. Cf. Io. 12.12:¹⁴²⁸ ἔρχεται

εἰς / uenit. **Hierosolymis**. The VL transliterates the Hellenistic Ἱεροσόλυμα (which occurs in the LXX OT only thrice, all in Ezra)¹⁴²⁹ as "Hierosolyma/Hierosoluma/Hierosolima"

(occasionally as the more Hebraic "Hierusalem").¹⁴³⁰ With ἐν the New Testament invariably

has the *dative plural*,¹⁴³¹ which the VL often renders "Hierosolymis", with minor internal

variation, and more often *without* the preposition than with it¹⁴³² (with ἄπο, ἔξ or ἐγγύς

¹⁴²⁵ For "the Spirit of Christ showed in them [the scriptures], having testified beforehand to the sufferings for Christ", cf. 1 Pet. 1.11 (p. 599 Nestle-Aland): ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 175.

¹⁴²⁶ Matth. 17.12 (p. 47 Nestle-Aland): λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἡλίας ἤδη ἦλθεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἠθέλησαν. οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν; (VL; Cod. 10; p. 111 Wordsworth / White): dico autem uobis, quia helias. iam uenit. et non cognouerunt eum. sed fecerunt in ei. quaecumque uoluerunt. sic et filius hominis passurus est ab eis.

¹⁴²⁷ Io. 11.51 (p. 289 Nestle-Aland): τοῦτο δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν ὅτι ἔμελλεν Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 36 Belsheim): hoc autem non a se dixit sed quia princeps erat sacerdotum profetauit quod ihs pro gente erat moriturus.

¹⁴²⁸ Io. 12.12 (p. 290 Nestle-Aland): τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἔρχεται Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

¹⁴²⁹ Esr. 2.11; 8.5, 6.

¹⁴³⁰ E.g. Io. 12.12 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 135 Scrivener): postera die turba multa quae uenerat in diem festum audientes quia uenit ihs in hierusalem.

¹⁴³¹ Luc. 23.7; Io. 2.23; 4.20, 21, 45; 5.2; 10.22; Act. 8.1, 14; 11.22; 25.24; 26.4, 10, 20.

¹⁴³² E.g. Luc. 23.7 (VL; Cod. 3; p. 108 Belsheim): Et cum cognouisset eum de Herodis potestatem esse, remisit illum ad Herodem, qui erat et ipse Hierosolymis in his diebus; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 114 Belsheim): Et ut cognouit quod de Herodis potestate est, misit illum ad Heroden, qui et in Hierosolymis erat in illis diebus.

comes the genitive),¹⁴³³ thus constituting a kind of locative,¹⁴³⁴ and echoing the near universal textual reading.¹⁴³⁵

Hierosolymis is the ablative or dative of *Hierosolyma* in Classical and patristic authors: for both Tertullian and Cyprian it is the *most* common form used (as it is for Victorinus),¹⁴³⁶ for whom it serves as a kind of locative, or with a preposition, though *never* of motion. But of Palm Sunday, the VL of Io. 12.12 and Matth. 20.18 have, for εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, variations of "[in] Hier[o/u]sol[y/i]ma[m]".¹⁴³⁷ Victorinus *may* employ the dative with a verb of motion, a sometimes poetic use,¹⁴³⁸ but here as a non-native speaker's colloquialism.¹⁴³⁹ Victorinus far more often employs *ad + accusative* for both motion¹⁴⁴⁰ and *speech*,¹⁴⁴¹ making his use of the dative with a verb of motion the exception, but in echoing "exisset illi populus", it surely has that sense. It perhaps resembles more that of "approach" in

¹⁴³³ Matth. 4.25; 5.1; Marc. 3.8 (p. 96 Haussleiter): καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ περὶ Τύρον καὶ Σιδῶνα, πλῆθος πολὺ, ἀκούοντες ὅσα ποιεῖ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν; 3.22; 7.1. Io. 11.18; Act. 1.4; 11.27; 25.7; 28.17.

¹⁴³⁴ Collins, *Primer of Ecclesiastical Latin*, 137-138.

¹⁴³⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.7 (E. v.; p. 58, l. 12; R. H. p. 59, l. 12 Haussleiter). MS e has the "Hierosolymos": Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 4.7 (R. H.; p. 59, l. 12 Haussleiter).

¹⁴³⁶ Only one exception: "Hierosolymam": Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 11.5 (SChr 423, 98, l. 3-4): Sodomam autem et Aegyptum dici Hierosolymam actus populi persecutoris effecit.

¹⁴³⁷ Matth. 20.18 (p. 56 Nestle-Aland): ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρινούσιν αὐτόν [θανάτῳ]; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 10 Belsheim): ecce ascendimus hierosolymam et filius hominis traditur principibus sacerdotibus et scribis et damnabunt eum morte.

¹⁴³⁸ Haigh, Mr Haigh on a Latin Anomaly, in: Aitken (ed.), *Monthly magazine and British register* 41.1 (1816), 382.

¹⁴³⁹ Ross, *A Short, Plain, Comprehensive, Practical Latin Grammar*, 112.

¹⁴⁴⁰ E.g. Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 8.1 (SChr 423, 86, l. 16-18): Ipse enim Dominus sic ait: Cum uenissent ad eum operarii et dixerunt ei: Domine, nonne bonum semen seminasti in tuo agro?; *Com. in Apoc.* 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 10-18): Sicut *ergo* caelum intellegitur ara aurea, quae erat interior - nam et sacerdos semel introibat in templum in anno, qui habebat Christi mandatum, ad aram auream: significabat Spiritus Sanctus hoc esse facturum, id est quod passus est, semel factum est -, sic et aerea terra intellegitur, sub *qua* est infernum, remota a poenis et ignibus regio, requies sanctorum, in *qua* quidem uidentur ab impiis et audiuntur iusti, sed neque illi ad illos transire possunt; *Com. in Apoc.* 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 4-8): Cum essent enim Valentinus et Cerinthus et Ebion et cetera scola <Satanae> sparsa per orbem, conuenerunt ad illum de finitimis ciuitatibus episcopi et compulerunt eum, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet in Dominum

¹⁴⁴¹ As was the tendency in vulgar Latin: Harrington, *Medieval Latin*, 18.

Matth. 21.1:¹⁴⁴² ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα / cum appropinquasset Hierosolymis; where "Hierosolymis" might have been deemed to have served just as well as *ad Hierosolymam*.

But Victorinus may also have been trying to make the locative of Jerusalem as equivalent to "sub pedibus" *i.e. his footstool* (Matth. 5.35), whither the people-elders resort to cast their palm-victories. Thus it effectively means "[Christ] came, for the last time, about to suffer *for/in* Jerusalem". **Dominus noster**. The subject follows the verb as with the next: <et> **exisset illi populus in obviam**. Cf. Io. 12.13:¹⁴⁴³ "et exierunt obviam illi"; but also Apoc. 18.4: ἐξέλθατε (*i.e. exite*), ὁ λαός μου, ἐξ αὐτῆς, "Come out from her, my people".¹⁴⁴⁴ The people of God exit Jerusalem-Babylon to submit to the King, who stoops to visit his very Footstool. The people's later (alleged) rejection matters not here.¹⁴⁴⁵

Most speculatively, cf. Matth. 21.10,¹⁴⁴⁶ whose section Καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐσείσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις / "Et ingresso eo in hierosolyma mota est uniuersa ciuitas"¹⁴⁴⁷ this odd structure *i.e.* verb-of-approach + subject the Lord *versus* verb-of-exit + subject the people may imitate; albeit with εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς recast as ἐγγίζειν/*appropinquare*, ἐσείσθη / "mota est" being (mis-) recalled as *motion of travel*. "ueniret...exisset" is a typically odd Victorinian reversing of expected sequence: Jesus

¹⁴⁴² Matth. 21.1 (p. 57 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Βηθφαγή εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, τότε Ἰησοῦς ἀπέστειλεν δύο μαθητὰς; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 10 Belsheim): Et cum adpropinquasset hierosolymis, et uenisset in Bethphage in montem oliueti tunc ihs misit duos discipulos suos.

¹⁴⁴³ Io. 12.13 (p. 290 Nestle-Aland): ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖτα τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῶ, καὶ ἐκραύγαζον ὡσαννά· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 48 Belsheim): acceperunt flores palmarum et exierunt obviam illi et clamabat dicentes osanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine dni rex istrachel.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Apoc. 18.4 (p. 667-668 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἤκουσα ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν, ἐξέλθατε, ὁ λαός μου, ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ συγκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβητε.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 127.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Matth. 21.18 (p. 59 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐσείσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις λέγουσα· τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος;

¹⁴⁴⁷ Especially in the light of *e.g.* Matth. 20.10 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 60 Scrivener): Et ingresso eo in hierosolyma mota est uniuersa ciuitas dicens quis est hic.

arrived when the people *had already* come out to meet him: so Hausseleiter supplies “et” from Jerome’s text.¹⁴⁴⁸ For Victorinus, Christ’s sole purpose in coming to Jerusalem is to endure the Passion (Matth. 20.18).¹⁴⁴⁹

l. 13-14. **praecisis**. translates ἔκοπτον of Matth. 21.8;¹⁴⁵⁰ the aorist participle κόψαντες (“caedebant”) of Marc. 11.8.¹⁴⁵¹ **ramis palmarum**. Cf. Io. 12.13:¹⁴⁵² τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων / ramos palmarum; Marc. 11.8: στιβάδας...ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν / frondes...de arboribus. **alii...uiam sternebant**. Cf. Matth. 21.8:¹⁴⁵³ ἄλλοι...ἐστρώννυον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ / “alii...sternebant in uia[m]”; and Marc. 11.8,¹⁴⁵⁴ whose Greek is usually more concise,

¹⁴⁴⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (E. v.; p. 58, l. 13; R. H. p. 59, l. 14 Hausseleiter).

¹⁴⁴⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 127-128; Sur l'Apocalypse, 173.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Math. 21.8 (p. 58 Nestle-Aland): ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ὄχλος ἔστρωσαν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἐστρώννυον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 11 Belsheim): plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta in uia alii autem caedebant ramos de arboribus et strauerunt in uiam;(VL; Cod. 4; p. 28 Belsheim): Plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia; alii autem cedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in uia.

¹⁴⁵¹ Marc. 11.8 (p. Nestle-Aland): καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας, κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 10 Wordsworth): Multi autem uestimenta sua strauerunt in uia: alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus, et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 126 Belsheim): Multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uia: alii autem frondes de arboribus cedebant, et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 4; p.135 Belsheim): Multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uiam, alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 5; p. Scrivener): multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uia: alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in uiam.

¹⁴⁵² Io. 12.13 (p. 290 Nestle-Aland): ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῶ, καὶ ἐκραύγαζον ὡσαννά· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 135 Scrivener): acceperunt ramos palmarum et exierunt in obviam eius et clamabant dicentes osanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine dmi rex istrachel; cf. (VL; Cod. 8; p. 48 Belsheim): acceperunt flores palmarum et exierunt obviam illi et clamabat dicentes osanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine dni rex istrachel.

¹⁴⁵³ Math. 21.8 (p. 58 Nestle-Aland): ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ὄχλος ἔστρωσαν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἐστρώννυον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 11 Belsheim): plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta in uia alii autem caedebant ramos de arboribus et strauerunt in uiam;(VL; Cod. 4; p. 28 Belsheim): Plurima autem turba strauerunt uestimenta sua in uia; alii autem cedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in uia.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Marc. 11.8 (p. Nestle-Aland): καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας, κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 10 Wordsworth): Multi autem uestimenta sua strauerunt in uia: alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus, et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 126 Belsheim): Multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uia: alii autem frondes de arboribus cedebant, et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 4; p.135 Belsheim): Multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uiam, alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in uia; (VL; Cod. 5; p. Scrivener): multi autem uestimenta sua sternebant in uia: alii autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in uiam.

implying the verb from the prior clause: ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας...ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν; but which the Latin unpacks: "alii...sternebant in uia[m].

l. 14-15. **alii tunicas suas**. Cf. Matth. 21.8:¹⁴⁵⁵ ὁ...πλεῖστος ὄχλος ἔστρωσαν ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ / "Plurima...turba strauerunt uestimenta in uia"; Marc. 11.8:¹⁴⁵⁶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν / "Multi...uestimenta sua sternebant in uia<m>". **subiciebant**. Cf. Ps. 8.8 / 7; 46.4; 1 Cor. 15.46; Eph. 1.22; Heb. 2.8; whose Old Latin all employ *subicere* (ὑποτάσσειν).¹⁴⁵⁷ Victorinus reverses the order of the two groups' strewing clothes and palm fronds.

l. 15-16. **duos scilicet populos ostendens**. This *must be* old and new Israel *i.e.* pre-Christian Israel and Christian Jews (and possibly gentiles). But the explication is forced: **unum patrum** *i.e.* pre-Christian Israel. **prophetarum**. Must be at least the new Jewish church, possibly with gentiles as well. Earlier, the circumlocution for the *entire* Old Testament, "legis et prophetarum",¹⁴⁵⁸ suggests its prophets are as much integral to it as the patriarchs. But here *prophetae* seems almost equivalent to *apostoli*. Jerome's emendation, "unum patrum et alium prophetarum",¹⁴⁵⁹ scarcely clarifies. Ambrose distinguishes between the disciples on

¹⁴⁵⁵ Matth. 21.8 (p. 58 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 2; p. 11 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 4; p. 28 Belsheim).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Marc. 11.8 (p. Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 1; p. 10 Wordsworth); (VL; Cod. 3; p. 126 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 4; p. 135 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 5; p. Scrivener).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Ps. 8.8(7: MT) (VL; Cod. 136; p. 7 Amelli): omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius; 46 / 47.4 (VL; Cod. 300; p. 75 Bianchini): Subiecit (populos) plebis (b) nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris; 1 Cor. 15.26 / 25 (VL; Cod. 64; p. 85 Ziegler): Oportet enim illum regnare, donec ponat omnes inimicos suos sub pedibus suis; Eph. 1.22 (p. 505 Nestle-Aland): καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; Heb. 2.8 (p. 558 Nestle-Aland): πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῷ γὰρ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον. νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὀρώμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 50, l. 16-19): Adiecit: Propterea omnis scriba doctus de regno caelorum similis est patrifamilias proferenti de thesauro suo noua et uetera; "noua": euangelica uerba; "uetera": legis et prophetarum.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.7 (R. H.; p. 59, l. 15 Haussleiter).

the one hand, and the Jews on the other. The former ones laid a road for believers (as they had for Christ) by removing individually the garment of each one's body (which signified Christ's) in martyrdom (Matth. 21.7; Marc. 11.7; Luc. 19.35);¹⁴⁶⁰ the latter for the *young ass* (πῶλος/*pullus*: Luc. 19.31, 33-35; or *chick*; πῶλος/*pullus*: Matth. 23.27), upon "the garments of the Jews"¹⁴⁶¹ (Matth. 21.8; Marc. 11.8), presumably to follow their excessively literal interpretations. Other Fathers see gentiles as well as Jews.¹⁴⁶²

l. 16-17. **magnorum uirorum**. Victorinus now appears to elide the patriarchs-Jews and prophets-gentiles+Jews with the twenty four elders *in toto*. *Vir magnus*, a *man noble* or *virtuous*,¹⁴⁶³ is, oddly, a definite Classicism, especially favoured by Seneca,¹⁴⁶⁴ with no apparent Christian occurrence before Victorinus. Could it have been a usage among the Poetioian military or nobility?

l. 16-17. **qui quascumque habebant uictoriarum suarum palmas contra peccata**. For man's repenting of *sin* (*peccare*) as *God's conquering* (*uincere*) it, cf. Ps. 51/50.6

(ἡμαρτον...ὄπως...νικήσης / "peccaui...ut...uincas").¹⁴⁶⁵ For the language of athletics in

¹⁴⁶⁰ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. euang. sec. Luc. IX (CC SL 14, l. 97-99): vt tu sine offensione gradiaris, discipuli domini amictu se proprii corporis exuentes inter aduersa turbarum uiam tibi suo strauere martyrio.

¹⁴⁶¹ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. euang. sec. Luc. IX (CC SL 14, l. 99-101): si quis tamen ita uult accipere, non renititur, quod pullus iste iam supra Iudaeorum uestimenta graderetur.

¹⁴⁶² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetio, 127.

¹⁴⁶³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *vir* II. Trop. *great, grand, mighty, noble*, 1100.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Wilcox, Caligula as *Exemplum* in Seneca's *Dialogues*, in: Rosen / Sluiter (eds.), *Kakos: Badness and Anti-value in Classical Antiquity*. Mnemosyne, Supplementum 307, 463.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ps. 51 / 50.6 (p. 53 Nestle-Aland 2): σοὶ μόνῳ ἡμαρτον καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα ὄπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσης ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 55 Magistretti): Tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci; ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis et uincas cum iudicaris.

Paul, *cf.* 1 Tim 4.8;¹⁴⁶⁶ for wrestling with sin, and laying hold of the prize, 6.12;¹⁴⁶⁷ for winning the prize in a race, 1 Cor. 9.24;¹⁴⁶⁸ Phil. 3.12;¹⁴⁶⁹ for both together, 2 Tim. 4.7.¹⁴⁷⁰

l. 18-19. **Palma autem idem significat, quoniam non datur nisi uictori.** *Cf.* 2 Tim. 2.5, for a crown's not being given *except won* lawfully.¹⁴⁷¹ For Victorinus, the *palma* is, in origin, that of a Greco-Roman military or athletic victor,¹⁴⁷² given to the *seniores*.

Chapter 5.1-3.

In this chapter Victorinus first introduces the concept that the scroll sealed seven times is itself the Old Testament, having first appeared in Hippolytus.¹⁴⁷³ Origen had first implied it

¹⁴⁶⁶ 1 Tim. 4.8 (p. 546 Nestle-Aland): ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος, ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν, ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης.

¹⁴⁶⁷ 1 Tim. 6.12 (p. 549 Nestle-Aland): ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως, ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης καὶ ὁμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων.

¹⁴⁶⁸ 1 Cor. 9.24 (p. 454 Nestle-Aland): Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 35 Buchanan): N ESC ITES QUOD HII: QUI IN STADIO CURRUNT omnes currunt: sed unus accepit brauium? Sic currite ut conpraehendatis.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Phil. 3.13-14 (p. 522 Nestle-Aland): ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν ὄυπω λογίζομαι κατελιφέναι· ἐν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

¹⁴⁷⁰ 2 Tim. 4.7 (p. 555 Nestle-Aland): τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα.

¹⁴⁷¹ 2 Tim. 2.5 (p. 552 Nestle-Aland): ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῆ τις, οὐ στεφανοῦται ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ.

¹⁴⁷² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *palma* II. Transf. D. 2. Transf. d. A *palm-branch* or *palm-wreath*, as a token of victory, 1293.

Titus Livius, Ab urb. cond. X 47.3 (p. 621 Weissenborn / Müller / Dorey / Walsh / Briscoe): Eodem anno coronati primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos spectarunt palmae que tum primum translato e Graecia more victoribus datae.

¹⁴⁷³ Hippolytus, Com. in Dan. IV 33 5-IV 34.1: Ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν λελαλημένα πάντα ἦν ἐσφραγισμένα καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχοντα Ἡσαΐας λέγει «Καὶ δώσουσιν τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο, καὶ ἐρεῖ· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ.» Ἀναγκαίως· ἔδει γὰρ τὰ πάλαι διὰ προφητῶν λελαλημένα τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις Φαρισαίοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν τὰ τοῦ νόμου γράμματα γινώσκειν, ἐσφραγίσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύουσιν τὰ πάντα ἠνεῶχθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πάλαι ἐσφραγισμένα νῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου πάντα τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀνέωγεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ τελεία σφραγὶς καὶ ἡ κλεῖς ἡ ἐκ «Δαυΐδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.» Ὡς καὶ Ἰωάννης λέγει «Καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν, καὶ

comprised all scripture.¹⁴⁷⁴ But its being limited to the Jewish scriptures is likely to be a Jewish-Christian notion that predated him.

5.1.

l. 1-3. **in manu**. Translates inexactly ἐπὶ δεξιᾶν *i.e.* “in his right hand”: Jerome and some traditions of the Vetus Latina have “in dextera”.¹⁴⁷⁵ **super tribunal**. So Victorinus chooses to translate ἐπὶ θρόνου here, presumably to convey a sense of *judgment* (*tribunalis* can also mean *tribunal*),¹⁴⁷⁶ and to distinguish it from the “solium” of *In Apoc.* 4.2, although it is the *same seat*. **scriptum deintus**. For βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν *i.e.* it omits “foris” as translation for ὀπισθεν, though Jerome includes it.¹⁴⁷⁷

l. 2-4. **signatus sigillis septem: uetus testamentum significatur**. Hippolytus had already so interpreted,¹⁴⁷⁸ while Origen sees in it *all* scripture.¹⁴⁷⁹ Tertullian has as the apostles’ chief

ἔσωθεν, ἐσφραγισμένον σφραγίσις ἑπτὰ. Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τίς ἄξιος ἀνοίξει τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Origenes, Com. in Io. V 6 (SChr 120, l. 23-30): Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἐωρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου γεγραμμένον ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, καὶ κατεσφραγισμένον, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἀναγνῶναι καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαβὶδ ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν τοῦ Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει; Ἡ γὰρ πᾶσα γραφή ἐστὶν ἡ δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς βίβλου, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν γεγραμμένη διὰ τὴν πρόχειρον αὐτῆς ἐκδοχὴν, ὀπισθεν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν καὶ πνευματικὴν.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 1-3 Haussleiter).

¹⁴⁷⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *tribunal* I. Lit. 1. A raised semicircular or square platform, on which the seats of magistrates were placed, a judgment-seat, *tribunal*, 1897.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 2, 4 Haussleiter).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 33.5 (SChr 14, l. 1)–34.1 (SChr 14, l. 12): Ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν λελαλημένα πάντα ἦν ἐσφραγισμένα καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχοντα Ἡσαΐας λέγει· «Καὶ δώσουσιν τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ· ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο, καὶ ἐρεῖ· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ.» Ἀναγκαίως· ἔδει γὰρ τὰ πάλαι διὰ προφητῶν λελαλημένα τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις Φαρισαίοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν τὰ τοῦ νόμου γράμματα γινώσκειν, ἐσφραγίσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύουσιν τὰ πάντα ἠνεῶσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πάλαι ἐσφραγισμένα νῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου πάντα τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀνέωγεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ τελεία σφραγὶς καὶ ἡ κλεῖς ἡ ἐκ «Δαυΐδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.» Ὡς καὶ Ἰωάννης λέγει· «Καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιᾶν τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τὸν

endeavor their *unsealing i.e. explaining* of the Old Testament, even as they then *set their seal i.e. confirmed* the New,¹⁴⁸⁰ in a slightly awkward antithesis of different interpretations of the metaphor *signare. Testamentum* had a Roman juridical sense of *last will and testament*.¹⁴⁸¹ A *Testamentum tripartitum*, which "had to be written without interruption", required seven witnesses to apply their seal.¹⁴⁸² **quod est datum in manu Domini nostri**. Refers to the Son-Lamb, who *stands in the midst of the throne* (Apoc. 5.6),¹⁴⁸³ so "in manu Domini" should not be confused with "in manu sedentis super tribunal", *with whom* he occupies the throne (Apoc. 22.3).¹⁴⁸⁴ The Lamb's receiving the scroll from the one on the throne (Apoc. 5.7) resembles Moses' of the Law from God on Mount Sinai, replete with lightning, thunder and fire (Apoc. 4.5, itself a midrash on Ex. 19.19 and 20.18).¹⁴⁸⁵

θρόνον βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν, καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἐσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτὰ. Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλη· τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ; καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὔτε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὔτε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὐδὲ βλέπειν αὐτό· καὶ ἔκλαιον πολλοί, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὐρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. Καὶ εἶς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι· μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυὶδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. Prigent, Hippolyte commentateur de l'Apocalypse, in: ThZ 28 (1972), 401.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. V 6 (SChr 120, l. 23-30): Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἑωράσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου γεγραμμένον ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν, καὶ κατεσφραγισμένον, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἀναγνῶναι καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαβὶδ ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν τοῦ Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει; Ἡ γὰρ πᾶσα γραφή ἐστὶν ἡ δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς βίβλου, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν γεγραμμένη διὰ τὴν πρόχειρον αὐτῆς ἐκδοχὴν, ὀπισθεν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν καὶ πνευματικὴν.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 39, 1 (PL 2, 8): Nam et apostolis nullum aliud negotium fuit, duMTaxat apud Israel, quam ueteris testamenti resignandi et noui consignandi. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 176-177; Sur l'Apocalypse, 174

¹⁴⁸¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *testamentum* I. *the publication of a last will or testament; a will, testament*, 1864.

¹⁴⁸² Berger, Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law, TAPS 43.2 (1953), *Testimentum tripartitum*, 735. Cf. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 175.

¹⁴⁸³ Apoc. 5.6 (p. 641 Nesle-Aland): ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου...ἐστηκός.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Apoc. 22.3 (p. 678 Nesle-Aland): καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι. καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄρνιου ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Apoc. 4.5 (p. 640 Nesle-Aland): καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἄστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί· καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, ἃ εἰσὶν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ; (VL, Cod. Gigas, 276v): Et de throno procedebant fulgura, et uoces, et tonitrua : et septem lampades ardentes ante thronum, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei. Ex. 19.16: καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ καὶ ἄστραπαὶ καὶ νεφέλη γνοφώδης ἐπ' ὄρους Σινα φωνῇ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤχει μέγα (no VL version extant); 20.18: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἑώρα τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καπνίζον; (Sabatier, Vetus Italica, 173): Et omnis populus uidebat uocem et lampadas, et uocem tubae, et montem fumantem. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.6 (SChr 423, 72, l. 1-8): Exire autem fulgora et uoces et tonitrua a solio Dei et septem faces <ignis ardentis>: Nam fulgora aduentum Domini significabant, uoces autem noui testamenti praedicationes; tonitrua autem, quod caelestia sunt uerba, faces uero ignis ardentis donum

1. 4-5. **Praeco...praeconauit.** Cf. Apoc. 5. 2,¹⁴⁸⁶ whose ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ this renders.¹⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Irenaeus' "the preaching of the Church, which the prophets proclaimed" ("praeconio Ecclesiae, quod prophetae quidem praeconauerunt").¹⁴⁸⁸ The *Recensio Hieronymi* MS X corrects, "praeco" to "angelum". **an an aliquis dignus esset.** Cf. Apoc. 5.2-3.¹⁴⁸⁹ Although Victorinus introduces an indirect subjunctive here, it may be transferred from such a subjunctive as is found in an Old Latin Apoc. 5.4.¹⁴⁹⁰ Jerome restores direct quotation for the indirect *an* clause,¹⁴⁹¹ which may evince Victorinus' dictating from

Spiritus Sancti, quod cum in ligno perdiderit primus homo per lignum passionis est redditum; Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 1-8): Summum *ergo* caelum sapientiae, secundum intellectus, tertium consilii, quartum uirtutis, quintum scientiae, sextum pietatis, septimum timoris Dei. Ex hoc *ergo* tonitrua mugiunt, fulmina extenduntur, ignes conglobantur, trabes ardentes apparent, sidera radiant, comae horribiles coruscant, nonnumquam accedit etiam sol et luna: inuicem uisitantur atque illa ultra formidabilia lumina, radiantia in acie aspectu eius, efficiunt. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 175.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Apoc. 5.2 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): et audiui Angelum fortem, predicantem uoce magna: quis est dignus est aperire librum et uidere signa eius?

¹⁴⁸⁷ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 434 n. 6.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V prol. (SChr 153, l. 1-28): dilectissime, omnibus haereticis in quattuor libris qui sunt tibi ante hunc a nobis editi, et doctrinis ipsorum manifestatis, eversis quoque his qui irreligiosas adinuerunt sententias, aliquid quidem ex propria uniuscuiusque illorum doctrina quam in suis conscriptis reliquerunt, aliquid autem ex ratione universis ostensionibus procedente, et ueritate ostensa, et manifestato praeconio Ecclesiae, quod prophetae quidem praeconauerunt, quemadmodum demonstrauimus, perfecit autem Christus, Apostoli uero tradiderunt, a quibus Ecclesia accipiens per uniuersum mundum sola bene custodiens tradit filiis suis, quaestionibus que omnibus solutis quae ab haereticis nobis proponuntur, et Apostolorum doctrina explanata, et manifestatis pluribus quae a Domino per parabolas et dicta sunt et facta: in hoc libro quinto uniuersi operis quod est de traductione et eersione falso cognominatae agnitionis ex reliquis doctrinae Domini nostri et ex apostolicis epistolis conabimur ostensiones facere, quemadmodum postulasti a nobis, obaudientibus tuo praecepto, quoniam et in administratione sermonis positi sumus, et omni modo elaborantibus secundum nostram uirtutem plurima tibi quidem in subsidium praestare aduersus contradictiones haereticorum, errantes autem retrahere et convertere ad Ecclesiam Dei, neophytorum quoque sensum confirmare, ut stabilem custodiant fidem quam bene custoditam ab Ecclesia acceperunt, et nullo modo transuertantur ab his qui male docere eos et abducere a ueritate conantur.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Apoc. 5.2-3 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ; καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): et audiui Angelum fortem, predicantem uoce magna: quis est dignus est aperire librum et uidere signa eius? Nec quisquam poterat: neque in celo neque in terra neque sub terra aperire librum aut prospicere illum / Orosius, *Lib. apol. con. Pelag.* 15.5 (CSEL 5, 624, l. 19-23): nec quisquam poterat, neque in caelo, neque in terra, neque sub terra aperire librum, neque perspicere eum, 6 flet multum Iohannes et luget, quod ex uniuersitate rationalium creaturarum nemo dignus repertus esset, qui aperiret librum, ut uideret eum.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Apoc. 5.4 (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A).

¹⁴⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61 Haussleiter): Et uidi angelum fortitudinis plenum praeconantem uoce magna: quis est dignus aperire librum et soluere signaculo eius?

recollection. "Praeco", in its sense as *herald*,¹⁴⁹² may be a rare instance of Victorinus' interpreting ἄγγελος as to office or function, since he normally uses *angelus*.¹⁴⁹³ Cf. 2 Pet. 2.5:¹⁴⁹⁴ Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα, "Noah, the herald of righteousness"; also Dan. 3.4: "preco clamabat ualenter *etc*", which Apoc. 5.9 seems to part-iterate.¹⁴⁹⁵ For Irenaeus, the verb serves for Abraham's *preaching from wickedness*, "a malitia praeconabat";¹⁴⁹⁶ while "the prophets proclaim" ("prophetae praeconant") the one God;¹⁴⁹⁷ whom Lactantius recapitulates¹⁴⁹⁸ as *praecones*, *heralds*, of his majesty.¹⁴⁹⁹ *Praeconare* is rare before Lactantius: Tertullian uses only *praeconium* e.g. "praeconium legis", "*commendation of the Law*".¹⁵⁰⁰

¹⁴⁹² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praeco* I. *herald*, 1415. Cf. "Artemis Aggelos -Artemis Messenger, an epithet of Artemis at Syracuse [which] may reflect Artemis in the role as herald of the return of Kore": Fischer-Hansen, Artemis in Sicily and South Italy: a Picture of Diversity, in: Fischer-Hansen / Poulsen (eds.), From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast, 212.

¹⁴⁹³ An extant VL translation of κηρύσσοντα has "pr[a]edicantem": Apoc. 5.2 (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): et audiui Angelum fortem, predicantem uoce magna: quis est dignus est aperire librum et uidere signa eius?

¹⁴⁹⁴ 2 Pet. 2.5 (p. 611 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἀρχαίου κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξεν, κατακλυσμὸν κόσμῳ ἀσεβῶν ἐπάξας.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Dan. 3.4 (p. 882 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ὁ κήρυξ ἐβόα ἐν ἰσχύι ὑμῶν λέγεται λαοὶ φυλαί γλώσσαι; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 198, l. 20 Morin): et preco clamabat ualenter., Vobis dicitur populis tribubus. et linguis; which seems part iterated in Apoc. 5.9 (p. 642 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες, ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματι σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 30.9 (SChr 211, l. 26-30): Paenitentiam igitur eis eam quae esset a malitia praeconabat, sed non alterum Deum adnuntiabat praeter eum qui fecisset promissionem Abrahae ille praecursor Christi.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. II 30.9 (SChr 294, l. 234-247): Sed solus unus Deus Fabricator, hic qui est super omnem Principalitatem et Potestatem et Dominationem et Virtutem: hic Pater, hic Deus, hic Conditor, hic Factor, hic Fabricator, qui fecit ea per semetipsum, hoc est per Verbum et per Sapientiam suam, caelum et terram et maria et omnia quae in eis sunt; hic iustus, hic bonus; hic est qui formauit hominem, qui plantauit paradysum, qui fabricauit mundum, qui diluuium induxit, qui Noe saluauit; hic Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob, Deus uiuorum, quem et lex adnuntiat, quem prophetae praeconant, quem Christus reuelat, quem apostoli tradunt, quem Ecclesia credit; hic Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Lactantius, Diu. Inst. I 4 (CSEL 19, 11, l. 21-23): Prophetae, qui fuerunt admodum multi, unum deum praedicant, unum locuntur, quippe qui unius dei spiritu pleni quae futura essent pari et consona uoce praedixerint.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Lactantius, Inst. Diuin. I 4.3 (PL 6, 128 B-129): Quid, quod aliqui eorum principes aut etiam reges fuerunt, in quos cadere non posset suspicio cupiditatis ac fraudis, et tamen praeconium Dei singularis eadem, qua caeteri, diuinatione fecerunt?

¹⁵⁰⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 622, l. 3-6): O summum ex hoc praeconium legis, per quem <non> licuit delictum latere! non ergo lex seduxit, sed peccatum per praecepti occasionem. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praeconius* 2. B. Transf. 2. *a publishing, celebrating, laudation, commendation*, 1415.

Victorinus may also distinguish this “mere” angel from his later individual angels of Apoc. 7.2 and 10, “starring”, respectively, Elijah and Christ; perhaps as a consequence of Victorinus’ primitive angelomorphic Christology,¹⁵⁰¹ as well as the influence of Origen’s identifying the spirit associated with John the Baptist and Elijah as one, pre-existent entity.¹⁵⁰² Daniélou notes that an angel’s declaring that none is worthy to open the scroll “emphasizes the absolute transcendence of the ‘mystery’ hidden in God”. The angel merely *heralds* the book: it is God who actually *bequeaths* it.¹⁵⁰³

l. 5-7. **aperire librum et soluere sigilla eius.** Actually the plural of the rare *sigillum*, which essentially means the *image* on a signet ring.¹⁵⁰⁴ Both X and Y of Jerome explicate his lemma’s “sigilla”¹⁵⁰⁵ with “signacula”,¹⁵⁰⁶ which, curiously, can mean a *mark of the body i.e. circumcision* in post-Classical Latin.¹⁵⁰⁷ Indeed Tertullian has “circumcisionem per testamenti signaculum”, “circumcision, the seal of the testament/covenant”.¹⁵⁰⁸ This may be why Victorinus avoids it, given his forceful anti-circumcision agenda.¹⁵⁰⁹ **et nemo inuentus est dignus.** Cf. Apoc. 5.4:¹⁵¹⁰ Victorinus renders the Greek passive subjunctive by the

¹⁵⁰¹ Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses*, VC, Suppl. 95, 94, n. 24.

¹⁵⁰² Origenes, Com. in Io. VI (SChr 157, l. 1-6): Εἰς παραμυθίαν δὲ τούτων καὶ τούτῳ χρῆσεται τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς οἰκειωθεὶς τοῖς ἀγίοις θεὸς αὐτῶν γίνεται, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, πόσω πλέον τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οἰκειωθὲν τοῖς προφήταις πνεῦμα αὐτῶν χρηματίζειν οἷόν τε ἔσται, ἴν’ ἡ οὕτως πνεῦμα Ἡλίου καὶ πνεῦμα Ἡσαΐου λεγόμενον τὸ πνεῦμα.

¹⁵⁰³ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 199; 200-201.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *sigilla*, I. *Little figures or images*, 1696.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 7 Hausleiter).

¹⁵⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 14 Hausleiter).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *signaculum* I. *a mark, a sign*; “corporis,” *i.e.* *circumcision* II. *a seal, signet*, 1696.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Tertullianus, *De mon.* 6 (CC SL 2, l. 12-17): Quodsi postea in utrumque mutatus est, et in digamiam per ancillae concubinatum, et in circumcissionem per testamenti signaculum, non potes illum patrem agnoscere nisi tunc cum deo credidit, siquidem secundum fidem filius eius es, non secundum carnem.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Victorinus Poetoviensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 11-108, l. 14).

¹⁵¹⁰ Apoc. 5.4 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ [ἐγὼ] ἔκλαιον πολὺ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὐρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): et ego flebam multum quod nemo dignus inuentus esset aperiret librum aut uideret illum.

indicative, which he may shift to Apoc. 5.2. **neque in caelo neque in terra neque infra terram.** Cf. Apoc. 5.3.¹⁵¹¹

At the centre of Victorinus' interpretation is his understanding of Heb. 9.15-26, where Christ the high priest *par excellence* must offer his own self-sacrifice to consecrate the new covenant. Yet, in a sense, the new covenant *is* the old: the promises contained (or concealed) therein are inherited by the testator, *via* his death, and transferred to his new heir, the Church. Central is Hebrews' double sense of διαθήκη/*testamentum, covenant, as last will and testament.* The new covenant is the *execution* of the old, by that of Christ, testator and heir, and mediator of his/its contents to his fellow Christian heirs.

1. 7-8. **Aperire...testamentum.** Literally, "to open the last will and testament" which, in antiquity, would entail breaking its *seal* (see *In Apoc.* 5.2, 1. 8-9 below). **pati.** For παθεῖν, cf. Heb. 9.26;¹⁵¹² and Justin,¹⁵¹³ for whom "to suffer...that having died and risen he might conquer death". Thus is Christ's death and passion integral to Hebrews' and Victorinus' notion of the execution of the covenant. Jerome merely has "aperire..sigilla est...mortem deuincere".¹⁵¹⁴ Perhaps he is unhappy with the mixed metaphors. But, for Victorinus, the identity of the last will and testament with the Old Testament-executed-as-the-New, and the scroll sealed seven times is absolute, based on the assumption of the formers' being sealed as legal documents. The Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* describe the *cross* as a seal for all

¹⁵¹¹ Apoc. 5.3 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): Et nemo poterat in celo neque in terra neque subtus terram aperire librum :neque aspicere illum.

¹⁵¹² Heb. 9.28 (p. 576 Nesle-Aland): ἐπεὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν πολλάκις παθεῖν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· νυνὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται; (Vg): sic et Christus semel oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata : secundo sine peccato apparebit exspectantibus se, in salutem.

¹⁵¹³ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 63.16 (l. 3-7 Goodspeed): νῦν δ' ἐν χρόνοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ὡς προεῖπομεν, διὰ παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βουλὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξουθενηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ὑπέμεινε, ἵνα ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς νικήσῃ τὸν θάνατον.

¹⁵¹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.; p. 61, l. 16-17 Haussleiter).

believers.¹⁵¹⁵ Given the following section (*In Apoc.* 5.1, l. 14-17) derives from Irenaeus, *Adu. haer.* V 9.4, the line inevitably conjures up the “Christ died, that the testament of the gospel, opened and read to all the world, might first make men free”.¹⁵¹⁶ Tertullian uses the verb *pati* for how some passages may *bear* ambiguous interpretation, in contradistinction to a bare Jewish literalism.¹⁵¹⁷ But it might equally mean that *scripture itself suffers* it. **et pro hominibus**. For the expression ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, *cf.* Heb. 5.1,¹⁵¹⁸ where it designates the beneficiaries of Christ's priestly service. **mortem deincere est**. For the *conquering* of death, *cf.* 1 Cor. 15.55;¹⁵¹⁹ and the comments of Justin (ἵνα...νικήσῃ τὸν θάνατον)¹⁵²⁰ and Irenaeus upon it (“erit uicta mors”).¹⁵²¹

1. 8-9. **Nemo est inuentus neque in angelis in caelo neque in hominibus in terra neque inter animas sanctorum in requie**. Victorinus glosses Apoc. 5.3's citing of habitations as *their denizens i.e.* angels in heaven, men on earth *and the souls of martyrs below it* (Apoc.

¹⁵¹⁵ Orac. Sibyl. VIII (GSC 8, l. 244-247): Σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγῖς ἐπίσημος Τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθούμενον ἔσται, Ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωή, πρόσκομμα δὲ κόσμου, Ὑδασι φωτίζον κλητοὺς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς Ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖη γε κρατήσει. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 278.

¹⁵¹⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 82): Christus mortuus est, uti testamentum Euangelii apertum et uniuerso mundo lectum primum quidem liberos faceret.

¹⁵¹⁷ Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* V (CC SL 1, 612, l. 26-28): Scimus quosdam sensus ambiguitatem pati posse de sono pronuntiationis aut de modo distinctionis, cum duplicitas earum intercedit.

¹⁵¹⁸ *Cf.* Heb. 5.1 (p. 568 Nestle-Aland): Πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά [τε] καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν.

¹⁵¹⁹ 1 Cor. 15.54-55 (p. 470 Nestle-Aland): ὅταν δὲ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται [τὴν] ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 43 Buchanan): Cū autem (in)mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem: Tunc fiet sermo: qui scriptus est: absorpta est mors in victuriam. Ubi est mors uictoria tua: ubi est mors stimulus tuus.

¹⁵²⁰ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 63.16 (l. 6-7 Goodspeed).

¹⁵²¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 13.3 (SChr 153, l. 50-58): Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: Absorpta est mors in victoria. Ubi est mors aculeus tuus? Ubi est mors victoria tua? Haec autem iuste dicentur tunc quando mortalis haec et corruptibilis caro, circa quam et mors est, quae et quodam dominio mortis pressa est, in vitam conscendens induerit incorruptelam et immortalitatem. Tunc enim vere erit uicta mors, quando ea quae continetur ab ea caro exierit de dominio eius.

6.9: "sub ara dei animas (occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum)".¹⁵²² Apoc. 5.3 is itself a commentary upon Deut. 30.11-14:¹⁵²³ **nisi solus Christus filius Dei.**

Corresponds/answers to the question τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ

λήμψεται αὐτήν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτήν ποιήσομεν; (Deut. 30.12;¹⁵²⁴ cf. Io.

3.13;¹⁵²⁵ Rom. 10.6)¹⁵²⁶ in Jewish Christian exegesis.¹⁵²⁷ Irenaeus is the first to infer in Apoc.

5.3 scriptural interpretaion, *via* Apoc. 3.7¹⁵²⁸ ("the key of David, he who opens and no one

shuts").¹⁵²⁹ If he does not precisely specify Christ as the actual "key", his *Rule of Faith* holds

his coming is the *expositio, explanation*, of the Law; to be found in scripture even as treasure

¹⁵²² Apoc. 6.9 (p. 644 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θουσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον; (VL; ; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De bon. pat. (CC SL 3A, cap. : 21, linea : 428): Et cum aperuisset, inquit, quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cf. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. III 16 (CC SL 3, l. 44-49).

¹⁵²³ Deut. 30.11-30.14 (p. 343 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ὅτι ἡ ἐντολὴ οὐρανῶ ἄνω ἐστὶν λέγων τίς ἀναβήσεται ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀκούσαντες αὐτήν ποιήσομεν οὐδὲ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶν λέγων τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης αὕτη ἦν ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον οὐκ ὑπέρογκός ἐστιν οὐδὲ μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐκ ἐν τῷ καὶ λήμψεται ἡμῖν αὐτήν καὶ ἀκουστὴν ἡμῖν ποιήσει αὐτήν καὶ ποιήσομεν ἐστὶν σου ἐγγὺς τὸ ῥῆμα σφόδρα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου αὐτὸ ποιεῖν.

¹⁵²⁴ Deut. 30.12 (VL; Cod. 100; p. 39): Neque in caelo est, ut dicas: Quis ascendit nobis in caelo et accipiet nobis, et audientes eius faciemus? (VL; p. 382 Sabatier 1): non in coelo est, dicens: Quis ascendet nobis in coelum, et accipiet nobis illud, et audientes illud faciemus?

¹⁵²⁵ Io. 3.13 (p. 274 Nestle-Aland): καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 21 Belsheim): Nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelis; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 42 Belsheim): Nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit, Filius hominis, qui est in caelis; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 46 Belsheim): Nemo ascendit in caelum ,nisi qui de caelo descendit ,filius hominis qui est in caelis.

¹⁵²⁶ Rom. 10.6 (p. 427 Nestle-Aland): ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει, μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 17 Buchanan): Quae autem ex fide est iustitia sic dicit: Ne dixeris in corde tuo: Quia ascendit in caelos: id est xpm: deducere; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 55 Tischendorf): quae autem ex fide est iustitia sic dicit ne dixeris in corde tuo quis ascendit in caelum id est xpm deducere; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 10 Belsheim): Quae autem ex fide est iustitia sic dicit Ne dixeris in corde tuo Quis ascendit in caelum? id est Christum deducere; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 13b Matthäi): quae autem ex fide est iustitia sic dicit ne dixeris in corde tuo quis ascendit in caelum hoc est christum deducere.

¹⁵²⁷ Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, 199.

¹⁵²⁸ Apoc. 3.7 (VL; Breuiar. Goth. ; PL86, 644B): Angelo Philadelphiae ecclesiae scribe: Haec dicit Sanctus, et Verus, qui habet clauem David: qui aperit, et nemo claudit: claudit, et nemo aperit; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 575C): Angelo Philadelphie Ecclesie scribe. Hec dicit sanctus et uerus qui habet clauem David. Qui aperit et nemo claudit : et claudit :et nemo aperit.

¹⁵²⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 20.2 (PG 7, 1033 A): et propter hoc idem est iudex uiuentium et mortuorum, "habens clauem David: aperiet, et nemo claudet: claudet, et nemo aperiet".

hidden in a field (Matth. 13.44; entailing for believers even the inheritance of Jerusalem).¹⁵³⁰ Hippolytus specifically links Christ's opening and no one's shutting with the one's solving the seven seals; and is the first extant to specify Christ *himself* as the key to *scriptural exegesis*, along with the Church which inherits it.¹⁵³¹ Origen sees in the tying and loosing of Christ's shoes an allegory of the "key of knowledge" (ἡ τῆς γνώσεως κλείς).¹⁵³² One "shoe" is, as for Origen, the mystery of Christ's Incarnation; the other is his descent to Hades and preaching to those there. Both events are instances of the Word's *descending* into flesh and mortality *i.e.* (Origen implies) his *veiling* or *obscuring* (this is this author's inference) himself in a mystery which the exegete may *solve*, even as he may the latches of Christ's shoes.¹⁵³³

The theme of a hidden descent, from heaven to earth, from earth to hell, derives from Jewish apocalyptic;¹⁵³⁴ and is linked to the notion of a cosmic ladder.¹⁵³⁵ Thus Origen's theology of the Word's descent, from heaven to earth in the Incarnation, and from earth to hell in its harrowing, is an intellectual revelation of an obscure aspect of Christ's advent, an exegesis of his mere appearance. Here Victorinus, heir to all these views, has the converse exegesis: the Word's descent also penetrates the Old Testament, a consequence of his

¹⁵³⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* IV 26.1 (PG 7, 1053 B): Et propter hoc quidem Iudaeis cum legitur lex in hoc nunc tempore, fabulae similis est: non enim habent expositionem omnium rerum pertinentem ad aduentum Filii Dei, qui est secundum hominem: a Christianis uero cum legitur, thesaurus est absconsus in agro, cruce uero Christi reuelatus est, et ostendens sapientiam Dei, et eas, quae sunt erga hominem dispositiones eius, manifestans, et Christi regnum praeformans, et haereditatem sanctae Hierusalem praeuangelizans; et praeununtians, quoniam in tantum homo diligens Deum proficiet, ut etiam uideat Deum, et audiat sermonem eius, ut ex auditu loquelae eius in tantum glorificari, ut reliqui non possint intendere in faciem gloriae eius, quemadmodum dictum est a Daniele: Quoniam "intelligentes fulgebunt, quemadmodum claritas firmamenti, et a multis iustis sicut stellae in saecula, et adhuc."

¹⁵³¹ Hippolytus Romanus, *Com. in Dan.* IV 34.1 (SChr 14, l. 3-5): αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ τελεία σφραγίς καὶ ἡ κλείς ἢ ἐκ «Δαυῖδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.»

¹⁵³² Origenes, *Com. in Io.* VI 34 (173; SChr 157, l. 1-2).

¹⁵³³ Origenes, *Com. in Io.* VI 34 (173 SChr 157, 173, l. 1)-35 (173 SChr 157, 178, l. 4).

¹⁵³⁴ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 206.

¹⁵³⁵ Daniéliou undertakes a detailed study and adduces *Ascension of Isaiah* 10.8-10, in which he especially infers Sheol temporary "happy abodes for the souls of the just": Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 179.

conquering death (*In Apoc.* 5.1, l. 6-7: “aperire...testamentum pati et pro hominibus mortem deuincere est”).

l. 11-12. **tamquam occisum.** Cf. *Apoc.* 5.6,¹⁵³⁶ where the *Vetus Latina* generally has “quasi” or “tanquam”, for ὡς; probably because *quasi* was more commonly used as a *quasi*-adjective than a conjunction (indeed elsewhere Jerome has “agni qui in Ioannis Apocalypsi dicitur trucidatus” for “tamquam...occisum”).¹⁵³⁷ Victorinus omits the lamb’s *standing* (ἀρνίον ἑστηκός / “agnum stantem”). **habentem cornua numero septem.** The *De fabrica mundi* has “septem cornula agnuli”,¹⁵³⁸ but “cornua” is the reading of the *Vetus Latina*. Jerome omits “numero” as redundant.¹⁵³⁹ But Victorinus is probably stressing the mystical qualities of seven *qua number*.

l. 12-13. **In illum.** A less common sense of *in* + *accusative* meaning *in purport of*,¹⁵⁴⁰ “illum” likely alluding back to “agnum”. **erat praedicatum.** Probably intended to be an impersonal passive *imperfect*, in its sense of *prophecy*, as Jerome indicates by “tunc”,¹⁵⁴¹ subject to *quicquid*, in its sense of *everything which*,¹⁵⁴² the direct object of: **lex...meditata fuerat** (and also of “implere”). Dulaey asserts *meditari* means here *prefigure*, since it occurs in this sense

¹⁵³⁶ *Apoc.* 5.6 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρνίον ἑστηκός ὡς ἐσφαγμένος, ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτὰ, οἳ εἰσὶν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640C): Et uidi :et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, agnum stantem quasi occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem :qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi per orbem terrarum; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 569C): Et uidi :et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium :et in medio seniorum agnum stantem tanquam occisum :habentem cornua septem :et oculos septem :qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi in omnem terram.

¹⁵³⁷ Hieronymus, Com. in Is. XVII 63.6 (PG 24, 636C): In bonam Annus redemptionis meae uenit; ut eo tempore qui puniuntur aduersarii, Dei populus liberetur, iam redimatur pretioso sanguine agni qui in Ioannis Apocalypsi dicitur trucidatus. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.1, n. 182.

¹⁵³⁸ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 8 (SChr 423, 146, l. 1): this significance of the use of *cornulum*, *little horn*, if any, is unclear.

¹⁵³⁹ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in *Apoc.* 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 21 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, in II. With acc. C. to this effect or purport, 913.

¹⁵⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in *Apoc.* 5.1 (R. H.: p. 61, l. 22 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁴² Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *quicquid* I. subst. *whatever, whatsoever, each, every, all*, 1517.

in the near contemporary Commodian,¹⁵⁴³ perhaps under influence of using *praemeditari* in this sense by such as Tertullian.¹⁵⁴⁴ The same use occurs later in Hilary, Chromatius, Gregory of Elvira, Jerome and Augustine (for which last it may mean *signify*).¹⁵⁴⁵ But Victorinus likely also has in mind frequent biblical injunctions to *meditate on the Law*, in which the Vetus Latina invariably employs variations on *meditari*.¹⁵⁴⁶ Perhaps “lex” is hypostatized as one capable of rational thought: it is, in a sense, alive, even as Christ is, in a sense, the Law

¹⁵⁴³ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 174.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Cf. the use of *praemeditari*: Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. II 3 (106; PL 2, 1122 B): Sed spes et promissa fides mortalibus olim, / Haec operata tulit, magne rationis imago, / Praemeditata Patris, nimia pietate parata / Venturum Christum terris, hominemque futurum. Cf. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. II (CC SL 1, 359, l. 4): Ad haec innocentiae et pudicitiae, iustitiae et pietatis principalia consulta accedunt etiam humanitatis praescripta, cum septimo quoque anno seruitia libertate soluuntur, cum eodem tempore agro parcitur egenis cedendo locum, <cum> boui etiam terenti uincola oris remittuntur ad fructum praesentis laboris, quo facilius in pecudibus praemeditata humanitas in hominum refrigeria erudiretur. Cf. *meditatio*: Hilarius Pictauiensis, De myst. 2 (p. 4 Gamurri): Tuto ergo auctore tanto, etiam Aadae nomen non sine aliqua futuri meditatione suscipimus; *praemeditare*: De myst. 16 (p. 18 Gamurri): sed ipsa illa humanorum actuum ueritas diuinae erat operationis imitatio, et hoc ad ueram spei nostrae ac fidei eruditionem ita fiebat, cum nihil in Dei rebus reperiretur, quod non tamquam praemeditatum antea in ipsis hominum et aetatibus et moribus et effectibus cerneretur. For Hilary's usage, cf. Doignon, Hilaire de Poitiers, 285, n. 8. Cf. also Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 30.4 (PG 7b, 1067B): Necessario igitur haec in typo praemeditabantur, et tabernaculum Dei ex his fabricatur: illis quidem iuste accipientibus, quemadmodum ostendimus: nobis autem praeostensis, qui inciperemus per aliena Deo deseruire.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Commodianus, Carm. apol. 139-140 (p. 5 Ludwig): Sicut auis Phoenix meditatatur a morte renasci, / Dat nobis exemplum, post funera surgere posse. Cf. Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 21.3 (SChr 258, c126, l. 10): Sed peragunt formam futuri gesta praesentia et, compugnantibus licet eorum inter quos haec gerebantur adfectibus, quamuis mox diuersa essent consecutura, rerum tamen caelestium fidem etiam inuitorum meditatatur operatio. Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 17 (CC SL 69, l. 214): Ecce in solacium nostrum in resurrectionem futuram omnes natura meditatatur: sol in occasum dimergit ac nascitur, astra labuntur et redeunt, flores occidunt ac reuiuiscunt, post senium arbusta <frondescent>, semina non nisi corrupta reui<rescunt>. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 17 (CC SL 9A, l. 11): Quod ergo lex in figura meditata est, christus dominus in ueritate compleuit. Paulinus Nolanus, Carm. 31. 231 (CSEL 30, 315): cuncta resurgendi faciem meditantur in omni corpore et in terris germina et astra polo. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 103 sermo 3.5 (CC SL 40, l. 30): unde, rogo uos, nisi quia significantur in aibus quidam spiritalis, quorum aetas temporalis propterea tacetur, quia aeterna meditantur, et transgrediuntur desiderio et intellectu omnia temporalia? Cf. also Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Gen. 27.9 (R. H.: p. xv, 26 Hausssleiter): magis autem forma spiritus sancti, quae futura norat in Christo, in Iacob ante meditatatur –loquitur ad filium minorem: uade ad gregem et accipe mihi inde duos haedos; *praemeditans*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Gen. 27.41 (R. H.: p. xv Hausssleiter): diabolus fraticidae Iudae os in Cain ante praemeditans in Esau manifestissime confitetur, tempus quoque interfectionis ostendens: adpropinquent, inquit, dies passionis, ut interficiam fratrem meum. Goelzer does not study such typological terms (Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité saint Jérôme, c. 463). On the other hand, Jay affirms Jerome uses them freely. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 1.4, n. 24; 2.2, n. 42; 4.34, n. 4.

¹⁵⁴⁶ E.g. Ios. 1.18 (p. 355 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ οὐκ ἀποστήσεται ἡ βίβλος τοῦ νόμου τούτου ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου καὶ μελετήσεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός ἵνα συνῆς ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα τότε εὐδοωθήσῃ καὶ εὐδώσεις τὰς ὁδοὺς σου καὶ τότε συνήσεις; (VL; p 400 Sabatier 1): Et non recedet liber legis huius ex ore tuo: et meditaberis in eo die ac nocte, ut custodias facere uniuersa quae scripta sunt: tunc dirigam uias tuas, et tunc intelliges.

incarnate; even meditating *on itself*.¹⁵⁴⁷ **in illo**. Also alludes to the earlier “agnum”, and Jerome, thinking it redundant, merely retains the earlier “in illum”.¹⁵⁴⁸

l. 14. **ipsum implere oportebat**. Cf. Matth. 3.15:¹⁵⁴⁹ "oportet nos implere". Here Victorinus uses “ipsum” to designate Christ, as an alternative to *ille* and *hic*. *Implere* is not quite interchangeable with *replere* for Victorinus: while the latter seems to suit specifically fulfilling *prophecy*, as for Commodian;¹⁵⁵⁰ the former seems to mean fulfilling *action* or *duration*, albeit often ones *prophetic*,¹⁵⁵¹ in this case Christ’s self-immolation. Origen most systematically exploited such interpretations.¹⁵⁵²

l. 14-16. **Et quia ipse erat testator**. Christ was *testator* to his own *testamentum*, of which he is both *executor* and *heir*.¹⁵⁵³ **et mortem deuicerat**. *Deuincere* means *conquer completely*,¹⁵⁵⁴ and it is by virtue of his overcoming the legal disadvantage of his own death that Christ may

¹⁵⁴⁷ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 165-166. Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 80, l. 2-4): <Ara> enim et caelum et terra dicuntur, sicut lex imaginaria ueritatis faciem meditata duas aras, auream intrinsecus <et aeream extrinsecus>, fecerat.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (R. H.: p. 63, l. 1 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Matth. 3.15 (VL; Cod. 4; p. 3 Belsheim): Respondens autem Iesus, dixit ei : sine, modo, sic enim oportet nos implere omnem iustitiam.

¹⁵⁵⁰ *Replere*: Commodianus, Carm. apol. 225 139 (p. 7 Ludwig): Cuius in exitio omnis propheta repleta est.

¹⁵⁵¹ *Implere*: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Ab. 2.15-16 (p. ed. Ludwig): (concerning Antichrist) sed postquam finis aduenerit, pro ea gloria, qua se magnificauerat, implebitur ignominia (Hieronimus, XXV 1303 M); Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (SChr 423, 106, 11-12): biennium enim non impleuit; Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 20.2 (R. H.; p. 145 Haussleiter, l. 15): decalogi fideliter praecepta impleuerit. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.3 (R. H.; p. 150, l. 12 Haussleiter): implens totam terram Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 11-12 Haussleiter): quae de eo pronuntiata fuerant repleuit. TLL, s. v. *impleo*, c. 637, 44s; also v. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *implere*, B 2., 905.

¹⁵⁵² E.g. Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 3.5 (PG 12, 329-330): Verum ut aliqua in transcurso perstringere uideamur, omnis quidem pene hostia quae offertur, habet aliquid formae et imagina Christi. In ipsum namque omnis hostia recapitulatur, in tantum ut postquam ipse oblatas est, omnes hostiae cessauerint, quae cum in typo et umbra praecesserant; de quibus, prout potuimus, in superioribus quomodo uitulat a pontifice oblatas, siue in munere, siue pro peccato, formam eius haberet, ostendimus. Adipes uero qui offeruntur in munere, operientes interiora et renibus cohaerentes, potest sancta illa eius anima intelligi, quae interiora quidem, id est diuinitatis eius secreta uelabat; renibus autem, hoc est corporali materiae, quae ex nobis caste sumpta fuerat, cohaerebat; et media inter carnem Deumque posita, deificandam, sanctificandam sacris altaribus, et diuinis ignibus illustrandam et conseruandam secum ad coelos, naturam carnis imponit. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 174.

¹⁵⁵³ Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetouio* 1, 176.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *deuincere* I. *to conquer completely, overcome, subdue*, 566.

inherit the contents of his own last will and testament (*testamentum*),¹⁵⁵⁵ to which he is both *testator*, executor (equivalent to διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης)¹⁵⁵⁶ and heir (κληρονόμος/*heres*).¹⁵⁵⁷ **ipsum erat iustum**. Cf. Prou. 28.1,¹⁵⁵⁸ in view of the leonine comparison which follows below. Although the confusion of accusative for nominative is typical, "ipsum...iustum" likely alludes to "implere oportebat" in the previous line *i.e.* Matth. 3.15:¹⁵⁵⁹ "oportet...implere...iustitiam"; but also Heb. 11.7,¹⁵⁶⁰ to whose *justice* Noah "became heir" (δικαιοσύνης ἐγένετο κληρονόμος). **constitui heredem <a> Deo**. Cf. Heb. 1.2, which this renders: ὄν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων.¹⁵⁶¹ "heredem Deo", "heir to God", is one reading of the original manuscript,¹⁵⁶² "a" being supplied by Jerome and thence by Haussleiter and Dulaey. Cf. Gal. 4.7,¹⁵⁶³ of which the Greek has differing readings: κληρονόμος <διὰ> θεοῦ / ¹⁵⁶⁴διὰ θεον / ¹⁵⁶⁵διὰ Χριστοῦ / ¹⁵⁶⁶διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,¹⁵⁶⁷

¹⁵⁵⁵ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 203. Cf. 1 Col. 14-15: ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ· ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτούς ἐν αὐτῷ.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Heb. 9.15 (p. 574 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Heb. 1.7 (p. 563 Nestle-Aland): ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὄν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 203.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Prou. 28.1 (p. 233 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): φεύγει ἀσεβῆς μηδενὸς διώκοντος δίκαιος δὲ ὥσπερ λέων πέποιθεν; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 324C): Fugit impius nemine persequente : iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Matth. 3.15 (VL; Cod. 4; p. 3 Belsheim): Respondens autem Iesus, dixit ei : sine, modo, sic enim oportet nos implere omnem iustitiam.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Heb. 11.7 (p. 580 Nestle-Aland): Πίστει χρηματισθεὶς Νῶε περὶ τῶν μηδέπω βλεπομένων εὐλαβηθεὶς κατεσκεύασεν κιβωτὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς κατέκρινεν τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης ἐγένετο κληρονόμος.

¹⁵⁶¹ Heb. 1.7 (p. 563 Nestle-Aland): ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὄν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 203.

¹⁵⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 5.1 (R. H.: p. 63, l. 3 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁶³ Gal. 4.7 (p. 498 Nestle-Aland;): ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.

¹⁵⁶⁴ R

¹⁵⁶⁵ F G 1881

¹⁵⁶⁶ pc 81.630

¹⁵⁶⁷ 1739^C

while the Old Latin has variations of "heres per Deum", sometimes "heres di per xpm".¹⁵⁶⁸

The manuscript reading could simply be Victorinus' attempt to reconcile these differing readings.

But Victorinus could also be stressing the unassailable legal device of Christ's being *heir* to his common *substance/inheritance* with God the father.¹⁵⁶⁹ The Latin of Irenaeus' midrash on Rom. 8.17 and Heb. 1.2, whereby all believers are "heredes eos constitueret eorum quae essent ejus", "constituted heirs of these things which are his",¹⁵⁷⁰ suggests a formula most influential on Victorinus here, and on what follows.

l. 16-17. **ut possideret.** Cf. Matth. 5.4 ("Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess/inherit the earth/land (<hereditate> possidebunt / hereditabunt terram").¹⁵⁷¹ **et substantiam morientis.** Victorinus continues his condensing of Irenaeus' comment *on* Matth. 5.4, which says believers will "possess/inherit the earth/land" whence "the substance of flesh" (equivalent to "of the dying one");¹⁵⁷² flesh alone's being unable to possess the kingdom of

¹⁵⁶⁸ Gal. 4.7 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 15, l. 18 Morin): Itaque. iam non est serbus sed filius. , Quod si filius. et haeredes. per deum; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 60 Buchanan): Itaque iam non est seruus sed filius : Qd̄ si filius· et heres per dm; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 274 Tischendorf): itaque iam non est seruus sed filius si autem filius et heres di per xpm.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Origen first claims that Father and Son share a common οὐσία, *essence*, as opposed to ὑπόστασις (contradicting those who think otherwise): Origenes, Com. in Io. X 37 (SChr 246, l. 7-10): ᾤοντο ἐκ τούτων περίστασθαι μὴ διαφέρειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐ μόνον οὐσίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποκειμένῳ τυγχάνοντας ἀμφοτέρους, κατὰ τινὰς ἐπινοίας διαφορῶν, οὐ κατὰ ὑπόστασιν λέγεσθαι πατέρα καὶ υἱόν.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Irenaeus' midrash on Rom. 8.17 and Heb. 1.2, whereby all believers are "constituted heirs of these things which are his, when the Spirit possesses [them] by inheritance...for he who lives occupies [his flesh] by inheritance, but the flesh is [in turn] acquired [by God] by inheritance: Irenaeus Lugdunensis Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, 82-86): Propter hoc autem et Christus mortuus est, uti testamentum Evangelii apertum et universo mundo lectum primum quidem liberos faceret servos suos, post deinde heredes eos constitueret eorum quae essent ejus, hereditate possidente Spiritu, quemadmodum demonstravimus: hereditate enim possidet ille qui vivit, hereditate autem acquiritur caro.

¹⁵⁷¹ Matth. 5.4 (p. 9 Nestle-Aland): μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται. 5 μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν. τὴν γῆν; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 28 Wordsworth): beati mites qui ipsi hereditabunt terram; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 4 Belsheim): Beati mites : quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 4 Belsheim): Beati mites , quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 9 Scrivener): beati mites : quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 5 Belsheim): Beati mites , quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.

¹⁵⁷² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 61): Si enim oportet verum dicere, non possidet sed possidetur caro, sicut et Dominus ait: Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram, quasi hereditate possideatur terra in regno, unde et substantia carnis nostrae est.

heaven (1 Cor. 15.50)¹⁵⁷³ (without the Spirit *i.e.* that by which flesh lives).¹⁵⁷⁴ The exception to this is by their being "constituted heirs" by inheriting the kingdom *via* the Spirit's inheriting that same flesh first;¹⁵⁷⁵ by (co-) inheriting the goods of (Christ) the deceased (Heb. 9.17): "Hereditate enim possidet qui uiuit ea quae sunt mortui"¹⁵⁷⁶ (equivalent to "ut [*heres*] possideret...substantiam morientis"). *Substantia* translates two terms: 1) οὐσία, *fortune* or *riches* (*cf.* Luc. 15.13, 15)¹⁵⁷⁷ *i.e.* the *substance of an inheritance*;¹⁵⁷⁸ the term that for Origen signifies the conjoined essence of the three distinct ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity¹⁵⁷⁹ 2) ὑπαρξις¹⁵⁸⁰ (Heb. 10.34),¹⁵⁸¹ a word whose sense of *existence* or *reality* also signifies the *true inheritance* which the author of Hebrews believes bequeathed to believers. **id est membra humana.** Victorinus likely plays on the other sense of *substantia*, namely that of *being i.e. life*, of which the *sine qua non* is a living body. "Substantiam morientis" is thus equivalent to "the life of the dead one".¹⁵⁸² "Membra humana" is an affirmation of a *corporeal* resurrection, especially an identification with, hence possession of, humanity in

¹⁵⁷³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 67-72): Sicut igitur sponsa assumere sponsum non potest, assumi autem a sponso potest, cum venerit et acceperit eam sponsus, sic et caro haec secundum seipsam, id est sola, regnum Dei hereditate possidere non potest, hereditate autem possideri in regno a Spiritu potest.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. 9.5 (SChr 153, l. 78-79): Quid est igitur quod vivit? Scilicet Spiritus Dei.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 82-88): Propter hoc autem et Christus mortuus est, uti testamentum Evangelii apertum et universo mundo lectum primum quidem liberos faceret servos suos, post deinde heredes eos constitueret eorum quae essent ejus, hereditate possidente Spiritu, quemadmodum demonstravimus: hereditate enim possidet ille qui vivit, hereditate autem acquiritur caro.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. (SChr 153, lib. : 5, cap. : 9, par. : 4, linea : 72-78 [*]) Hereditate enim possidet qui vivit ea quae sunt mortui, et aliud quidem est hereditate possidere, aliud autem hereditate possideri: ille enim dominatur et praeest et disponit ea quae hereditate possidet quemadmodum ipse velit, illa vero subjecta sunt et obaudiunt et dominantur ab eo et sub dominio sunt ejus qui possidet.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Luc. 15.13, 15 (p. 211 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁵⁷⁸ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, οὐσία A. *that which is one's own, one's substance, property*, 1096. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *substantia* I. *that of which a thing consists, the being, essence, contents, material, substance* II. Esp., *fortune, substance, property*, 1782-1783.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 37 (246, l. 7-10): ζῶντο ἐκ τούτων παρίστασθαι μὴ διαφέρειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐ μόνον οὐσία ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποκειμένῳ τυγχάνοντα ἀμφοτέρους, κατὰ τινὰς ἐπινοίας διαφορῶν, οὐ κατὰ ὑπόστασιν λέγεσθαι πατέρα καὶ υἱόν. Cf. Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ὁμοιούσιος A. *of similar substance*, 1050.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, A. *existence, reality* II. 2. *substance, property*, 1604.

¹⁵⁸¹ Heb. 10.34 (p. 579 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁵⁸² Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 78-79): Quid est igitur quod vivit? Scilicet Spiritus Dei.

general; in a kind of inverse accord with Rom. 8.17,¹⁵⁸³ where all Christians become joint heirs of Christ by virtue of their all being sons of God, suffering and being glorified with him (≡ *mortem deificare*). Once again, the substance of the law of Moses seems also that of Christ as the incarnate Law fulfilled, with a likely implication of Christians as *limbs* of Christ's body (Eph. 5. 30),¹⁵⁸⁴ who likewise necessarily share in it and him.¹⁵⁸⁵

According to the Latin Irenaeus, the dead inherit their decaying bodies, which, inherited by the Spirit, are made co-heirs of the kingdom with Christ. Indeed, he explains, the meek inherit/possess/occupy (*possidere*)¹⁵⁸⁶ earth (or land) *in the kingdom* (“terra in regno”), from which mortal flesh derives its *substantia*.¹⁵⁸⁷ Thus Irenaeus curiously conflates the

¹⁵⁸³ Rom. 8.17 (p. 423 Nestle-Aland): εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἵπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν; (VL: Cod. 65; p. 15 Buchanan): Si autem filii et heredes: heredes quidem di: coheredes autem xpi: Si tamen compatiamur ut et conglorificemur. Cf. Seneca on Posidonius: Seneca [philosophus], Epist. 92.30 (p. 412 Hense): totum hoc, quo continemur, et unum est et deus: et socii sumus eius et membra. Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, 63.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Eph. 5.30 (p. 511 Nestle-Aland): ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Rom. 8.3-4 (p. 422 Nestle-Aland): τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 14 Buchanan): Nam quod impossibile erat legis in quo infirmabatur per carnem: Dñs filium suum mittens in similitudinem peccati carnis: et de peccato: damnauit peccatum in carnem ut iustificatio legis impleretur in nobis: Qui non secundum carnē ambulamus: sed secundum sp̄m

¹⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Gen. 46.6 (p. 76 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτήσιν ἣν ἐκτήσαντο ἐν γῆ Χανααν εἰσήλθον εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἰακωβ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 61-88): Si enim oportet verum dicere, non possidet sed possidetur caro, sicut et Dominus ait: Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram, quasi hereditate possideatur terra in regno, unde et substantia carnis nostrae est. Et ideo mundum templum esse vult, ut delectetur Spiritus Dei in eo, quemadmodum sponsus ad sponsam. Sicut igitur sponsa assumere sponsum non potest, assumi autem a sponso potest, cum venerit et acceperit eam sponsus, sic et caro haec secundum seipsam, id est sola, regnum Dei hereditate possidere non potest, hereditate autem possideri in regno a Spiritu potest.

Hereditate enim possidet qui vivit ea quae sunt mortui, et aliud quidem est hereditate possidere, aliud autem hereditate possideri: ille enim dominatur et praeest et disponit ea quae hereditate possidet quemadmodum ipse velit, illa vero subjecta sunt et obaudiunt et dominantur ab eo et sub dominio sunt ejus qui possidet. Quid est igitur quod vivit? Scilicet Spiritus Dei. Quae sunt autem quae sunt mortui? Scilicet membra hominis quae et corrumpuntur in terra. Haec autem possidentur a Spiritu translata in regnum caelorum. Propter hoc autem et Christus mortuus est, uti testamentum Evangelii apertum et universo mundo lectum primum quidem liberos faceret servos suos, post deinde heredes eos constitueret eorum quae essent ejus, hereditate possidente Spiritu, quemadmodum demonstravimus: hereditate enim possidet ille qui vivit, hereditate autem acquiritur caro. Ut non amittentes eum qui nos possidet Spiritum amittamus vitam, adhortans nos Apostolus ad Spiritus communicationem secundum rationem quae praedicta sunt dixit: Quoniam caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt, velut si dicat: Nolite errare, quoniam, nisi Verbum Dei inhabitaverit et Spiritus Patris fuerit in vobis, vane autem et prout evenit conversati fueritis, quasi hoc tantum caro et sanguis existentes, regnum Dei possidere non poteritis. Cf. Cf. Gen. 46.6 (p. 76 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν

resurrected body *i.e.* immortality and the earth, or land, as inherited by the elect. For the bishops of Lyons and Poetovio, this includes, especially, the land of Israel.¹⁵⁸⁸ And for Victorinus the *substance* of the divine inheritance is inextricable from the Incarnation.

5.2.

1. 1. **Iuda, te collaudant fratres tui.** Cf. Gen. 48.8.¹⁵⁸⁹ “Con-/collaudant” occurs solely in MS A.¹⁵⁹⁰ It is a rare form, appearing in only two instances of the Vetus Latina, including Ambrosiaster,¹⁵⁹¹ “laudabunt” being the more common, in North Africa and Italy.¹⁵⁹² Jerome seems to conform to the consensus with “laudant”.¹⁵⁹³ *Collaudare* is simply a stronger form, and may be an attempt to render Aquilla’s of Sinope ἐξομολογησάσθωσαν,¹⁵⁹⁴ likely to distinguish the *hiphil* of the Hebrew verb הָלַל , *y h d*, *praise*, itself a pun on הָלַלְתִּי , *Yəhūdāh*, “(the one) praised”,¹⁵⁹⁵ from the more common לָלַל , *h l l* (the root of *hallel*);¹⁵⁹⁶ which the

καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτῆσιν ἣν ἐκτήσαντο ἐν γῆ Χανααν εἰσηλθόν εἰς Αἴγυπτον Ἰακωβ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.2 (SChr 423, 118, l. 18-20): Ceterum dicitur ciuitas omnis illa prouinciarum orientalium regio promissa patriarchae Abrahae. Aspice, inquit, in caelo, a loco, in quo modo tu stas id est a flumine magno Eufrate usque ad flumen Aegypti; omnem terram quam tu aspicias, tibi dabo illam et semini tuo. Deinde Spiritus Sanctus ait: Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare - id est a mari rubro, quod est Arabiae, usque ad mare Aquilonis, quod est mare Fenicis - et usque ad fines terrae: sunt Syriae maioris partes.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Gen. 49.8 (p. 82 Nestle-Aland): Ἰουδα σὲ αἰνέσαισαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νότου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου προσκυνήσουσίν σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου; (VL; p. 125 Sabatier 1): Iuda, te laudabunt fratres tui: manus tuae super dorsum inimicorum tuorum, te adorabunt.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2. (E. v.; p. 62, n. 1 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁹¹ Ambrosiaster, Com. in Rom. (recensio gamma) 2.17 (CSEL 81, 83, l. 1): dictum est enim: Iudas erit dux vester, et: Iuda, te conlaudant fratres tui (VL; p. 125, n. 8 Sabatier 1). Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 172.

¹⁵⁹² E.g. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. I 21 (CC SL 3, l. 21): Item in genesi: iuda, te laudabunt fratres tui, manus tuae super dorsum inimicorum tuorum; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De patriarch. 4.16 (CC SL 3, 133, l. 8-10): merito que se circa gratiam Iudae Iacob sanctus effudit dicens: Iuda, te laudabunt fratres tui; manus tuae super dorsum inimicorum tuorum, adorabunt te filii patris tui.

¹⁵⁹³ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2. (R. H.; p. 63, l. 9 Haussleiter).

¹⁵⁹⁴ Origenes, Hex. Gen. 49.8 (p. 70 Field).

¹⁵⁹⁵ Delitzsch / Taylor (trans.), A new commentary on Genesis 2, 374; 145. Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, הָלַלְתִּי , 397.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, לָלַל II. Pi. 1. *praise*; Pu. *be praised*, 238.

Gen. 49.8 (p. 82 Eliger-Rudolph): הָלַלְתִּי , הָלַלְתִּי , הָלַלְתִּי .

Septuagint's usual αἰνέσαισαν scarcely conveys,¹⁵⁹⁷ and from which Victorinus' source may have stood independently. Perhaps he consulted Aquilla's translation in the *Hexapla* of Origen himself. It occurs later in Ambrosiaster and Rufinus,¹⁵⁹⁸ whose native Aquileia was geographically close to Poetovio but who also, of course, spent time in Palestine, like Victorinus, accessing Origen's materials.¹⁵⁹⁹

l. 3-4. **et dormisti et surrexisti tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis.** A reverse translation of Gen. 49.9,¹⁶⁰⁰ commenting upon Apoc. 5.5;¹⁶⁰¹ undoubtedly alluding to Christ's death ("dormisti")¹⁶⁰² and resurrection ("surrexisti");¹⁶⁰³ the latter doubtless according with the interpretation of Hippolytus, and his midrash of Prou. 28.1¹⁶⁰⁴ and 30.30:¹⁶⁰⁵ λέγεται ὁ λέγων κοιμώμενος μὴ θροεῖσθαι μέγα πεποιθῶς ἐν ἰσχύϊ.¹⁶⁰⁶

¹⁵⁹⁷ Sabatier, *Vetus Italica* 1, 125, v. 8.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Sabatier, *Vetus Italica* 1, 125, v. 8. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, II.1, n. 93.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Dulaey, *Victorinus de Poetovio* 1, 39. Smith / Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, 557.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Gen. 49.9 (VL; p. 125 Sabatier 2): *Catulus leonis Iuda: ad praedam, fili mi, ascendisti: requiescens accubuisti ut leo, et quasi leaena, quis suscitabit eum?*

¹⁶⁰¹ Apoc. 5.5 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): *καὶ εἶς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι, μὴ κλαῖε· ἰδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαβὶδ, ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ;* (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 639D): *Vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David, aperire librum, et solvere signa ejus;* (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640B): *Et unus de senioribus dicit mihi :Ne fleveris :ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David aperire librum, et septem signacula ejus;* (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 569C): *Et unus de senioribus dixit mihi. Ne fleveris. Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda radix David :aperire librum : et solvere septem signacula ejus;* (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): *et dixit mihi unus ex senioribus :ne fleveris :ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda :radix David aperire librum : et septem signa ejus.*

¹⁶⁰² This occurs in MS102 (northern Italy) and Ambrose: *Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De patriarch. 4.16 (CSEL 32.2, 133, l. 12): recumbens dormisti ut leo et tamquam catulus: quis suscitabit eum? De patriarch. 4.18 (CSEL 32.2, 134, l.22): recumbens dormisti ut leo et tamquam catulus. De patriarch. 4.20 (CSEL 32.2, 135, l. 19): recumbens inquit dormisti ut leo, quando iacuit in sepulchro uelut quodam corporis sui somno quietus, sicut ipse ait: ego dormiui et requieui et surrexi, quoniam dominus suscipiet me.*

¹⁶⁰³ *Tamquam* occurs thrice in Ambrose, and see note on l. 11-12 above. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 174.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Prou. 28.1 (p. 233 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): *φεύγει ἀσεβῆς μηδενὸς διώκοντος δίκαιος δὲ ὡς περ λέων πέποιθεν;* (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 324C): *Fugit impius nemine persequente : iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit.*

¹⁶⁰⁵ Prou. 30.30 (p. 227 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): *σκύμνος λέοντος ἰσχυρότερος κτηνῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται οὐδὲ καταπτήσσει κτήνος;* (VL; Cod. 160; p. 6 Caspari): *catulus leonis fortior iumentis qui auertitur neque formidat iumentum.*

¹⁶⁰⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, *Frag. in Prov. 73 (l. 2-3 Richard):* *Λέγεται δὲ ὁ λέων κοιμώμενος μὴ θροεῖσθαι, μέγα πεποιθῶς ἐν ἰσχύϊ.* Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr. 7 (GCS 1.2, l. 4-6):* *σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβησεν ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθησεν ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος;* Ben. Isaac. et Iacob. 68 (PO 27, l. 7-9): *Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσαισαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου*

1. 5. **Ad deuincendam enim mortem leo dictus est.** Cf. Apoc. 5.5, whose ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων

this renders (thus "open the scroll and its seven seals" is equivalent to "defeat death"). For

προσκυνή- σουσίν σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου. καὶ σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα, ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέ- βης. ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος; 78 (PO 27, l. 3-8): τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βλαστῆσαν ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ὅπερ προφητεύων ὁ Ἰακῶβ ἔλεγεν ἅ ἐκ βλαστοῦ υἱέ μου ἀνέβης. Τὸ δὲ ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος, ἵνα τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς τριημέρου αὐτοῦ ταφῆς ἐπιδείξῃ, ἣν ἀνεπαύσατο ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς. ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰπὼν ἄ ὡςπερ Ἰωνᾶς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, ἢ καὶ Δαβὶδ προαναφωνῶν λέγει ἄ ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνώσα. ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντιλήψεται μου. Hippolytus sees "lion" and "cub" signifying, respectively, Father and Son, while "shoot" alludes to the (a little heterodox) Incarnation of the Holy Spirit with Mary's womb by the Holy Spirit: Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Isaac. et Iacob. 76 (PO 27, l. 3)-78 (PO 27, l. 2): «Σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης». λέοντα οὖν καὶ σκύμνον λέοντος εἰπὼν σαφῶς τὰ δύο πρόσωπα ἐπέδειξεν, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ. τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν· «ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης», ἵνα τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δείξῃ, ὃς ἐν κοιλίᾳ παρθένου ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου σαρκωθεὶς ἐβλάστησεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὡς ἄνθος καὶ ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας εἰς κόσμον προελθὼν ἐφανερῶθη. ἐπεὶ οὖν σκύμνον λέοντος εἶπεν, τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ γέννησιν ἐκ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως βασιλέα γενόμενον ἔδειξεν. οὐκ ἐσιώπησεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ φησιν· «ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης». Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει ἄ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαὶ ἀναβήσεται. ἢ οὖν ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ ἦν τῶν πατέρων γενεὰ ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῇ πεφυτευμένη, ἢ δὲ ῥάβδος ἢ ἐξ αὐτῶν φανερωθεῖσα ἦν ἡ Μαρία, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαβὶδ. τὸ δὲ ἄνθος τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βλαστῆσαν ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ὅπερ προφητεύων ὁ Ἰακῶβ ἔλεγεν· «ἐκ βλαστοῦ υἱέ μου ἀνέβης». The Incarnation of the Holy Spirit is a heterodoxy that may have influenced Victorinus. Hippolytus Romanus, De. Antichr. 7 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-8): Λέγει οὖν ὁ μακάριος Ἰακῶβ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις προαναφωνῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὕτως· „Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσαισαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου· αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· προσκυνήσουσί σε οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου. σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ῥ τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν; οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.; Hippolytus Romanus, De consum. mund. (GCS 1.2, l. 5-10): „Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου. αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου. προσκυνήσουσί σε οἱ υἱοὶ πατρὸς σου. σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα. ἐκ βλαστοῦ μου, υἱέ, ἀνέβης. ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ῥ τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν; οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν“. Prou. 28.1 (p. 282 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): φεύγει ἀσεβῆς μηδενὸς διώκοντος δίκαιος δὲ ὡςπερ λέων πέποιθεν ; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob VI 6.16; CC SL 143, l. 105-106): Hinc enim per salomonem dicitur: iustus quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob X 21 (CC SL 143, l. 11-12): Hinc iterum dicit: iustus quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob XXXI 28; CC SL 143B, l. 35-36): Hinc in eo rursum scriptum est: iustus quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Hom. in Hiez. I 4 (CC SL 142, l. 43-44): Quia uero ipsa sua spontanea mortificatione *contra* aduersa omnia fortitudinem securitatis habet, unde scriptum est: iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit, leo est; (VL; Missale Moz.; PL 85, 324C): Fugit impius nemine persequente: iustus autem quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit; et v. 30.30 (p. 227 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): σκύμνος λέοντος ἰσχυρότερος κτηνῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται οὐδὲ καταπτήσσει κτήνος; (VL; Cod. 160; p. 21 Caspari): catulus leonis fortior iumentis qui non aueritur neque formidat iumentum; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Faust. XII 42 (CSEL 25, 368, l. 25-26): causa quippe reddita est, quare catulus, in cuius laude alibi scriptum est: catulus leonis fortior iumentis. Hippolytus Romanus, Frag. in Prou. 73 (Cod. Coislin; p. 93, l. 1-3 Richard): «Ὁς οὐκ ἀναστρέφεται οὐδὲ καταπτήσσει κτήνοσ. Ὁ Χριστὸς γὰρ ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνοσ. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ λέων κοιμώμενος μὴ θροεῖσθαι, μέγα πεποιοῦσ ἐν ἰσχύι. Hippolytus Romanus, Ben. Isaac. et Iacob. 70 (PO 27, l. 8-10): «Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσαισαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου, αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου, ναὶ τοῦτο εὐλογία φαίνεται εἶναι. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.4, n. 40.

Hippolytus, Christ was leonine for his glory and royalty. Victorinus perhaps so deduces from the Roman's comparing Christ-as-Lamb-victim with his state as glorious, royal lion;¹⁶⁰⁷ since it is by virtue of his rising from the dead that he transforms from one to the other, perhaps influenced by Origen or Cyprian.¹⁶⁰⁸

¹⁶⁰⁷ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 6 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-7): Τοῦ μὲν οὖν κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον ὡς λέοντος προκεκηρυγμένου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίχριστον ὁμοίως λέοντα προανηγόρευσαν αἱ γραφαὶ διὰ τὸ τυραννικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ βίαιον. κατὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι βούλεται ὁ πλάνος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ. λέων μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ λέων μὲν ὁ ἀντίχριστος. βασιλεὺς ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπίγειος ὁ ἀντίχριστος.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Cf. however Origenes, *Expl. in Rom.* VII 17 (GLB 34. 638, l. 116): VeruMTamen Dominus Iesus quem plurimis sed bonis et salutaribus inuenimus nominibus compellari | mirum fortasse uideatur cur in hoc loco quem de Esaia profeta sumsit apostolus lapis offensionis et petra scandali nominetur; cum utique bono Domino et boni patris filio quaecumque bona et salutaria uidentur aptanda sint ut pax et iustitia et ueritas et ostium quo introitur ad patrem et pastor et leo de tribu Iuda uel catulus leonis qui excitatur a somno uel sanctificatio uel redemptio et cetera huiusmodi quae dignationi eius conuenire uideantur; *Expl. in Rom.* VII 7 (GLB 34. 594, l. 20): Non quo omnino neminem nobis esse dicat aduersarium; alioquin quomodo stabit illud quod dictum est a Petro: 'aduersarius uester diabolus sicut leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem transuoret?' Origenes, *Com. in cant. cant.* (GCS 33, 162, 23-28): οἱς τοῦ ναοῦ τεθεώρηται τῷ βλέποντι <τὸ καταπέτασμα> τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἰσχιζόμενον ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρηθῆναι τὰ ἔνδον, ἐπὶ ὃ ἀναπεσῶν κοιμηθεὶς ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐγερθῆ. —Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα. Τότε γὰρ <οἱ σύμμορφοι γεγεννημένοι τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ> παραλήψονται παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθ' ὁμοιωμάτων χρυσόν, πληθυνθήσονται τῷ χρυσίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ. He likewise interprets Num. 23.24 (p. 258 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἰδοὺ λαὸς ὡς σκύμνος ἀναστήσεται καὶ ὡς λέων γαυριωθήσεται οὐ κοιμηθήσεται ἕως φάγη θήραν καὶ αἶμα τραυματιῶν πίεται ἰδοὺ λαὸς ὡς σκύμνος ἀναστήσεται καὶ ὡς λέων γαυριωθήσεται οὐ κοιμηθήσεται ἕως φάγη θήραν καὶ αἶμα τραυματιῶν πίεται; and 24.9 (p. 260 Hanhart 1): κατακλιθεὶς ἀνεπαύσατο ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος τίς ἀναστήσει αὐτόν οἱ εὐλογοῦντές σε εὐλόγηται καὶ οἱ καταρώμενοί σε κεκατήρηνται (equivalent to Gen. 49. 9): Hom. in Num. 16.8-9 (GCS 30, 150-151) (a rapprochement with Apoc. 5.5) and 17.6 (GCS 30, 166-167). Origenes, *Com. in Io.* I 23 (142; SChr 120, l. 3-9): τὸ γὰρ «Ἰούδα, σὲ αἰνέσαισαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου· αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος· τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν;» Οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστηκότα δὲ καιρὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς λέξι παραστήσαι πῶς τὰ τῷ Ἰούδα λεγόμενα περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν. Especially Origenes, *Com. in Io.* I 23 (142; SChr 120, l. 6): ἀδελφοί σου· αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· σκύμνος λέοντος Ἰούδα· ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης· ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος· τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν;» Origenes, *Com. in Io.* X 32 (208; SChr 120, l. 4-6): μένων δυνάμεων καὶ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐα ἐπὶ ὄνων φέρεσθαι καὶ καμήλων λέγεται διὰ τούτων· «Ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ λέων καὶ σκύμνος, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων πετομένων, οἱ ἔφερον ἐπὶ ὄνων καὶ καμήλων τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτῶν.» Πευστέον δὲ πάλιν τῶν ψιλῆ τῇ λέξει. Origenes, *Com. in Io.* XIII 26 (156; SChr 120, l. 4-5): ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πάχη αὐτῶν ἐκμυλεῖ, καὶ ταῖς βολίσιν αὐτοῦ κατατοξεύσει ἐχθρόν· καὶ κατακλιθεὶς ἀνεπαύσατο ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκύμνος· τίς ἀναστήσει αὐτόν; οἱ εὐλογοῦντές σε εὐλόγηται, καὶ οἱ καταρώμενοί σε κεκατήρηνται. Origenes, *Hom. in Num.* 16.8 (CB 30, 150, l. 26): Post haec: "ecce" inquit "populus sicut catulus leonis exsurget, et sicut leo exsultabit". Origenes, *Hom. in Num.* 16.8 (CB 30, 150, l. 27-151, l. 15): In his mihi uidetur confidentiam populi describere credentis in Christo et libertatem, quam habet in fide, et exultationem, quam gerit in spe. Comparatur enim 'catulo leonis', dum tendit ad perfectionem laetus et velox; 'leoni' vero confertur, cum iam obtinet, quae perfecta sunt. 'Sicut' enim 'leo' et 'catulus leonis' nullum animal, nullam bestiam timent, sed sunt iis cuncta subiecta, ita et perfecto Christiano, qui 'tollit crucem suam et sequitur Christum', qui potest dicere: "mihi enim mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo", cuncta subiecta sunt, cuncta calcantur. Despiciunt enim et contemnit omnia,

1. 5-6. **ad patiendum pro hominibus tamquam agnus ad occisionem adductus est.** Cf. Act.

8.32;¹⁶⁰⁹ Is. 53.7.¹⁶¹⁰ For Act. 8.32 the Vetus Latina generally has “tamquam ouis ad

occisionem ductus est”, albeit for (exactly the same Greek but slightly differing Old Latin of)

quae in hoc mundo sunt, et imitatur eum, qui ‘leo de tribu Iuda’ et ‘catulus leonis’ dicitur, quia sicut ipse ‘lux’ est ‘mundi’ et discipulis suis dedit, ut et ipsi essent ‘lux mundi’, ita et, cum ipse sit ‘leo et catulus leonis’, etiam credentibus in se nomen ‘leonis et catuli leonis’ adscribit. Vide autem quia evidenter non de illo, qui tunc erat, populo, sed de hoc, qui futurus erat, ista dicuntur; ait enim: “ecce, populus sicut catulus leonis exsurget, et sicut leo exsultabit”. Exsurrecturum dicit populum utique, qui futurus erat. Nam si de eo diceret, quem videbat, dixisset sine dubio: ecce, populus sicut catulus leonis exsurrexit. Sed certum est quia de illo populo dicat, de quo et in Psalmis scriptum est: “et adnuntiabunt iustitiam eius populo, qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus”. Est ergo populus hic ‘catulus leonis’, dum adhuc ‘tamquam nuper geniti infantes rationabile et sine dolo lac cupiunt’; ‘leo’ autem ‘exsultans’, cum ‘vir effectus, quae parvuli erant, deposuit’. “Et dormietis et non erit, qui vos exterreat”. Et Solomon in Proverbiis dixit: “si enim sederis, sine timore eris; et si dormieris, libenter somnum capies; et non timebis terrorem supervenientem tibi neque impetus impiorum supervenientes”. Haec ille dixit de iusto et sapiente viro et haec in benedictione dicuntur: “dormietis, et non erit, qui vos exterreat”. Si enim iustus efficiar, nemo me exterrere potest; nihil timeo aliud, si Deum timeam; “iustus” enim, inquit “confidit ut leo” et ideo non timet leonem diabolum nec ‘draconem’ Satanam nec ‘angelos eius’, sed dicit secundum David: “non timebo a timore nocturno, a iaculo volante per diem et a negotio perambulante in tenebris, a ruina et daemone meridiano”, ne forte ‘offendamus ad lapidem pedem nostrum’, usque quo veniamus ad locum repromissionis sanctorum, per Christum Dominum nostrum, ‘cui est honor et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen’.

Origenes, Com. in Cant. II (GCS 33, 162, l. 12-13): Cum enim ‘recubans dormierit ut leo et sicut catulus leonis’ et post haec ‘suscitaverit’ eum pater et resurrexerit a mortuis, si qui fuerint ‘conformes resurrectionis eius’, iam non in ‘similitudine auri’, id est non in rerum corporalium cultu manebunt, sed aurum verum ab ipso percipient quaerentes et sperantes ‘non ea, quae videntur’, sed ‘quae non videntur’, ‘nec quae in terris sunt’, sed quae in caelis, ‘ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens’, et dicent quia “et si cognovimus Christum secundum carnem aliquando, sed nunc iam non novimus”. Recumbens requiescet ut leo et sicut catulus leonis; quis suscitabit eum?” Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 63.6.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 84-89): In benedictione quoque Iudae hoc idem significatur, ubi et illic Christi figura exprimitur, quod a fratribus suis laudari et adorari haberet, quod inimicorum dorsa cedentium atque fugientium manibus quibus crucem pertulit et mortem uicit compressurus fuisset quodque ipse sit leo de tribu Iuda et recubet dormiens in passione et surgat et sit ipse spes gentium.

Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 63.6.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 90-91): Quibus scriptura divina adiungit et dicit: lauabit in uino stolam suam et in sanguine uuae amictum suum. Quando autem sanguis uuae dicitur, quid aliud quam uinum calicis dominici sanguis ostenditur? This is a *de facto* rapprochement with Apoc. 5.5 (*i.e.* “the lion of the tribe of Judah”, a possible allusion to Gen. 49.8-9 in a universal sense); but Christ’s victory (*cf.* 2 Tim. 1.10 (p. 551 Nestle-Aland): φανερωθεισαν δε νυν δια της επιφανειας του σωτηρος ημων Χριστου Ιησου, καταργησαντος μεν τον θανατον φωτισαντος δε ζωην και αφθαρσιαν δια του ευαγγελιου; 1 Cor. 15.26-27: εσχατος εχθρος καταργειται ο θανατος· παντα γαρ υπεταξεν υπο τους ποδας αυτου) is bound to interpreting Christ’s hands stretched on the cross as αι χειρες σου επι νωτου των εχθρων σου (Gen. 49.8), not τις εγερει αυτον; (Gen. 49.9). Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 57; 1.4, n. 40, 41, 42.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Act. 8.32 (p. 344 Nestle-Aland): η δε περιοχη της γραφης ην ανεγινωσκεν ην αυτη ως πρόβατον επι σφαγην ηχθη, και ως αμνος εναντιον του κειροντος αυτον αφωνος, ουτως ουκ ανοιγει το στομα αυτου; (VL; Cod. 50; p. 23 Belsheim): ordo autem scripturae quam legebat erat haec Sicut ouis ad occisionem addu(ctu)s est, et sicut agnus coram tondentem eum sine uoce, sic non aperuit os suum; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 18 Belsheim): Erat autem circumstantia scripturae, quam legebat, haec: Tamquam ouis ad occisionem ductus est et sicut agnus coram tondente se sine uoce, sic non aperuit os; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 222, l. 21): Locus autem scripturae. quam legebat. erat hic. Tamquam obis ad occisionem ductus est. et sicut agnus coram tondentem se sine uoce. sic non aperuit os suum.

¹⁶¹⁰ Is. 53.7 (p. 639 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ως πρόβατον επι σφαγην ηχθη και ως αμνος εναντιον του κειροντος αυτον αφωνος ουτως ουκ ανοιγει το στομα αυτου; (VL; p. 609 Sabatier 2): sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est.

Is. 53.7:¹⁶¹¹ “sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est”.¹⁶¹² The former has surely influenced Victorinus’ rendering Apoc. 5.6 (Old Latin varying "agnum...quasi/ta<n/m>quam occisum")¹⁶¹³ by “agnum tamquam occisum”;¹⁶¹⁴ where in the former *tamquam* is equivalent to *quasi*, rather than *sicut* as here. Yet below, Victorinus has “quasi occisus”,¹⁶¹⁵ according with Io. 10.17-18, whereby the Good Shepherd lays down and assumes his life again voluntarily, *for the sake of the sheep*.

l. 7-8. **Sed quia mortem deuicit.** Echoes “deuincendam...mortem” above, perhaps suggesting Christ as the Lion of Judah.¹⁶¹⁶ **et praeuenit carnificis officium.** The expression is likely borrowed from Tertullian, or his source: “praeuento carnificis officio”.¹⁶¹⁷ *Praeuenire* can mean to *outstrip*, *prevent* or *anticipate*.¹⁶¹⁸ The *carnifex* here must be the devil, since Christ undoubtedly underwent mortal death on the cross. But he *outstrips* the actual death of the soul, as suggested by **quasi occisus est dictus**.

l. 8-9. **Hic ergo aperit.** פתח, *p th h*, *open*, in Hebrew also means in various forms to *reveal* or *loose*.¹⁶¹⁹ It may also refer to opening sealed documents.¹⁶²⁰ For *the heavens* or *eyes to be*

¹⁶¹¹ Is. 53.7 (): ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη.

¹⁶¹² Is. 53.7 (VL: p. 609 Sabatier 2): sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est. Is. 53.7 (p. 639 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

¹⁶¹³ Apoc. 5.6 (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640C): Et vidi :et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, agnum stantem quasi occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem :qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi per omnem terram; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 569C): Et vidi :et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium :et in medio seniorum agnum stantem tanquam occisum :habentem cornua septem :et oculos septem : qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi in omnem terram; (VL; Primasius Hadrumentinus, Com. in Apoc. II 5 (CC SL 92, l. 538-540; p. 936 Haussleiter): In medio enim ecclesia est quod sequitur et describit, dicens: Agnum stantem quasi occisum.

¹⁶¹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.1 (SChr 423, 74, l. 11-12).

¹⁶¹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 74, l. 8).

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¹⁶¹⁷ Tertullianus, Apol. 21 (CC SL 1, l. 101; p. 51 Waltzing): Nam spiritum cum uerbo sponte dimisit, praeuento carnificis officio.

¹⁶¹⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praeuenio* I. *to come before, precede, get the start of, to outstrip, anticipate, to prevent*, 1437.

¹⁶¹⁹ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, פתח, 834-835.

opened can mean to experience God's direct revelation.¹⁶²¹ When Ezra opens the scroll of the Law, he and the priests read from it, while translating its sense (from Hebrew to Aramaic) to the people. But to *open a book* in Jewish literary vocabulary is to *reveal its sense*, even to *comment upon it*.¹⁶²² **et resignat.** Cf. Apoc. 3.7-8;¹⁶²³ and Matth. 16.19;¹⁶²⁴ for the motif of opening and closing. For Origen, while the Lamb of the tribe of Judah "should come to open the sealed book";¹⁶²⁵ who "[in] 'opening the scriptures' kindled the hearts of the disciples" (on the road to Emmaus, after the Resurrection: Luc. 24.32);¹⁶²⁶ whose "speech provokes listeners to subtle and spiritual understanding...to know nothing fleshly in the Law".¹⁶²⁷ **quod ipse signauerat testamentum** *i.e.* a sealed document of which Christ is owner and testator *i.e.* Christ the Word. The implication of ownership and right to dispose of his property as he pleases echoes Jesus' like willing disposal of his life in Io. 10.18.

¹⁶²⁰ Jer. 32 / 39 (LXX).14 (p. 724 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος παντοκράτωρ λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τοῦτο καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον καὶ θήσεις αὐτὸ εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὀστράκινον ἵνα διαμείνη ἡμέρας πλείους.

¹⁶²¹ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, ΠΠΞ, 835.

¹⁶²² Bacher, Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur 1, 162. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 74.

¹⁶²³ Apoc. 3.7-8 (p. 638 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· τάδε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει, καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει· 8. οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα· ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἠνεωγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν· ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν, καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL86, 644B): Angelo Philadelphiae ecclesiae scribe: Haec dicit Sanctus, et Verus, qui habet clauem David: qui aperit, et nemo claudit: claudit, et nemo aperuit. Scio opera tua, et dedi coram te ostium apertum, quod nemo potest claudere: quia modicam habes uirtutem, et seruasti uerbum meum, et non negasti nomen meum; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 575C): Angelo Philadelphiae Ecclesie scribe. Hec dicit sanctus et uerus qui habet clauem David. Qui aperit et nemo claudit : et claudit :et nemo aperit. Scio opera tua: ecce dedi coram te ostium apertum: quod nemo potest claudere: quia modicam habes uirtutem: et seruasti uerbum meum: et non negasti nomen meum.

¹⁶²⁴ Matth. 16.19 (p. 45 Nestle-Aland); δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς; (VL, Cod. e: p. 5 Belsheim): Et tibi dabo clauem regni caelorum. Et quodcumque ligaueris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis : et quodcumque solueris super terram, erit solutum et in caelis.

¹⁶²⁵ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.4 (GCS 29, 266, l. 20-23): Unde ostenditur non solum studium nobis adhibendum esse ad discendas litteras sacras, verum et supplicandum Domino et 'diebus ac noctibus' obsecrandum, ut veniat agnus 'ex tribu Iuda' et ipse accipiens 'librum signatum' dignetur aperire.

¹⁶²⁶ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.4 (GCS 29, 266, l. 23-25): Ipse est enim, qui 'scripturas adaperiens' accendit corda discipulorum, ita ut dicant: "nonne cor nostrum erat ardens intra nos, cum adaperiret nobis scripturas?"

¹⁶²⁷ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.4 (GCS 29, 267, l. 5-9): Quia *ergo* et nunc sermo eius ad subtiliorem et spiritalem intelligentiam provocat auditores et vult eos nihil carnale in lege sentire, dicit ut, qui vult 'auferri velamen' de corde suo, 'convertatur ad Dominum'; non quasi ad carnem Dominum - est enim et hoc, quia "Verbum caro factum est" -, sed quasi ad spiritum Dominum.

l. 9-11. **Hoc** *i.e.* Christ's harrowing of hell-solving the Old Testament, necessitating its perpetuation as enigma. **sciens...Moyses**. Cf. Ex. 33.13: ¹⁶²⁸ Moses is the prophet who *sought to know* God face to face, albeit, for Tertullian, imperfectly, ¹⁶²⁹ as in a mirror or enigma (1 Cor. 13.32).¹⁶³⁰ **legislator** *i.e.* νομοθέτης, cf. Ps. 9.21: ¹⁶³¹ a common patristic circumlocution for Moses.¹⁶³² *Legislator* is rare before Victorinus, cf. the Old Latin of Ps. 9.21.¹⁶³³ Moses is mortal author of the Law and (knower of) its hidden meaning, inspired by Christ the Word, which is equivalent to its necessarily being kept obscure: **quod oportebat esse signatum et celatum**. For Origen, Moses, who had placed a veil over Israel's comprehending the Law (2 Cor. 3.13-15)¹⁶³⁴ and deliberately covered and obscured its meaning.¹⁶³⁵ **usque**. Cf. 2 Cor. 3.15:¹⁶³⁶ "usque in hodiernum". **ad aduentum passionis eius**.

¹⁶²⁸ Ex. 33.13 (p. Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): εἰ οὖν εὗρηκα χάριν ἐναντίον σου ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτὸν γνωστῶς ἴδω σε ὅπως ἂν ᾖ εὗρηκῶς χάριν ἐναντίον σου καὶ ἵνα γινῶ ὅτι λαὸς σου τὸ ἔθνος τὸ μέγα τοῦτο; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 189 Robert): Si *ergo* inueni gratiam in conspectu tuo, ostende mihi faciem te ipsam manifeste, ut uideam te, ut sim inueniens gratiam in conspectu tuo, et ut sciam te quia populus tuus est gens et magna. Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 14 (CC SL 2, l. 3-5): Cum enim moyses in aegypto desiderasset domini conspectum dicens: si *ergo* inueni gratiam coram te, manifesta mihi te, ut cognoscenter uideam te.

¹⁶²⁹ Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 14 (CC SL 2, l. 59-62): Denique si sic moysi locutus esset dominus ut et moyses faciem eius cominus sciret, quomodo statim atque *Ibidem* desiderat faciem eius uidere quam, quia uiderat, non desideraret?

¹⁶³⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 14 (CC SL 2, l. 56-59): Et ipse quidem dominus, si forte coram ad faciem loquebatur, non tamen ut est, homo faciem eius uideret, nisi forte in speculo, in aenigmate.

¹⁶³¹ Ps. 9.21 (p. 8 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): κατὰσθησον κύριε νομοθέτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γνώτωσαν ἔθνη ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν διάψαλμα.

¹⁶³² *E.g.* "the lawgiver and the prophets": Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 127.1 (l. 1-2 Goodspeed): Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν εἰρημένα τῷ νομοθέτῃ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις. Of the Essenes' revering Moses as lawgiver, next to God: Hippolytus Romanus, Refut. om. haer. .IX 25.1 (PTS 25, l. 3-4): Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις ἀκριβέστατοι καὶ δίκαιοι· δικάζουσι δὲ συνελθόντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἐκατόν, τὸ δὲ ὀρισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκίνητον. τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν νομοθέτην μετὰ τὸν θεὸν <μάλιστα>, καὶ εἴ τις εἰς τοῦτον βλασφημήσει, κολάζεται <θανάτῳ>; cf. IX18. (PTS 25, l. 1-4) Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἀρχῆθεν ἐν ἡν ἔθος· εἶς γὰρ ὁ τούτοις δοθεὶς παρὰ θεοῦ διδάσκαλος Μωσῆς (κ)αὶ εἶς ὁ διὰ τούτου <δοθεὶς> νόμος, μία δὲ ἔρημος χώρα καὶ ἐν ὄρος τ(ὸ) Σιν(ᾶ)· εἶς γὰρ ὁ τούτοις νομοθετήσας θεός.

¹⁶³³ Ps. 9.21 (VL; Cod. 300;p. 11 Bianchini): Constitue, Domine, legislatorem super eos: sciant gentes, quoniam homines sunt; (VL; Cod. 303; p. 22 Sabatier 2): Constitue Domine legislatorem super eos: sciant gentes quoniam homines sunt; (VL; Cod. ; p.): Constitue, Domine, legislatorem super eos, ut sciant gentes quoniam homines sunt.

¹⁶³⁴ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.1 (GCS 29, 262, l. 15-18): Et iterum paulo post dicit: "et non sicut Moyses velamen ponebat super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Istrahel in faciem vultus eius. Obtusi sunt enim sensus eorum; usque in hodiernum enim, cum legitur Moyses, velamen est positum super cor eorum".

¹⁶³⁵ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.2 (GCS 29, 264, l. 16-18): Evidens igitur figura est, quomodo gloriosa efficitur facies Moysi; habent enim gloriam ea, quae loquitur, sed haec tegitur et occultatur et est omnis gloria eius intrinsecus.

Origen's Moses looks to "when the time came that what he had concealed be revealed by the Spirit".¹⁶³⁷ The Passion thus *breaks* the seal, and thereby opens the meaning, of the covenant/testament.

1. 11-12. **uelauit faciem suam et sic est populo locutus.** Cf. 2 Cor. 3.15;¹⁶³⁸ Ex. 34.35.¹⁶³⁹ 2 Cor. 3.13-16¹⁶⁴⁰ rewrites Ex. 34.29-33. Here the original need Moses has, to veil his face, has to do with protecting the people from the glory which the Lord's presence imparts (Ex. 34.30, 33-35), which Paul transmutes into a need to obscure the (fading) glory of the Law (2 Cor. 3.13).¹⁶⁴¹ The Hebrew and Greek of Ex. 34.33-34 has some ambiguity, since **עד**, 'ad / ἕως can mean either *while* or *until*.¹⁶⁴² The LXX and extant VL of v. 32 has Moses veil himself when *done* speaking to Israel.¹⁶⁴³ V. 34 has him remove the veil when speaking with the

¹⁶³⁶ 2 Cor. 3.15 (VL; Cod. 75; p. 200 Tischendorf): sed usque in hodiernum cum legitur moyses uelamen est positum super cor eorum.

¹⁶³⁷ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 12.3 (GCS 29, 266, l. 1-4): Gaudere etiam mihi pro hoc videtur Moyses quia et ipse quodammodo nunc deponit 'velamen conversus ad Dominum', cum euidenter, quae praedixit, implentur, vel cum tempus advenit, ut per Spiritum, quae obtexerat, reuelentur.

¹⁶³⁸ 2 Cor. 3.15 (VL; Cod. 75; p. 200 Tischendorf): sed usque in hodiernum cum legitur moysesm uelamen est positum super cor eorum.

¹⁶³⁹ Ex. 34.35 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ εἶδον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσῆ ὅτι δεδόξασται καὶ περιέθηκεν Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ ἕως ἂν εἰσέλθῃ συλλαλεῖν αὐτῷ; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 192 Robert): Et uiderunt filii Istrahel quia glorificata est facies Moysi: et circumdedit Moyses uelamen in faciem suam, usque dum introiret conloqui cum eo.

¹⁶⁴⁰ 2 Cor. 3.13-16 (p. 476-477 Nestle-Aland): καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου. ἀλλὰ ἐπαρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται· ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται· ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 35 Belsheim): et sicut Moysis ponebat uelamen super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Israël in faciem eius, quod euacuatur. Sed obtusi sunt sensus eorum. Vsque in hodiernum enim diem idipsum uelamen in lectione ueteris testamenti manet non reuelatum, quoniam in Christo euacuatur. Sed usque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur Moyses, uelamen est positum supra cor eorum. Cum autem conuersus fuerit ad Dominum, auferetur uelamen.

¹⁶⁴¹ Boyarin suggests that Paul understood the veil to obscure from Israel the fact that *the literal meaning* of Law was destined to ultimately fade away (εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου / euacuatur: "at the end (of the Law) which was fading"): Boyarin, Paul: a Radical Jew, 98-103.

¹⁶⁴² Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, **עד**, 728-729. Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ἕως I. *until, till* III. *while, so long as*, 631. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *siquando* I. *if ever*, 1710.

¹⁶⁴³ Ex. 34.33 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσεν λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτούς ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμμα; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 192 Robert): Et mox quieuit loqui ad eos, inposuit in faciem suam uelamen.

Lord, until (or potentially *while*) coming out to speak to Israel.¹⁶⁴⁴ This occurs for Moses only to veil himself again in v. 35,¹⁶⁴⁵ until (or *while*) apparently speaking with "him" *i.e.* God. But the matter clearly was not settled: doubtless informed by Paul's rendering the Law as read to the enveloped heart of Israel, the Vulgate translates this as "siquando", a definite interpretation which leaves no ambiguity, while *יְתִיב*, *itō*, "with him" *i.e.* God, becomes "to them" *i.e.* the children of Israel.¹⁶⁴⁶ The motif of the veil of Moses' *covering the hearts of Jews* who read/heard the Law literally is common in the ante-Nicene fathers.¹⁶⁴⁷ It may be

¹⁶⁴⁴ Ex. 34.34 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἡνίκα δ' ἂν εἰσεπορεύετο Μωυσῆς ἔναντι κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ περιηρεῖτο τὸ κάλυμμα ἕως τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐλάλει πᾶσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὅσα ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 192 Robert): Quod ingressus ad Dominum, et loquens cum eo, auferebat donec exiret, et tunc loquebatur ad filios Israēl omnia quæ sibi fuerant imperata.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Ex. 34.35 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ εἶδον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ πρόσωπον Μωυσῆ ὅτι δεδόξασται καὶ περιέθηκεν Μωυσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ ἕως ἂν εἰσέλθῃ συλλαλεῖν αὐτῷ; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 192 Robert): Et uiderunt filii Istrahel quia glorificata est facies Moysi: et circumdedit Moyses uelamen in faciem suam, usque dum introiret conloqui cum eo.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Ex. 34.35 (p. 145-146 Eliger-Rudolph): *יְתִיב בְּאָזְנוֹ לְיְהוָה*: the Hebrew reads clearly "until he came to speak with him" *i.e.* the Lord. Which the Vulgate choses to read as "if ever he spoke to them": (Vg: p. 75 Hetzenauer): Quod ingressus ad Dominum, et loquens cum eo, auferebat donec exiret, et tunc loquebatur ad filios Israēl omnia quæ sibi fuerant imperata. Qui uidebant faciem egredientis Moysi esse cornutam, sed operiebat ille rursus faciem suam, siquando loquebatur ad eos.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 11.9 (CC SL 1, 613, l. 3-5): Nos *contra* sic distinguendum dicimus: in quibus deus, dehinc: aeuī huius excaecauit mentes infidelium. In quibus: iudaeis infidelibus, in quibus opertum est aliquibus euangelium adhuc sub uelamine moysei; Adu. Marc. V 11.6 (CC SL 1, 612, l. 3-28): Quid est *ergo* adhuc uelatum in moyse, quod pertineat ad paulum, si christus creatoris a moyse praedicatus nondum uenit? quomodo, iam apertius et uelata adhuc denotantur corda iudaeorum, nondum exhibitis praedicationibus moysi, id est de christo, in quo eum intellegere deberent? Tertullianus – Aduersus Marcionem quid ad apostolum christi alterius, si dei sui sacramenta iudaei non intellegebant, nisi quia uelamen cordis illorum ad caecitatem, *qua* non perspexerant christum moysei, pertinebat? denique quod sequitur: cum uero conuerterit ad deum, auferetur uelamen, hoc iudaeo proprie dicit, ad quem et est uelamen moysei, qui, cum transierit in fidem christi, intellegit moysen de christo praedicasse. Ceterum quomodo auferetur uelamentum creatoris in christo dei alterius, cuius sacramenta uelasse non potuit creator, ignoti uidelicet ignota? dicit *ergo* nos iam aperta facie – utique cordis, quod uelatum est in iudaeis – contemplantes christum eadem imagine transfigurari a gloria, *qua* scilicet et moyses transfigurabatur a gloria domini, in gloriam. Ita corporalem moysei inluminacionem de congressu domini et corporale uelamen de infirmitate populi proponens et spiritalem reuelacionem et spiritalem claritatem in christo superducens, – tamquam a domino, inquit, spirituum – totum ordinem moysei figuram ignorati apud iudaeos, agniti uero apud nos christi fuisse testatur. Scimus quosdam sensus ambiguitatem pati posse de sono pronuntiationis aut de modo distinctionis, cum duplicitas earum intercedit. Hanc marcion captauit sic legendo: in quibus deus aeuī huius, ut creatorem ostendens deum huius aeuī, alium suggerat deum alterius aeuī. Nos *contra* sic distinguendum dicimus: in quibus deus, dehinc: aeuī huius excaecauit mentes infidelium. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. I 4 (CC SL 3, l. 14 -18): Item ad corinthios ii: obtusi sunt sensus eorum usque in hunc diem hoc eodem uelamento in lectione ueteris testamenti manente, quod non reuelatur, quia in christo euacuatur: et usque in hodiernum, si quando legitur moyses, uelamentum est super cor eorum. Mox autem conuersus est ad dominum, aufertur uelamentum. Origenes, Com. in Io. X 30.185 (SChr 157, 1-3): Πλὴν πορευθέντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εὐρίσκουσιν τὴν δεδεμένην ὄνον καὶ λύουσιν, διὰ τὸ ἐπικείμενον κάλυμμα τῷ νόμῳ Ἰησοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 11.5 (CC SL 1, 611, l. 23): cum dicit: sed obtusi sunt sensus mundi, – non utique creatoris, sed populi, qui in mundi est; de israhele enim dicit: ad hodiernum usque uelamen id ipsum in corde eorum – figuram tum ostendit fuisse uelamen faciei in moyse uelaminis cordis in

Origen who first describes *Moses* as explicitly veiled when *he* reads the Law to the people (Ex. 34.33).¹⁶⁴⁸ Victorinus alone witnesses to such a strong early Latin interpretation, likely under Origen's influence.

1. 12-13. **ostendens uelata esse uerba praedicationis.** As often in Victorinus, *praedictio* here has the sense of *prophecy*, as well as *preaching*, hence *the Law / scripture*, perhaps equivalent to οἱ προφηῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος...ἐπροφήτευσαν (Matth. 11.13).¹⁶⁴⁹ Origen had written that the gospel of Christ had caused the lifting of the veil (*reuelatio*) from the sense of Moses-as-the-Law.¹⁶⁵⁰ **usque ad aduentum temporis Christi.** Perhaps broadly equivalent to

populo, quia nec nunc apud illos perspiciatur moyses corde, sicut nec facie tunc. Origenes, De princ. I 1.2 (CB 22, 18, l. 9-12): Apostolus quoque ita dicit: "Usque in hodiernum autem, cum legitur Moyses, velamen est positum super cor eorum; cum autem conversus quis fuerit ad dominum, auferetur velamen; ubi autem domini spiritus, ibi libertas". Donec enim quis non se converterit ad intellegentiam spiritalem, 'velamen est positum super cor' eius, quo velamine, id est intellegentia crassiore, scriptura ipsa velari dicitur vel putatur; et hoc est quod ait superpositum esse velamen vultui Moysi, cum loqueretur ad populum, id est, cum lex vulgo recitatur. Si autem 'convertamus nos ad dominum', ubi est et verbum dei, et ubi spiritus sanctus revelat scientiam spiritalem, tunc 'auferetur velamen', et tunc 'revelata facie' in scripturis sanctis 'gloriam domini speculamur'. Origenes, Con. Cels. IV 50 (SChr 147, l. 1-7): Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴπερ ὁ Μωϋσέως νόμος μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐγγεγραμμένον δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλούμενον, οὐκ ἂν ὁ προφήτης εὐχόμενος ἔλεγε τῷ θεῷ· «Ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, καὶ κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου.» Νυνὶ δὲ ἤδει ὅτι ἐστὶ τι ἀκάλυμμα ἀγνοίας ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων καὶ μὴ συνιέντων τὰ τροπολογούμενα ἐπικείμενον. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 11.8 (CC SL 1, 612, l. 5-11); quomodo, iam apertius et uelata adhuc denotantur corda iudaeorum, nondum exhibitis praedicationibus moysi, id est de christo, in quo eum intellegere deberent? quid ad apostolum christi alterius, si dei sui sacramenta iudaei non intellegebant, nisi quia uelamen cordis illorum ad caecitatem, *qua* non perspexerant christum moysi, pertinebat? denique quod sequitur: cum uero conuerterit ad deum, auferetur uelamen, hoc iudaeo proprie dicit, ad quem et est uelamen moysi, qui, cum transierit in fidem christi, intellegit moysen de christo praedicasse. Origenes, Com. in Matth. XI 14 (SChr 162, l. 66-71): οἱ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖνον «γράμμα» περιέποντες μόνον οὐκ ἦσαν φυτεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παρώσαντος αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ κάλυμμα ἐπιθέντος αὐτῇ, ἰσχύον ἐν ἐκείνοις ὅσον οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον πρὸς τὸν κύριον· «ἐὰν γὰρ τις ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς τὸν κύριον, περαιοῦται τὸ κάλυμμα ὃ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν.»

¹⁶⁴⁸Origenes, De princ. I 1.2 (CB 22, 18, l. 12): Donec enim quis non se converterit ad intellegentiam spiritalem, 'velamen est positum super cor' eius, quo velamine, id est intellegentia crassiore, scriptura ipsa velari dicitur vel putatur; et hoc est quod ait superpositum esse velamen vultui Moysi, cum loqueretur ad populum, id est, cum lex vulgo recitatur.

¹⁶⁴⁹Matth. 11.13 (p. 27 Nestle-Aland): πάντες γὰρ οἱ προφηῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφήτευσαν; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 42 Wordsworth): Omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad Joannem prophetaverunt; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 13 Belsheim): Omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad Johannem prophetaverunt; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 14 Belsheim): Omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad Johannem prophetauerunt; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 25 Scrivener): omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad iohannem prophetarunt; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 13 Belsheim): Omnes enim prophetae et lex usque ad Iohannem prophetaverunt.

¹⁶⁵⁰Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 4.7 (CB 29, 326, l. 29): Nisi enim uelamen abstulerit euangelium de facie Moysi, non potest uideri uultus eius nec sensus eius intelligi Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 6.1 (CB 29, 358, l. 20): Causam, *qua* haec, quae nobis recitantur, intelligi possint aut non intelligi, breuiter ostendit Apostolus dicens ab eius

ἕως Ἰωάννου / "usque ad Iohannem" (Matth. 11.13), rendered by Tertullian "usque ad iohannis tempora".¹⁶⁵¹

l. 13-15. **Nam et ipsam legem cum legisset populo.** Cf. Heb. 9.19, which Victorinus either imitates from a lost Old Latin rendering of the Greek (λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης ἐντολῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως παντὶ τῷ λαῷ);¹⁶⁵² or deduces from the root meaning of νομός *qua lex* that the Law is *read* aloud by Moses to the people, which is also an interpretation of Heb. 9.19's "every commandment of the law having been *spoken*

oculis posse 'ueteris testamenti uelamen auferri, qui conuersus ad Dominum fuerit'; ex quo sciri uoluit quod quanto minus haec nobis plana sunt, tanto minor est ad Deum nostra conuersio. Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 4.7 (CB 29, 359, l. 2): Et ideo omni uirtute nitendum est, ut ab occupationibus saeculi et a mundanis actibus liberi et ipsas etiam, si fieri potest, superfluas sodalium fabulas relinquentes uerbo Dei operam demus et 'in lege eius meditemur die ac nocte', ut toto corde conuersi reuelatam et apertam Moysi faciem possimus adspicere et maxime in his, quae nunc recitata sunt vel de sacerdotalibus indumentis vel de consecratione pontificis, in quibus talia quaedam dicuntur, ut etiam illum ipsum carnalem Istrahel ab historica intelligentia penitus excludant; et ideo nobis ad haec exponenda non humani ingenii uiribus nitendum est, sed orationibus et precibus ad Deum fuis. Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.1 (CB 29, 262, l. 24): Et nunc enim, sicut dicit Apostolus, "uelamen est positum in lectione ueteris testamenti", et nunc Moyses glorificato uultu loquitur, sed gloriam quae est in uultu eius, non possumus intueri. Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.1 (CB 29, 262, l. 17): Obtusi sunt enim sensus eorum; usque in hodiernum enim, cum legitur Moyses, uelamen est positum super cor eorum". Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.1 (CB 29, 262, l. 28): Verum quia dicit sanctus Apostolus: "id ipsum autem uelamen in lectione ueteris testamenti manet", amputaret nobis omnem intelligentiae spem tanti et talis Apostoli prolata sententia, nisi addidisset: "cum autem quis conuersus fuerit ad Dominum, auferetur uelamen". Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.2 (CB 29, 264, l. 10): Si enim ille, qui adest, qui audit et intentus est et quae audit retractat et discutit et quae assequi non potest, percontatur et discit, uix potest ad libertatem scientiae peruenire: ille, qui abscondit aures suas, ne audiat, et terga in faciem legentis obuertit, quomodo dicendus est uelamen habere superpositum cordi, ad quem ne ipsum quidem uelamen litterae, quo sensus uelatur, qui est sonus uocis, accessit? Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.1 (CB 29, 262, l. 15): Et iterum paulo post dicit: "et non sicut Moyses uelamen ponebat super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Istrahel in faciem uultus eius. Origenes, Hom. in Ex.12.4 (CB 29, 266, l. 11): Videamus ergo, ne non solum, 'cum Moyses legitur', sed et cum Paulus legitur, 'uelamen' sit 'positum super cor' nostrum. Origenes (dubium), Hom. In Reg. 3.5 (CB 33, l. 8): Deprecor autem uos omnes, ut, quoniam sensum tam difficilium rerum conamur aperire et ea, quae 'uelamine' obiecta sunt, ecclesiae auribus pandere - 'in lectione' enim 'ueteris Testamenti', sicut dicit Apostolus, 'uelamen est positum' -, precibus a Domino postuletis, ut dignetur nobis ad se conuersis 'auferre uelamen' etiam de hac 'lectione', quam habemus in manibus, et planius nobis reserare, quae tecta sunt, ut et nos possimus 'reuelata facie' in his, quae lecta sunt, 'gloriam Domini speculari'. Origenes, De princ. IV 1.1 (CB 22, 293, l. 20): Igitur quam poterimus breuiter etiam de hoc adsignabimus ex ipsis diuinis scripturis quae nos competenter mouerint proferentes, id est de Moyseo primo, legislatore gentis Hebraeae, et ex uerbis Iesu Christi, auctoris et principis Christianorum religionis et dogmatis.

¹⁶⁵¹ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV 33.7 (CC SL 1, 531, l. 26-532, l. 1): Didicit ergo/igitur usque ad iohannis tempora atque ita exinde processit adnuntiare regnum dei dicens: lex et prophetae usque ad iohannem; ex quo regnum dei adnuntiatur.

¹⁶⁵² Heb. 9.19 (p. 575 Nestle-Aland): λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης ἐντολῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα τῶν μόσχων καὶ τῶν τράγων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου κοκκίνου καὶ ὕσσώπου αὐτό τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐράντισεν.

(λαληθείσης)", λαλεῖν's being the same verb as used in Ex. 34.34,¹⁶⁵³ which also has Moses *speak* (ἐλάλει πᾶσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ ὅσα ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος / "loquebatur ad filios Israël omnia quae sibi fuerant imperata". This translates the Hebrew קָרָא, *d v r* (the usual verb for *speak*),¹⁶⁵⁴ surely *via* Ex. 24.7 (the tablets' of the Law having been brought down), where Moses *explicitly reads the Law to the people*: τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ / "librum testamenti recitavit in aures populi / uolumen foederis, legit audiente populo".¹⁶⁵⁵ **accepta**. A common Victorinian passivising of the active λαβὼν (Heb. 19.19). **iana sucida**. An interpretation of ἐρίου κοκκίνου, although Dulaey suggests haplography for "coccinea".¹⁶⁵⁶ However, "sucida" suggests raw, unspun wool, possibly *stained with blood*, as the *crimson* of Is. 1.18 suggests for Tertullian.¹⁶⁵⁷ **et sanguine uituli**. Singular whereas Heb. 9.19 has the plural, following Ex. 34.5.¹⁶⁵⁸ Victorinus has rearranged the order of items somewhat. **et aqua aspersionem populum**. Cf. Ex. 24.8,¹⁶⁵⁹ some of whose Old Latin this resembles: "aspersionem populum". **uniuersum**. Cf. Heb. 9.19's

¹⁶⁵³ Ex. 34.34 (p. 147 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἡνίκα δ' ἂν εἰσεπορεύετο Μωυσῆς ἐναντι κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ περιηρεῖτο τὸ κάλυμμα ἕως τοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐλάλει πᾶσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ ὅσα ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 192 Robert): Quod ingressus ad Dominum, et loquens cum eo, auferebat donec exiret, et tunc loquebatur ad filios Israël omnia quae sibi fuerant imperata.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Ex. 34.34 (p. 145 Eliger-Rudolph). Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, קָרָא, 182-183.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Ex. 24.7 (p. 127 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης ἀνέγνω εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν κύριος ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα; (VL; Cod. 102; p. 308 Vercellone): Et sumens librum testamenti recitavit in aures populi. Et dixerunt: Omnia quae locutus est Dominus faciamus et audiemus; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 730C): Assumensque uolumen foederis, legit audiente populo: qui dixerunt: Omnia quae locutus est Dominus, faciemus, et erimus obedientes..

¹⁶⁵⁶ Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 175.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV 10.2 (p. 296 Evans): Nam et in priore ex ipsius domini persona, Etsi fuerint delicta uestra tanquam roseum, uelut niuem exalbabo, etsi tanquam coccinum, uelut lanam exalbabo; in roseo sanguinem ostendens prophetarum, in coccino domini, ut clariorem.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Ex. 24.5 (p. 127 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἐξάπεστειλεν τοὺς νεανίσκους τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ ἔθυσαν θυσίαν σωτηρίου τῷ θεῷ μοσχάρια; (VL; Cod. 102; p. 308 Vercellone): Et dimisit Moyses iuuenes ex filiis Israhel, et adtulerunt holocaustamata, immolauerunt hostiae salutare Domino uitulos; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 730C): Et obtulerunt holocausta, immolaueruntque uictimas pacificas Domino, uitulos.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Ex. 24.8 (p. 127 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκεδάσεν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων; (VL; Cod. 102; p. 308 Vercellone): Sumens autem Moyses a sanguine aspersionem populum et dixit: Ecce sanguis testamenti, quem disposuit Dominus ad uos, omnium uerborum horum; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 730C): Ille uero sumptum sanguinem respersionem in populum, et ait: Hic est sanguis foederis quod pepigit Dominus super cunctis sermonibus his.

πάντα τὸν λαὸν. **dicens**. Cf. this Old Latin of Ex. 24.8.¹⁶⁶⁰ **Hic est sanguis testamenti de quo mandauit ad uos**. A translation of Heb. 9.20¹⁶⁶¹ undoubtedly influenced by the Old Latin of Ex. 24.8. **Dominus**. Translates the κύριος throughout Ex. 24.8 rather than the θεὸς of Heb 9.20. Dulaey detects in the translation the formula *mandare ad uos*,¹⁶⁶² which can certainly mean *commit to one's charge*,¹⁶⁶³ a juridical sense of *executing a will*.

l. 16-18. **Animaduertere oportet igitur hominem diligentem**. The quality of the discerning exegete. **praedicationem uniuersam**. Jerome alters “hominem diligentem praedicationem uniuersam” to “diligenter praedicare et uniuersa”,¹⁶⁶⁴ which changes the sense considerably. Victorinus instructs in the inward, intellectual art of interpretation, while Jerome is more concerned with the outward preaching of hermeneutical Catholicity. **in unum cohaerere**. Victorinus' choice of verb *may* be intended to echo *heres, heir*, above, intimately linked with his notion of Christ as testator and executor of the Last Will and (New within) Old Testament. Etymologically both words are related,¹⁶⁶⁵ and this may be reflected in the more archaic Old Latin spelling of *haeres*.¹⁶⁶⁶ This use of the accusative of motion, “in unum”, is perhaps unique with *cohaerere*, which more often takes the ablative, *cum* or the dative.¹⁶⁶⁷ Perhaps there is a sense of *motion* or *tendency towards i.e.* the eternal possibility of progressive discovery of truth inherent in the exegesis of scripture. Victorinus infers from the integrity of the New-within-Old Testament, that all their prophesying and preaching may be

¹⁶⁶⁰ Ex. 24.8 (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 275C): *dicens: hic est sanguis testamenti. In omnibus preceptis que constituit uobis Dominus alleluia; quod pepigit Dominus uobiscum super cunctis sermonibus his.*

¹⁶⁶¹ Heb. 9.20 (p. 578 Nestle-Aland): λέγων, τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός.

¹⁶⁶² TLL, *mandare*, c. 263, 45; 267, 1; Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 175.

¹⁶⁶³ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *mando* II. Transf. A. In gen., *to commit, consign, enjoin, confide, commend, intrust* any thing to a person or thing, 1107.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Victorinus Poetouienensis, *Com. in Apoc. 5.2* (R. H.; p. 65, l. 4 Haussleiter).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *haereo* I. *to hang or hold fast, to hang, stick, cleave, cling, adhere, be fixed, sit fast, remain close* to any thing or in any manner, 837.

¹⁶⁶⁶ E.g. Gal. 4.7 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 15, l. 18 Morin): *Itaque. iam non est serbus sed filius. , Quod si filius. et haeredes. per deum.*

¹⁶⁶⁷ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *cohaereo* I. *to cling together, to be united*, either of that whose parts cling together, *to cohere*, or of that which cleaves to something else, *to adhere*, 368.

found to refer to one truth, both goal and guide. Which thing Boyarin considers an essence of all allēgoresis.¹⁶⁶⁸

l. 18-19. **Nam nec sufficit legem illam dici.** A slightly odd expression: “illam” is feminine because it refers to “legem”. Yet it is precisely “that” *Law* that cannot merely “be called *law*”. In fact *illa lex* may be an attempt to render ὁ νόμος, the term Origen says Paul uses for the law of Moses¹⁶⁶⁹ (whereas without it it means “[the] natural law”).¹⁶⁷⁰ There is a variation on the Greek of Gal. 4.21, which leads to a consistent reading of the *Vetus Latina*.¹⁶⁷¹ The Greek (usually) translates to something like “Tell me, those wishing to be under the Law, have you not *heard* the Law”. But a variant has ἀναγιγνώσκετε for ἀκούετε.¹⁶⁷² The Old Latin thus translates as “Tell me, those who would be under the Law, have you not *read* the Law”. This could conceivably have been read as “Tell me, those wishing [to be] under (or by) the Law, do you not read [incorrectly the term *i.e. literal*] “law” [when you should read it figuratively]?” The ensuing allegory of Hagar and Sarah (Gal. 4.22-31) would present especial problems for Victorinus, since Gal. 4.24 suggests very strongly that the New and Old Testaments respectively comprise spiritual and and fleshly observation of the Law (*cf.* Gal. 4.29). But Paul's ambivalence may have presented the Poetovian a solution: although Paul

¹⁶⁶⁸ Boyarin writes “I am going to begin to explore how the “Jewish Question” and the “Woman Question” are related historically and typologically in Paul. I will be developing my suggestion that both of these “problems” for western culture are produced by the same metaphysical commitments to an ideal One—*Logos* and phallus—and thus that allegory, the mode of reading which desires to transcend the material differences of language in search of its ideal *Logos*, is essentially, paradigmatically, imbricated in these cultural politics”: *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*, 156-157.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Origenes, *Com. in Rom.* III 7 (4; AGLB 16, 232, l. 109-113): *Moris est apud Graecos nominibus artra praepone quae apud nos possunt articuli nominari. Si quando igitur Mosei legem nominat solitum nomini praemittit articulum; si quando uero naturalem uult intellegi sine articulo nominat legem.*

¹⁶⁷⁰ Origenes, *Com. in Rom.* III 7 (4; AGLB 16, 232, l. 113-118): *Et hoc ergo in loco ubi dicit: 'nunc autem sine lege iustitia Dei manifestata est,' articulum non habet; in sequenti uero ubi dicit: 'testificata a lege et profetis,' secundo in loco legem cum articulo posuit. Si ergo sufficienter patuit de legis appellatione diuersitas, uideamus nunc quae iustitia sine naturali lege manifestetur.*

¹⁶⁷¹ Gal. 4.21 (p. 499 Nestle-Aland): *Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;* (VL; Cod. 75; p.): *dicite mihi qui sub lege uolentes esse legem non legistis;* (VL; Cod. 76; p. 47): *Dicite mihi, qui sub lege uolentes esse legem non legistis;* (VL; Cod. 77; p. 58a): *dicite mihi qui sub lege uultis esse legem non legistis;* (VL; Cod. 78; p. 149 Scrivener): *Dicite mihi qui sub lege uultis esse: legem non legistis.*

¹⁶⁷² Gal. 4.21 (D F G 104; p. 499 Nestle-Aland).

implies spiritual observance of the Law is acceptable, he also unambiguously castigates those who are "under" it *i.e.* the Law both is *and is not* the Law. This is admittedly highly speculative, but it might explain Victorinus' awkward expression. **quoniam et testamentum nominatur.** The subject is probably inferred from "legem illam" *i.e.* (paradoxically) *lex*, *Law*. Victorinus is the first recorded to employ this argument, an extension of that of Heb. 9.16-17,¹⁶⁷³ implying a meaning *additional to covenant or last will and testament*. For Victorinus, given that *testamentum* must mean *last will and testament* ("nisi quod faciunt morituri", l. 20-21), it cannot merely mean *law*. Dulaey suggests that Victorinus likely assumes here "the *book* of the covenant" (τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης, Ex. 24.7),¹⁶⁷⁴ especially given his identifying the written Old Testament / Law with the scroll sealed seven times.

l. 19-21. **Nulla lex testamentum dicitur.** This clearly means more than merely that the Old Testament consists in both "the Law and the prophets". This is a surprisingly strong assertion, and one wonders whence Victorinus divines it. Asides here, *lex* for Victorinus designates *the Law*, and this is his only direct allusion to other sorts of law.¹⁶⁷⁵ Paul had already distinguished between the covenant of Abraham with God and the Law which followed it (Gal. 3.17); even as he (later) distinguished between Abraham's justification by faith from the circumcision which sealed it (Rom. 4.9-10); or divine covenants in general from the Law (as well as divine *adoption, glory, service* and *promises*, Rom. 9.4). But, of course, as in Paul (*e.g.* Gal. 4.24, above), so in the Fathers: the Law, circumcision and the Old Testament were often analogous to each other and often simply interchangeable in argument. Victorinus' is a more philosophical assertion *qua* law in general *i.e.* that it is *never* a covenant / last will and

¹⁶⁷³ Heb. 9.16-17 (p. 575 Nestle-Aland): ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου· διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μὴ τότε μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῆ ὁ διαθέμενος.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Ex. 24.7 (p. 127 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

¹⁶⁷⁵ With the possible exception of "illicitas paces" (Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.4 (SChr 423, 58, l. 3), which implies something more like Origen's *natural* law.

testament. Origen discusses at length the various meanings of "law" in Paul, sometimes referring it to the Mosaic, sometimes the natural, sometimes the conventional. Victorinus is clearly making a *quasi*-philosophical or legalistic observation about *law in general*, that echoes Heb. 9.16's about *the execution of last wills and testaments in general*. Upon this last, astonishingly, he seems the first post-apostolic commenter extant to comment directly,¹⁶⁷⁶ as follows.

Even as the author of Hebrews interprets διαθήκη as, instead of mere *covenant, last will and testament*, so Victorinus concludes that that testament cannot comprise, or solely comprise, the law of Moses, no law's being, he says, ever called *last will and testament*, though one can only speculate why he thinks this is so. **nec testamentum aliud nominatur.** Perhaps because a will is *governed by law i.e.* is not the law itself, rather an aspect of it: *cf.* Quintilianus Dubius' definition of a will/testament as "the will of the deceased jointly sealed by the justice and laws of the state",¹⁶⁷⁷ his distinguishing between the will and the law governing it.¹⁶⁷⁸ The proposition is surely highly problematical: Heb. 8.9 cites the Sinaitic covenant mentioned by Ier. 31.32, while Heb. 9.20 mentions the very *book of the covenant of* Ex. 24.7, generally thought to be the second issuing of the Law (*Deuterosis legis*) of Ex.

¹⁶⁷⁶ There are perhaps *allusions* to it, to God as testator, *via* Ps. 88.4 (MT: 89.3; p. Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): διεθέμην διαθήκην τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου ὡμοσα δαυιδ τῷ δούλῳ μου), to whose διεθέμην Origen explicates by αὐτοῦ διαθεμένου τοῦ Θεοῦ: Origenes, Sel. in Psal. [Dub.] (frag. e cat.) (PG 12, 1609 l. 5-10): «Διέθετο διαθήκην πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ.» Καὶ ταύτην τὴν διαθήκην πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ διαθεμένου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ πιστεύων παρεδέξατο, καὶ οἰονεὶ ὄρκους μεταξὺ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐποιήσατο παραδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν διαθήκην, ὥστε στήσαι καὶ φυλάξασθαι τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ; or Christ as testator (διαθέμενος) *e.g.* Clemens Romanus (pseudo), Hom. 11.6.6 (GCS 42, l. 2-(3)-4): τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ θέλοντος. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄδικος γίνεται κρίσις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ θεοῦ. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιόν ἐστιν τὴν αὐτὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν πάσχοντα καὶ τὸν διαθέμενον, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ) αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀναδέξεται τὴν τοῦ μόνου τιμωτάτου τιμὴν. Lactantius seems next to follow Victorinus, with a similar formula: Lactantius, Diu. Instit. IV 20.2 (CSEL 19, 364, l. 9-): idcirco Moyses et idem ipsi prophetae legem quae Iudaeis data est testamentum uocant, quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest nec sciri quid in eo scriptum sit, quia clausum et obsignatum est.

¹⁶⁷⁷ *Cf.* M. Fabius Quintilianus (dubium), Declam. min. (p. Shackleton Bailey, declamatio : 308, par. : 12, linea : 1-2, pag. : 190): Quid est enim testamentum? Ut opinor, voluntas defuncti consignata iure legibus que civitatis.

¹⁶⁷⁸ M. Fabius Quintilianus (dubium), Declam. min. 308.16 (p. Shackleton Bailey, 191, l. 2): Hoc ad verba legis, illud ad voluntatem.

20.19 - 23.33.¹⁶⁷⁹ Small wonder this particular innovation appears not in exegetes subsequent. Victorinus is unlikely to have shared the *Didascalia's* interpreting the *Deuterosis*, after Moses' first smashing the tablets of the Law, as the literal version of a pristine figurative-spiritual one, identified with the commandments of the Exodus (Ez. 20.9-11; *pace* Heb. 8.9 / Ier. 31.32).¹⁶⁸⁰ This constituted the punishment for Israel's idolatry, and for which the Law was its own penalty;¹⁶⁸¹ leading to the blinding or dulling of spiritual perception.¹⁶⁸² This was a law by which one could not live;¹⁶⁸³ constituting a curse upon Christ and enmity to God.¹⁶⁸⁴

This punishment Victorinus seems to have held "merely" for the literal observation of the Law, and (its own!) possible divine punishment for Christians,¹⁶⁸⁵ as well as Antichrist's sole stipulation for Christians that they circumcize under it.¹⁶⁸⁶ For the *Didascalia* it is the *first* issuance that is recapitulated in the service of the Church,¹⁶⁸⁷ the original Law being in fact a solely Christian possession,¹⁶⁸⁸ now liberating humanity from and abrogating the inferior second one.¹⁶⁸⁹ Victorinus' attitude to the literal Law certainly chimes with a Pauline

¹⁶⁷⁹ Didasc. 6.7 (p. 14, l. 11-14 Funk): Tamen et cum Legem legis, (cave deuterosin, simpliciter in ea lege ., ab omnibus prae- ceptis eius et mandatis longe te abstine, ut non te veteribus et qui non possunt solvi laqueis conliges et oneres; 6.17.9-10 (p. 360 Funk).

¹⁶⁸⁰ Didasc. Apost. 6.17.2 (p. 354, l. 19-22 Funk): Et iterum dixit: Holocaustomata vestra colligite cum victimis vestris et comedite carnem, quia non mandavi vobis, quando eduxi vos de terra Aegypti, nee de holocaustomatibus nec de victimis. Et revera non mandavit in lege, sed in vinculis deuterosios legis: postquam idolis servierunt; *cf.* .

¹⁶⁸¹ Didasc. Apost. 6.17.1 (p. 354, l. 5-6 Funk): Deuterosis legis statuta est propter fabricationem vituli et idololatriam; 6.18.9 (p. 360, l. 20-21 Funk): deuterosis legis enim non nisi ob idololatriam statuta est

¹⁶⁸² Didasc. Apost. 6.18.7 (p. 358, l. 35-360, l. 2 Funk): Propterea et verbum, in deuterosi legis antea dictum ad obcaecandum populum caecum est, scilicet: Maledictus est omnis, qui appendit in ligno.

¹⁶⁸³ Didasc. Apost. 6.18.8 (p. 360, l. 11-14 Funk): Ideo una hoc verbo et deuterosis legis statuta est, quam statuit Moses, deuterosin legis appellat iudicia, quae non sunt bona nee vivificare (Ez. 20.25).

¹⁶⁸⁴ Didasc. Apost. 6.18.10 (p. 360, l. 26-28 Funk): Deuterosin enim legis sustinens confirmas etiam maledictum super salvatore nostro, et captus es vinculis et dignus vae ut inimicus Domini Dei.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.4 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2-9): Sed et ibi quoque esse faciles homines ad illicitas paces dandas et novas prophetias attendendas ostendit et arguit et praemonet ceteros, quibus non placet hoc fieri, qui cognoscunt nequitias adversarii, quibus malis et dolis quaerit inducere in capita fidelium pericula, et ideo ait: Non mitto super vos aliud pondus <id est non dedi vobis legis observationes et onera, quod est aliud pondus>, ut quod habetis teneatis, donec venio.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 12-14): Denique sanctos non ad aliud compellet nisi ad circumcisionem accipiendam, si quos poterit seducere.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Didasc. Apost. 6.17.9-10 (p. 360 Funk).

¹⁶⁸⁸ Didasc. 6.5 (p. 14, l. 9-10 Funk): habes gloriosam Domini Legem

¹⁶⁸⁹ Didasc. 6.7 (p. 14, l. 14-16 Funk): nam etsi aliquando legis deuterosin, tantum ad hoc lege, ut scias et magnifices Deum, quia de tantis et talibus nos ligaturis eripuit. Didasc. Apost. 6.17.1 (p. 354, l. 6-12 Funk): vos autem per baptismum liberati estis idololatria, et a deuterosi legis, quae propter idola erat, sola estis. Nam in

derived theme (Gal. 3.19) in Justin and others that it remedied an innate Jewish savagery.¹⁶⁹⁰ But he does not make such a view explicit, rather adducing evidence for the Law's containing within it the seeds and proofs of its ultimate abrogation in Christ's advent and person (Eph. 2.15). Thus the Law is both spiritually Law and carnally no-Law (hence "nulla lex"?). Could this be why he hesitated to call it a covenant, especially since it is only by its correct interpretation as a last will and testament *i.e.* in spiritual dissolution that the old covenant becomes the new (Heb. 8.8, 13)? Unlike Origen, Victorinus does not specify other sorts of law, a problem he may have derived from Paul's often highly ambiguous and ambivalent use of the term and solved by assuming that Paul referred to one and the same thing, however illogical it might *appear* to human reasoning. **nisi quod faciunt morituri**. Renders θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου· διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία of Heb. 9.16-17.¹⁶⁹¹

l. 21-22. **et quodcumque intrinsecus**. Cf. 1 Mach. 4.48,¹⁶⁹² where an Old Latin renders τὰ ἐντὸς, "the things within", of the temple equipage, by "quae...intrinsecus". **testati sunt**.

Really an *impersonal* third person plural in place of a passive; Jerome has "est",¹⁶⁹³ converting "testati" to the genitive of the participle, acting as a substantive, equivalent to the participle τοῦ διαθεμένου of Heb. 9.17 underlying "testatoris". **signata sunt usque ad diem**

evangelic legem renovavit et implevit ac con mavit, et deuterodin legis solvit et abrogavit. Ideo enim vcr 10 ut legem confirmaret et deuterodin legis abrogaret ac rcpie potestatem; cf. .

¹⁶⁹⁰ For the Jews' circumcision, sacrifices and other laws were instituted to counteract their hardness of heart: Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 16; 17; 27; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 67; as well as avert their tendency to idolatry: 22; though Justin distinguishes between "certain commandments" and those enjoined upon all peoples *i.e.* the gentiles: 67.

¹⁶⁹¹ Heb. 9.17 (p. 575 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁶⁹² 1 Mach. 4.48 (p. 1053 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τὰ ἅγια καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τὰς ἀὐλὰς ἡγίασαν; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 307, l. 27 Morin): et edificauerunt sancta et quae intra domum intrinsecus et edem. , Et atria sanctificauerunt.

¹⁶⁹³ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.: p. 65, l. 9 Haussleiter).

mortis testatoris. Thus Victorinus formulates Heb. 9.16-17.¹⁶⁹⁴ Pseudo-Cyprian had described the true meaning of scripture as a “sacramentum”, a “mystery” or “deposit”, *sealed by the seven spirits of God*, until the resurrection of Christ.¹⁶⁹⁵ Lactantius describes the contents as “*quae perspicere*” (“*perspicere*” in the elder African text) *nullo modo poterant*”,¹⁶⁹⁶ “what may in nowise be *looked into*”, a translation of οὐδείς ἐδύνατο...βλέπειν αὐτό (Apoc. 5.3).¹⁶⁹⁷ This is subtly different from the Old Latin's “*nemo poterat...respicere / aspicere illum*”, “none could...look at it”, but one more suitable to perusing the contents of a will, perhaps. Lactantius further developed it, concluding that the death of Christ *testator* inherits Christians of the kingdom, whence Jews are *dispossessed*.¹⁶⁹⁸

¹⁶⁹⁴ Heb. 9.16-17: ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου· διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μὴ τότε μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῆ ὁ διαθέμενος.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Cyprianus Carthaginiensis (pseudo), Adu. Iud. V (CC SL 4, l. 10): Ob hanc *ergo* causam coactus est dominus facere nouum testamentum consignantibus septem spiritibus teste moyse et helia in montem, ubi praecepit ne patefieret scripturae sacramentum, nisi filius hominis resurrexisset de mortuis. Sed mox surrexit dominus tertio die, aperuit testamentum nouum, testamentum uitale atque ita dixit: uenite, exterae gentes, heredes mei; israel enim non obaudiuit.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Lactantius, Diu. Instit. IV 20.1 (CSEL 19, 364, l. 4-l. 16): Profectus *ergo* in Galilaeam -noluit enim se Iudaeis ostendere, ne adduceret eos in paenitentiam atque inpios resanaret -, discipulis iterum congregatis scripturae sanctae litteras id est prophetarum arcana patefecit, quae antequam pateretur perspicere nullo modo poterant, quia ipsum passionem que eius adnuntiabant. idcirco Moyses et idem ipsi prophetae legem quae Iudaeis data est testamentum uocant, quia nisi testator mortuus fuerit, nec confirmari testamentum potest nec sciri quid in eo scriptum sit, quia clausum et obsignatum est. itaque nisi Christus mortem suscepisset, aperiri testamentum id est reuelari et intellegi mysterium dei non potuisset. uerum scriptura omnis in duo testamenta diuisa est. illud quod aduentum passionem que Christi antecessit, id est lex et prophetae, uetus dicitur, ea uero quae post resurrectionem eius scripta sunt, nouum testamentum nominatur. Iudaei uetere utuntur, nos nouo: sed tamen diuersa non sunt, quia nouum ueteris adinpletio est et in utroque idem testator est Christus, qui pro nobis morte suscepta nos heredes regni aeterni facit abdicato et exheredato populo Iudaeorum, sicut Hieremias propheta testatur, cum loquitur talia: ecce dies ueniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domui Israhel et domui Iuda testamentum nouum, non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum in die, *qua* adprehendi manum eorum, ut educerem illos de terra Aegypti, quia ipsi non perseuerauerunt in testamento meo, et ego neclexi eos, dicit dominus. idem alio loco similiter ait: dereliqui domum meam, dimisi hereditatem meam in manus inimicorum eius. facta est hereditas mea mihi sicut leo in silua, dedit ipsa super me uocem suam, idcirco odiui eam. cum sit hereditas eius caeleste regnum, non utique ipsam hereditatem se dicit odisse, sed heredes, qui aduersus eum ingrati et inpii extiterunt. Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, Ad Quir. II 11 (CC SL 3, 44, l. 28): Et ego flebam multum, quod nemo dignus repertus esset, qui aperiret librum aut uideret illum.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Apoc. 5.3 (p. 641 Nestle-Aland): καὶ οὐδείς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640B): Et nemo poterat, in coelo, neque in terra, neque subtus terram, aperire librum, neque respicere illum; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 587A): Et nemo poterat in celo neque in terra neque subtus terram aperire librum :neque aspicere illum.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Lactantius, Diu. Instit. IV 20.5 (CSEL 19, 365, l. 1)-20.9 (CSEL 19, 365, l. 18): Iudaei uetere utuntur, nos nouo: sed tamen diuersa non sunt, quia nouum ueteris adinpletio est et in utroque idem testator est Christus, qui pro nobis morte suscepta nos heredes regni aeterni facit abdicato et exheredato populo Iudaeorum, sicut Hieremias propheta testatur, cum loquitur talia: ecce dies ueniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domui Israhel et domui Iuda testamentum nouum, non secundum testamentum quod disposui patribus eorum in die, *qua* adprehendi manum eorum, ut educerem illos de terra Aegypti, quia ipsi non perseuerauerunt in testamento meo,

l. 22-25. **Ideo** *i.e.* because Christ is both testator and heir to the contents of the No-Law.

merito. The adverb has a *quasi*-legal sense of *iure*;¹⁶⁹⁹ while *merere* often refers to military service.¹⁷⁰⁰ Here it refers to Christ's *quasi*-martial victory over death. **modo.** "Just now:"¹⁷⁰¹ alludes to the series of five (pentateuchal?) *modo* that follow, the five events' happening simultaneously as the seventh seal is opened: all occur at the moment of Christ's resurrection. **leo.** Curiously, Lactantius later adduces Jer. 12.18 for the argument of Hebrews 9, whereby that same testament-inheritance of the Jews becomes as hateful to them *as a predatory lion*, and thence is transferred to Christians.¹⁷⁰² **confregit mortem.** *Confringere* is a very Classical literary word, meaning *break in pieces, break in two*, used of *fingers* and *bones* in Plautus and Cicero respectively.¹⁷⁰³ The word implies violent, physical combat, the shattering of the limbs of the lion's prey, not chains (Dulaey), despite the usage of Irenaeus (who rather associates the *violence* of a lion with *Antichrist*).¹⁷⁰⁴ The phrase is equivalent to Christ's

et ego neclexi eos, dicit dominus. idem alio loco similiter ait: dereliqui domum meam, dimisi hereditatem meam in manus inimicorum eius. facta est hereditas mea mihi sicut leo in silua, dedit ipsa super me uocem suam, idcirco odiui eam. cum sit hereditas eius caeleste regnum, non utique ipsam hereditatem se dicit odisse, sed heredes, qui aduersus eum ingrati et inpii extiterunt. facta est inquit hereditas mea mihi sicut leo, id est praeda et deuoratio factus sum heredibus meis, qui me immolauerunt sicut pecus.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *meritus* B. Transf. 4., 1136.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *meritus* II. C., 1136.

¹⁷⁰¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *modo* II. A. 1, 1155. TLL, s. v. *modo*, c. 1313, 67. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 175.

¹⁷⁰² Lactantius, Diu. Instit. IV 20.1 (CSEL 19, 364, l. 16-18): facta est hereditas mea mihi sicut leo in silua, dedit ipsa super me uocem suam, idcirco odiui eam. cum sit hereditas eius caeleste regnum, non utique ipsam hereditatem se dicit odisse, sed heredes, qui aduersus eum ingrati et inpii extiterunt.

¹⁷⁰³ T. Macc(i)us Plautus, Mil. Glor. v. 501 (p.161 Goetz / Schoell) : SC. Licet ne? PE. At ita me di deae que omnis ament, Nisi mihi supplicium uirgarum de te datur Longum diutinum que a mane ad uesperum: Quod meas confregisti imbricis et tegulas, Ibi dum condignam te sectaris simiam: Quod que inde inspectauisti meum apud me hospitem, Amplexam amicam quom osculabatur suam: Quod que concubinam erilem insimulare ausus es Probri pudicam me que summi flagiti: Tum quod tractauisti hospitem ante aedis meas: Nisi mihi supplicium stimuleum de <te> datur, Dedecoris plenioerum faciam tuom, Quam magno uento plenu<m>st undarum mare. T. Macc(i)us Plautus, Cist. v. 503 (p. 28 Goetz / Schoell): Hic apud nos iam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram. Cicero, Pro Flac. 73 (p. 226, l. 29 Fruechtel): membra quae debilitavit lapidibus fustibus ferro, manus quas contudit, digitos quos confregit, nervos quos concidit restituere non potest; filiam, filiam inquam, aerumnoso patri Deciane redde. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *confringo*.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 23.7 (SChr 211, l. 145-159; especially l. 151): Quapropter inimicitiam posuit inter serpentem et mulierem et semen eius, obseruantes inuicem, illo quidem cui mordetur planta et potente calcare caput inimici, altero uero mordente et occidente et interpediente ingressus hominis, quoadusque

destroying the *emperor of death* (Heb. 2.14);¹⁷⁰⁵ given the following allusion to Heb. 2.15. **et quae de se**. For “de se” Jerome has “de eo”, presumably because “qui” is the subject of the main clause.¹⁷⁰⁶ **praenuntiata fuerant repleuit**. *Replere* rarely means *fulfil*: Victorinus likely means *complete*.¹⁷⁰⁷ **<et hominem liberavit>**. The Latin Irenaeus has “liberato homine”;¹⁷⁰⁸ Heb. 2.15 has ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους. Rufinus' Irenaeus further uses *manu mittere*, which he also associates with Christ's vanquishing death,¹⁷⁰⁹ also commenting on Heb. 2.14-15.¹⁷¹⁰

l. 25-27. **id est carnem**. Cf. Gal. 4.23,¹⁷¹¹ 31,¹⁷¹² where the Old Latin Christ freed ("liberavit") believers from the bondage of those born to Sarah-Hagar, the bondwoman, according to the flesh ("secundum carnem"), that they might receive the promise of (birth from) the freedwoman ("libera"): **et accepit**. Cf. Gal. 4.5, whence with believers Tertullian may receive ("acciperemus") spiritual adoption,¹⁷¹³ via Sarah the *freedwoman*. **possessionem**.

uenit semen praedestinatum calcare caput eius, quod fuit partus Mariae. De quo ait propheta: Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem, significans quia illud quod erigeretur et dilataretur aduersus hominem peccatum, quod frigidum reddebat eum, euacuaretur cum regnante morte et conculcarentur ab eo in nouissimis temporibus insiliens humano generi leo, hoc est Antichristus, et draconem illum serpentem uetustum adligans et subiciens potestati hominis qui fuerat uictus ad calcandam eius omnem uirtutem. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 175.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Heb. 2.14 (p. 565 Nestle-Aland): ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον; (Vg): ut per mortem destrueret eum qui habebat mortis imperium, id est, diabolus.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 10 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁰⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *repleo* I., 1269.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 23.7 (SChr 211, l. 163-168): Quapropter liberato homine, fiet quod scriptum est: Absorta est mors in uictoria. Vbi est mors uictoria tua? Vbi est mors aculeus tuus? Quod non poterit iuste dici si non ille liberatus fuerit cui primum dominata est mors. Illius enim salus euacuatio est mortis. Domino igitur uiuificante hominem, id est Adam, euacuata est mors.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. apost. praed. 31 (p. 58 Weber): [Et] quia mors in carnem regnavit, per carnem (necesse et) dignum erat destructionem passam [mortem] manu mittere hominem ex oppressionem sua.

¹⁷¹⁰ Heb. 2.14-15 (p. 565 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷¹¹ Gal. 4.23 (p. 499 Nestle-Aland): ἀλλ' ὁ [μὲν] ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 60 Buchanan): Sed qui de ancilla secundum carnem natus est. Qui autem de libera per repromissionem; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 256, l. 15 Morin): Sed his quidem qui de ancilla saecundum carnem natus est. , Qui autem de libera. secundum promissionem.

¹⁷¹² Gal. 4.31 (p. 499 Nestle-Aland): ; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 256, l. 30 Morin): Itaque fratres iam non sumus ancille filii sed libere. quia libertate Christus nos xps redemit. , amen; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 61 Buchanan): Itaque fratres. non sumus ancille filiae sed libere: filqua libertate Christus nos liberavit.; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 280 Tischendorf): itaque fratres non sumus ancillae filii sed liberae qua libertate xps nos liberavit.

¹⁷¹³ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. (CC SL 1, lib. : 5, pag. CSEL : 580, linea : 1-7): Cui autem rei misit filium suum? ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret - hoc est ut efficeret tortuosa in uiam rectam et aspera in uias leues

Cf. Jer. 32.11: "I took the scroll of *purchase/possession*, sealed and ratified".¹⁷¹⁴ **de morte**.

Cf. Heb. 2.15:¹⁷¹⁵ "he freed those who were in fear of death", ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου; Est. 15.3:¹⁷¹⁶ "to free us from death", ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ θανάτου; Tob. 4.11; 12.9,¹⁷¹⁷ whose Old Latin has "a morte liberat". Cf. also Rom. 7.6:¹⁷¹⁸ "We have been loosed from the Law, being dead...to serve...not in ...the old letter". **substantiae morientis**. Cf. on *In Apoc.* 5.1, l. 16-17: as noted above, *substantia* can mean the *property* of the deceased, as well as *being*, equivalent to the philosophical *primary reality*,¹⁷¹⁹ also equivalent to ὑπόστασις according to some (albeit also distinct in the *persons* of the Trinity, according to Origen);¹⁷²⁰ Heb. 1.3-4¹⁷²¹ describes the Incarnate Son of God as χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ... διαφορώτερον...εκκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα: "impress [of a seal] of his [God's] being / substance...he inherited a better...name" (although Origen denies this to mean a *single* substance).¹⁷²² **id est membrorum humanorum**. The Latin Irenaeus states that it is the flesh,

secundum esaiam, ut uetera transirent et noua orirentur: lex noua ex sion et sermo domini ex hierusalem - et ut adoptionem filiorum acciperemus, utique nationes, quae filii non eramus.

¹⁷¹⁴ Jer. 32 / 39.11 (p. 723 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον.

¹⁷¹⁵ Heb. 2.15 (p.):

¹⁷¹⁶ Est. 15.3 (4.8; p. 959 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

¹⁷¹⁷ Tob. 4.11 (VL; Cod. 130; p. 36 Belsheim): quoniam elemosina a morte liberat. et non patitur animam ire in tenebras; (VL; Cod. 143; p. CCCLIII Bianchini): quoniam elemosyna a morte liberat, et non sinet intrare in tenebras; (VL; Cod. 148 / 150; p. lxxiv Sabatier / Neubauer): quoniam elemosyna morte liberat, et non patitur ire in tenebras; 12.9 (VL; Cod. 130; p. 47 Belsheim): Elemosyna a morte libera(t) et ipsa purgat peccata. et faciunt elemosynam et iustitiam saturabuntur vita; (VL; Cod. 148 / 150; p. lxxxvi Sabatier / Neubauer): quia elemosyna a morte liberat, et ipsa purgat peccata. Qui faciunt elemosynam et miserationem et iustitiam, saturabuntur uitam aeternam.

¹⁷¹⁸ Rom. 7.6 (p. 420 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷¹⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *substantia* I. *that of which a thing consists, the being, essence, contents, material, substance* II. Esp., *fortune, substance, property*, 1782-1783.

¹⁷²⁰ Origen first claims that Father and Son share a common οὐσία, *essence*, as opposed to ὑπόστασις (contradicting those who think otherwise): Origenes, Com. in Io. X 37 (SChr 246, l. 7-10): ᾤοντο ἐκ τούτων περίστασαι μὴ διαφέρειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐ μόνον οὐσία ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποκειμένῳ τυγχάνοντας ἀμφοτέρους, κατὰ τινὰς ἐπινοίας διαφορῶς, οὐ κατὰ ὑπόστασιν λέγεσθαι πατέρα καὶ υἱόν.

¹⁷²¹ Heb. 1.3-4 (p. 562 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷²² Origenes, Con. Cels. VIII 12 (SChr 150, l. 24-29): οὐσία πρὸ τῶν χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας οὐκ ἦν. Θρησκευόμεν οὖν τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος· ὡς τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης» καὶ χαρακτήρα «τῆς ὑποστάσεως» τοῦ θεοῦ ἑωρακέναι ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντι εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν θεόν.

and its limbs (“membra”), that are possessed by the deceased, and thus inherited by the Spirit in the Resurrection.¹⁷²³ For the bishop of Lyons Christians’ inheriting the *land* of the kingdom (“terra in regno”) was also to possess the *substance of the flesh* (resurrected): “substantia carnis”;¹⁷²⁴ and neither of which could be subject to an allegorical interpretation (“nihil allegorizari potest, sed omnia firma et uera”), their both “possessing/inhabiting substance” (“substantiam habitentia”).¹⁷²⁵ Thus we see how Victorinus’ datum of an earthly Millennium, centred on Jerusalem, would be affirmed by his hermeneutic of both Incarnation and scripture. Irenaeus’ proscription of allegorizing that promise may account for its apparent absence in the Poetovian in comparison with Origen upon whom Victorinus also greatly relied.

The essential mode of transmutation here is the interpretation of *substantia*, which can shift from meaning *the contents of a will i.e.* of the Old Testament to the *essence of being i.e. God himself*. Thus the Incarnation, both its fleshly and spiritual parts, is spiritually connected with all believers, and their bodies, who inherit the *substance of the Old Testament*; via its correct New interpretation, made apparent by the Resurrection, which is the kingdom of heaven, indeed on earth. Victorinus’ contribution is to meld the conflation of Rom. 5.12-18 and 1 Cor. 15.21-22, which he found in Irenaeus and Tertullian, with the metaphor of inheritance law he found in Heb. 9.15-17; via the polyvalent meaning of *substantia*, even as the author of Hebrews did with διαθήκη. But Victorinus may more simply mean that Christ’s inheritance of his own, human limbs entail also those of men in general by *identification*.

¹⁷²³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 79-81): Quae sunt autem quae sunt mortui? Scilicet membra hominis quae et corrumpuntur in terra. Haec autem possidentur a Spiritu translata in regnum caelorum.

¹⁷²⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 9.4 (SChr 153, l. 61): Si enim oportet verum dicere, non possidet sed possidetur caro, sicut et Dominus ait: Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram, quasi hereditate possideatur terra in regno, unde et substantia carnis nostrae est.

¹⁷²⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 35.2 (SChr 153, l. 108-118): Et nihil allegorizari potest, sed omnia firma et vera et substantiam habentia, ad fruitionem hominum justorum a Deo facta. Quomodo enim vere Deus est qui resuscitat hominem, sic et vere resurget homo a mortuis et non allegorice, quemadmodum per tanta ostendimus; et sicut vere resurget, sic et vere praemeditabitur incorruptelam et augebitur et vigebit in regni temporibus, ut fiat capax gloriae Patris; deinde omnibus renovatis, vere in civitate habitabit Dei Dixit enim, inquit, sedens super thronum: Ecce nova facio omnia.

Posidonius writes: “We are members of a great body” and “between us and the godhead there is no difference except that reason fills us in part but it, completely”.¹⁷²⁶

l. 27-29. **Sicut per unum corpus... sic per unum corpus.** A conflation of Rom. 5.12 ,15 and 18-19;¹⁷²⁷ and 1 Cor. 15.21-22,¹⁷²⁸ on the model of ὡσπερ δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου...ὡσπερ δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου... Irenaeus and Tertullian had already antithesized the two Adams: “Hanc itaque Dominus venit vivificaturus, uti, quemadmodum in Adam omnes morimur quoniam animales, in Christo vivamus quoniam spiritales, deponentes non plasma Dei, sed concupiscentias carnis, et assumentes Spiritum sanctum ; Quodsi sic in Christo uiuicamur omnes sicut mortificamur in Adam, quando in Adam corpore mortificemur, sic necesse est in Christo corpore uiuificemur”.¹⁷²⁹ **omnes homines...uniuersi credentes** *i.e.* the *Corpus/Body* of Christ in some sense stands in for all humanity. **in uitam aeternam resurgent.** Victorinus has, as usual, an odd mixture of pluperfect and future tenses: “successerant...resurgent”. Jerome. “corrects” with a *prophetic* imperfect subjunctive: “ut... renati in vita resurgerent”.¹⁷³⁰ But Victorinus is probably using the future indicative because he has in mind the model of the Fall = pluperfect, crucifixion-resurrection = past, the time of the

¹⁷²⁶ Seneca [philosophus], Epist. 92. 30 (p. 412 Hense): totum hoc, quo continemur, et unum est et deus: et socii sumus eius et membra.

¹⁷²⁷ Rom. 5.12 ,15 and 18-19 (p. 417-418 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷²⁸ 1 Cor. 15.21-22 (p. 468 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷²⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 12.13 (SChr 153, l. 47-71): Non enim aliud est quod moritur et aliud quod vivificatur, quemadmodum neque aliud quod perit et aliud quod invenitur, sed illam quae perierat ovem venit Dominus exquirens. Quid *ergo* erat quod moriebatur? Utique carnis substantia, quae amiserat afflatum vitae, et sine spiramento et mortua facta. Hanc itaque Dominus venit vivificaturus, uti, quemadmodum in Adam omnes morimur quoniam animales, in Christo vivamus quoniam spiritales, deponentes non πλάσμα Dei, sed concupiscentias carnis, et assumentes Spiritum sanctum. Sicut Apostolus in epistola quae est ad Colossenses ait: Mortificate itaque membra vestra quae sunt super terram. Quae sunt autem haec, ipse exposuit: Fornicationem, immunditiam, passionem, concupiscentiam malam et avaritiam, quae est idolatria. Horum depositionem Apostolus praeconatur, et eos qui talia operantur, velut carnem et sanguinem tantum existentes, non posse ait regnum caelorum possidere: anima enim ipsorum declinans in peius et in terrenas concupiscentias descendens, ejusdem cujus et illa sunt participavit appellationis. Quae deponere nos jubens, ait rursus in eadem epistola: Exspoliantes vos veterem hominem cum operibus ejus. Hoc autem dicebat, non veterem amovens plasmationem: alioquin oportebat nosmetipsos interficientes separari ab ea quae est istic conversatione. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 602, l. 12): Quodsi sic in christo uiuificamur omnes, sicut mortificamur in adam, quando in adam corpore mortificemur, sic necesse est et in christo [corpore] uiuificemur.

¹⁷³⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65 Haussleiter).

Church = present, Parousia-resurrection = future. **debito mortis**. Pseudo-Tertullian¹⁷³¹ and Rufinian Irenaeus.¹⁷³² The extant Greek Irenaeus (modelled on "The first Adam...the last Adam..." of 1 Cor. 15.46)¹⁷³³ has strictly that man is *made obedient to death* (i.e. on the cross (= tree), Phil. 2.8) through the second Adam; *owing God*, for disobeying *him* (ὀφειλέται...ἐκείνῳ).¹⁷³⁴ The Latin has it as for having become debtors ("debitores") by means of the (first) tree.¹⁷³⁵ Prima facie, Victorinus has subtly altered Irenaeus' motif of debt to God *via* Tertullian's "common opinion...that death is the debt to nature (mortem naturae debitum)".¹⁷³⁶ His successors hold likewise.¹⁷³⁷ **successerant**. *Succedere* with the dative here

¹⁷³¹ Tertullianus (pseudo), Carm. adu. Marc. II 148 (CC SL 2): Virgine desponsa caro non ex semine nata artificii coniuncta suo, sine debito mortis; II 166 (CC SL 2): Exiit exuuias carnis et debita mortis; serpentis spoliolum deuicto principe mundi affixit ligno, refugarum immane tropaeum; II 251 (CC SL 2): Ergo, quia populis nondum suo fonte renatis, sordibus antiquis testis (ea debita mortis) ex ueteri causa regnum caeleste negauit, dicens humanum rursus debere renasci, quod natum est de carne, caro est, de spiritu, uita, radicis ueteris noua germina gloria mutans, ablutum corpus iam non de carne uocari: hoc sequitur paulus, sic est de carne locutus; II 250 (CC SL 2): Ergo, quia populis nondum suo fonte renatis, sordibus antiquis testis (ea debita mortis) ex ueteri causa regnum caeleste negauit, dicens humanum rursus debere renasci, quod natum est de carne, caro est, de spiritu, uita, radicis ueteris noua germina gloria mutans, ablutum corpus iam non de carne uocari: hoc sequitur paulus, sic est de carne locutus; III 149 (CC SL 2): Insignis fidei in laudem, memorabile, tractus nobilis helias, qui nondum debita mortis gustauit, quoniam rursus uenturus in orbem est; III 148 (CC SL 2): Insignis fidei in laudem, memorabile, tractus nobilis helias, qui nondum debita mortis gustauit, quoniam rursus uenturus in orbem est.

¹⁷³² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 22.1 (SChr 100, l. 4-11): Hic est enim finis humani generis heredificantis Deum, uti, quemadmodum in initio per primos omnes in seruitutem redacti sumus debito mortis, sic in ultimo per novissimos omnes qui *ab initio* discipuli, emundati et abluti quae sunt mortis, in vitam veniant Dei: qui enim pedes lavit discipulorum totum sanctificavit corpus et in emundationem adduxit. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 17.3 (SChr 153, l. 67): Et propter hoc David praedixit: Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata; beatus homo cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, eam quae per adventum eius est remissionem praemonstrans, per quam delevit chirographum debiti nostri et affixit illud cruci, uti, quemadmodum per lignum debitores facti sumus Deo, per lignum accipiamus nostri debiti remissionem.

Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.4, n. 36.

¹⁷³³ 1 Cor. 15.46 (p. 469 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁷³⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V, Frag. 15 (SChr 153, l. 21-26): ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ πρώτῳ Ἀδὰμ προσεκόψαμεν μὴ ποιήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Ἀδὰμ ἀποκατηλλάγημεν ὑπήκοοι μέχρι θανάτου γενόμενοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλω τινὶ ἤμεν ὀφειλέται, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐντολήν παρέβημεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.

¹⁷³⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 17.3 (SChr 153, l. 67-74): Et propter hoc David praedixit: Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata; beatus homo cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, eam quae per adventum eius est remissionem praemonstrans, per quam delevit chirographum debiti nostri et affixit illud cruci, uti, quemadmodum per lignum debitores facti sumus Deo, per lignum accipiamus nostri debiti remissionem.

¹⁷³⁶ Tertullianus, De carn. Christ. 6 (CC SL 2, l. 39): Mutuum debitum est natiuitati cum mortalitate. Tertullianus, De anim. 50 (CC SL 2, l. 4): Publica totius generis humani sententia mortem naturae debitum pronuntiamus. Tertullianus, Scorpi. 8 (CC SL 2, 160, l. 15): Siquidem honorata est apud illum mors religiosorum ipsius, ut canit dauid, non, opinor, ista communis et omnium debitum - atquin ista etiam ignominiosa est ex elogio transgressionis et merito damnationis - sed illa quae in ipso aditur ex testimonio religionis et proelio confessionis pro iustitia et sacramento.

has the rare sense of *succeed to* in the sense of *inherit i.e.* from Adam.¹⁷³⁸ Tertullian has a close parallel in “condicioni suae parere et succedere”.¹⁷³⁹

Victorinus’ fivefold doctrine of revelation from the Law

It is not clear whence this fivefold *modo* structure derives, unless it echoes the Pentateuch. Elsewhere Victorinus attaches no significance to the number five. Perhaps it is liturgical. It may summarise the principles of exegesis, or the reasons for the title and essence of the Apocalypse. It may *recapitulate* his argument, such as it is, thus far. The points of doctrine comprise:

¹⁷³⁷ TLL, s. v. *debeo*, c. 106, 32. Cf. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Tract. in Math. 59 (CC SL 9A, l. 142): cum igitur hoc debitum peccati et mortis aeternae nullo genere, id est nulla satisfactione nulla que digna paenitentia, possemus exsoluere, rex ille aeternus de caelo adueniens remittendo generi humano peccata, unicuique credenti in se debitum omne donauit. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Tract. in Math. 59 (CC SL 9A, l. 119): Vnde in persona regis istius filium dei significatum agnoscimus, apud quem omne genus hominum in infinito debito peccati obnoxium tenebatur, siquidem omnes per praeuaricationem debitores peccati et mortis eramus. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Tract. in Math. 54 A (CC SL 9A, l. 103): Non enim poterat ante cum domino regnare, nisi prius debitum mortis impleret. Augustinus Hipponensis, In Io. euang. tract. 123.5 (CC SL 36, l. 92-94): sed molestia quantacumque sit mortis, debet eam uincere uis amoris, quo amatur ille qui cum sit uita nostra, etiam mortem uoluit perferre pro nobis; In Io. euang. tract. 79.2 (CC SL 36, l. 35-): et tamquam ei diceretur: cur *ergo* moreris, si non habes peccatum cui debeatur mortis supplicium? Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc..12. 3 (SChr 423, 100, l. 7): Quod autem coloris dixit esse rufi, id est coccinei, operis eius fructus talem dedit illi colorem; *ab initio* enim fuit homicida et omne genus humanum non tantum debito mortis quantum per uarias clades ubique oppressit. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc..12. 1 (SChr 423, 100, l. 78): Luna uero, casus sanctorum corporum ex debito mortis, quod deficere numquam potest. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 76, l. 27): Sicut per unum corpus omnes homines debito mortis successerant, sic per unum corpus uniuersi credentes in uitam aeternam resurgent. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 19.1 (SChr 211, l. 1-10): Rursus autem qui nude tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Ioseph generatum, perseuerantes in seruitute pristinae inobaudientiae, moriuntur, nondum commixti Verbo Dei Patris, neque per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait: Si Filius uos manumiserit, uere liberi eritis Ignorantes enim eum qui ex Virgine est Emmanuel, priuantur munere eius quod est uita aeterna; non recipientes autem Verbum incorruptionis, perseuerant in carne mortali et sunt debitores mortis, antidotum uitae non accipientes. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 23.1 (SChr 153, l. 30): Propter hoc ex eo traditi sunt ei, debitores mortis effecti. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 23.2 (SChr 153, l. 32-34): In ipsa itaque die mortui sunt in *qua* et manducaverunt et debitores facti sunt mortis, quoniam conditionis dies unus: Factum est enim, inquit, uespere et factum est mane dies unus. Et v. SChr 423, 64, l. 15; 106, l. 6; 108, l. 2-4; 110, l. 5; 62., l. 2-4Vict. p. 64, 15; 106, 6 and 108, 2-4; 110, 5; p. 62, 2-4. For *Liberatio* v. SChr 423, 52, l. 16-17; 64, l. 13; 66, l. 15. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3.4, n. 36.

¹⁷³⁸ Cicero, In Ver. IV 81 (p. 44b, l. 21 Klotz): sin istius amicitia te impedit, si hoc quod ego abs te postulo, minus ad officium tuum pertinere arbitrabere, *succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri*, suscipiam partes quas alienas esse arbitrabar. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *succedo*, II, B, 1. Jerome has “succiderant”, “had sunk” (plus ablative, *by means of*) or “given way (to)”, plus dative): Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p.55, l. 14 Haussleiter)..

¹⁷³⁹ Tertullianus, Apol. 27 (CC SL 1, l. 24): Et tamen apprehensi subiciuntur et condicioni suae parent et succedunt, et quos de longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 176.

- 1) The *unveiling* of the face of Moses, adduced as the origin of the motif of *revelation*, the fruit of etymological inquiry. Victorinus simply shows the earliest biblical instance of unveiling, based on Paul's interpretation of it as signifying an allegorical meaning.
- 2) Thence Victorinus simply adduces the result, namely the concept of ἀποκάλυψις as meaning *reuelatio, revelation*, or perhaps the *last* biblical instance of such unveiling, the goal or *end* of the former.
- 3) Thus Victorinus identifies the concept of revelation with the unsealing of the scroll sealed times (Apoc. 5-8).
- 4) Adducing the Law of sacrifices centres that Law at the heart of R/revelation, specifically the victims' being offered as types of the sacrifice of Christ the victim.
- 5) Likewise adducing the Law with regard to the priesthood targets the Old Testament, this time as type of Christ's officiating over his own sacrifice, coupled with the tabernacle or temple of its location, doubtless prefiguring that in heaven, according with Heb. 9.24 and Apoc. 11.19 and 15.5 and 8. "Fabricatio aedis" surely refers to ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν *i.e.* the heavenly designs or purpose of the earthly house of God.

In 4) and 5) Victorinus divides the two major categories of alleged Old Testament prophecies of Christ, pertaining to his sacrifice and priesthood. Victorinus seems here to confine himself to the laws of Moses, nor including an investigation of the prophets, according with the first part of the exegetical prescription of Luc. 24.27. This may lend

weight to his choice of five principles after the five books of the Law. In any case, it strongly suggests that the Law, rather than the prophets, was most in need of allegorical interpretation, and why here the Poetovian seems to make it central to the scroll sealed seven times. This fivefold form seems a prelude to the sevenfold creed, whose articles are introduced by “nouum”, below.

l. 29-33. Modo ergo facies Moysi aperitur, modo et reuelatur ideoque apocalypsis reuelatio dicitur, modo liber eius resignatur, modo hostiarum oblationes intelleguntur, modo sacerdotia et Christi mandata et fabricatio aedis <et> testimonia aperte intellegitur.

l. 29-20. Modo ergo facies Moysi aperitur. Haussleiter opts to retain “operitur” on which the Victorinian tradition is unanimous.¹⁷⁴⁰ Dulaey incorporates the “aperitur” from the Hieronymian manuscripts,¹⁷⁴¹ since “now is the face of Moses *concealed*” is contextually problematic. In Jewish tradition פקדון¹⁷⁴² ἀνοίγειν might be used for the Lord’s *opening the eyes* in direct divine revelation¹⁷⁴³ (its earliest Latin rendering (Novatian’s) seems to be by *aperire*);¹⁷⁴⁴ פתח¹⁷⁴⁵ ἀνοίγειν of *opening a scroll*;¹⁷⁴⁶ while הלה (remove, uncover)¹⁷⁴⁷

¹⁷⁴⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (E. v.; p. 64, l. 17 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁴¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 15 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁴² Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, פקדון, *open, uncover*, 824-825.

¹⁷⁴³ E.g. Gen. 21.19 (MT; p. 30 Elliger-Rudolph; LXX; p. 29 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1). Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, 824-825, פקדון.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Nouatianus, De trin. (CC SL 4, cap. : 18, linea : 117-122): ex quo etiam deus confirmatur [deus] esse qui hoc potest facere, quoniam, ut hoc ipsum comprobetur, adicitur per scripturam statim: et aperuit deus oculos eius, et uidit puteum aquae uiuae et abiit et impleuit utrem de puteo et dedit puero, et erat deus cum puero. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *aperio* I. *uncover, reveal, lay bare* I. Lit. Trop. *to make visible, to show, open to view* II. Metaph. A. 1. *To unclose, open*, 135.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, פתח, *open, uncover*, 834-835.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Neh. 8.5 (p. 1444 Elliger-Rudolph) / Esdr. II 18.5 (p. 986 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ ἤνοιξεν Ἐσδρας τὸ βιβλίον ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἤνοιξεν αὐτὸ ἔστη πᾶς ὁ λαός. Fishbane, *The Midrashic Imagination*, 169; 174.

ἀναγιγνώσκειν (lit. *know well, perceive*)¹⁷⁴⁸ might refer to loosing sealed documents.¹⁷⁴⁹

When Ezra opens the scroll of the law (Neh. 8.5), he and the priests read from it (Neh. 8.8-9),

but also *translate its sense* (from Hebrew to Aramaic) for the people (Neh. 8.13).¹⁷⁵⁰ Bacher

cites Talmudic instances of פִּתְּחָהּ, *pāṭṭah*, meaning *explain*.¹⁷⁵¹ Its cognate פְּתִיחָהּ, *pəṭṭihāh*

(Aramaic *pəṭṭihāh*), loosely meaning *proem*, is the intentionally “distant” verse wherewith the

homilist opens his explanation of the portion (פָּרָשָׁהּ, *pārāshāh*)¹⁷⁵² of the lectionary;¹⁷⁵³ and

comes to mean something like *interpretation* itself.¹⁷⁵⁴ **Apocalypsis reuelatio dicitur.** Justin

always uses ἀποκάλυψις in its literal, rather than titular, sense;¹⁷⁵⁵ Tertullian uses it as the

title of John’s work, but plays on its dual sense, surely influencing Victorinus.¹⁷⁵⁶ **et**

reuelatur. It is not clear who or what the subject is: Dulaey assumes it is Moses, since *his*

face has been uncovered; perhaps it is, else it is impersonal, literally meaning “the veil is

¹⁷⁴⁷ More variously, *be or become clear, uncovered; display, reveal, declare; go forth, emigrate* (rel. to פִּתְּחָהּ, *exile, captivity*): Brown / Briggs / Drive, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, פִּתְּחָהּ, *uncover, remove*, 162.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, ἀναγιγνώσκω I. 1. b., 93.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Jer. 32 / 39.14 (p. 724 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος παντοκράτωρ λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτήσεως τοῦτο καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον καὶ θήσεις αὐτὸ εἰς ἀγγεῖον ὀστράκινον ἵνα διαμείνη ἡμέρας πλείους.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Neh. 8.13 (p. 1445 Elliger-Rudolph); Esdr. II 18.13 (p. 939 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

¹⁷⁵¹ Cf. the tradition a saying (מֵא-מַר, *ma-a-mar*) which is *open* (פְּתִיחָהּ, *pā-tū-ah*) is one which can be understood by all; while one closed (סְתִימָהּ, *sā-tūm*) bears further exegesis by the gnostic: Tract. Sab. 12 (Soncino, 103b-104a). Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur I*, 162-163. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio 2, II 2, n. 74*. In the Tanakh, פְּתִיחָהּ, *pəṭṭihāh*, means *an open i.e. drawn sword*, e.g. Ps. 55.21 (p. 1135 Elliger-Rudolph), as a metaphor specifically for *words* of war. It is hard not to recall the Word as the two-edged sword of spiritual discernment (Heb. 4.12. Cf. Is. 49.2; Apoc. 2.16; 19.15). v. Brown / Driver / Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, פְּתִיחָהּ, 836.

¹⁷⁵² Brown / Driver / Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, פָּרָשָׁהּ; פְּתִיחָהּ may also mean *explanation*, 831.

¹⁷⁵³ Dobin, 148.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Teugels, *Did Moses see the Chariot?*, in: Vervenne (ed.), *Studies in the book of Exodus*, 598.

¹⁷⁵⁵ E.g. Iustinus Martyrus, *Dial. Tryph.* 81.4 (l. 1-6 Goodspeed): καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσῃ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναί, αἰώνιαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν; 62.4 (l. 6 Goodspeed); 115.3 (l. 9 Goodspeed); 116.1 (l. 1 Goodspeed).

¹⁷⁵⁶ Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* IV 4.5 (CC SL 1, 491, l. 12-24). Cf. Tertullianus, *Scorp.* 12 (CC SL 1, 173, l. 6-7): quodsi pro fratribus, quanto magis pro domino moriendum docet, satis de apocalypsi quoque sua instructus haec suadere? Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 176.

lifted”. *Aperitur* is used in this impersonal sense.¹⁷⁵⁷ **liber eius** *i.e.* the book of Moses, the book of the covenant (Ex. 24.7). **hostiarum oblationes intelleguntur**. Jerome reverses the order of gentives to “*hostiae oblationis*”,¹⁷⁵⁸ probably to stress the *hostiae* as tupoi of Christ as sacrificial victim. Origen considers interpreting scripture analogous to inspecting the entrails of sacrificial victims,¹⁷⁵⁹ albeit without damaging the unity of the whole, Catholic body.¹⁷⁶⁰ **sacerdotia**. Jerome alters to the singular “*sacerdotium*”,¹⁷⁶¹ though Victorinus may have in mind various distinguished individuals who held the office, as well as the tribe of Levi. **et Christi**. Likewise Jerome prefers the more abstract notion of *chrisma* (Ex. 29.5-7),¹⁷⁶² rather than the person(s) to whom it was applied. The Old Latin of 2 Mach. 1.10 renders τό χριστῶν ἱερέων γένος with *genus christorum sacerdotium (the stock of annointed priests)*.¹⁷⁶³ **mandata**. Cf. Ex. 28-29. **fabricatio aedis**. Cf. Ex 26; 1 Kings 5-7; 2 Chron. 3-4. *Aedes*’ primary meaning is a *single-room dwelling* of the gods, and only secondarily a human house (always in the plural).¹⁷⁶⁴ **testimonia**. “Proofs”, evinced, unsurprisingly, by or for the *Testamentum*.¹⁷⁶⁵ For Pseudo-Cyprian, it is the *New Testament* that is opened, whereby the gentiles are welcomed as heirs, in place of disobedient Israel,¹⁷⁶⁶

¹⁷⁵⁷ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 469, l. 7-16): In quantum *ergo* fidem non capit, ut idem uideatur oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente in uicem iniuriae exigere, qui non modo uicem sed etiam ultionem, etiam recordationem et recogitationem iniuriae prohibet, in tantum aperitur nobis, quomodo oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente censuerit: non ad secundam iniuriam talionis permittendam, quam prohibuerat interdicta ultione, sed ad primam coerendam [quam prohibuerat] oppositio talione, ut unusquisque respiciens licentiam secundae iniuriae a prima semetipsum contineret.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 17 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁵⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 18.107 (SChr 157, l. 3-4): Καὶ τῶν ἐνδοσθίων δὲ καὶ ἐσωτερικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων οὐκ ἀφεκτέον.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Origenes, Com. in Io. X 18.107 (SChr 157, l. 4-9): Ὡς ἐνὶ δὲ σώματι τῇ ἀπάσῃ προσελθετέον γραφῆ, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ τῆς πάσης συνθέσεως αὐτῆς εὐτονωτάτας καὶ στερροτάτας συνοχᾶς οὐ συντριπτέον οὐδὲ διακοπτέον, ὅπερ πεποιήκασιν οἱ τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς πνεύματος τὸ ὅσον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς συντρίβοντες.

¹⁷⁶¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 18 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (R. H.; p. 65, l. 18 Haussleiter).

¹⁷⁶³ 2 Mach. 1.10 (p. 1100 Rahlf-Hanhart 2; VL; Cod. Ambros. ; p. 75 Peyron).TLL, s. v. *christus*, c. 1028, 62s.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *aedis* 1.; II., 51-52.

¹⁷⁶⁵ v. *testimonia* in Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5, l. 4 above.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Adu. Iud. 5 (CC SL 4, l. 17-20): Sed mox surrexit dominus tertio die, aperuit testamentum nouum, testamentum uitale atque ita dixit: uenite, exterae gentes, heredes mei; israel enim non obaudiuit.

and it is the new covenant that Victorinus now begins to stress. **aperte**. See above on the discussion of "aperitur", and the sundry verbs it may render. **intellegitur**. The singular ending is likely a lapse into Greek grammar, where a neuter plural subject takes a singular verb; or an attempted impersonal use, as *aperitur* may be.

5.3.

1. 1. **Citharas**. Cf. Apoc. 5.8,¹⁷⁶⁷ of which Victorinus gives the plural "citharas" for the singular *κιθάραν*, even as the Vetus Latina renders the plural *ἕκαστος* by "singuli", but which the Poetovian omits. **et fialas**. An Old Latin alternative to "phialas", too. **habentes**. The Old Latin also supplies "habentes", plurifying *ἔχων*. The anomalous nature of the Apocalypse's grammar and syntax must have presented huge problems for Victorinus, both as translator and exegete, since a literal rendering is virtually impossible. This must have challenged the Poetovian at a fundamental level. **cantantes**. Cf. Apoc. 14.1,¹⁷⁶⁸ which seems to have been popular among the Old Latin translators: the participle "cantantes" translates the active verb *ᾄδουσιν*/"cantabant". **canticum nouum**. Omits the *ὡς*, which two of the Vetus

¹⁷⁶⁷ Apoc. 5.8 (p. 642 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου, ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἳ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640C): Et cum aperuisset librum, quatuor animalia, et uiginti quatuor seniores ceciderunt coram agno, habentes singuli citharas, et pateras aureas, et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quae sunt orationes sanctorum; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 1024B): Et cum prostrauerunt se ante Agnum, Habentes phialas aueras incensu, quae memoriae sanctorum; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 569C): Et cum aperuisset librum: quatuor animalia et uiginti quatuor seniores: ceciderunt coram agno: habentes singuli cytharas et fialas aureas plenas odoramentorum: que sunt orationes Sanctorum.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Apoc. 14.1 (p. 659 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ᾠδὴν καινὴν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν τεσσάρων ζῶων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο μαθεῖν τὴν ᾠδὴν εἰ μὴ αἱ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 79 Belsheim): Et cantabant canticum nouum ante sedem dei et ante IIII animalia et ante seniores: et nemo poterat dicere canticum nisi illa CXLIII millia, qui empti sunt de terra; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 232, l. 25 Morin): Et cantabant canticum nobum illius agni in conspectu sedis. et quattuor animalium in conspectu seniorum. , Et nemo poterat dicere canticum illum. nisi illa centum quadraginta quattuor milia qui empti sunt de terra; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 580C): Et cantabant canticum nouum ante sedem et ante quatuor animalia et seniores. Et nemo poterat dicere canticum: nisi illa centum quadraginta quattuor millia: qui empti sunt de terra.

Latina traditions render "quasi".¹⁷⁶⁹ This may have been an ambiguity too far for Victorinus, yet its implying "new-yet-old" one would think would have suited him well. But he now wishes to treat this covenant's novelty, above all.

l. 2-4. <coniuuncta. Cf. Act. 10.28,¹⁷⁷⁰ where the usual Old Latin "conungi" renders κολλᾶσθαι, "keep company with", of the association of Jews with gentiles. It is precisely the election of gentiles that Origen declares "new".¹⁷⁷¹ **ueteris testamenti praedicatio**. Here *proclamation* rather than *prophecy* i.e. that of the twelve patriarchs / twenty four books of the Old Testament. **cum nouo** i.e. *cum nouo testamento*: the twelve apostles and four creature-Gospels. **populum christianum**. Cf. above on the Old Latin of of 2 Mach. 1.10 of τό χριστῶν ἱερέων γένος: *genus christorum sacerdotium* (the stock of annointed priests);¹⁷⁷² an Old Latin rendering of Dan. 9.26¹⁷⁷³ implies of "Christus...eius populus", "Christ...his people". The passage may be significant since it speaks of (in Christian terms) Christ's death, followed by a prior people's denying him, becoming no longer "his" (i.e. the Jews?); and another people's coming (for Jerome, the Romans), who destroy the city of

¹⁷⁶⁹ Apoc. 14.1 (VL; Cod. z; p. 146 Buchanan): Et cantabant quasi canticum nouū ante sedem et ante quatuor animalia et seniores: Et nemo poterat dicere canticum: nisi illa centum quadraginta quatuor milia: qui empti sunt de terra; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 646D): Et cantabant quasi canticum nouum ante sedem, et ante quatuor animalia, et seniores: et nemo poterat dicere canticum, nisi illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia, qui empti erant de terra.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Act. 10.28 (p. 350-351 Nestle-Aland): ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτούς, ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ: κἀμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον; using *adhaerere*: (VL; Cod. 54; p. 22 Belsheim): dixitque ad illos : Vos scitis quia illicitum est uiro iudaeo adhaere aut accedere ad alienigenam, sed michi deus ostendit neminem communem aut immundum dicere hominem; *coniungere*: (VL; Cod. 54; p. 39 Berger): dixit que ad eos. Uos scitis quoniam illicitum est uiro iudaeo coniungi aut accedere ad alienigena. , Sed michi deus ostendit Deus neminem communem aut immundum dicere hominem; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 666A): dixit ad illos: Vos scitis quomodo abominatum sit uiro Iudaeo coniungi, aut accedere ad alienigenam: sed mihi ostendit Dominus, neminem communem aut immundum dicere hominem.

¹⁷⁷¹ Origenes, Con. Cels. VIII 43 (SChr 150, l. 4-7): καινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς ξένους ἀτῶν διαθηκῶν τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀλλοτρίους τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοὺς μακρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας δυνάμει τινὶ θεία παραδέχεσθαι αὐτήν.

¹⁷⁷² 2 Mach. 1.10 (LXX; p. 1100 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2; VL; Cod. Ambros. ; p. 75 Peyron).

¹⁷⁷³ Dan. 9.26 (VL; Isidorus Hispalensis, De fid. cath. con. Iud. II 12.6 (Cl. 1198, c. 518, l. 39-50; PL 83, 489A): Et post hebdomades LXII occidetur Christus; et non erit eius populus qui eum negaturus est. Et ciuitatem, et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce uenturo.

Jerusalem and its temple.¹⁷⁷⁴ The passage may have influenced Origen, who, in a passage surely influencing this now of Victorinus that "This then, is the *new thing* that has happened since the time when Jesus suffered, I mean the history of the city and of all the nation, and the sudden birth of the race of Christians (τὴν ἀθρόαν γένεσιν ἔθνους Χριστιανῶν) which was, so to speak, born in an instant. And it was also new that people who were strangers to the covenants of God and alien to the promises, who were far from the truth, accepted it by some divine miracle".¹⁷⁷⁵ In a similar vein, Pseudo-Cyprian writes of "nouum et posteriorem populum christianorum", albeit stressing that the Jews were promised the *land* of Israel, the Christians the kingdom of *heaven*, to be received in the hereafter.¹⁷⁷⁶ Victorinus seems first to use this *precise* Latin term, suggesting the importance of a *quasi*-ethnicity to the early Church, equivalent to the peoplehood of ancient Israel, and it is perhaps ironic that he takes his cue from Origen, who writes of a "new people".¹⁷⁷⁷ **ostendit.** The subject is "praedicatio". **cantantem** *i.e.* the *populus Christianus*. **canticum nouum.** Origen includes those singing a

¹⁷⁷⁴ Cf. Hieronymus - Commentarii in Daniele Cl. 0588, lib. : 3, cap. (s.s.) : 9, linea : 571-593): scito igitur quoniam a die hac *qua* nunc tibi loquor et dei sermone promitto quod reuertatur populus et hierusalem instauretur, usque ad christum ducem et perpetuam desolationem templi, hebdomades numerentur sexaginta duae; necnon et aliae septem hebdomades in quibus iuxta ordinem suum duae res fient de quibus et ante iam dixi: quod reuertatur populus et aedificetur platea a neemia et ezra; in fine *ergo* hebdomadarum complebitur dei sententia in angustia temporum quando rursum destruetur templum et capietur ciuitas, nam: post sexaginta duas hebdomadas occiditur christus; et non erit eius populus qui eum negaturus erit (siue, ut illi dicunt, non erit illius imperium quod putabat se retenturum)'. et quid dico de christo occidendo et populo penitus deserendo auxilio dei, cum et ciuitatem et sanctuarium dissipaturus sit populus romanus cum duce uenturo uespasiano, quo mortuo, transactis septem hebdomadis id est annis quadraginta nouem, aelius hadrianus - a quo postea de ruinis hierusalem urbs aelia condita est - rebellantes iudaeos, tinio rufo magistro exercitus pugnante, superauit, et tunc defecit hostia et sacrificium - et: usque ad consummationem mundi et finem perseuerabit desolatio -?

¹⁷⁷⁵ Origenes, Con. Cels. VIII 43 (p. 483 Chadwick (trans.); (SChr 150, l. 1-7): Καινὸν οὖν γέγονεν, ἐξ οὗ πέπονθε χρόνου ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κάκειῖνο, λέγω δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν γένεσιν ἔθνους Χριστιανῶν ὡσπερὶ τεχθέντος εἰσάπαξ καινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦς ξένους «τῶν διαθηκῶν» τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀλλοτρίους τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦς μακρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας δυνάμει τινὶ θεία παραδέχεσθαι αὐτήν.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De mont. Sina et Sion 11 (CSEL 3.3, 116, l. 7-15): Ecce probauimus per omnium scripturarum deificarum fidem duo montes Sina in terra et Sion in caelo duorum testamentorum portare figuram, ueteris Sina et noui Sion: ex quibus duobus montibus, uidelicet duobus testamentis posteriori tempore demonstratos et depalatos duos populos, ueterem et priorem Iudaeorum et nouum et posteriorem populum christianorum: Iudaeos terrenos quibus terra promissa a Deo (acceperunt carnales) et christianos caelestes quibus regna caelorum a Deo promissa (accepturi sunt in futuro saeculo).

¹⁷⁷⁷ Origenes, De princ. I 3.7 (GCS 22, 58, l. 13-17 Emittes spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renouabis faciem terrae", quod manifeste de sancto spiritu designatur, qui ablatis atque extinctis peccatoribus et indignis ipse sibi novum populum 'creet' et 'renouet faciem terrae', cum per gratiam spiritus 'deponentes veterem hominem cum actibus suis', 'in novitate vitae coeperint ambulare'.

new song in a group of seven novelties:¹⁷⁷⁸ new wine, new heaven, new earth, new man-new men (*nouus homo, noui homines*), new song, new life, new cup.

l. 4-5. **id est confessionem suam publice.** Cf. Reg. 22.50;¹⁷⁷⁹ Rom. 15.9¹⁷⁸⁰ for the biblical association of singing and confession, especially for gentiles and gentile believers, as Origen stresses.¹⁷⁸¹ Dulaey thinks that this may *not* primarily mean a public declaration of faith before pagans, but a sense more like *Symbol i.e. confessing a creed*, as for Augustine, who also stipulates the need for its brevity.¹⁷⁸² This accords with the sevenfold form of articles which follows, and may be closer to its ecclesiastical sense: primarily *creed, avowal* or *acknowledgement*;¹⁷⁸³ only secondarily of *acknowledgment of Christ*. Victorinus seems to regard the public confession of faith as fundamentally professing the unity of Old and New Testaments *i.e.* intended for demonstration against heretics who deny the unity of Old and New Testaments, an essentially *internal* Church matter. But there is also a broader message of the unity of, if not wholesale exchange of, Jew and gentile in Christ (in Origen, superiority of gentile believer over mere fleshly Jew), which could also strengthen the sense of election

¹⁷⁷⁸ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 7.2 (GCS 29, 380, l. 6-11): Post haec tamen bibet vinum, sed 'vinum novum'; et 'vinum novum' in 'coelo novo et in nova terra' et in 'novo homine' cum 'hominibus novis' et cum his, qui 'cantant' ei 'canticum novum'. Vides *ergo* quia impossibile est de nova vite novum poculum bibi ab eo, qui adhuc 'indutus est veterem hominem cum actibus suis'.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Reg. 22.50 (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 468A): Et confitebor tibi in gentibus, et nomini tuo cantabo.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Rom. 15.9 (VL; Cod. 79; p. 37 Dold): Propter hoc confitebor tibi in gentibus (et) nomini tuo cantabo; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 36, l. 20): Gentes autem per misericordiam glorificare deum. sicut scriptum est. Propterea confitebor tibi in gentibus domine. et nomini tuo cantabo; (VL; Cod. 64; p. 71 Ziegler): gentes autem super misericordia honorare deum, sicut scriptum est: propterea confitebor tibi in gentibus et psallam nomini tuo; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 22 Buchanan): Gentes autem super misericordiā honorare do. Sicut scriptum est. Propter hoc confitebor tibi in gentibus dñe et nomini tuo cantabo; (VL; Cod. 75; p. Tischendorf): gentes autem super misericordia honorare dm sicut scriptum est propter hoc confitebor tibi in gentibus et nomini tuo cantabo.

¹⁷⁸¹ Origenes, Com. in Rom. X 8 (AGLB 34, 808, l. 1-5): "Dico enim Christum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis propter ueritatem Dei ad stabiliendas | promissiones patrum; gentes autem pro misericordia honorare Deum sicut scriptum est: propterea confitebor tibi in gentibus et in nomine tuo cantabo.

¹⁷⁸². Augustinus Hipponensis, Ench. de fid.30 (CC SL 46, l. 1-4): *ex ista fidei confessione, quae breuiter symbolo continetur, et carnaliter cogitata lac paruulorum est, spiritaliter autem considerata atque tractata cibus est fortium, nascitur spes bona fidelium, cui caritas sancta comitatur.* Augustinus Hipponensis, Ench. de fid. 24 (CC SL 46, l. 38-40): hoc nisi credimus, periclitatur ipsum nostrae confessionis initium, *qua* nos in deum patrem omnipotentem credere confitemur. TLL, s. v. *confessio*, c. 190. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 176.

¹⁷⁸³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *confessio* II. B. 1. *A creed, avowal of belief*; 2. *An acknowledgment of Christ*, 412.

of the latter. **proferentium**. Despite the genitive plural, this surely refers to "populum Christianum...cantentem canticum nouum".

The Poetovian Creed

The creed has seven articles, each introduced by the formula "nouum est", in some sense distinguishing the Christian from the Jewish faith, despite the five articles affirming the unity of both Testaments in the prelude to the creed of *In Apoc.* 5.2, l.29-33. The formula may derive from Origen: *Καὶνὸν οὖν...καὶνὸν δὲ...*¹⁷⁸⁴ But *cf.* Tertullian.¹⁷⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸⁴ Origenes, *Con. Cels.* VIII 43 (p. 483 Chadwick (trans.); (SChr 150, l. 1-7). See above.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* IV (CC SL 1, 423, l. 12-425, l. 10): Atque adeo confiteor alium ordinem decucurrisse in ueteri dispositione apud creatorem, alium in noua apud christum. Non nego distare documenta eloquii, praecepta uirtutis, legis disciplinas, dum tamen tota diuersitas in unum et eundem deum competat, illum scilicet, a quo constat eam dispositam sicut et praedicatam. Olim contionatur esaias proditura ex sion legem et sermonem domini ex hierusalem, aliam utique legem alium que sermonem. Denique iudicabit, inquit, inter nationes et traducet populum plurimum, scilicet non unius gentis iudaeorum, sed nationum, quae per nouam legem euangelii et nouum sermonem apostolorum iudicantur et traducuntur apud semetipsas de pristino errore, simul crediderunt, atque exinde concidunt machaeras in aratra, et zibinas, quod genus uenabulorum est, in falces, id est feros et saeuos quondam animos conuertunt in sensus probos et bonae frugis operarios. Et rursus: audite me, audite, populus meus, et reges, auribus intendite in me, quoniam lex prodibit a me et iudicium meum in lucem nationum, quo iudicauerat atque decreuerat nationes quoque inluminandas per euangelii legem atque sermonem. Haec erit et lex apud dauid, inuituperabilis, *qua* perfecta, conuertens animam, utique ab idolis ad deum, hic erit et sermo, de quo idem esaias: quoniam, inquit, decisum sermonem faciet dominus in terra. Compendiatum est enim nouum testamentum et a legis lacinosi oneribus expeditum. Sed quid pluribus, cum manifestius et luce ipsa clarius nouatio praedicetur a creatore per eundem? ne remineritis priorum et antiqua ne recogitaueritis - uetera transierunt, noua oriuntur - ecce facio noua, quae nunc orientur. Item per hieremiam: nouate uobis nouamen nouum et ne seueritis in spinas et circumcidimini praepudia cordis uestri et alibi: ecce ueniet dies, dicit dominus, et perficiam domui iacob et domui iudae testamentum nouum, non secundum testamentum, quod disposui patribus eorum in die, *qua* arripui dispositionem eorum ad educendos eos de terra aegypti. Adeo pristinum testamentum temporale significat, dum mutabile ostendit, etiam dum aeternum de postero pollicetur. Nam per esaiam: audite me, <inquit>, et uiuetis, et disponam uobis testamentum aeternum, adiciens sancta et fidelia dauid, ut id testamentum in christo decursurum demonstraret, ex genere dauid secundum mariae censum. Eundem etiam in uirga, ex radice iesse processura, figurate praedicabat. Igitur si alias leges alios que sermones et nouas testamentorum dispositiones a creatore dixit futuras, ut etiam ipsorum sacrificiorum alia officia potiora et quidem apud nationes destinari, dicente malachia: non est uoluntas mea in uobis, inquit dominus, et sacrificia uestra non excipiam de manibus uestris, quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glorificatum est in nationibus nomen meum, et in omni loco sacrificium nomini meo offertur et sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura, necesse est omnis demutatio ueniens ex inuouatione diuersitatem ineat cum his, quorum fit, et contrarietatem ex diuersitate.

Tertullianus, *Adu. Iud.* 6 (CC SL 2, l. 13-25): Itaque necessitas nobis incumbit ut, quoniam praedicatam nouam legem a prophetis praediximus et eam non talem, qualis iam data esset patribus eorum eo tempore, quo eos de terra aegypti produxit, ostendere et probare debeamus tam illam legem ueterem cessasse quam legem nouam promissam nunc operari: et quidem primum quaerendum, an expectetur nouae legis lator et noui testamenti heres et nouorum sacrificiorum sacerdos et nouae circumcisionis purgator et aeterni sabbati cultor, qui legem ueterem compescat et nouum testamentum statuat et noua sacrificia offerat et ceremonias

Article 1. The pre-existent Son, Incarnate:

l. 5-6. **Nouum est filium Dei hominem fieri.** The principle is iterated in Victorinus' *Regula Fidei*, while the formula only occurs anciently in oriental Symbols.¹⁷⁸⁶

Article 2. The Passion:

l. 6. **nouum etiam eumdem** *i.e.* the Son, αὐτὸν / " eum [morti traderent]" in Matth.

26.59.¹⁷⁸⁷ **ab hominibus.** Oddly, *cf.* 2 Mach. 7.14,¹⁷⁸⁸ of the second brother martyred by Antiochus Epiphanes' men: "ab hominibus morti datos". The Latin rendering of the Greek betrays an approach similarly expansive to that of Matth. 26.59-27.1, below. For the reference to "men" rather than "sinners", *cf.* the Old Latin of Luc. 24.7,¹⁷⁸⁹ which sometimes omits the latter: "in manus hominum"; unlike Matth. 26.45 or Marc. 14.41, where "sinners" is the sole substantive. But for the *New Testament* origin of the "ab" of agency, *cf.* Matth.

17.12:¹⁷⁹⁰ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν / "Filius hominis passurus

antiquas reprimat et circumcisionem ueterem cum suo sabbato compescat et nouum regnum, quod non corrumpatur, adnuntiet.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 195. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 232; 2, 4.1, n. 114.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Matth. 26.59 (p. Nestle-Aland): (VL; Cod. 3; p. 35 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 4; p. 36 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 5; p. 86 Scrivener); (VL; Cod. 6; p. 36 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 7; p. 43 Wordsworth); (VL; Cod. 8; p. 24 Belsheim).

¹⁷⁸⁸ 2 Mach. 2.14 (p. 1116 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τὸ τελευτᾶν οὕτως ἔφη αἰρετὸν μεταλλάσσοντας ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προσδοκᾶν ἐλπίδας πάλιν ἀναστήσασθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται; (VL; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Ad Fort.* 11 (CC SL 3, l. 138-141; p. 339, l. 21 Hartel): Nec non et quartus pari uirtute tormenta contemnens et ad retundendum regem caelesti uoce respondens exclamauit et dixit: potius est ab hominibus morti datos expectare spem a deo iterum ab eo suscitatos.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Luc. 24.7 (p. 242 Nestle-Aland): λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 88 Belsheim): dicens quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 110 Belsheim): Quoniam Filius hominis oportet tradi, tertia die resurgere; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 116 Belsheim): Quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi, et die tertia resurgere; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 259 Scrivener): quoniam oportet filii hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Matth. 17.12 (p. 47 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 5; p. 46 Scrivener): filius hominis incipiet pati ab eis; (VL; Cod. 10; p. 111 Wordsworth-White): filius hominis. passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 11; p. 46 Haase): filius

est ab eis"; cf. also Matth. 16.21:¹⁷⁹¹ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι / "pati a senioribus et scribis et principibus sacerdotum et occidi". The expression may qualify both verbs: **morti tradi**. Cf. Luc. 24.7, whose Old Latin employs "tradi", alone of the Gospels. The binary perhaps alludes to the alleged roles of Jew and gentile in betrayal and crucifixion, respectively. Cf. especially the Old Latin of the simpler ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν of Matth. 26.59,¹⁷⁹² which is more complex: "ut eum morti traderent"; and Matth. 27.1:¹⁷⁹³ ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν / "ut eum morti traderent".

But the passive "tradi" also echoes Matth. 26.45:¹⁷⁹⁴ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται /

hominis passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 15; p. 71 Belsheim): filius hominis passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 16; p. 57 White): filius hominis passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 27; p. 71 Rettig): filius hōis fiet passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 30; p. 31 Heer): filius hominis passurus est ab eis; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 55 Morin): filius hominis. passurus est ab eis.

¹⁷⁹¹ Matth. 16.21 (p. 45-46 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 2; p. 5 Belsheim): pati a senioribus. et a sacerdotibus et scribis et interfici; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 21 Belsheim): pati a senioribus, et principibus sacerdotum, et occidi; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 22 Belsheim): pati a senioribus et scribis et principibus sacerdotum et occidi; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 46 Scrivener): pati a senioribus et principibus sacerdotum et scribis et interfici; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 21 Belsheim): pati a senioribus et scribis et a principibus sacerdotum et occidi; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 27 Wordsworth): pati a senioribus et scribis et principibus sacerdotum et occidi.

¹⁷⁹² Matth. 26.59 (p. Nestle-Aland): οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 35 Belsheim): Princeps uero, et uniuersum concilium, quaerebant falsum testimonium aduersus Iesum, ut eum interficerent; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 36 Belsheim): Principes autem sacerdotum et uniuersum concilium quaerebant falsum testimonium contra Iesum, ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 86 Scrivener): principes autem sacerdotum et conuenticulum totum quaerebant falsum testimonium aduersus ihm quatenus mortificarent eum; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 36 Belsheim): Principes autem sacerdotum et uniuersum concilium quaerebant falsum testimonium aduersus Iesum, ut eum morti traderent, et non inuenerunt; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 43 Wordsworth): Principes autem sacerdotum et omne concilium quaerebant falsum testimonium contra Ihm ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 24 Belsheim): Principes autem sacerdotum et uniuersum concilium querebant falsum testimonium contra ihm ut eum morti traderent.

¹⁷⁹³ Matth. 27.1 (p. 80 Nestle-Aland): Πρωτῆς δὲ γενομένης συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 36 Belsheim): Mane autem factum consilium acceperunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores plebis aduersus Iesum, ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 39 Belsheim): Mane autem factum consilium acceperunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores plebis aduersus Iesum, ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 37 Belsheim): Et cum mane factum esset consilium fecerunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores plebis aduersus Iesum, ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 43 Wordsworth): Mane autem facto consilium inierunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores populi aduersus Ihm ut eum morti traderent; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 25 Belsheim): Mane autem factum consilium acceperunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores plebis aduersus ihm ut eum morti traderent.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Matth. 26.45 (p. 84 Nestle-Aland): τότε ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· καθεύθετε λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε. ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 35 Belsheim): ...nc uenit ad discipulos ...os, et dicit ...s: Dormite ...m, et requi...cite: ecce ...ropinqua... hora, et fil... hominis tradetur in manibus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 38 Belsheim): Tunc uenit ad discipulos suos et dicit illis: Dormite iam et requiescite, ecce adpropiauit hora, et filius hominis traditur in manibus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 84 Scrivener): tunc uenit ad discipulos suos et dicit eis: dormite de cetero et requiescite: ecce adpropiauit hora et filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 36 Belsheim): Tunc uenit ad discipulos suos et dicit illis Dormite iam et requiescite: ecce

"filius hominis trad[i / e]tur"; Marc. 14.41:¹⁷⁹⁵ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου /

"trad[e / i]tur filius hominis [trad[i / e]tur]". Cf. also Matth. 27.2;¹⁷⁹⁶ Marc. 15.1: παρέδωκεν.

But, technically, the passive "morti" perhaps evokes, most of all, Io. 11.50:

ἀποθάνη/"moriatur".¹⁷⁹⁷

In any case, Victorinus' apparently simple formula has a complex origin. It recalls material in the *De fabrica mundi*, as well as Melito of Sardis' poem *On Easter's* and Pseudo-Cyprian's derivative scandal of Israel's (also ≡ humanity's?) killing its own creator.¹⁷⁹⁸ It is a highly compressed allusion to Christ's passive victimhood, that stresses the agency humanity

appropinquavit hora, et filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 42 Wordsworth): Tunc uenit ad discipulos suos et dicit illis dormite iam et requiescite. ecce appropinquavit hora et filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Marc. 14.41 (p. Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἔρχεται τὸ τρίτον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· καθεύδετε [τὸ] λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἀπέχει ἡλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 18 Wordsworth): et uenit tertio· et ubi adorauit illis· dormite iam nunc ecce appropinquavit qui me tradit et post pusillum· excitauit illos. et dixit iam ora ecce traditur filius hominis in manu peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 131 Belsheim): Et uenit tertio, et dicit illis: Dormite iam, et requiescite. Consummatus est finis: aduenit hora; et ecce traditur Filius hominis in manibus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 317 Scrivener): et uenit tertio et ait illis dormite iam et requiescite· sufficit finis et hora ecce traditur filius hominis in manus peccatorum; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 61 Belsheim): Et uenit tercio et dixit illis Dormite iam et requiescite adest enim consummatio et hora: ecce tradetur filius hominis in manibus peccatorum.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Matth. 27.2 (p. 80 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 3; p. 36 Belsheim): Et ligatum eum duxerunt, et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 39 Belsheim): Et uinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 88 Scrivener): et ligantes eum duxerunt et tradiderunt pontio pilato praesidi; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 37 Belsheim): Et uinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 43 Wordsworth): Et uinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 25 Belsheim): et uinctum adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt pontio pilato praesidi.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Io. 11.50 (p. 286 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 2; p. 35 Belsheim): necque cogitatis quod expedit uobis ut unus homo moriatur pro plebe et non tota gens pereat; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 57 Belsheim): nec cogitatis quod expedit uobis ut unus homo moriatur pro plebem, et non omnis gens pereat (VL; Cod. 4; p. 62 Belsheim): necque cogitatis, quia expedit uobis, ut unus homo moriatur pro populo, et non tota gens pereat; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 134 Scrivener): neque cogitatis quoniam expedit uobis ut unus homo moriatur pro plebe et ne tota gens periet; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 126 Belsheim): necque cogitatis quis expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 232; 2, 4.1. n. 115.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Melito, De Pasc. 94 (SChr 123, l. 711-715): Ἀκούσατε πᾶσαι αἱ πατ[ρ]ιαὶ τῶν ἐθ[ν]ῶν καὶ ἴδετερὸν [Καινὸς φόνος γ]έγονεν ἐν μέσῳ Ἰερουσαλήμ, [ἐν πόλει νομικῇ], [ἐν πόλει Ἑβραϊκῇ], [ἐν πόλει προφητικῇ], [ἐν πόλει δικαία νομιζομένη]. [Καὶ τίς πεφόνευται]; [Τίς δὲ ὁ φονεύς]; [Εἶπειν αἰ]δοῦμαι καὶ λέγειν [ἀναγκάζομαι]. [Εἰ] μὲν γὰρ νύκτωρ [γεγόνει ὁ φόμος] ἢ ἐπὶ ἐρημίας ἦν ἐσφα[γ]μένος], [σιγᾶν] εὐχρηστον ἦν ὁ νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ μέσῃς πλατείας καὶ πόλεως, ἐν μέσῳ [πόλεως] πάντων ὀρώντων ἐν μέσῳ [πόλεως] πάντων ὀρώντων γέγονεν [δικαί]ου ἄδικος φόμος. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Adu. Iud. 4 (CC SL 4, l. 7-9): interficere ergo potuistis regem et sponsum? propter hoc testis est caelum et terra et quae in illis sunt elementa, insuper et omnis creatura testis est in mortem christi.

shares in it. More often occurs “he suffered / was crucified / died”:¹⁷⁹⁹ 1 Cor. 15.3-4, as follows.

Article 3. The Resurrection:

1. 7. **nouum tertia die resurgere.** Cf. Luc. 24.7, whose Old Latin universally employs *resurgere*: “*tertia die resurgere*”;¹⁸⁰⁰ *contra* 1 Cor. 15.4,¹⁸⁰¹ whose earliest manuscripts employ *surgere* more often than *resurgere*. Since Victorinus' exact expression appears in Tertullian¹⁸⁰² (who usually employs “*resurrexit*” in paraphrase, as does Cyprian, though both use “*surrexit*”, a minority of times), and given it is also the *Augustinian* Old Latin that favours *resurgere*,¹⁸⁰³ one might deduce a North African provenance,¹⁸⁰⁴ and a possible Afra-Itala

¹⁷⁹⁹ Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 73-75; 82; 86; 189; 395. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 232; 2, 4.1, n. 114.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Luc. 24.7 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 88 Belsheim): *dicens quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere*; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 110 Belsheim): *Quoniam Filium hominis oportet tradi, tertia die resurgere*; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 116 Belsheim): *Quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi, et die tertia resurgere*; (VL; Cod. 5 ; p. 259 Scrivener): *quoniam oportet filiu hominis tradi in manus hominum et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere*.

¹⁸⁰¹ Perhaps only twice as extant: 1 Cor. 15.4 (p. 467 Nestle-Aland): *καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 203 Morin): *Et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit tertia die. secundum scripturas*; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 41 Buchanan): *et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas*; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 169 Tischendorf): *et quia sepultus est et quia surrexit die tertia secundum scripturas*; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 30 Belsheim): *et quia sepultus est, et quia surrexit die tertia secundum scripturas*; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 37a Matthäi): *et quia sepultus est, et quia surrexit tertia die secundum scripturas*; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86,) : *Dominus Iesus Christus surrexit a mortuis tertia die*; (VL; ; p.) : *et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas*;

¹⁸⁰² Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* IV (CC SL 1, 566, l. 27-567, l. 2): *An eadem et angeli ad mulieres: rememoramini, quae locutus sit uobis in galilaea dicens, quod oportet tradi filium hominis et crucifigi et tertia die resurgere?* Tertullianus, *Adu. Marc.* III (CC SL 1, 389, l. 27-28): *Tradidi enim, inquit, uobis in primis, quod christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris et quod sepultus sit et quod resurrexit tertia die.*

¹⁸⁰³ Varying between “*tertio / tertia die*”: 1 Cor. 15.4 (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Epist.* 164.5 (CSEL 44, 534, l. 9-13): *quam ob rem teneamus firmissime, quod fides habet fundatissima auctoritate firmata: quia christus mortuus est, secundum scripturas et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit tertio die secundum scripturas et cetera, quae de illo testatissima ueritate conscripta sunt.* 2 Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrat.* in Ps. 29.2.16 (CC SL 38, l. 21-22): *in domino nostro uespera fuit, qua sepultus est, et matutinum, quo resurrexit, tertio die; sepultus es et tu uespera in paradiso, et resurrexisti tertio die.*

Augustinus Hipponensis, *De fid. et op.* 10.15 (CSEL 41, 52, l. 24-27): *unde est igitur, quod eis dicit: tradidi enim uobis in primis, quia christus mortuus est secundum scripturas, et quia sepultus est, et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, si nihil nisi crucifixum docuerat?*

Augustinus Hipponensis, *Con. Faust.* XI 3 (CSEL 25, 316, l. 26-317, l. 7): *non secundum hominem, quem paulus dicit de caelo, quem dicit etiam nouissimum adam in spiritum uiuificantem, quem dicit factum ex semine dauid secundum carnem, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret; de quo ad timotheum dicit: memor esto christum iesum resurrexisse a mortuis ex semine dauid secundum euangelium*

agreement.¹⁸⁰⁵ But the *sure* North African Itala codices favour "surrexit" for 1 Cor. 15.4; while no extant Latin creed has "surrexit", rather "resurrexit", including the apparently later, but geographically closer, "tertio die resurrexit" of the Aquileian creed of Rufinus.¹⁸⁰⁶ This is usually adduced as the earliest Old Roman Creed, ever since Usher's identifying it with the Greek creed of Bishop Marcellus of Ancyra in Cappadocia, of the mid-fourth century, addressed to Pope Julius I; and generally thought corroborated by the baptismal confession of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Traditions*, datable to the early third century.¹⁸⁰⁷ Thus Victorinus' reading is as likely to reflect a Roman origin as an African one. Still, the divergence between Old Roman Creed and the majority of Old Latin of 1 Cor. 15.4 is curious, betraying a larger influence from Luc. 24.7. Inevitably the anteriority of Victorinus' credal use of this form of the verb is a siren call to detect a later influence. The infinitive *resurgere* occurs in variant C of the interrogative creed of the Bobbio Missal,¹⁸⁰⁸ dated to a manuscript of the seventh century,¹⁸⁰⁹ widely considered of Irish provenance.¹⁸¹⁰ And a Victorinian influence on the

meum; in cuius exemplo etiam resurrectionem nostram praedicat dicens: tradidi enim uobis in primis, quod et accepistis, quia christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas; et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Although, while this idea was popularized by such as Eichhorn this has recently been critiqued: Petzer, *The Latin Version of the New Testament*, in: Ehrman / Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament In Contemporary Research*,

¹⁸⁰⁵ The Afra tradition is generally thought the older, the Itala a later refinement: Petzer, *The Latin Version of the New Testament*, in: Ehrman / Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament In Contemporary Research*, 121.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Rufinus, *Expos. symb.* 27 (CC SL 20, l. 1): *Sequitur post hoc: tertia die resurrexit.* Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 103.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Kelly (trans.), *Rufinus: A Commentary of the Apostles' Creed*, 103-104, n. 13; *Early Christian Creeds*, 102-103.

¹⁸⁰⁸ *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (MS Paris. Lat. 13246) 2: Text; Notes and Studies* (p. 75 Lowe / Wilmart). *Cod. Bob. art. 12* (p. 111 Heurtley): *vitam abere post mortem in gloriam Christi resurgere.* Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 402.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Hen, *Introduction: The Bobbio Missal - from Mabillon onwards*, in: Hen / Meens (eds.), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, 2-3.

¹⁸¹⁰ Hen, *Introduction: The Bobbio Missal - from Mabillon onwards*, in: Hen / Meens (eds.), *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, 2-3.

Patrician *Regula Fidei* has long been suspected.¹⁸¹¹ "Resurrexit in terti[o/a] die" occurs in ancient Roman¹⁸¹² and most fourth century Symbols, both oriental¹⁸¹³ and occidental.¹⁸¹⁴

Article 4. The Ascension:

1. 7-8. **nouum cum corpore in caelis ascendere.** While Irenaeus has τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν (“in carne in caelos ascensionem”)¹⁸¹⁵ and Epiphanius ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι,¹⁸¹⁶ the stress (thrice in *In Apocalypsin in toto*)¹⁸¹⁷ upon “cum corpore” is wholly absent from known creeds, with the possible exception of Chromatius, a potential witness to an Aquileian symbology.¹⁸¹⁸

¹⁸¹¹ Oulton, The credal statements of St. Patrick : as contained in the fourth chapter of his Confession ; a study of their sources, 15. Hanson, The Rule of Faith of Victorinus and of Patrick, in: Bieler / O'Meara / Naumann (eds.), Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900, 27-32. Lienhard, Victorinus of Pettau as the Author of the Canon Muratori, in: v. C. 62 (2008), 9-10.

¹⁸¹² Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 91.

¹⁸¹³ Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 186; 197.

¹⁸¹⁴ Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 99; 196.

¹⁸¹⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 2.1 (p. 91, l.10 Harvey): τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν.

¹⁸¹⁶ Epiphanius, Ancor. 119.8 (GCS 25, l. 2): ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι□□; cf. also Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo. 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 3): cum corpore ascendit ad caelum.

¹⁸¹⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 4-5): Satis autem et plene patefactum est, quando Christus cum corpore in caelis ad Patrem ascendit. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 76, l. 5-11): Nouum est filium Dei hominem fieri, nouum etiam eundem ab hominibus morti tradi, nouum tertia die resurgere, nouum cum corpore in caelis ascendere, nouum remissionem peccatorum hominibus dari, nouum Spiritu Sancto signari homines, nouum sacerdotium accipere obsecrationis et regnum expectare immensae repermissionis. 75 Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.1 (SChr 423, 92, l. 8-14): Mensura autem fidei est mandatum Domini nostri, Patrem confiteri omnipotentem, ut didicimus, et huius Filium Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem genitum, factum hominem et morte deuicta in caelis cum corpore a Patre receptum <effudisse Spiritum> Sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis.

¹⁸¹⁸ Chrom. ser. 8, 1; 4 (p. 194, 117). Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 3-6): Hoc enim die quadragesimo post resurrectionem, ut audiuit in praesenti lectione dilectio uestra, dominus et saluator noster, praesentibus ac uidentibus discipulis, cum corpore ascendit ad caelum. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 19 Sed nunc primum cum corpore ad caelum ascendit. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 81-88): Ascendit ergo christus cum corpore ad caelum, post triumphum crucis, post uictoriam passionis. Alii enim praecedebant, alii sequebantur, ascendente christo cum corpore ad caelum, congruum obsequium exhibentes tanto regi et tanto uictori. Si enim regi homini post uictoriam cum laudibus omnes occurrunt, quanto magis christo regi aeterno omnes angeli ac supernae uirtutes occurrere debuerunt, qui triumphato diabolo et morte deuicta, uictor cum corpore ascendebat ad caelum. Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 8 (CC SL 9A, l. 103): Voluit cum corpore ascendere ad caelum.

However, Pseudo-Tertullian has a similar *quasi*-credal formula.¹⁸¹⁹ The equivalent Greek expression is rarer still, but Epiphanius employs τὸ τριήμερον...ἐγειρόμενος σὺν σώματι,¹⁸²⁰ perhaps evincing a common oriental source. Marius Victorinus seems to borrow from the Poetovian;¹⁸²¹ whereas Patrick seems to think it spurious.¹⁸²²

Jerome earlier changes "cum corpore" to "in corpore" (*In Apoc.* 4.1, l), but here leaves it be,¹⁸²³ likely against those heretics who allowed Jesus a fleshly earthly *ministry*, but a merely spiritual resurrection. The Stridonian clarifies "resurrection of the *body*" by that of "the *flesh*", lest (an allegedly Origenian) heresy adopt the doctrine of a corporal resurrection, *but not a fleshly one*,¹⁸²⁴ a loophole perhaps left, ironically, by Tertullian's Stoic-like ascribing to God (even) *a spiritual body*.¹⁸²⁵ Tertullian stresses the *concept* of bodily resurrection *for all*, "cum carnis restitutione", but of Christ only "in caelos *ereptum*".¹⁸²⁶ Ambrose employs *rapi* of Enoch and Elijah, their translation clearly entailing bodily assumption, "cum corpore."¹⁸²⁷ A similar formula for Rufinus' fourth century Latin rendering

¹⁸¹⁹ Tertullianus (pseudo), *Carm. adu. Marc.* V (CC SL 2, v. 2440): Tertia namque die surgens cum corpore uictor. Cf. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Expos. in psal. cxviii* 19.30 (CSEL 62, 437, l. 16-18): poterit intrare; denique nec resurgentem eum cum corpore ulla clausurarum ualuarum repagula retinere potuerunt, subito se apostolicis penetralibus inprouisus infudit.

¹⁸²⁰ Epiphanius Salaminis, *Anaceph.* 7.35.6 (GCS 37, 448, l. 10-11)

¹⁸²¹ Marius Victorinus, *Adu. Ar.* II 15 (CSEL 83.1, l. 7-12): A morte enim vita reuocata et uita, non ipsa uita, quia *Logos*-g est - haec enim mortem nescit, magis haec ipsa interficit mortem - sed uita, quae in hominibus, resurrexit a morte, quam utique induit simul cum corpore, et eam ab inferno resumpsit.

¹⁸²² Hanson, *The Rule of Faith of Victorinus and of Patrick*, in: Bieler / O'Meara / Naumann (eds.), *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900*, 25.

¹⁸²³ Victorinus Poetouiensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 5.1 (R. H.: p. 67, l. 7 Haussleiter).

¹⁸²⁴ Hieronymus, *Con. Ioh.* 25 (CC SL 79A, 40, l. 3-8): Et tamen, antequam uultum draconis euoluam, et dogma Origenis de resurrectione breuiter exponam, - non enim poteris uim scire antidoti, nisi uenena perspexeris - illud diligenter obserua et caute relegens numera quod nouies resurrectionem corporis nominans, nec semel quidem carnis inseruit. Heurtley, *Harmonia symbolica*, 148.

¹⁸²⁵ Tertullianus, *Adu. Prax.* 7 (CC SL 2, l. 49) Quis enim negabit deum corpus esse, etsi deus spiritus est? Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West*, 132.

¹⁸²⁶ Tertullianus, *De praescr. haeretic.* 13 (CC SL 1, l. 9-15): Exinde praedicasse nouam legem et nouam promissionem regni caelorum, uirtutes fecisse, cruci fixum, tertia die resurrexisse, in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram patris, misisse uicariam uim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat, uenturum cum claritate ad summos sanctos in uitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos iudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione *cum carnis restitutione*.

¹⁸²⁷ Ambrosiaster employs *rapi* of Enoch and Elijah, their translation clearly entailing bodily assumption: Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De fide ad Grat.* IV 1 (CSEL 78, l. 41-44): Translatus *ergo* Enoch, raptus Helias, ambo "famuli", ambo cum corpore, sed non post resurrectionem, non cum manubiis mortis et triumpho crucis uiderant illos angeli.

of Irenaeus merely betrays an equivalent *doctrine* rather than phrasing.¹⁸²⁸ In a similar vein, the Aquileian creed further stresses the flesh of the risen Christ.¹⁸²⁹

Article 5. The Remission of Sins:

1. 8. **nouum remissionem peccatorum.** Cf. Matth. 26.28,¹⁸³⁰ for the ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν / *remissio peccatorum* as the shedding of Christ's blood in the *New Covenant*. ἄφεσις/*remissio* on their own have the biblical meaning of *forgiveness*,¹⁸³¹ the latter's deriving from a Classical sense of *remitting a penalty*.¹⁸³² ἄφεσις ἁμαρτημάτων first appears in Philo.¹⁸³³

The remission of sins appears among the five loaves-articles of the *quasi*-creed of the

¹⁸²⁸ Iren. *haer.* 1, 10; Epiphanius (Denzinger, number 42). See also Vict. p. 96, 8: in caelis cum corpore a patre receptum; cf. p. 44, 12: cum corpore in caelis ad ascendit; Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 4.1, n. 116. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* I 10.1 (SChr 264, l. 1-24): Ecclesia enim per uniuersum orbem usque ad fines terrae seminata, et ab apostolis et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem quae est in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, qui fecit caelum et terram et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, et in unum Christum Iesum Filium Dei, incarnatum pro nostra salute, et in Spiritum Sanctum, qui per prophetas praedicauit dispositiones Dei et aduentum et eam quae est ex Virgine generationem et passionem et *resurrectionem a mortuis et in carne in caelos ascensionem dilecti Iesu Christi Domini nostri* et de caelis in gloria Patris aduentum eius ad recapitulanda uniuersa et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis, ut Christo Iesu Domino nostro et Deo et Saluatori et Regi secundum placitum Patris inuisibilis omne genu curuet caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei, et iudicium iustum in omnibus faciat, spiritualia quidem nequitiae et angelos transgressos atque apostatas factos et impios et iniustos et iniquos et blasphemos homines in aeternum ignem mittat, iustus autem et aequis et praecepta eius seruauit et in dilectione eius perseuerantibus, quibusdam quidem *ab initio*, quibusdam autem ex paenitentia, uitam donans incorruptelam loco muneris conferat et claritatem aeternam circumdet. Didasc. Arab. 39 (p. 133, l. 9-11 Funk): qui corpus Adae per spiritum sanctum adsumpsit ac uiuificauit, qui Adam mortuum induit eumque resuscitauit et cum corpore ascendit 10 in caelum.

¹⁸²⁹ Rufinus, *Expos. symb.* 41 (CC SL 20, l. 20-25): Huius sine dubio, quam is qui profitetur, signaculo crucis fronti inposito contingit, quo sciat unusquisque fidelium carnem suam, si mundam seruauerit a peccato, futuram esse uas honoris, utile domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum; si uero contaminata fuerit in peccatis, futuram esse uas irae ad interitum. Heurtley, *Harmonia symbolica*, 148.

¹⁸³⁰ Matth. 26.28 (p. 76 Nestle-Aland): τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 34 Belsheim): Hic est sanguis meus noui testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.

¹⁸³¹ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, ἄφεσις A. 2. b. *forgiveness*, 259. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *remissio* II. Trop. C. *forgiveness*, 1561. E.g. Cicero, *In Cat. orat.* 4.13 (p. 42, l. 7-11 Reis): vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisse videamini: multo magis est verendum, *ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis uehementes in acerbissimos hostis fuisse videamur*. 14 Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum.

¹⁸³² Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *remissio* II. Trop. B. A *remitting of a penalty*, 1561. E.g. Cicero, *In Cat. orat.* 4.13 (p. 42, l. 7-11 Reis): vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisse videamini: multo magis est verendum, *ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis uehementes in acerbissimos hostis fuisse videamur*. 14 Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum.

¹⁸³³ Philo Iudaeus, *De vit. Mos.* II 2 (147; l.2 Cohn 4); *De spec. leg.* I 190 (l. 4 Cohn 5); I 215 (l. 2-3 Cohn 5).

(possibly second century) oriental *Epistula apostolorum*.¹⁸³⁴ **hominibus dari**. Perhaps equivalent to *περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* / "pro multis effunditur" in Matth. 26.28. Clement of Alexandria first assigns the remission of sins to *man* proper.¹⁸³⁵ Cf. also Cyprian's "remissionem peccatorum dare...*cunctis*"¹⁸³⁶ (and 1 Mach. 10.34: ¹⁸³⁷ ἀφέσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις / "remissionis omnibus Iudaeis"; and Pseudo-Cyprian's "Omnibus enim remissio peccatorum statuta est").¹⁸³⁸ Thus **dari** *i.e.* Cyprian's "remissionem peccatorum dari",¹⁸³⁹ albeit associated rather with a baptismal liturgy than a formal creed (Act. 2.38; cf. also Marc. 1.4; Luc. 3.3). On such evidence Heurtley reconstructs the remission of sins in Cyprian's

¹⁸³⁴ Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 161.

¹⁸³⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* II 13 (56.2; GCS 52 (15), l. 3-4): τοῦ διαβόλου...ζηλώσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

¹⁸³⁶ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *De laps.* 18 (CC SL 3, l. 351-354): Ceterum si quis praepropera festinatione temerarius remissionem peccatorum dare se cunctis putat posse aut audet domini praecepta rescindere, non tantum nihil prodest sed et obest lapsis. Cf. also *Epist. ad Cypr. et al.* (excep. Nouat. epist.) 75.11.1 (CC SL 3C, l. 249-252): Potest credi aut remissio peccatorum data aut lauacri salutaris regeneratio rite perfecta, ubi omnia quamuis ad imaginem ueritatis tamen per daemonem gesta sunt?

¹⁸³⁷ 1 Mach. 10.34 (p. Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἑορταὶ καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ νομηνίαι καὶ ἡμέραι ἀποδεδειγμένοι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ ἑορτῆς καὶ τρεῖς μετὰ ἑορτῆν ἔστωσαν πᾶσαι ἡμέραι ἀτελείας καὶ ἀφέσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου; (VL; p. 1053 Sabatier 2): Et omnes dies solemnes, et sabbata, et numenia, et dies decreti, et tres dies ante diem solemnem, sint omnes dies immunitatis, et remissionis omnibus Iudaeis, qui sunt in regno meo.

¹⁸³⁸ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), *Auct. ignot. Adu. Iud.* 6 (CC SL 4, l. 8-9): Omnibus enim remissio peccatorum statuta est.

¹⁸³⁹ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epist.* 69.11.1-3 (CC SL 3C, l. 225-251): Nam cum in baptismo unicuique peccata sua remittantur, probat et declarat in euangelio suo dominus per eos solos posse peccata dimitti qui habeant spiritum sanctum. Post resurrectionem enim discipulos suos mittens loquitur ad eos et dicit: sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto uos. Hoc cum dixisset, insufflauit et ait illis: accipite spiritum sanctum. Si cuius remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi: si cuius tenueritis, tenebuntur. Quo in loco ostendit eum solum posse baptizare et remissionem peccatorum dare qui habeat spiritum sanctum. Denique ipsum Christum dominum nostrum baptizaturus Iohannes accepit ante spiritum sanctum, cum adhuc esset in utero matris constitutus, ut certum esset atque manifestum baptizare non posse nisi eos qui habeant spiritum sanctum. Itaque qui haereticis siue schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis an habeant spiritum sanctum an non habeant. Si habent, cur illic baptizatis quando ad nos ueniunt manus inponitur ad accipiendum spiritum sanctum, quando iam utique illic acceptus sit ubi si fuit dari potuit? Si autem foris cuncti haeretici et schismatici non habent spiritum sanctum et ideo apud nos manus inponitur, ut hic accipiatur quod illic nec est nec dari potest, manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse quos constat spiritum sanctum non habere. Et ideo ut secundum diuinam dispositionem atque euangelicam ueritatem peccatorum remissionem consequi et sanctificari ac templa dei fieri possint, ecclesiae baptismo baptizandi sunt omnes omnino qui ab aduersariis et antichristis ad Christi ecclesiam ueniunt.

creed.¹⁸⁴⁰ ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν is later extant in Marcellus' early fourth century creed,¹⁸⁴¹ when it is ubiquitous in eastern and western symbols.¹⁸⁴²

Article 6. The sealing of believers with the Holy Spirit:

l. 9. **nouum Spiritu Sancto signari.** Cf. Eph. 1.13:¹⁸⁴³ ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ; 4.30: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε.

homines. Cf. Apoc. 9.4:¹⁸⁴⁴ εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων, "nisi homines, qui non habent signum dei in frontibus suis"; also Iob 37.7,¹⁸⁴⁵ for the sealing of every man: ἐν χειρὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου

κατασφραγίζει, "Qui in manu omnium hominum signat" (albeit this with a moral of

universal judgment, rather than particular election of the saints; cf. Apoc. 13.17):¹⁸⁴⁶ thus

biblically men could be sealed by God for doom as well as salvation. The seal of the Spirit of

¹⁸⁴⁰ Heurtley, *Harmonia symbolica*, 20.

¹⁸⁴¹ Art. 10: Heurtley, *Harmonia symbolica*, 25.

¹⁸⁴² Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 82 and 94; 114; 161-163. *DACL*, s. v. *symbole*, c. 1766-1768.

¹⁸⁴³ Eph. 1.13 (p. 504 Nestle-Aland); 4.30 (p. 510 Nestle-Aland).

¹⁸⁴⁴ Apoc. 9.4 (p. 648 Nestle-Aland): εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 73 Belsheim): nisi homines, qui non habent signum dei in frontibus suis; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 142 Buchanan): nisi tantū homines: que non habentes signum di in frontibus.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Iob 37.7 (p. 333 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἐν χειρὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου κατασφραγίζει ἵνα γνῶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν; (VL; Cod. 132 / 161; p. 230 deLagarde): in manu omnis hominis signat, ut sciat omnis homo infirmitatem suam; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Adnot. in Iob 37 (CC SL 28.2, 595, l. 6-10): in manu omnis hominis signat: ut sciat omnis homo infirmitatem suam; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 614A): Quia in manu omnium hominum signat: ut norint singuli opera sua; (VL; Concilia Africae 345-525, Conc. Carth. a. 418 (CC SL 149, 72, l. 92-94; PL 84, 231B): Et in libro sancti iob: in manu omnis hominis signat, ut sciat omnis homo infirmitatem suam; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob XXVII 25 (CC SL 143B, l. 1-2; PL 76, 426C): Qui in manu omnium hominum signat, ut nouerint singuli opera sua.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Apoc. 13.17 (p. 658 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἵνα μὴ τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 79 Belsheim): et ut nemo possit emere aut uendere, nisi qui habet characterem aut nomen bestiae aut numerum nomine eius; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 88 Fératin): Ut ne quis possit emere...nisi qui habet characterem nominis bestiae; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 146 Buchanan): Et ne quis emere aut uindere. nisi qui habet characterem nominis bestiae aut numerum nominis eius; (VL; Anonymus, Tract. in Apoc. 13.17 (p. 17 Hartung): ne quis possit aut uendere nisi qui habet characterem nominis [bestiae] numerum nominis eius.

salvation is an old Judeo-Christian image¹⁸⁴⁷ (though not universal *e.g.* in the early *Shepherd of Hermas* it is specifically *baptism* that is the seal; the Spirit the garments in which the saved are clothed,¹⁸⁴⁸ as well as that which *dwells within* believers).¹⁸⁴⁹ It is credal for the South Dacian bishop, Nicetas of Remesiana, who speaks of the Church “sealed by the unique Spirit”.¹⁸⁵⁰

Article 7 a. The priesthood of intercession:

¹⁸⁴⁷ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 237; 329-331.

¹⁸⁴⁸ *Hermas*, Past. 90.2 (GCS 48, l. 1)-90.5 (GCS 48, l. 5): Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι αὐταὶ τίνες εἰσὶν; Αὐταὶ, φησὶν, ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσιρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔαν μὴ αὐταὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν ἔαν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον λάβῃς, τὸ δὲ ἔνδυμα παρὰ τούτων μὴ λάβῃς, οὐδὲν ὠφελήσῃ αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔαν τὸ ὄνομα φορῆς, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν μὴ φορῆς αὐτοῦ, εἰς μάτην ἔσῃ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν. τοὺς δὲ λίθους, φησὶν, οὐς εἶδες ἀποβεβλημένους, οὗτοι τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἐφόρεσαν, τὸν δὲ ἱματισμὸν τῶν παρθένων οὐκ ἐνεδύσαντο. Ποῖος, φημί, ἱματισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, κύριε; Αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα, φησὶν, ἱματισμὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν. ὅς ἂν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορῆ, καὶ τούτων ὀφείλει τὰ ὀνόματα φορεῖν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων τούτων φορεῖ. ὅσους, φησὶ, λίθους εἶδες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν <τοῦ πύργου εἰσεληλυθότας, ἐπιδομένους διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μείναντας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν,> τούτων τῶν παρθένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐνδεδυμένοι εἰσὶ. διὰ τοῦτο βλέπεις τὸν πύργον μονόλιθον γεγονότα <μετὰ> τῆς πέτρας οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα, ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, ἐν σώμα, καὶ μία χροὰ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν. τῶν τοιούτων δὲ τῶν φορούντων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων ἐστὶν ἡ κατοικία εἰς τὸν πύργον; 101.2 (GCS 48, l. 2-4): ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδεδυμένοι [τὸ] πνεῦμα [τὸ ἅγιον τούτων τῶν παρ]θένων καὶ πάντοτε σπλάγγνον ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Past. Herm. 59.7 (GCS 48, l. 4-5): σύμβουλον οὖν ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐνδόξους, ἵνα καὶ ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη, δουλεύσασα τῷ [πνεύμα]τι ἀμέμπτως, σχῆ τόπον τινὰ κατασκηνώσεως, καὶ μὴ δόξη τὸν μισθὸν <τῆς δουλείας αὐτῆς ἀπολωλέκεναι ἅσα γὰρ σὰρξ ἀπολήμψεται μισθὸν> ἢ εὐρεθεῖσα ἀμίαντος καὶ ἄσπιλος, ἐν ἣ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατώκησεν. Reiling, *Hermas and Christian prophecy*, 131-132. Cf. Eph. 1.13 (p. 508 Nestle-Alland): ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ. For imagery of the seal, v. Lampe, *The Seal of Spirit*, 105-106 (*Pastor Hermas*); 111-114 (*Carmina Salomonis*); 115 (*Epistula Apostolorum*) etc. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 327-331. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 2, 4.1, n. 120.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Nicetas Remesiana (p. 48 Burn; p. 391 Kelly): Vna ecclesia sunt, quia una fide et conuersatione sanctificati, uno Spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt. Basilus, Reg. 40.4-5 (CSEL 86, 85, l. 14-86, l. 5): Hoc enim manifeste demonstrat apostolus dicens Omnis sermo malus de ore vestro non procedat, sed si quis bonus ad aedificationem fidei, ut det gratiam audientibus, et super haec adiecit Nolite contristare spiritum sanctum dei, in quo signati estis in die redemptionis; quo utique gravius malum nullum esse poterit. Cf. also Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De myst. 7.42 (CSEL 7, 106, l. 71-74): unde repete, quia accepisti signaculum spirituale spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii atque virtutis, spiritum cognitionis atque pietatis, spiritum sancti timoris, et serva, quod accepisti. signavit te deus pater, confirmavit te Christus dominus, et dedit pignus, spiritum, in cordibus tuis sicut apostolica lectione didicisti.

1. 9-10. **nouum sacerdotium**. While the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* had spoken of a *new priest*: ἐγερεῖ κύριος ἱερέα καινόν,¹⁸⁵¹ the same Latin expression first occurred in Cyprian.¹⁸⁵² Cf. Apoc. 5.10¹⁸⁵³ (and 1.6; 20.6; *In Apoc.* 1, l. 15-17),¹⁸⁵⁴ for the repetition of the Church as a *kingdom of priests*. It differs from / iterates Christ's *eternal priesthood*:¹⁸⁵⁵ **accipere**. The indirect subject is the body of believers generally. **obsecrationis**. *Obsecratio* generally translates δέησις¹⁸⁵⁶ in the Vetus Latina: cf. e.g. 1 Rom. 10.1,¹⁸⁵⁷ for Paul's entreating God on behalf of the brethren; or Luc. 2.37,¹⁸⁵⁸ where Anna the prophetess offers continual entreaties *in the temple* (confessing to the Lord of the redemption of Israel: Luc. 2.28). Origen expounds allegorically on intercession's priestly aspect: the entreaties of the high priest signify spiritual purging of the Christian;¹⁸⁵⁹ the high priest himself signifies that sense of piety that supplies believers with entreaties (*obsecrationes*) and prayers (*orationes*)

¹⁸⁵¹ Test. XII Patr. 3.18.2 (PVTG 1.2, l. 1).

¹⁸⁵² Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, Epist. 43.5.2 (CC SL 3B, l. 91-92): Aliud altare constitui aut sacerdotium nouum fieri praeter unum altare et unum sacerdotium non potest.

¹⁸⁵³ Apoc. 5.10 (p. 642 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς, καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640C): et fecisti nos Deo nostro regnum, et sacerdotes: et regnabunt super terram.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.0 (SChr 423, 46, l. 15-17): Et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes, id est omnem fidelium ecclesiam, sicut Petrus apostolus dicit: Gens sancta, regale sacerdotium.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 48, l. 1-3): In ueste sacerdotali carnem quae corrupta non est a morte et habet per passionem aeternum sacerdotium apertissime traditum.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, δέησις A. *entreaty*, 327.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Rom. 10.1 (p. 427 Nestle-Aland): ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν.; (almost universal in the Old Latin e.g. (VL; Cod. 65; p. 17 Buchanan): FRATRES UOLUNTAS QUIDEM CORDIS mei: et obsecratio: ad dm fit pro illis in salutem; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 54 Tischendorf): Fratres uoluntas quidem cordis mei et obsecratio ad dm pro illis in salutem; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 10 Belsheim): Fratres, uoluntas quidem cordis mei et obsecratio ad deum pro illis in salutem; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 13b Matthäi): fratres quidem beneplacitum t uoluntas mei cordis et obsecratio ad deum pro illis in salutem. Eph. 6.18 (p. 514 Nestle-Aland): διὰ πάσης προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως προσευχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει καὶ δεήσει περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Luc. 2.37 (p. 158 Nestle-Aland): καὶ αὐτὴ χήρα ἕως ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσάρων, ἣ οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ νηστείας καὶ δεήσεων λατρεύουσα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 53 Belsheim): et ipsa uidua annorum LXXXIII quae non recedebat a templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus seruiens dno nocte ac die; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 74 Belsheim): et haec uidua annorum LXXXIII. quae non descendebat in templo, ieiuniis, et orationibus seruiens nocte ac die; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 69 Belsheim): et haec uidua annorum LXXXIII quae non discendebat de templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus seruiens nocte ac die; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 64 Belsheim): et haec uidua annorum LXXXIII quae non discendebat de templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus seruiens nocte ac die.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 4.8 (CB 29, 181, l. 26-182, l. 5): Sane quod in superioribus observavimus quaedam prodigia per Aaron, quaedam per Moysen, quaedam vero per ipsum Dominum ministrata, intelligi eatenus possunt, ut agnoscamus in quibusdam per sacrificia sacerdotum et obsecrationes pontificum nos esse purgandos, quod Aaron persona designat; in quibusdam vero per scientiam divinae legis emendandos, ut Moysi designat officium; in aliis autem, sine dubio quae difficiliora sunt, ipsius Domini egere virtutem.

to God, even as the ancient priesthood employed;¹⁸⁶⁰ *supplications* (*orationes*) themselves constitute an offering of first fruits to God if intellectually pure¹⁸⁶¹ (*cf.* Apoc. 5.8 and 8.4, for the prayers of the saints as incense offerings); conversely *obsecrationes* are part of the armoury of God on behalf of all the saints (Eph. 6.18);¹⁸⁶² and may even reward Jewish zeal for God, better than no zeal at all, even if theirs is without knowledge.¹⁸⁶³ Tertullian explicates that the individual Christian becomes a priest by virtue of the fact that he offers up an expiatory sacrifice of prayer,¹⁸⁶⁴ clearly influencing Victorinus. *Obsecratio* meant originally *a supplication* or *public prayer*.¹⁸⁶⁵

Article 7 b. The hope of the eschatological kingdom:

¹⁸⁶⁰ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 2.4 (CB 29, 294, l. 30-295, l. 1): In morali autem loco potest pontifex iste sensus pietatis et religionis videri, qui in nobis per orationes et obsecrationes, quas Deo fundimus, velut quodam sacerdotio fungitur.

¹⁸⁶¹ Origenes, Hom in Num. 11.9 (CB 30, 93, l. 4-12): Si quis, inquam, intentam et directam senserit obsecrationem suam et ipsis Dei conspectibus atque ineffabili illi lumini se intellexerit assistentem ibi que 'orationes et obsecrationes postulationes que et gratiarum actiones suas' profuderit, nullius extrinsecus phantasiae sollicitatus imagine: hic se noverit per angelum, qui assistit altari, obtulisse immolationis suae primitias pontifici magno et vero, Christo Iesu Domino nostro, 'cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen'.

¹⁸⁶² Origenes, Hom. in Leu. (CB 29, 505, l. 9-505, l. 5-12): Audi eum, cum arma praeparat militibus Christi, quomodo dicit: "et galeam salutaris accipite, et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, per omnem orationem et obsecrationem", evidentissime et per haec pronuntians quia per 'verbum Dei', qui est 'gladius utrimque acutus', 'cadent inimici nostri in conspectu nostro'.

¹⁸⁶³ Origenes, Com. in Rom. VIII 1 (p. 640, l. 146-p. 641, l. 15 Hammond Bammel): "Fratres uoluntas quidem cordis mei et obsecratio apud Deum pro illis in salutem. Testimonium enim perhibeo illis quod aemulationem Dei habeant sed non secundum scientiam. Ignorantes enim Dei iustitiam et suam iustitiam quaerentes constituere iustitiae Dei non sunt subiecti". Et ex initio et procedente textu epistulae diximus Paulum nunc pro gentibus nunc etiam pro Israhel facere sermonem. Quia *ergo* in his quae nuper exposita sunt multis testimoniis aduersum Israhel usus est profetarum ita ut proferret de Esaia: 'nisi Dominus Sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen sicut Sodoma facti essemus et sicut Gomorra similes fuissetus;' et iterum: 'si fuerit numerus filiorum Israhel tamquam arena maris reliquiae saluae fient;' et his addit: 'quia Israhel sectans legem iustitiae in legem non peruenit;' propterea nunc solari rursus populum illum uolens et per hoc inuitare ad fidem dicit: 'fratres uoluntas quidem cordis et obsecratio apud Deum pro illis in salutem'. Et causam cur uoluntas sua et obsecratio pro illis apud Deum habeatur ostendit; VIII 1 (p. 644, l. 80-82 Hammond Bammel): Tamen quia utcumque habent aemulationem Dei causam dederunt apostolo *qua* obsecrationem pro eis offerat Deo.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Tertullianus, De orat. 28 (CC SL 1, l. 8-10): Nos sumus ueri adoratores et ueri sacerdotes, qui spiritu orantes spiritu sacrificamus orationem hostiam dei propriam et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisit, quam sibi prospexit.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *obsecratio* II. B., 1241: *obsecrationem indicere e.g.* Liuius, Titius, Ab urb. cond. XXVI 23.6 (p. 24, l. 4 Weissenborn).

1. 10-11. **regnum expectare immensae repromissionis.** Cf. Act. 1.4, for the kingdom of heaven and its promise; Heb. 11.33,¹⁸⁶⁶ for the obtaining of kingdoms and promise. Tertullian speaks of “nouam promissionem regni caelorum”.¹⁸⁶⁷ For the presbyter of Carthage the Church-Jacob seeks/receives first the heavenly promise, thence "the promise of terrestrial abundance ([promissio] terrenae opimitatis)" ¹⁸⁶⁸ (equivalent to *immensa repromissio?*), which last promise, of the gentiles-the earth to Christ, he contrasts with that merely of Judaea to David-the Jews;¹⁸⁶⁹ while "the land of promise" (*terra repromissionis*: Heb. 11.9) is "eternal life".¹⁸⁷⁰ *Repromissio* means, properly, *a counter-promise*,¹⁸⁷¹ and renders in the New Testament ἐπαγγελία (it scarcely appears in the Old) about half as often as does *promissio*, likely for the subtle difference in meaning. Here it likely means *a promise made in return for* Christian fidelity. The two aspects of this article, the priesthood of Christians, and their promised reward in the kingdom to come, are linked by the *quasi*-ethnicity of the Church as Israel, and its inheritance of Jerusalem and its land of Israel-as-subset-of-that-of-

¹⁸⁶⁶ Heb. 11.33 (p. 582 Nestle-Aland): οἱ διὰ πίστεως κατηγωνίσαντο βασιλείας, εἰργάσαντο δικαιοσύνην, ἐπέτυχον ἐπαγγελιῶν, ἔφραξαν στόματα λεόντων. Act. 1.3-4 (p. 320 Nestle-Aland): οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς; (VL; Cyprianus Carthagenensis (pseudo), De rebap. ap. 2 (p. 45, l. 14-17 Rauschen): Nam et Dominus hanc eandem vocem Ioannis post suam resurrectionem in actis apostolorum confirmans praecepit eis ab Hierosolymis non discedere, sed expectare illam promissionem patris quam audistis a me; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Ad cath. de sect. Donat. 11.27 (CSEL 52, 262, l. 17): expectarent promissionem eius.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Tertullianus, De praescr. haer. 13 (CC SL 1, l. 9-15): Exinde praedicasse nouam legem et nouam promissionem regni caelorum, uirtutes fecisse, cruci fixum, tertia die resurrexisse, in caelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram patris, misisse uicariam uim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat, uenturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in uitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos iudicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 420, l. 23-26): Nam circa iacob, qui quidem posterioris et praelatoris populi figura est, id est nostri, prima promissio caelestis est roris, secunda terrenae opimitatis.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 14 (CC SL 2, l. 90-100): Quod prophetatum non audetis negare, quia et si negaretis, statim uobis in psalmis, sicuti iam praelocuti sumus, promissio patris occurreret dicentis: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, pete a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae, nec poteritis in istam praedicationem magis dauid filium salomonem uindicare, quam christum dei filium, nec terminos terrae dauid filio promissos, qui intra unicam iudaeam regnauit, quam christo filio dei, qui totum iam orbem euangelii sui radiis inluminauit.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 402, l. 27-403, l. 5): Nam quia iesus christus secundum populum quod sumus nos, nati in saeculi desertis introducturus erat in terram promissionis melle et lacte manantem, - id est <in> uitae aeternae possessionem, *qua* nihil dulcius - id que non per moysen, id est non per legis disciplinam, sed per iesum, <id est> per euangelii gratiam, prouenire habebat, circumcisis nobis petrina acie, id est christi <praeceptis>.

¹⁸⁷¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *repromissio* I, 1572.

the-world / gentiles, even as the seeming difference between Law and gospel was "predicted in the promise of the new Law, new word and New Testament (praedicatam in repromissione nouae legis et noui sermonis et noui testamenti)"¹⁸⁷² *i.e.* the difference is really unity, the Law is properly the-gospel-promised-within-the-Law.

1. 11-12. **Cithara enim, <corda> extensa in ligno.** For the use of *extendere* and *propagines* (below) together, *cf.* the Christian messianic figure of Israel-the Church / Christ-as-the-vine-shoots-transplanted-from-Egypt-in-the-land / place-of-Israel of Ps. 80 / 79.11,¹⁸⁷³ **supported** ("*suscipiunt*") *by the angel-cedar trees of God.*¹⁸⁷⁴ **significabat corpus Christi.** This evokes Clement's depiction of universe, man (a universe in miniature) and Christ the Word as a melodious harp, consisting in seemingly disparate elements, body and soul, harmonized and played by the Spirit.¹⁸⁷⁵ Clement describes *the Word* as specifically a *lyre.*¹⁸⁷⁶ The verb

¹⁸⁷² Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 440, l. 20-23): Praestruximus quidem aduersus antithesis nihil proficere proposito marcionis quam putat diuersitatem legis et euangelii, ut et hanc a creatore dispositam, denique praedicatam in repromissione nouae legis et noui sermonis et noui testamenti.

¹⁸⁷³ Ps. 80 / 79.11 (p. 88 Rahfls-Hanhart 2): ἐξέτεινεν τὰ κλήματα αὐτῆς ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἕως ποταμοῦ τὰς παραφύαδας αὐτῆς; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 89 Magistretti): Extendisti palmites eius usque ad mare: et usque ad flumen propagines eius. *Cf.* Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. euang. sec. Luc. IX (CC SL 14, l. 292-295): extendit palmites eius usque ad mare; domini est enim terra. vbique deus pater colitur, ubique christus dominus adoratur. haec est nostra uindemia.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Origenes, Hom. in Num. 17.4 (CB 30, 163, l. 23-26): 'Cedros' hic non illas dicit, in quibus culpabilis notatur elatio, sed 'cedros Dei', quae suscipiunt 'vitis' illius, 'quae ex Aegypto translata est, palmites', et in quibus requiescit fructus ille, 'cuius umbra operuit montes'.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Clemens, Protrept. I 5.4 (l. 1)-I 6.2 (l. 2): Ὁ δὲ ἐκ Δαβὶδ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κιθάραν, τὰ ἄψυχα ὄργανα, ὑπεριδῶν, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἄρμωσάμενος, ψάλλει τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὄργανου καὶ προσάδει τῷ ὄργανῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. «Σὺ γὰρ εἶ κιθάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμοί· ἡ κιθάρα διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ναὸς διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἵν' ἡ μὲν κρέκη, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνέη, ὃ δὲ χωρήσῃ τὸν κύριον. Ναὶ μὴν ὁ Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ κιθαριστής, οὗ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, προὔτρεπεν ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀπέτρεπε δὲ εἰδώλων, πολλοῦ γε ἔδει ὑμνεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς δαίμονας ἀληθεῖ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διωκομένους μουσικῇ, ἣ τοῦ Σαοὺλ ἐνεργουμένου ἐκεῖνος ἄδων μόνον αὐτὸν ἴασατο. Καλὸν ὁ κύριος ὄργανον ἔμπνουν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξεργάσατο κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἁμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ὄργανόν ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ παναρμόνιον, ἐμμελὲς καὶ ἅγιον, σοφία ὑπερκόσμιος, οὐράνιος λόγος. Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ ὄργανον, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ κύριος, καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινὸν βούλεται; Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἀναπετάσαι τυφλῶν καὶ ὠτα ἀνοίξαι κωφῶν καὶ σκάζοντας τῷ πόδε ἢ πλανωμένους εἰς δικαιοσύνην χειραγωγῆσαι, θεὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀφραίνουσιν ἐπιδείξαι, παῦσαι φθοράν, νικῆσαι θάνατον, υἱοὺς ἀπειθεῖς διαλλάξαι πατρί. Φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrept. 1.5.4; Strom. VI 11.88.3-4 (SChr 2, l. 1-3): εἴη δ' ἂν τῷ ψαλμῳδῷ κιθάρα ἀλληγορουμένη κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον σημαίνομενον ὁ κύριος, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον οἱ

derived from τύμπανον, a *kettledrum*, τυμπανίζειν can mean *to rack* or *torture*, as in Heb. 11.35;¹⁸⁷⁷ while Lucian glosses it by ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι,¹⁸⁷⁸ *impale*,¹⁸⁷⁹ which Herodotus uses interchangeably with ἀνασταυροῦν, *crucify*.¹⁸⁸⁰ This may have influenced Clement's permitting Christians' wearing rings engraved with the image of, *inter alia*, a lyre.¹⁸⁸¹ It is Victorinus, however, who first compares Christ crucified to a stringed *cithara*,¹⁸⁸² again perhaps a Poetovian military influence. **id est**. A correction supplied by the Y Hieronymic tradition.¹⁸⁸³ **carnem Christi passioni coniunctam**. Victorinus has substituted the flesh of Christ for the flesh of man in Clement's complex, united to the New Song of Salvation.¹⁸⁸⁴

προσεχῶς κρούοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ μουσηγέτη τῷ κυρίῳ. The metaphor of a lyre played also suits the elected inspired to produce faith; the harmony of Law and prophets; Apostles and Gospel; within each prophet and between them: Strom. VI 11.88. 4 (SChr 2, l. 1)-5 (SChr 2, l. 5) κἄν ὁ σωζόμενος λέγεται λαὸς κιθάρα, κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ δοξάζων μουσικῶς ἐξακούεται, κρουόμενος εἰς πίστιν τῷ λόγῳ. λάβοις δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλως μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὴν τε ὑποβεβηκυῖαν, τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον προφήτην κατὰ τὰς μεταπηδήσεις τῶν προσώπων συνῳδίαν. Gerold, Les Pères de l'Eglise et la musique, 128.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, τυμπανίζω A. 2. II., 1589. Cf. Heb. 11.35 (p. 582 Nestle-Aland):

ἔλαβον γυναῖκες ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῶν ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, οὐ προσδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσιν. Hengel, La crucifixion dans l'antiquité et la folie du message de la croix, 92-97. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, III.3. n. 21.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Lucianus, Prom. 7 (l. 9-10, Harmon, vol. 2): ἀνασκολοπισθησόμενον πέμπειν παλαιὸν οὕτω θεόν; De mort. Peregr. 11 (l. 10-11 Harmon, vol. 5): τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα

¹⁸⁷⁹ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ἀνασκολοπίζω A. *fix on a pole* or *stake*, *impale*, 110.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Herodotus, Hist. IX 9.78. (l. 10-15 Legrand): Λεωνίδαε γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποτα- μόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν ῥ' τοῖσι σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιη- τέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ῥ' Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεται ... ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδαην.

¹⁸⁸¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. III 11.59.2 (SChr 158, l. 1-6): Αἱ δὲ σφραγίδες ἡμῖν ἔστων πελειᾶς ἢ ἰχθῦς ἢ ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα ἢ λύρα μουσική, ἢ κέχρηται Πολυκράτης, ἢ ἄγκυρα ναυτική, ἢ Σέλευκος ἐνεχαράττετο τῇ γλυφῇ, κἄν ἀλιεύων τις ἦ, ἀποστόλου μεμνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπασμένων παιδίων.

¹⁸⁸² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio, 178.

¹⁸⁸³ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (R. H., p. 67, l. 11 Haussleiter).

¹⁸⁸⁴ Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrept. 1.6.3 (SChr 2, l. 2-3): τῆς χάριτος μεταλάμβανε. Καί μου τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σωτήριον μὴ καινὸν οὕτως ὑπολάβης ὡς σκευὸς ἢ ὡς οἰκίαν; I 6.5 (SChr 2, l. 2-3): ὅτι δὲ νῦν ὄνομα ἔλαβεν τὸ πάλαι καθωσιωμένον, δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ὁ Χριστός, καινὸν ἄσμα. Cf. Paed. II 4.43.3 (SChr 108, l. 4-8): «Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ, τοῖς εὐθέσι πρέπει αἴνεσις ἡ, φησὶν ἡ προφητεία, ἀέξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρα, ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψάλατε αὐτῷ, ἄσατε αὐτῷ ἄσμα καινόν.» Καὶ μή τι τὸ δεκάχορδον ψαλτήριον τὸν λόγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν μηνύει, τῷ στοιχείῳ τῆς δεκάδος φανερούμενον.

The harp may also be a Jewish Christian messianic symbol of David, as for Clement.¹⁸⁸⁵ He further associates the harp with the notion of Christ / the Christian as temple of the Holy Spirit, accompanying himself in his worship in the house of God.¹⁸⁸⁶ It also probably alludes to its use in liturgy. Jerome corrects, rather pedantically perhaps, to “passionis ligno coniunctam”.¹⁸⁸⁷ But he may have missed Victorinus’ *musical* allusion.

l. 13-14. **fiala**. Again alludes to a liturgical object: the eucharistic chalice which symbolizes the office of the priest who bears it.¹⁸⁸⁸ **confessionem**. The recitation of the Creed by the believer during Eucharist or baptism. However, if the cup contains incense (as in Apoc. 5.8 where it is the prayers of the saints), it is the priest’s prayer of intercession.¹⁸⁸⁹ **et noui sacerdotii propaginem**. For the use of *extendere* (above) and *propagines* (κλήματα / תְּיִנְקָת, *branches/shoots*) together, *cf.* (again) the Christian messianic figure of Israel-the Church / Christ-as-vine-shoots-transplanted-from-Egypt-in-the-land / place-of-Israel, supported by the angel-cedars of God of Ps. 80 / 79.11¹⁸⁹⁰ (and it is hard to forget Origen “fled” Egypt to find refuge in Caesarea). *Propago* here thus means something like *race*, *posterity*,¹⁸⁹¹ and alludes to the *quasi*-ethnic identity of the priesthood as that of the new

¹⁸⁸⁵ As well as the mouth inspired by the Spirit to speak: Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 4.41.4 (SChr 108, l. 5-6): κيثάρα νοεῖσθω τὸ στόμα, οἶονεὶ πλήκτρῳ κρουόμενον τῷ πνεύματι.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrept. 1.5.3 (SChr 2, l. 6)-4 (SChr 2, l. 1): «Σὺ γὰρ εἶ κيثάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμοί.» ἡ κيثάρα διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ναὸς διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἵν’ ἡ μὲν κρέκη, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνέη, ὃ δὲ χωρήσῃ τὸν κύριον.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (R. H., p. 67, l. 12 Haussleiter).

¹⁸⁸⁸ Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 177.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 178; 2, 3.3, n. 20; 21; 23.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Ps. 80 / 79.11 (p. 88 Rahfls-Hanhart 2): ἐξέτεινεν τὰ κλήματα αὐτῆς ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἕως ποταμοῦ τὰς παραφύαδας αὐτῆς; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 89 Magistretti): Extendisti palmites eius usque ad mare: et usque ad flumen propagines eius. Cf. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. euang. sec. Luc. (CC SL 14, lib. : 9, linea : 292-295): extendit palmites eius usque ad mare; domini est enim terra. vbique deus pater colitur, ubique christus dominus adoratur. haec est nostra uindemia. Also, Origenes, Hom. in Num. 17.4 (CB 30, 163, l. 23-26): ‘Cedros’ hic non illas dicit, in quibus culpabilis notatur elatio, sed ‘cedros Dei’, quae suscipiunt ‘vitis’ illius, ‘quae ex Aegypto translata est, palmites’, et in quibus requiescit fructus ille, ‘cuius umbra operuit montes’.

¹⁸⁹¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *propago* II. Transf. *posterity*, 1467.

Israel, but perhaps especially in the Millennial kingdom, or even Palestine of Origen (see above).

l. 14-16. **Angelorum multorum.** Cf. Apoc. 5.11,¹⁸⁹² whose φωνήν Victorinus does not render. While Codex Gigas and others of the VL give "audiui uocem", one has "uidi turbam",¹⁸⁹³ for which there is no parallel in the Greek. But perhaps Victorinus' omission reflects an uncertainty over the lemma? **immo omnium.** A gloss on the rest of Apoc. 5.11 (perhaps because of the aforementioned uncertainty) *i.e.* μυριάδες μυριάδων, not without parallel: Augustine stresses that not even if all the (thousand thousands of) angels were brought into one would such an entity be God¹⁸⁹⁴ (however, Autpert Ambrose draws the almost opposite conclusion: that "twice a thousand thousands" means "innumerable").¹⁸⁹⁵ Victorinus had deduced a similar principle. The usual biblical motif for "innumerable" is "the sand of the sea [shore]",¹⁸⁹⁶ which Paul refers to the Church;¹⁸⁹⁷ or "the stars of heaven", especially of the descendants of Abraham.¹⁸⁹⁸ The former litoral figure Origen refers to the

¹⁸⁹² Apoc. 5.11 (p. 642 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλω τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων; (VL: Cod. 51; p. 276): Et uidi, et audiui uocem angelorum multorum in circuitu throni, et animalium, et seniorum : et erat numerus eorum millia millium; (VL: Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 640D): Et uidi, et audiui uocem Angelorum multorum in circuitu throni, et animalium, et seniorum: et erat numerus eorum millia millium; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 570A): Et uidi et audiui uocem Angelorum multorum in circuitu throni et animalium et seniorum: Erat numerus eorum millia millium.

¹⁸⁹³ Apoc. 5.11 (VL: Cod. 51; p. 276): Vidi turbam Angelorum multorum in coelo.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Augustinus Hipponensis, De trin. VIII 2 (CC SL 50, l. 22-25): nec sicut cogitantur angeli mundi spiritus caelestia corpora inspirantes atque ad arbitrium quo seruiunt deo mutantés atque uersantes neque si omnes, cum sint milia millium, in unum conlati unus fiant, nec tale aliquid deus est. Such as "innumabilis multitudo"; Enarrat. in Ps. 150.4 (CC SL 40, l. 19-21): cur non ipsi sint etiam multitudo magnitudinis eius? non *qua* ipse magnus est, sed *qua* magnos eos fecit, tam multos, hoc est, milia millium.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Ambrosius Autpertus, Expos. in Apoc. IV 9.16 (CC CM 27, l. 32): Et ut eiusdem corporis membrorum multiplicitas, *contra* corporis Christi raritatem membrorum ueniens, manifestaretur, cum dictum esset bis myriades, nequaquam subiunctum est, quot myriadam, sed interminate bis myriades myriadum, ut scilicet per hoc dictum innumabilis multitudo myriadum designaretur. Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, De trin. VIII 2 (CC SL 50, l. 22-25): nec sicut cogitantur angeli mundi spiritus caelestia corpora inspirantes atque ad arbitrium quo seruiunt deo mutantés atque uersantes neque si omnes, cum sint milia millium, in unum conlati unus fiant, nec tale aliquid deus est.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Iud. 7.12; 2 Reg. 17.11; 3 Reg. 4.20; Heb. 11.12.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Rom. 9.27.

¹⁸⁹⁸ E.g. Gen. 15.5; 22.17; 25.16; 26.4. Heb. 11.12.

Jewish people, the latter celestial to the Christian.¹⁸⁹⁹ Victorinus seems to have deduced a like principle referring angels to individual believers: **uniuersae electionis domino nostro gratulationem referentium**. Likely evinces a belief that at least one angel is assigned to each Christian.

Chapter 6.1-7.

6.1.

1. 1-2. **Resignatio**. *Resignare* can mean, as well as *unseal*, *disclose* or even *annul*;¹⁹⁰⁰

Tertullian uses it of the apostles *explaining the Old Testament*;¹⁹⁰¹ thence *resignatio* may be analogous to *apertio*. **sigillorum**. *Sigilla* strictly refer to the *images* on signet rings, hence, by poetic transference, the *seals* themselves.¹⁹⁰² **apertio est ueteris testamenti**. Cf. Luc. 24.32 and Acts 17.3, which have the Old Latin formula *διανοίγειν τὰς γραφάς* / *aperire* / *adaperire scripturas*;¹⁹⁰³ which Rufinus' Irenaeus interprets as “adaperuit eorum sensum ut

¹⁸⁹⁹ Origenes, Hom. in Gen. 9.2 (GCS 29, 90, l. 6-9): Quod autem dixit: "sicut stellae coeli in multitudine" et adiecit: "et sicut arena, quae est ad oram maris innumerabilis", fortasse quidem dicat aliquis coelestis numeri figuram Christianorum populo, arenae maris Iudaico convenire.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *resigno* I. *To unseal* B. Trop. 1. *To annul, cancel* 2. *To disclose, reveal*, 1578.

¹⁹⁰¹ Tertullianus, De res. mort. (CC SL 2, cap. : 39, linea : 2-5): Nam et apostolis nullum aliud negotium fuit, dumtaxat apud israelem, quam ueteris testamenti resignandi et noui consignandi et potius iam dei in christo contionandi.

¹⁹⁰² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *sigilla*, I, 1696.

¹⁹⁰³ Luc. 24.32 (p. 244 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 89 Belsheim): Illi autem dixerunt ad inuicem nonne cor nostrum fuit exterminatum quomodo in uia: aperiret nobis scripturas; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 110 Belsheim): Et dixerunt ad alterutrum: Nonne cor nostrum erat nobis ardens in uia, et adaperiebat nobis Scripturas? (VL; Cod. 4; p. 117 Belsheim): Et dixerunt ad inuicem: Nonne cor nostrum erat in nobis ardens in uia, et aperiret nobis scripturas? (VL; Cod. 5; p. 261 Scrivener): ad illi dixerunt ad semetipsos nonne cor nostrum erat coopertum quo modo loquebat ur nobis in uia sicut aperiebat nobis scripturas; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 106 Belsheim): Illi autem dixerunt ad inuicem Nonne cor nostrum fuit excecaturum quomodo in uia et aperiebat nobis scripturas? (VL; Cod. 8; p. 101 Belsheim): Et dixerunt ad inuicem nonne cor uestrum (!) erat in nobis ardens in uiam cum aperiret nobis scripturas? (VL; Cod. 10; p. 480 Wordsworth-White): et dixerunt ad inuicem. nonne cor nostrum erat in nobis ardens. dum loqueretur nobis in uia. et aperiret nobis scribturas? (VL; Cod. 11; p. 248 Haase): Et dixerunt ad in uicem Nonne cor nostrum erat optusum in nobis in uia Cum aperiret nobis scribturas? Act. 17. 3 (p. 373 Nestle-Aland): διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν

intellegerent Scripturas”.¹⁹⁰⁴ He likewise uses *adapertio*, but of opening the *New Testament*, not the Old, associated with the especial outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost (as for Victorinus), and the gentiles' “entry into life”.¹⁹⁰⁵ Rufinus' Origen had “aperit et reuelat sensum scientiae spiritualis”;¹⁹⁰⁶ especially of the Law and **praedicatorum** *i.e.* the prophets: *praedicator*, literally, in ecclesiastical Latin, *a preacher*,¹⁹⁰⁷ can mean in Tertullian *a prophet*,¹⁹⁰⁸ hence **praenuntiatio**, equivalent to "prophecy".¹⁹⁰⁹ **in nouissimo tempore** Cf. Tertullian's *temporum ultimorum praedicatio*.¹⁹¹⁰ These secrets were virtually unknown *before Christ*.¹⁹¹¹ Hippolytus had already interpreted the sealing of prophecy in Daniel as a

καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 390 Scrivener): adaperiens et confirmans quia xpm oportet pati et resurgere a mortuis et quia hic est xps ihs quem ego adnuntio uobis; (VL; Cod. 50; p. 40 Belsheim): adaperiens et commendans quia Christum oportuit pati et resurgere a mortuis, et quia hic est Ih(e)sus Christus quem ego praedico uobis; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 36 Belsheim): adaperiens et confirmans quia christum oportuit pati et resurgere a mortuis, et quia hic est christus ihsus, quem ego annuncio uobis.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.5 (SChr 211, l. 161-163): Tunc adaperuit eorum sensum ut intellegerent Scripturas et dixit ad eos: Quoniam sic scriptum est Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis et praedicari in nomine eius remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.2 (SChr 211, l. 24-30): Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium ad introitum uitae et adapertionem noui Testamenti; unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Origenes, De princ. II 7.4 (GCS 22, 152, l. 5-9): De spiritu uero sancto 'paracletus' 'consolator' debet intellegi, pro eo quod consolationem praestat animabus, quibus aperit et reuelat sensum scientiae spiritualis.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praedicator* I. *one who makes a thing publicly known, a proclaimer* II. B. *a preacher*, 1416.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 599, l. 5-11): Et utique si in nouissimos dies gratiam spiritus creator repromisit, christus autem spiritalium dispensator in nouissimis diebus apparuit dicente apostolo: at ubi tempus expletum est, misit deus filium suum, et rursus: quia tempus iam in collecto est, apparet et de temporum ultimorum praedicatione hanc gratiam spiritus ad christum praedicatoris pertinere.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praenuntio* I. *a prediction*, 1424.

¹⁹¹⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V (CC SL 1, 599, l. 10-11).

¹⁹¹¹ Indeed only a few among the Jews knew of the non-corporeal meaning of the Law, unlike the multitude of gentiles who now do: Origenes, De princ. II 7.2 (GCS 22, 149, l. 1-17): Nos uero aestimamus quod participationem eius similiter ut sapientiae dei et uerbi dei absque ulla differentia creatura rationabilis omnis assumat. Video tamen quod praecipuus spiritus sancti aduentus ad homines post ascensionem Christi in caelos magis quam ante aduentum eius declaretur. Antea namque solis prophetis et paucis, si qui forte in populo meruisset, donum sancti spiritus praebebatur; post aduentum uero saluatoris scriptum est 'adimpletum esse illud, quod dictum fuerat in propheta Iohel', quia "erit in nouissimis diebus, et effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt;" quod utique tale est sicut illud, quod ait: "Omnes gentes seruiet ei." Per gratiam *ergo* sancti spiritus cum reliquis quam plurimis etiam illud magnificentissimum demonstratur, quod ea, quae in prophetis scripta sunt uel in lege Moysi, pauci tunc ---, id est ipsi prophetae et uix sicubi unus ex omni populo superare poterat intellectum corporeum et maius aliquid sentire, id est spiritale quid poterat intellegere in lege uel prophetis; nunc autem innumerae sunt multitudines credentium, qui licet non omnes possint per ordinem atque ad liquidum spiritualis intellegentiae explanare consequentiam, tamen omnes paene persuasum habent quod neque circumcisio corporaliter intellegi debeat neque otium sabbati uel sanguinis effusio pecoris, neque quod de his Moysi responsa darentur a deo: qui utique sensus dubium non est quod spiritus sancti uirtute omnibus suggeratur.

sealing of the spiritual meaning of the Law and prophets until the time of Christ, and associated it with the scroll sealed seven times.¹⁹¹² Both Marius Victorinus and Ambrosiaster use *adapertio* of the Spirit's opening Paul's mouth for declaring the *mystery of the gospel* (Eph. 6.19).¹⁹¹³ **futurorum**. "of future things", not agreeing with "praedicatorum".

1. 3-4. **quae licet scriptura prophetica**. Victorinus can employ *propheticus* in the sense almost of *spiritual prophetic personality*,¹⁹¹⁴ equivalent to *prophecy* or *prophet*.¹⁹¹⁵

Victorinus uses it with *scripturae*.¹⁹¹⁶ **per singula sigilla dicat**. The spiritual person of scripture "speaks". **apertis sigillis**. That the seals are all broken *simultaneously* may be Victorinus' (extant) innovation and suggests the eternal, timeless view of history by God. **ordinem suum habet**. That the order is *praedicatio*'s "own" (= "idiosyncratic": *suum*)

¹⁹¹² Hippolytus, Com. in Dan. IV 33 5-IV 34.1: Ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν λελαλημένα πάντα ἦν ἐσφραγισμένα καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχοντα Ἡσαΐας λέγει «Καὶ δώσουσιν τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα καὶ ἐροῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο, καὶ ἐρεῖ· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ.» Ἀναγκαιῶς ἔδει γὰρ τὰ πάλαι διὰ προφητῶν λελαλημένα τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις Φαρισαίοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν τὰ τοῦ νόμου γράμματα γινώσκειν, ἐσφραγίσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύουσιν τὰ πάντα ἠνεῶχθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πάλαι ἐσφραγισμένα νῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ κυρίου πάντα τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀνέωγεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ἡ τελεία σφραγὶς καὶ ἡ κλεῖς ἡ ἐκ «Δαυὶδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείει καὶ κλειῶν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει.» Ὡς καὶ Ἰωάννης λέγει «Καὶ εἶδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ καθήμενου ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν, καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἐσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτὰ. Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· τίς ἄξιός ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ.

¹⁹¹³ Marius Victorinus, Com. in Eph. II 6.18+ (CSEL 83.2, l. 54-56): Quid autem illud sit quod petendum propter se, dicit ipse subiungens: Ut detur mihi in adapertione oris mei sermo in confidentia notum facere mysterium; Com. in Eph. II 6.18+ (CSEL 83.2, l. 58-66): Submit Quid autem rogarent pro se, id est pro ipso Paulo, subiecit: non salutem, non aliquas cupiditates, sed ut posset idem Paulus habere sermonem et apertam orationem, id est confidentiam in expositione evangelii atque mysterii; Com. in Eph. II 6.20 (CSEL 83.2, l. 9-10): Ut mihi, inquit, sermo in adapertione oris detur in confidentia.

Ambrosiaster, Com. in Eph. 6.18 (CSEL 81.3, 124, l. 12-18): Per omnem orationem et precem orantes in omni tempore in spiritu et in ipsum vigilantes in omni perseverantia et obsecratione pro omnibus sanctis et pro me, ut detur mihi sermo in adapertione oris mei exerte notum facere mysterium, 20. pro quo legatione fungor in catena, ut in ipso exerta libertate utar, prout oportet me loqui.

¹⁹¹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 26-29): Non solum autem Spiritus propheticus sed et ipsum Verbum Dei Patris omnipotentis, qui est filius ipsius, Dominus noster Iesus Christus, fert easdem imagines in tempore aduentus sui ad nos.

¹⁹¹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-21): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis prophetae.

¹⁹¹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 10-12): Post illos iam fide confirmatis ecclesiis datum solatium prophetarum scripturarum interpretandarum; quos interpretes prophetas dixit.

suggests it is not necessarily chronological. **praedicatio**. Here “prophecy”, rather than “preaching”.¹⁹¹⁷

l. 5-9. **Nam aperto <primo> sigillo cum dicat se uidisse**. Cf. Apoc. 6.1-2,¹⁹¹⁸ whose εἶδον this translates, omitted from the extant Vetus Latina, however, which renders only "I heard one of the four creatures". **equum album**. Apoc. 6.1-2. **et equitem** *i.e.* καθήμενος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν / "qui sedebat super eum" of Apoc. 6.2, though the term is *only* Old Latin Old Testamental and Apocryphal, except for Act. 23.23,¹⁹¹⁹ of the Roman escort of Paul. Victorinus borrows "equitatus" elsewhere (directly or indirectly) from Suetonius' account of the knight sent to arrest Nero.¹⁹²⁰ **coronatum**. Cf. clearly alludes to Apoc. 6.2, and Apoc.

¹⁹¹⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praedicatio*. III; IV, 1416.

¹⁹¹⁸ Apoc. 6.1-2 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἦνοιξεν τὸ ἄρνιον μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδων, καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς, ἔρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔχων τόξον, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στέφανος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν καὶ ἴνα νικήσῃ; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 48-51; p. 98 Haussleiter): Et cum aperuisset unum ex septem signis, audiui unum ex quattuor animalibus dicens: Veni et uide. Et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super eum tenebat sagittam, et data est ei corona, et exiit ut uinceret, et uictor exiit; (VL; Cod. ; p.): Et vidi quod aperuisset Agnus unum de septem sigillis, et audiui unum de quatuor animalibus, dicens tamquam vocem tonitruī : Veni, et vide. 2 Et vidi : et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat super illum, habebat arcum, et data est ei corona, et exiit vincens ut vinceret.

¹⁹¹⁹ Act. 23.23 (p. 393 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τινὰς δύο τῶν ἑκατονταρχῶν εἶπεν, ἐτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους ὅπως πορευθῶσιν ἕως Καισαρείας, καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δεξιολάβους διακοσίους, ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός; (VL; Cod. 50; p. Belsheim): Et aduocans duo quosdam de centurionibus dixit Parate milites ducentos, ut eant usque Caesaream, et equites septuaginta et lanciaros ducentos, a tertia hora noctis; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 51 Belsheim): Et conuocatis duobus centurionibus ait: parate milites CCtos ut uadant usque cesaream et equites XX (sic) et lanciaros CCtos a tertia hora noctis; *etc.*

¹⁹²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (SChr 423, 106, l. 2-4): Constat enim, cum eumdem insequeretur equitatus missus a senatu, ipsum sibi gulam succidisse; though it may only be indirectly acquired. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Ner. 49.1 (p. 256, l. 17-31 Teubner): tunc uno quoque hinc inde instante ut quam primum se impendentibus contumeliis eriperet, scrobem coram fieri imperauit dimensus ad corporis sui modulum, componi que simul, si *qua* inuenirentur, frusta marmoris et aquam simul ac ligna conferri curando mox cadaueri, flens ad singula atque identidem dictitans: qualis artifex pereō! Inter moras perlatos a cursore Phaonti codicillos praecepit legit que se hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri, ut puniatur more maiorum, interrogauit que quale id genus esset poenae; et cum comperisset nudi hominis ceruicem inseri furcae, corpus uirgis ad necem caedi, conterritus duos pugiones, quos se cum extulerat, arripuit temptata que utriusque acie rursus condidit, causatus nondum adesse fatalem horam; De uit. Caes., Ner. 49.3 (p. 257, l. 5-9): Teubner): iam que equites appropinquabant, quibus praeceptum erat ut uiuum eum adtraherent. quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus: hippôn~g m'~g ôkupodôn~g amphi~g ktupos~g ouata~g ballei~g ferrum iugulo adegit iuuante Eaphrodito a libellis.

19.12;¹⁹²¹ but the passive perfect participle perhaps echoes Heb. 2.9:¹⁹²² Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἔστεφανωμένον. **habentem arcum**. Literally rendering ἔχων τόξον of Apoc. 6.2, though it oddly is omitted from the extant Old Latin. Modern commentators interpret the white horse, rider and bow variously, as Charles surveys:¹⁹²³ Hilgenfeld,¹⁹²⁴ Zahn,¹⁹²⁵ Alford¹⁹²⁶ (refuted directly by Elliott),¹⁹²⁷ Kübel¹⁹²⁸ and Weiss¹⁹²⁹ hold that they represent the victorious gospel,¹⁹³⁰ echoing Origen¹⁹³¹ and Tertullian.¹⁹³² Charles holds it represents the Parthian empire, hoped to overthrow the Roman;¹⁹³³ Sweete the Parthian *or* Roman empire; in either case, imperial *militarism*.¹⁹³⁴ Domitian, the *relegator* of John (and aspects of whom were adsorbed into the Nero Rediuius myth, according to Charles),¹⁹³⁵ had ridden upon a white steed in the Judaeian Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.¹⁹³⁶ **hoc enim in primo factum est**. Christ's ascending and dispensing

¹⁹²¹ Apoc. 19.12 (p. 672 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 86 Belsheim): in capite eius diademata multa; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 236 Morin): et in capite eius diademata multa; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PL 86, 649C): et in capite eius diademata multa; *etc.*

¹⁹²² Heb. 2.9 (p. 506 Nestle-Aland): τὸν δὲ βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἔστεφανωμένον, ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου.

¹⁹²³ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 164.

¹⁹²⁴ Hilgenfeld, Die Johannes-Apokalypse und die neueste Forschung, in: ZWT 31 (1890), 445.

¹⁹²⁵ Zahn, Die Offenbarung des Johannes ausgelegt 2, 592.

¹⁹²⁶ Alford, Apocalypse of John, in: The Greek Testament 4, 611-612.

¹⁹²⁷ Elliott, Apocalypsis Alfordiana, or, Five letters to the Very Rev. H. Alford, Dean of Canterbury : in refutation of his apocalyptic exposition, and vindication from his criticisms of that given in the "Horae apocalypticæ" : together with a brief critical inquiry into the literary character, and trustworthiness, of his general Greek New Testament commentary, 25.

¹⁹²⁸ Kübel, Offenbarung ausgelegt,

¹⁹²⁹ Weiss, Offenbarung des Johannes, 59 sq.

¹⁹³⁰ Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Alford, Kübel and Weiss

¹⁹³¹ Origenes Origenes, Hom. in Ps. 36, 3.3 (p. 134, l. 3-13 Prinzivalli / Crouzel / Brésard): Considero *ergo* quia, sicut Salvator sagitta est Dei, sicut scriptum est: Posuit me sicut sagittam electam, sine dubio autem simili exemplo etiam Moyses in quo locutus est sagitta Dei est: et ceteri prophetae et apostoli Christi, in quibus Christus ipse loquebatur, certum est quia per sagittam Dei vulnerabant eos et compungebant cor eorum, quibus sermonem Dei loquebantur, ita ut hi qui ab ipsis audiebant sermonem, dicerent quia: Vulnerata caritate ego sum, sic rursus econtrario quomodo Christus est electa sagitta Dei, sic et Antichristus sagitta diaboli

¹⁹³² Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 400, l. 6-8): Sagittae tuae acutae, peruolantia ubique praecepta et minae et traductiones cordis, compungentes et transfigentes conscientiam quamque.

¹⁹³³ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 160; 163.

¹⁹³⁴ Sweete, The Apocalypse of St. John : the Greek text with introduction, notes and indices, 86.

¹⁹³⁵ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, ixx.

¹⁹³⁶ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Dom. 2.1 (p. 317, l. 28-318, l. 3 Teubner): Ob haec correptus, quo magis et aetatis et condicionis admoneretur, habitabat cum patre una sellam que eius ac fratris, quotiens

the Spirit of revelation is coincidental with (“hoc enim in primo factus est”) the opening of the *first* seal, by virtue of the Old Testament’s sense of being obscure until his coming. It echoes Irenaeus’ formula of Christ’s coming at the end rather than the beginning of things.¹⁹³⁷ **postquam enim ascendit in caelis.** Victorinus interprets Christ’s Resurrection and Ascension as analogous to the white archer on horseback. **Dominus noster.** Charles notes Suetonius gives as one of Domitian's affected titles "dominus et deus noster",¹⁹³⁸ but Victorinus is unlikely to be constructing an Anti-Domitianic figure. **et aperuit uniuersa.** This is likely equivalent to “emisit Spiritum” (Gal. 4.6; Apoc. 22.6) following, rather than the bare intellectual understanding of scripture as given directly by Christ of Luc. 23.32 and 44-46. Thus it means the ability of every believer to understand scripture by aid of the Spirit from heaven, the Paraclete (Io. 14.7-26), independently of Christ in the flesh.

1. 9-11. **cuius uerba...tamquam sagittae ad cor hominum pergerent.** Origen had already said the speech of the just was an arrow that convicted the sinner,¹⁹³⁹ explicitly mandating the solidier of Christ with preaching;¹⁹⁴⁰ perhaps under the *inverse* influence of Eph. 6.17: τὰ

prodirent, lectica sequebatur ac triumphum utriusque Iudaicum equo albo comitatus est. For more on Apoc. 6.1-8, v. Rapisarda, I quattro cavalieri (Ap 6, 1-8) nell’interpretazione di alcuni commentatori latini (IV-VIIIe sec.), in: Orpheus 6 (1985), 62 sq.

¹⁹³⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. I 10.3 SChr 264, l. 72-73): et quare in nouissimis temporibus aduentus Filii Dei, hoc est in fine apparuit et non in initio, adnuntiare; et de fine et de futuris quaecumque posita sunt in Scripturis reuoluere.

¹⁹³⁸ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Dom. 13.2 (p. 327, l. 29-31 Teubner): pari arrogantia, cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: *dominus et deus noster* hoc fieri iubet.

¹⁹³⁹ Origenes, Hom. in Ps. 36, 2.8 (p. 120, l. 29-34 Prinzivalli / Crouzel / Brésard): Sed et iusti habent arcum, habent et sagittas. Denique et una sagitta ipsorum est Dominus Iesus, ipse enim ait: Et posuit me sicut sagittam electam. Habent *ergo* et iusti sagittas, habent et peccatores. Sermo sagitta est: et iusti quidem sermo, cum arguit et corrigit peccatorem, velut sagitta compungit et transforat cor eius ut convertatur ad paenitentiam et salvetur.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Origenes, Hom. in Ps. 36, 2.8 (p. 118-120, l. 27 Prinzivalli / Crouzel / Brésard): Gladium evaginaverunt peccatores, tetenderunt arcum suum ut deiciant inopem et pauperem. Non quo omni genere peccatores gladium habeant corporalem, sed videamus ne forte sicut sunt quaedam arma Dei in quibus esse dicitur lorica iustitiae et gladius spiritus et scutum fidei, ita etiam sint quaedam arma diaboli quibus indutus est homo peccator. A contrariis igitur intellegamus contraria et statuamus duos milites armatos, unum militem Dei et alium militem diaboli. Et si quidem miles Dei habet lorica iustitiae, sine dubio miles diaboli contrariam huic gerit iniustitiae lorica. Et si miles Dei in galea salutis coruscat, econtra peccator qui est miles diaboli, galea perditionis indutus est. *Et si parati sunt pedes militis Christi ad Evangelii cursum et praedicationem, econtra peccatoris pedes velociter currunt ad effundendum sanguinem et calciamenta eius, hoc est praeparatio, concinnatur ad peccatum.* Habet *ergo* miles Dei scutum quoddam fidei, habet et miles diaboli infidelitatis scutum. Ita *ergo* est

βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ;¹⁹⁴¹ and also by way of (Origen's use of)¹⁹⁴² Num. 24.8:¹⁹⁴³ ταῖς

βολίσιν αὐτοῦ κατατοξεύσει ἐχθρόν / "perforabunt sagittis" / "ballistis suis configet

gladius quidam Spiritus sancti in his qui militant Deo; est autem et gladius maligni in his qui militant peccato, quem gladium evaginare nunc dicuntur peccatores. Quomodo autem putandi sunt peccatores evaginare gladium? Cum iam impudenter et absque ullo verecundiae velamento iniquitates suas perpetrare nec erubescunt ac reverentur, neque tamquam in vagina nequitiam suam recondunt et contegunt, sed superbo et elato spiritu velut gladium quendam denudant. Similiter etiam illud quod sequitur peragunt, id est intenderunt arcum suum. Cf. Num. 24.8; Deut. 32.23, 42.

¹⁹⁴¹ Origenes, Com. in Cant. III (GCS 33, 195, l. 5-7): Sciendum tamen est quod, sicut sunt ista Dei 'iacula', quae animae habenti desiderium bonorum salutis vulnus infligunt, ita sunt et 'iacula maligni ignita', quibus anima, quae non est 'scuto fidei' protecta, vulneratur in mortem.

Eph. 6.16 (p. 514 Nestle-Aland): ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι. Cf. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. III 117 (CC SL 3, l. 6-10): Propter hoc induite tota arma, ut possitis resistere in die nequissimo, ut cum omnia perfeceritis, induentes lorica iustitiae et calciati pedes in praeparatione euangelii pacis, in omnibus adsumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia ignita iacula nequissimi extinguere et galeam saluationis et gladium spiritus qui est sermo dei. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Epist. 58.8.3 (CC SL 3B, l. 199-204): Propter quod induite tota arma, ut possitis resistere in die nequissimo, ut cum omnia perfeceritis stetis adcincti lumbos uestros in ueritate, induti lorica iustitiae et calciati pedes in praeparatione pacis euangelii, adsumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia ignita iacula nequissimi extinguere et galeam salutis et gladium spiritus, qui est sermo dei.

Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 5.5 (GCS 29, 191, l. 2-6): Exstinguit namque Aegyptium, qui non agit 'opera tenebrarum'; exstinguit Aegyptium, qui non carnaliter, sed spiritaliter vivit; exstinguit Aegyptium, qui cogitationes sordidas et impuras vel depellit ex corde vel omnino non recipit, sicut et Apostolus dicit: "assumentes scutum fidei, ut possimus omnia maligni iacula ignita exstinguere". Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. VI, Praef. (CC SL 75A, l. 1-10): putabam quod, medio serpente confosso, non reuiuiscerent hydrae nouellae plantaria et, iuxta fabulas poetarum, scylla mortua, nequaquam in me scyllae saeuirent canes qui latrare non cessant, et, haereticis dei percussis manu ne tentarentur, si fieri potest, etiam electi dei, haeresis ipsa non moritur, haereditariis *contra* nos odiorum suorum catulis derelictis, qui, nostra simulantes, genitricis antiquae et pellacis ulixi uenena non deserunt, labia que tantum melle circumlinunt et, iuxta eloquia scripturarum, mollierunt uerba sua super oleum, ipsi autem sunt iacula, et iacula ignita, quae scuto fidei repellenda simul et exstinguenda sunt. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. euang. sec. Luc. VII (CC SL 14, l. 976-982): sed quia in nationibus et gentibus per fidem christi requiem repperire non potuit inmundis enim spiritibus christus incendium est, qui in pectoribus gentilium, quae ante arida erant, postea per baptismum rore spiritus umescebant, iacula aduersarii ignita restinxerat -, ideo regressus ad plebem est Iudaeorum, quae forensi et perfunctoria specie comita animo manet interiore pollutior. Augustinus Hipponensis, De doct. christ. III 26 (CC SL 32, l. 6-8): nec tamen ita, ut iam ubicumque scutum pro aliquo munimento positum legerimus, non accipiamus nisi bonam uoluntatem dei; dictum est enim: et scutum fidei, in quo possitis, inquit, omnes sagittas maligni ignitas extinguere. Epiphanius Latinus, Interpret. Euang. 44 (p. 105, l. 6-7 Erikson): Adsumite *ergo* scutum fidei, ut quomodo possitis omnes sagittas maligni ignitas extinguere, lorica iustitiae, galeam salutis, gladium spiritus. Maximinus (dubium), Col. Ver.: De sol. Sermo 15 (CC S 87, fol. MS : 11,3v, l. 24-11,4r, l. 4): In omnibus adsumentes scutum fidei in quo possitis omnia iacula maligni ignita extinguere ut ex omni parte *contra* iaculantem consistas inimicum et eius iacula ignita confringas.

¹⁹⁴² Origenes, Hom. in Num. 17.6 (CB 30, 166, l. 1-6): "Et iaculis suis sagittabit inimicum". 'Iacula' eius uerba eius sunt, quibus vel diabolus uicit vel omnes inimicos et contradicentes sibi etiam nunc superat et configit; omnis enim qui peccat, inimicus eius est, dum peccat. Si autem audiat uerba Dei et agnoscens peccata sua configatur ex iis et compungatur atque ad poenitentiam convertatur, ueritatis sermone terebratus etiam ipse dicetur 'iaculis' eius esse confixus. Cf. Origenes, Hom. in Num. 13.2 (CB 30, 109, l. 29-32): Ad hunc si accedat Istrahel, hoc est ecclesiae filius et adhibeat iacula uerbi Dei et distingat *contra* eum 'gladium spiritus', destruat in eo omnes munitiones gentilium dogmatum et elationes argumentorum eius igne ueritatis exurat, dicit de hoc quia subuersa est esebon ciuitas Seon. Cf. Origenes, Com. in Io. I 32 (229; SChr 120, l. 12-16): ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπων τοσοῦτους τετρωμένους τῇ θεῖᾳ ἀγάπῃ ὁμοίως τῇ ὁμολογούσῃ τοῦτο πεπονθῆναι ἐν τῷ Ἰακωβίᾳ τῶν ἁσμάτων διὰ τοῦ «Ὅτι τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγὼ τὸ τρωσαν βέλος τὰς τῶν τοσοῦτων εἰς ἀγάπην θεοῦ ψυχὰς οὐκ ἄλλο τι εὐρήσει ἢ τὸν εἰπόντα· «Ἐθηκέ με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτόν.»

inimicum" (Cyprian). Tertullian called the commands and threats of God arrows, that transfix the heart and conscience.¹⁹⁴⁴ Ambrose deduces “darts of charity”,¹⁹⁴⁵ albeit from Zach. 9.13 and Job 6.4; and the “darts of the powerful prophets”.¹⁹⁴⁶ **praedicatores**. Here “preachers” rather than “prophets”,¹⁹⁴⁷ though the latter surely affirm the former. **et uincerent incredulitatem**. Irenaeus interprets Apoc. 6.2 *via* Gen. 25.26, affirming that Christ, by virtue of being Israel-Jacob, “the supplanter”, was born to conquer (“uincens”).¹⁹⁴⁸ For Origen, the Word-rider fights the enemies of the soul, with reason and justice, that he

¹⁹⁴³ Num. 24.8 (p. 259 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): θεὸς ὠδήγησεν αὐτὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ὡς δόξα μονοκέρωτος αὐτῷ ἔδεται ἔθνη ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πάχη αὐτῶν ἐκμυελιῇ καὶ ταῖς βολίσιν αὐτοῦ κατατοξεύσει ἐχθρόν; (VL; Cod. 100; p. 288 Robert): Deus adduxit eum ex Aegypto, sicut honor unicorni eius: comedet gentes inimicorum suorum, et cubitos eorum et medullauit, et iaculis suis concutiet inimicum; (VL; Cod. 56; p.): Deus eduxit illum de Aegypto. cuius fortitudo similis est rinocerotis. Deborabunt gentes hostes illius. ossaque eorum confringent et perforabunt sagittis; (VL; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. II 10 (CC SL 3, l. 5-10; p. 75 Hartel): Item illic: procedet homo de semine eius et dominabitur multarum gentium, et exaltabitur quam gog ipsum regnum, et augebitur regnum eius, et deus eduxit eum ex aegypto: quasi claritas unicornis ei, et edet gentes inimicorum suorum et crassitudines eorum emedullabit et ballistis suis configet inimicum.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, 400, l. 6-7): Sagittae tuae acutae, peruolantia ubique praecepta et minae et traductiones cordis, compungentes et transfigentes conscientiam quamque. (= Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 9.19 (CC SL 2, l. 128-138): Licuit *ergo* et christo dei in psalmis sine bellat<or>is rebus ensem sermonis dei praecingi figurate, cui praedicta tempestiuitas congruat cum gratia labiorum, quem tunc iam cingebatur super femur apud dauid, quando uenturus in terris ex dei patris decreto nuntiabatur: deducet, inquit, te magnifice dextera tua, uirtus scilicet gratiae spiritalis, de qua christi agnitio deducitur; sagittae tuae [inquit] acutae, - *peruolantia utique dei praecepta - minantes traductionem uniuscuiusque cordis et compungentes et transfigentes conscientiam quamque*; populi sub te cadent, utique adorantes.).

¹⁹⁴⁵ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Exhort. uirg. 9.60 (BA 14.2, l. 7)-61 (BA 14.2, l. 6): Quid istud sit, poterimus intelligere, si repetamus quia sagitta est dominus Iesus, cui dicit pater: Posui te sicut sagittam electam. Et quia ipse est caritas, sunt utique iacula caritatis, quibus uulnerat sese quaerentes. Denique et alligati uinculis ipsum sequuntur, quia quos uulnerat ligat. *ergo* sunt etiam uincula caritatis, quibus ligatus est Paulus, qui ait: Paulus uinctus Iesu Christi. Vulnere autem caritatis esse docet Iob, quo nemo amplius Christum dilexit, qui diligebat etiam in ipsius sui corporis cruciatibus. Vnde dicebat: Sagittae autem domini in corpore meo sunt, quarum furor ebibit sanguinem meum; cum coepero loqui, compungunt me. Sunt *ergo* caritatis uulnera, et bona uulnera. Denique meliora uulnera amici quam uoluntaria oscula inimici.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Expos. in psal. cxviii 4.5 (CSEL 62, 70, l. 8-15): condidit enim turrem illam Dauid ille manu fortis et supra murorum aedificauit excelsa, ut subsidio pariter et decori sit, subsidio, quia hostem praeuidet et repellit, decori, quia non solum inter humilia, sed etiam inter excelsa supereminet; ita tamen subsidio uel decori, si habeat in se uerbi dogmata uelut quaedam falerum monilia, habeat etiam iacula potentium prophetarum, quae aduersum omnem extollentem se altitudinem lacertis quibusdam fidei diriguntur.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *praedicator* II. 2. B., 1416.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 21.3 (SChr 100, l. 36-43): Et imprimis in nativitate ejus, quemadmodum apprehendit calcaneum fratris et Jacob vocatus est, quod est Supplantator, tenens et qui non tenetur, ligans pedes sed non ligatus, luctans et vincens, tenens in manu calcaneum adversarii, hoc est victoriam: ad hoc enim nascebatur Dominus, cujus typum generationis monstrabat, de quo et Johannes in Apocalypsi ait: Exiuit uincens, ut uinceret.

may capture and inhabit it.¹⁹⁴⁹ However, for Tertullian, the horseman is the “angel of victory”.¹⁹⁵⁰

l. 11-12. **Corona autem est...promissa.** The whole line is *en effait* Victorinus’ take on Iac.

1.12: λήμψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.¹⁹⁵¹

praedicatoribus. More often a crown of immortality was awarded to martyrs: *cf.* 2 Tim. 4.8

and 1 Cor. 9.25.¹⁹⁵² Following an exegesis of Origen, Gregory of Elvira awards them to those

who hunger for the holy Word *i.e.* the saints in general.¹⁹⁵³ **super caput.** *Cf.* Matth. 27.29,¹⁹⁵⁴

¹⁹⁴⁹ Origenes, Com. in Io. II 7 (54; SChr 120, l. 1-6): Ἔργον δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὡσπερ κρίνειν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ οὕτω καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵν’ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦς ἐχθροὺς λόγῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ οὕτω πολεμεῖν ἀναιρουμένων ἐχθροὺς λόγῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ οὕτω πολεμεῖν ἀναιρουμένων τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ τῆς ἀδικίας λέγεσθαι ἐνοικίησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἐκβάλλον τὰ ἐναντία τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ, ἵν’ οὕτως εἶπω, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ αἰχμαλωτισθέντος ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ. In a similar vein, Christ’s death exhausted “the powers which warred against human kind”: Origenes, Com. in Io. I 32 (233; SChr 120, l. 9-12): ἀτονῆσαι γὰρ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰς πολεμούσας τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει πεποίηκε δυνάμεις, καὶ ἐξελεύσεσθαι τὴν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν πιστευόντων ζωὴν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἀφάτῳ δυνάμει.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Tertullianus, De cor. 15.1 (CC SL 2, l. 5-6): Accipit et angelus uictoriae coronam procedens in candido equo, ut uinceret, et alius iridis ambitu ornatur caelesti prato.

¹⁹⁵¹ Iac. 1.12 (p. 588-589 Nestle-Aland): Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήμψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. *Cf.* Chromatius Aquileiensis, Tract. in Math. 28 (CC SL 9A, l. 137-142): Temptationis huius duplex ratio et causa diuersa est, quia aliis per peccatum temptatio infertur ad emendationem, aliis ad fidei probationem infertur ad gloriam, secundum quod beatus iacobus in epistola sua testatus est dicens: beatus qui sustinuerit temptationem, quoniam beatus factus accipiet coronam uitae, quam promittit deus hic qui eum diligunt. Beatus uir qui suffert temptationem : quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam uitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se.

¹⁹⁵² 2 Tim. 4.8 (p. 546 Nestle-Aland): λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ δίκαιος κριτῆς, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγαπηκόσι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ; (VL; Cyprianus Carthagenensis, Epist. 10.3 (CC SL 3B, 52, l. 78-80): Iam superest mihi corona iustitiae quam mihi reddet dominus in illa die ille iudex iustus, non solum autem mihi, sed et omnibus qui dilexerunt aduentum eius. 1 Cor. 9.25 (p. 456 Nestle-Aland): πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 35 Buchanan): Omnis autem qui in agonē continebat ab omnibus se abstinere. Et ille quidem ut corruptibilem coronā accipiant: nos autem incorruptam.

¹⁹⁵³ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 288-293): Et proinde hanc famem uerbi sancti et diuinae legi[oni]s futuram famis illa id temporibus portendebat; quam famem soli apostoli <et> sancti, qui etiam iustitiae coronam repositam in xpisto habent, saturabuntur, sicut scriptum est: qui mihi seruiet, saturabuntur, uos autem esurietis.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Matth. 27.29 (p. 82 Nestle-Aland): καὶ πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλαμον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ γονυπετήσαντες ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες: χαῖρε βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 37 Belsheim; Cod. b; p. 40 Belsheim): et coronam de spinis, posuerunt super caput eius, et harundinem in dextera eius. Et adgeniculantes se ante eum deludebant eum, dicentes : Habe rex Iudaeorum.

of whose ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς this is the normative Old Latin translation. **per Spiritum Sanctum**. Not "Deum", because, presumably, it inspires *praedicatores*.

l. 12-14. **Ceteri tres equi**. Awkward nominatives that are really the *object* of "significat", equivalent to quoting the lemma directly rather than in reported speech. **bella**. Cf. Apoc. 6.4. **famem**. An odd conflation of the black horse of *scarcity* (Apoc. 6.5-6) with the *famine* that accompanies the pale horse (Apoc. 6.8). **et pestilentiam**. Surely equivalent to the *death* of Apoc. 6.8.¹⁹⁵⁵ *Death* and *pestilence* are often biblically equivalent e.g. Ps. 78.50; Ez. 6.12; Jer. 38.2 (also equivalent to *sword* and *famine*). הָרֶבֶץ is rendered in the LXX of Ecclus. 39.29 by θάνατος rather than λοιμός,¹⁹⁵⁶ and Charles assumes the Apocalypticist translated the *Aramaic* for pestilence which underlies the Synoptics.¹⁹⁵⁷ Variants of λοιμός/*pestilentia* are absent from the earliest versions of Matth. 24.7¹⁹⁵⁸ and Luc. 21.11,¹⁹⁵⁹ the earliest extant in the Old Latin are in Sig. 6.¹⁹⁶⁰ **in euangelio** i.e. in the *Little Apocalypse* of Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21. **Dominus**. Governs the finite verb "significat", whereas Jerome makes it its agent. **ostendens**. Governs the objects "bella, famem et pestilentiam". Jerome considers it redundant. **praedicata**. The neuter plural of "praedicata" strictly agrees with "bella", but

¹⁹⁵⁵ Apoc. 6.8 (p. 643-644 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω [αὐτοῦ] ὄνομα αὐτῷ [ὁ] θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἠκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς, ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 119-122; p. 98 Haussleiter): Et uidi equum pallidum, et qui sedebat super eum, nomen ei erat mors, et infernus eum sequebatur, et data est ei potestas quartam partem terrae, ut interficeret gladio, fame et morte et bestiis eos qui sunt in terra.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Ecclus. 39.29 (p. 4 Cowley/Neubauer): רַעַב וְרֶבֶץ; (p. 446 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John 1, 170.

¹⁹⁵⁸ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ occurs in the Matth. 24.7 of C Θ 0102 f^{1,13} 565 2, 1 and x; λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ in L W 33. Matth. 24.7 (p. 68 Nestle-Aland): ἐγεθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους.

¹⁹⁵⁹ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ in † B 1241: Luc. 21.11 (p. Nestle-Aland): σεισμοὶ τε μεγάλοι κατὰ τόπους καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ἔσονται, φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μέγала ἔσται.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Matth. 24.7 (VL; Cod. 2.; p. 15 Belsheim): exsurget autem gens super gentem et regnum super regnum, et erunt fames et terrae motus per singula loca; but (Cod. 6; p. 31 Belsheim): insurget enim gens *contra* gentem et regnum *contra* regnum, et erunt pestilentiae et fames et terrae motus per singula loca. Luc. 21.11 (VL; Cod. 2.; p. 83 Belsheim): terre motus quoquo magni per loca et fames et lues timores quoque a cae;p et signa magna erunt erunt; but (Cod. 6; p. 100 Belsheim): Et terrae motus magni erunt per loca, et pestilentiae et fames terroresque de caelo et signa magna erunt et tempestates.

qualifies “famem et pestilentiam” as well. Jerome changes the accusatives to nominatives (and “pestilentiam” to “pestes”) to become the lemmatical subject of “significat”,¹⁹⁶¹ and alters to the singular neuter “(a Domino nostro) praedicatum”, a kind of complementary apposite subject to “bella etc”.¹⁹⁶² **manifeste significat**. Here in the more prosaic sense of “makes known”, “show by signs”. Jerome’s change of subject(s) converts it to the more technical sense of “means” “signifies”.¹⁹⁶³ Victorinus’ using such Latin terms in their more common, elementary or “primitive” sense is typical, and doubtless a cause for Jerome’s mild derision.

l. 14-15. **ideo que ait: Vnum de animalibus**. Cf. Apoc. 6.1,¹⁹⁶⁴ whose extant Itala has “unum ex quattuor animalibus”. **quia omnia quattuor unum sunt**. Victorinus’ explanation is oddly unconvincing, given that each animal speaks in turn. However, he may be explicating why John uses ἐνὸς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγοντος rather than the more logical πρώτου ζώου λέγοντος, which the ensuing *cardinals* would suggest (Apoc. 6.3-9). This is a very Alexandrian exegesis. Origen had already said all four Gospels, as the constituent elements of Christian faith, were analogous to those comprising the world, reconciling the world to God thereby.¹⁹⁶⁵ But, of these, even as the Gospels are the *first fruits of scripture*, the single one of John is *their especial* first fruits.¹⁹⁶⁶ Origen’s “parade” of the Gospels ends on John,¹⁹⁶⁷

¹⁹⁶¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (R. H.; p. 69, l. 111-12 Haussleiter).

¹⁹⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.1 (R. H.; p. 69, l. 11-12 Haussleiter).

¹⁹⁶³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *significo*, *indicate*, I, 1696; *betoken*, *mean* II. A., 1697.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Apoc. 6.1 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Primasius Hadrumentinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 48-50; p. 98, l. 2 Haussleiter): Et cum aperuisset unum ex septem signis, audiui unum ex quattuor animalibus dicens: Veni et uide.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Origenes, Com. in Io. I 4 (21; SChr 120, l. 1-2): Ἐγὼ δ’ οἶμαι ὅτι καὶ τεσσάρων ὄντων τῶν εὐαγγελίων οἰονεὶ στοιχείων τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας—ἐξ ὧν στοιχείων ὁ πᾶς συνέστηκε κόσμος ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλαγεῖς τῷ θεῷ, καθά φησιν ὁ Παῦλος· «Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ».

¹⁹⁶⁶ Origenes, Com. in Io. I 4 (23; SChr 120, l. 1-3): Τολμητέον τοίνυν εἰπεῖν ἀπαρχὴν μὲν πασῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῶν δὲ εὐαγγελίων ἀπαρχὴν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Origenes, Com. in Io. I 4 (22; SChr 120, l. 1-16).

whereas Victorinus begins with him, likened to a lion, following Apoc. 4.¹⁹⁶⁸ Cf. the four river-Gospels of Eden, sprung from one source-mouth.¹⁹⁶⁹ Though Victorinus does not specifically identify the creature-Gospel of "the voice as it were of thunder" (Apoc. 6.1: ὦς φωνῆ βροντῆς)¹⁹⁷⁰ with John, he attributes to the latter specifically "the roar as it were of a lion" ("tamquam leo fremens");¹⁹⁷¹ which formula may betray influence of the former.

l. 15-17. **Veni autem et uide.** Jerome deletes Victorinus' common commentarial interjection "autem" from the lemma, which perhaps betrays his original dictation to a secretary;¹⁹⁷² or merely an oral writing style.¹⁹⁷³ Victorinus' is the earliest witness to a proto-Vulgate tradition, closer to the Greek of the Codex Sinaiticus.¹⁹⁷⁴ **ueni dicitur inuitato ad fidem.** Cf. In Apoc. 4.1: "inuitauit in caelum omnes credentes...Et cum aperiatur per Spiritum Sanctum mens fidelium".¹⁹⁷⁵ **et uide dicitur ei qui non uidebat.** For the summons to belief, cf. also

¹⁹⁶⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 17-18): Iohannes: In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum; haec facies leonis.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 35-38): <Hae> ergo praedicationes quamuis quattuor sint, una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore processit, sicut fluuius in paradiso de uno fonte in quattuor partes diuisus est.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Apoc. 6.1 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Ambrosius Autpertus, Expos. in Apoc. IV prol. (CM 27, 274, l. 21-23): Nunc autem in ordine ita sequitur, quod de solutione sigillorum per Iohannem dicitur: ET CVM APERVISSET AGNVS VNVM EX SEPTEM SIGILLIS, AVDIVI VNVM EX QVATTVOR ANIMALIBVS DICENS, TAMQVAM VOCEM TONITRVI MAGNI: VENI ET VIDE.

¹⁹⁷¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 66, l. 1-5): Simile leoni animal euangelium cata Iohannem, quod, cum omnes euangelistae hominem factum Christum praedicaerunt, ille autem illum antequam descenderet et carnem sumeret deum praedicauit dicendo: Deus erat verbum et quoniam tamquam leo fremens exclamauit, leonis uultum sustinet praedicatio eius.

¹⁹⁷² Quintillian had counselled against the use of amanuenses precisely because it betrayed an imprecise oral style: Quintillianus, Instit. Orator. X 3.20 (p. 272, l. 23-26 Radermacher / Bukheit): quo fit ut non rudia tantum et fortuita, sed inpropria interim, dum sola est conectendi sermonis cupiditas, effluent, quae nec scribentium curam nec dicentium impetum consequantur. Origen employed stenographers: Epiphanius, Pan. II 4.3.4 (GCS 25, 406, l. 8-9): τοῦ μὲν Ἀμβροσίου τὰ πρὸς τροφὰς αὐτῶ τε καὶ τοῖς ὀξύγραφοῖς [καὶ] τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν αὐτῶ ἐπαρκούντος.

¹⁹⁷³ Ancient reading styles were profoundly oral, and Victorinus' introducing of particles into his lemma may have served as *de facto* punctuation, in a culture that still largely lacked such separation: Saegner, Paul, Separation of Words, in Olson / Torrance (eds), Literacy and Reading, 208.

¹⁹⁷⁴ As well as the Syriac Codices Philoxenia and Harklensis: Apoc. 6.1 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland (ap. crit.); VL; Cod. Gig. 276v). Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 178.

¹⁹⁷⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 16-21): Et quia postquam inuitauit in caelum omnes credentes in nomine suo. Dominus noster, statim Spiritum Sanctum effudit, qui laturus est hominem ad caelum, ait: Statim factus sum in spiritu. Et cum aperiatur per Spiritum Sanctum mens fidelium, illud illis manifestatur quod et prioribus est praedicatum.

Io. 1.39 and 46;¹⁹⁷⁶ especially without physical sight, Io. 20.29.¹⁹⁷⁷ Cyprian speaks of “cordis oculos aperire”.¹⁹⁷⁸ “Vide dicitur ei qui non uidebat” perhaps suggests an initiation rite, such as the *effetha* (Marc. 7.34) of Ambrose (strictly an *apertio aurium*).¹⁹⁷⁹ Augustine speaks of an *apertio oculorum*.¹⁹⁸⁰

¹⁹⁷⁶ Io. 1.39 (p. 249 Nestle-Aland): λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὄψεσθε. ἦλθαν οὖν καὶ εἶδαν ποῦ μένει, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην· ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 19 Belsheim): Dicit eis uenite et uidete uenerunt ergo et uiderunt ubi maneret. et apud eum manserunt illo die et fuit hora quasi decima; 1.46 (p. 250 Nestle-Aland): καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῶ Ναθαναήλ· ἐκ Ναζαρέτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; λέγει αὐτῶ ὁ Φίλιππος· ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 19 Belsheim): Ait illi nathanael. a nazara potes aliquid boni esse ait illi phillippus ueni et uide.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Io. 20.29 (p. 317 Nestle-Aland): λέγει αὐτῶ [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς· ὅτι ἐώρακάς με, πεπίστευκας; μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 70 Belsheim): Ait illi Iesus: Quoniam uidisti, credisti: beati qui non uiderunt, et crediderunt.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De laps. 3.35 (CC SL 3, l. 666-670): Vos uero, fratres, quorum timor in deum pronus est et in ruina licet animus constitutus mali sui memor est, paenitentes ac dolentes peccata uestra perspicite, grauissimum conscientiae crimen agnoscite, ad intellegentiam delicti uestri oculos cordis aperite, nec desperantes misericordiam domini nec tamen iam ueniam uindicantes. Cf. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De zel. et liu. 5 (CC SL 3A, l. 90-92): obtrectantes magnalibus quae ille faciebat zelo excaecante decepti sunt nec ad diuina noscenda cordis oculos aperire potuerunt. Cyprianus Carthagenensis (pseudo) (= Celsus quidam), Ad Vig. episc. de Iud. incred. 6 (CC SL 3.3, 126, l. 11-15): sicut ipse quae sit uita aeterna manifestat dicens: haec est autem uita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum et uerum Deum et quem misisti Iesum Christum, docens atque ostendens nihil aliud esse Deum nosse quam credere et oculos cordis in Dominum prona et immutata pectoris fide deuotae mentis aperire. Cf. Lactantius, Diu. Inst. IV 26.4 (CSEL 19, 377, l. 23-378, l. 3): caelestis uirtus, lucem non uidentibus reddidisse: sed hoc facto significabat fore ut conuersus ad gentes quae deum nesciebant insipientium pectora inluminaret luce sapientiae et ad ueritatem contemplandam oculos cordis aperiret. Nouatianus, De spect. 10 (CC SL 4, l. 16-22): Quam hoc decorum spectaculum, fratres, quam iocundum, quam necessarium, intueri semper spem suam et oculos aperire ad salutem suam! hoc est spectaculum quod uidetur etiam luminibus amissis, hoc est spectaculum quod non exhibet praetor aut consul, sed qui est solus et ante omnia et super omnia, immo ex quo omnia, pater domini nostri iesu christi, cui laus et honor in saecula saeculorum. Nouatianus, De trin. 18 (CC SL 4, l. 117-126): ex quo etiam deus confirmatur [deus] esse qui hoc potest facere, quoniam, ut hoc ipsum comprobetur, adicitur per scripturam statim: et aperuit deus oculos eius, et uidit puteum aquae uiuae et abiit et impleuit utrem de puteo et dedit puero, et erat deus cum puero. Si ergo hic deus erat cum puero, qui aperuit oculos agar, ut uideret puteum aquae uiuae et hauriret aquam propter urgentem sitis necessitatem, hic autem deus e caelo illam uocat angelus dictus, cum superius uocem audiens clamantis pueri deus esset potius, non alius intellegitur quam angelus esse pariter et deus. Lactantius, Diu. Inst. I 1.6 (CSEL 19, 2, l. 15-20): quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per se ipsum ratio diuina notesceret, non est passus hominem deus lumen sapientiae requirentem diutius errare ac sine ullo laboris effectu uagari per tenebras inextricabiles: aperuit oculos eius aliquando et notionem ueritatis munus suum fecit, ut et humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret et erranti ac uago uiam consequendae immortalitatis ostenderet.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De myst. 1.3 (CSEL 73, 90, l. 12-16): aperite igitur aures et bonum odorem vitae aeternae inhalatum uobis munere sacramentorum carpite! quod uobis significauimus, cum apertionis celebrantes mysterium diceremus effetha, quod est adaperire, ut venturus unusquisque ad gratiam, quid interrogaretur, cognosceret, quid responderet, meminisse deberet. Cavadini, Augustine through the Ages: an Encyclopedia, 85. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 178.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. nou. 18D (=360F).5 (p. 214, l. 4-8 Dolbeau): Cum clauseris illum, in tenebris es. Fuit ergo potestatis tuae in tenebris esse claudendo oculos, numquid in potestate tua est uidere, cum aperueris oculos, nisi lumen adsit in quo possis uidere? Oculorum tuorum clausio non opus habuit adiutorio ad non uidendum, oculorum autem apertio opus habet adiutorio ad uidendum. Augustinus Hipponensis, De Gen. con. Man. II (PL 34, c. 216, l. 56-c. 217, l. 1): et ad quos magis pertinet apertio carnalium oculorum, quam ad istos qui relicta interiore sapientiae luce solem istum, qui pertinet ad oculos corporis, adorare compellunt?

1. 17-18. **Ergo.** Likely partly alludes to the “inuitatio ad **fidem**”, since the white rider-Word is called **πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός** / “**fidelis et uerus**” (Apoc. 19.11).¹⁹⁸¹ Victorinus concludes by explaining the specific meaning of “white horse” *qua horse*, the association of *white* with the purity of the Spirit's being doubtless assumed: **equus albus uerbum**. For Origen the white horse of the rider of Apoc. 19.11 is “the clarity” (τὸ σαφές) of the voice of the Word, reliable as is no earthly horse or chariot.¹⁹⁸² Victorinus alludes to the white *rider*-Word of Apoc. 19.11-13, though he does not explicitly mention him. **praedicationis cum Spiritu Sancto in orbem missum**. Echoes the earlier “Dominus noster...emisit Spiritum Sanctum” of lines 8-9, affirming the association between white horse and Holy Spirit.

1. 19-20. **Praedicabitur hoc euangelium.** Cf. Matth. 24.14. Origen,¹⁹⁸³ Eusebius,¹⁹⁸⁴ and not a few codices of the Old Latin also omit the fuller expression τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας / “euangelium regni” from their version of the verse.¹⁹⁸⁵ **in toto orbe**. Few of the

¹⁹⁸¹ Apoc. 19.11 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 86 Belsheim): Et uidi caelum apertum, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat supra illum uocatur fidelis et uerus, et cum iusticia iudicabit et pugnat; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 236, l. 8 Belsheim): fidelis et uerax.

¹⁹⁸² Origenes, Com. in Io. I 38 (278, l. 6-279, l. 7): Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ἐπὶ λευκοῦ ἵππου καθέζεσθαι λέγεται λόγος πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ὡς οἶμαι, παριστὰς τὸ σαφές τῆς φωνῆς, ὃ ἠχεῖται ὁ ἡμῖν ἐπιδημῶν ἀληθείας λόγος. Οὐ τοῦ παρόντος δὲ καιροῦ δεῖξαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς φωνῆς πολλαχοῦ τῆς γραφῆς, ἐν ἧ ἔστι τὰ προκείμενα, δι’ ὧν ὠφελούμεθα θεῖων μαθημάτων ἀκροώμενοι, κεῖται ἡ «ἵππος» προσηγορία. Μόνον δὲ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ὑπομνηστέον, τοῦ «Ψευδῆς ἵππος εἰς σωτηρίαν» καὶ «Οὗτοι ἐν ἄρμασι καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ἵπποις, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ ἡμῶν μεγαλυνθησόμεθα».

¹⁹⁸³ Origenes, De princ. IV 1.2 (GCS 22, 295, l. 22-25 Kötschau): Nam et praedicta esse ab eo haec ipsa et diuinis ab eo responsis confirmata, manifestum est cum dicit quia "apud praesides et iudices adducemini propter me, in testimonium ipsius et gentibus;" et rursum: "Praedicabitur hoc euangelium in omnibus gentibus;" et iterum: "Multi mihi dicent in illa die: Domine, domine, nonne in tuo nomine manducavimus et bibimus, et in tuo nomine daemonia eiecimus? et dicam eis: Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis, numquam cognovi vos.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. eccl. V 10.2 (SChr 41, 451, l. 17): cuius tantum studii erga uerbum dei et tantum amoris fuisse traditur, ut etiam ad praedicandum Christi euangelium omnibus gentibus, quae in Orientis ultimis secessibus reconduntur, fidei et devotionis calore profectus sit et usque ad Indiam citeriorem uerbum dei praedicando pervenerit.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Matth. 24.14 (p. 68 Nestle-Aland): καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος; (VL; Cod. 11; p. 68 Haase): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium meum in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 14; p. 141 Abbott): et praedicabitur...um per totum orbem...bus et tun...; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Cresc. III 64.71 (CSEL 52, 477, l.a : 3-6; P. 477, l. 4 Petschenig): sic enim ipse dominus ait: et praedicabitur hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis; Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 93.7 (CSEL 34.2, 467, l. 12-19): dicis enim: quantum ad totius mundi

Old Latin have this precise expression.¹⁹⁸⁶ Most have "in uniuerso orb<e/i/em>".¹⁹⁸⁷

terrarum. Without parallel in the Greek, in a few Old Latin.¹⁹⁸⁸ Asides being a common

Latin expression, it may occur under the impact of Act. 11.28, due to its referring to a

prophetic signifying by the Spirit of *a universal famine under a caesar*,¹⁹⁸⁹ with which

spiritual counterpart Victorinus seems to follow. **in testimonio.** No other Old Latin has the

dative. **omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis.** The closest Latin predecessor, all told, occurs

first in Cyprian: "Et praedicabitur euangelium istud regni per totum orbem terrae in

pertinet partes, modica pars est in compensatione totius mundi, in *qua* fides christiana nominatur, nec uis adtendere aut te nosse dissimulas, in quam multas iam barbaras nationes tam paruo tempore uenerit euangelium, ut nec inimici christi dubitare iam possint breui tempore futurum, quod discipulis respondit de saeculi fine quaerentibus: et praedicabitur hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis; Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 140.17 (CSEL 44, 191, l. 23-192, l. 3): ecclesia illa est, quam modo dixit unicam suam; haec est unica catholica, quae toto orbe copiosa diffunditur, quae usque ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur, unde in euangelio dicit: et praedicabitur hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 101, Sermo 2.9 (CC SL 40, l. 21-23; PL 37, 1310 and 1313): et praedicabitur, inquit, hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc ueniet finis. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 178.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Matth. 24.14 (p. 68 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος; (VL; Cod. 27; p. 99 Retig): et p̄ dicabitur hoc euangeliū regni in toto orbe in testimoniu omnibus gentibus & t̄ c ueniet finis. Cf. Matth. 24.14 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 16 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni per totum orbem terrarum in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 37 Belsheim): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni per totum orbem in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet fines; (VL; Cod. 14; p. 141 Abbott): et praedicabitur...um per totum orbem...bus et tun...; (VL; Cod. 35; p. 77 Lawlor): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni pertotum orbe(m) intestimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet consummatio; cf. (VL; Cod. 5; p. 73 Scrivener): Et praedicabitur euangelium hoc regni in toto mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis ueniet finis;

¹⁹⁸⁷ Matth. 24.14 (VL; Cod. 4; p. 33 Belsheim; Cod. 6; p. 32 Belsheim; Cod. 7; p. 38 Wordsworth; Cod. 8.; p. 19 Belsheim; Cod. 9; p. 48 Belsheim; Cod. 10; p. 142 Wordsworth-White; Cod. 11; p. 68 Haase; Cod. 30; p. 45 Heer; Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 197.4 (CSEL 57, 233, l. 15-21; p. 233, l. 16-18 Goldbacher); cf. (VL; Cod. 56; p. 341, l. 28): in uniuerso orbem; (VL; Cod. 13; p. 32 White): in uniuerso orbi; (VL; Cod. 15; p. 96 Belsheim: in uniuerso mundo.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Matth. 24.14 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 341, l. 28): in uniuerso orbem taerrarum; cf. (VL; Cyprianus Carthagenensis, Ad Fort. 11 (CC SL 3, l. 33-35; p. 335, l. 20 Hartel): Et praedicabitur euangelium istud regni per totum orbem terrae in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Act. 11.28 (p. 350 Nestle-Aland): ἀναστὰς δὲ εἶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος ἐσήμαινεν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἣτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 367 Scrivener): ait unus ex ipsis nomine agabus significabat per spm famem magnam futuram esse in toto orbe terrae quae fuit sub Claudio; (VL; Cod. 50; p. 30 Belsheim): surgens autem unus ex eis nomine Agabus significauit per spiritum famem magnam futuram esse in omnem orbem terrarum quae et facta est sub Claudio caesare; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 25 Belsheim): et surgens unus de eis nomine agabus significauit per spiritum sanctum famem magnam futuram in uniuersum orbem, quae fuit est sub Claudio; (VL; Cod. 54; p. 41 Berger): Congregatis autem nobis surgens unus ex his nomine agabus. significabat per spiritum famem magnam futuram huniuerso horbe (terrarum). que facta est sub claudio cesare.

testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis".¹⁹⁹⁰ Some versions of the *Vetus Latina* have "finis" for "consummatio".¹⁹⁹¹

6.2.

1. 1-2. **Equus autem niger.** Cf. Apoc. 6.5.¹⁹⁹² **famem significat.** An odd conclusion, given Apoc. 6.8 ascribes famine to the *pale horse*. A dualist axiom, *the famine of the Word* seems to be the shadowy spiritual counterpart to the spread of the gospel (see above): if the gospel is a white horse, logically its absence-antithesis, or that of Antichrist, should be black. It is perhaps analogous to Origen's "vision of the horse (= Sisera)" as signifying the one who lacks understanding (after Ps. 32 / 31.9).¹⁹⁹³ Similarly, the horse's being carnal man-Judas for Origen, he distinguishes between godly and diabolical riders.¹⁹⁹⁴ All those who persecute the

¹⁹⁹⁰ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Fort. 11 (CC SL 3, l. 33-35; p. 335, l. 20 Hartel): Et praedicabitur euangelium istud regni per totum orbem terrae in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis.

¹⁹⁹¹ Matth. 24.14 (p. Nestle-Aland): καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος; (VL; Cod. 71; p. 37 Belsheim): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni per totam orbem in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Cod. 27; p. 99 Retig): et p̄dicabitur hoc euangeliū regni in toto orbe in testimoniū omnibus gentibus & t̄c ueniet finis.

¹⁹⁹² Apoc. 6.5 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην, ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζῶου λέγοντος: ἔρχου. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος μέλας, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ζυγὸν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 81-84; p. 98 Haussleiter): Et cum aperuisset signum tertium audiui tertium animal dicens: Veni et uide. Et uidi equum nigrum, et qui sedebat super eum habebat stateram in manu sua.

¹⁹⁹³ Origenes, Hom. in Iud. 4.4 (GCS 30, 491, l.15-492, l. 1): 'Sisara' autem interpretatur visio equi. Iste est enim 'animalis' et non 'spiritalis,' qui non videt nisi ea, quae 'animalis' sunt; ipsa est eius visio, ipse semper intuitus. Et ideo semper 'animalis homo' et 'is, qui secundum carnem est, persequitur eum, qui secundum spiritum est,' donec 'spiritalis' intelligat et 'examinet omnia' et intelligat, unde sibi sit auxilium deprecandum, et 'clamet ad Dominum,' donec animae illi, quae 'clamaverit ad Dominum,' suscitetur prophetia, quae est in figura Debborae, et secundum prophetiae gratiam et intelligentiam vel ecclesiae populus gubernetur vel etiam sensus uniuscuiusque mentis et animae regatur, per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, 'cui est gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum Amen!'. Origenes, Hom. in Gen. 5.4 (GCS 29, 62, l. 20-23): Notat tales et scriptura divina, cum dicit: "nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus", et iterum: "equi admissarii facti sunt".

¹⁹⁹⁴ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 6.2 (GCS 29, 193, l. 4-15): "Equum et adscensorem proiecit in mare; adiutor et protector factus est mihi in salutem". Homines, qui nos insequuntur, equi sunt, et, ut ita dicam, omnes, qui in carne nati sunt, figuraliter equi sunt. Sed hi habent adscensores suos. Sunt equi, quos Dominus adscendit et circumeunt omnem terram, de quibus dicitur: "et equitatus tuus salus". Sunt autem equi, qui adscensores habent diabolum et angelos eius. Iudas equus erat, sed donec adscensorem habuit Dominum, de equitatu salutis fuit. Cum ceteris etenim Apostolis missus aegrotis salutem et sanitatem languentibus praestitit; sed ubi se diabolo substravit - "post buccellam" enim "introivit in eum Satanas" - adscensor ipsius effectus est Satanas et illius habenis ductus adversus Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum coepit equitare.

saints are horses ridden by the devil and his angels.¹⁹⁹⁵ Victorinus shortly proceeds to the topic of Antichrist. **ait enim Dominus : et erit fames per loca.** Cf. Matth. 24.7.¹⁹⁹⁶ Jerome corrects *erit fames* to the plural *erunt fames*, in accord with the usual Vetus Latina.¹⁹⁹⁷

1. 2-4. **Proprie autem extendit se uerbum.** *Extendere se* more often means *to exert oneself* in Classical Latin.¹⁹⁹⁸ Victorinus likely makes an intransitive sense with the reflexive instead of the passive, perhaps reflecting vulgar usage. It also surely echoes the use of *extendere* to evoke both Passion¹⁹⁹⁹ and protective wings of the Spirit (above).²⁰⁰⁰ **usque ad**

Antichristum, id est tempora quando magna fames. More often the plural of *fames*

(λοιμοὶ) is cited in apocalyptic, following the Synoptics.²⁰⁰¹ Likely following Origen,

Gregory of Elvira attests a great spiritual famine in the time of Antichrist,²⁰⁰² divined from

¹⁹⁹⁵ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 6.2 (GCS 29, 193, l. 15-19): Omnes ergo, qui persequuntur sanctos, equi sunt hinnientes, sed habent adscensores, quibus aguntur, angelos malos et ideo feroces sunt. Si *ergo* videris aliquando persecutorem tuum nimium saevientem, scito quia ab adscensore suo daemone perurguetur et ideo saevus, ideo truculentus est.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Matth. 24.7 (p. 68 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 31 Belsheim): Exsurget enim ge...aduersus gentem, et...num *contra* regnum, et erunt fames, et terrae motus per loca omnia; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 33 Belsheim): Insurget enim gens *contra* gentem, et regnum *contra* regnum, et erunt fames, et terremotus per loca omnia; (VL; 5; p. 72 Scrivener): Exsurget enim gens super gentem et regnum supra regnum et erunt fames et terrae motus per loca; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 31 Belsheim): Insurget enim gens *contra* gentem et regnum *contra* regnum, et erunt pestilenciae et fames et terrae motus per singula loca; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 37 Wordsworth): Consurget enim gens in gentem et regnum in regnum: et erunt pestilentiae et famis et terrae motus per loca; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 19 Belsheim): Insurget enim gens *contra* gentem et regnum *contra* regnum et erunt fames et terrae motus per loca.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (R. H.; p. 71, l. 11-12 Haussleiter).

¹⁹⁹⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *extendere* II. Trop. A. *exert oneself*, 706-707.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 78, l. 11).

²⁰⁰⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (SChr 423, 80, l. 2).

²⁰⁰¹ Bousset, Der Antichrist, 129-131. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 180; 2, 3.3., n 34.

²⁰⁰² Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 238-253): Et quia haec tempora futura erant, ideo ioseph, qui tipum xpisti induerat, currum meruit et praeconem; sic enim scriptura refert: et inposuit eum inquit in curru et praeco ante eum praeconabit et constituit eum super totam terram aegypti, ut frumenta in orreis congregaret; sic et dominus noster postquam est distractus a iuda ut ioseph a fratribus et de inferorum carcere surrexit, ascendit currum regni caelestis, de quo dauid ait: currus dei decem milium, ut frumenta fidei sanctorum horreis per ista septem carismata spiritus quasi per septem annos congregare deberet, ut, cum iniquitate illa septem capitalium criminum, quibus quasi per alios septem annos omnis iniquitas recapitulata sub antexpisto regnabit, famis fidei et salutis esse cepisset, tunc sancti pariter et fideles haberent famosam iustitiae frugem, ne fides eorum inopia sermones euicta deficeret. Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 271-293): Fames autem illa, quae fuit super omnem terram, diximus iam quod famem significabat diuini uerbi et iustitiae <futuram> temporibus antechristi. Nemo enim uerbum dei, quo animae iustorum uiuere solent, tunc praedicabit, sicut scriptum est: non in solo pane uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo dei; nemo panem facit corporis domini, id est eucharistiam benedicit, quia sacrificium deo tunc offerri

Amos 8.11, as seen at an early date in the *Passio Pionii*,²⁰⁰³ probably of the mid-to-late third century, recounting the Decian persecution,²⁰⁰⁴ a discourse near contemporary with Victorinus. Gregory also has the saints flee this famine (in a spiritual Canaan), to a spiritual (good) Egypt, like his brothers to Joseph and his plentiful storehouses, which is also, paradoxically, the kingdom of heaven and the true land of promise and its eschatological plenty.²⁰⁰⁵ This kingdom is the *liberation of the creation (liberatio creaturae)*,²⁰⁰⁶ as for

non licet, propter quod sint omnia polluta atque imunda. Et proinde hanc famem uerbi sancti et diuinae legi[oni]s futuram famis illa id temporibus portendebat; quam famem soli apostoli <et> sancti, qui etiam iustitiae coronam repositam in xpisto habent, saturabuntur, sicut scriptum est: qui mihi seruient, saturabuntur, uos autem esurietis.

²⁰⁰³ Amos 8.11 (p. 510 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται λέγει κύριος καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ λιμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐ λιμὸν ἄρτου οὐδὲ δίψαν ὕδατος ἀλλὰ λιμὸν τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον κυρίου. Martyrium Pionii 12.7 (l. 1-2 Musurillo): νῦν οὐ λιμὸς ἄρτου οὐδὲ δίψα ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον κυρίου; (p. 193 Ruinart; p. 106, l. 1 Von Gebhardt): nunc fames et sitis, non panis aut aquarum penuria, sed persecutione. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 178.

²⁰⁰⁴ Brent, Cyprian and Roman Carthage, 182.

²⁰⁰⁵ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 253-281): Apelatum est enim nomen ioseph lingua aegyptiaca somtofanec, quod in latinum uertitur saluator mundi; accepit et xpistus nomen a deo patre, sicut beatus apostolus ait: et dedit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine ihesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia dominus ihesus xpistus in gloria est dei patris. Habuit ioseph anolum regalem; sed et xpistus principalem fidei anolum tenet, quo credentes animae salutis signo signantur. Indutus est ioseph bissum et stolam; sic et xpistus carnem sanctam bisso splendidiorem et stolam immortalitatis in resurrectione adsumpsit, sicut ipse dixit: vt pater in se uitam habet, sic et filio uitam dedit habere in se. Elegit ioseph parentibus et fratribus suis meliorem terram iessen et mensus est eis frumentum sufficienter, quia fames inualuerat super terram et defecerat omnis terra fame; sic et dominus elegit meliorem terram parentibus [et fratribus] suis, id est patriarcis, de quibus apostolus ait: quorum patres, ex quibus xpistus secundum carnem, sed et fratribus, <id est> apostolis adque omnibus sanctis, de quibus dicit propheta: narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, terram scilicet repromissionis, quod est regnum dei, de qua terra scriptum est: placebo domino in terra uiuentium. Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 293-315): Denique de hac terra, quae erit in regno dei, isahac filium suum iacob sic benedixit dicens: det tibi dominus de rore caeli ac fertilitate terrae habundantiam frumenti, uini et olei in domo tua, et dominus eris fratrum tuorum. Quo[d] exinde dinoscitur non in praesenti, sed in futuro saeculo iacob a patre benedictum, quia non solum in hoc saeculo habundantiam frumenti et uini et olei iacob non habuit, uerum et prae nimia famme in aegypto confugit; sed et non solum dominus fratri suo non fuit, uerum et fugit ante faciem eius et munera ei postmodum obtulit timore eius et tremore correptus. Vbi ergo et quando haec benedictio complebitur nisi in regno dei, ubi habundantia est frumenti et uini et olei? sponte enim frugem terra dabit et omnis malitia auferetur, sicut dicit esaias: in illis, inquit, diebus bos et leo simul paleas manducabunt, lupus et agnus simul pascentur et puer pusillus mittet manum in cubile aspidum et non nocebunt eum; talem enim mundum reformauit deus in regno suo, qualis factus est *ab initio*, antequam protoplaustus homo delinqueret; qui postquam transgressus est uerbum dei, omnia corrupta et uiolata et maledicta sunt dicente deo: maledicta terra in operibus tuis.

²⁰⁰⁶ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 5 (CC SL 69, l. 315-321): Praeterita ergo figura huius mundi regnum sanctorum erit et liberatio creaturae. Haec est benedictio, quae praefigurabatur in iacob, quam ioseph meruit, consequenter et sancti omnes qui fidem xpisti custodiunt, sicuti ipse dominus ait: faciam uos recumbere cum abraham, isaac et iacob in regno dei et filius hominis ministrabit uobis..

Victorinus it is *liberation from death (eliberatio de clade mortis)*.²⁰⁰⁷ But is Egypt Canaan and Canaan Egypt? Is Canaan Paul's Abrahamic world-Canaan? **est futura**. The stress recalls Act. 11.28,²⁰⁰⁸ above. **quandoque et homines**. Cf. Apoc. 9.4:²⁰⁰⁹ μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν...εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους / "ne laederent...nisi homines etc". Though it may simply be an innocent variation,²⁰¹⁰ the usual Hieronymic tradition has the more universal and ambiguous "omnes".²⁰¹¹ This may be because, unlike **laedentur**, μὴ ἀδικήσης / "ne laeseris" in Apoc. 6.6 strictly refers to "the oil and the wine",²⁰¹² not human beings, precisely, while *oil and wine* are both symbols of the Spirit, more analogous to Victorinus' "hominem spiritualem", following.²⁰¹³

*The following passage Dulaey incorporates entirely from Jerome.*²⁰¹⁴

1. 5-6. <**Statera**. Cf. Apoc. 6.5: the word, meaning a *steelyard* or *balance*,²⁰¹⁵ is related to *stater*, which meant, essentially, a *weight* or *standard*.²⁰¹⁶ **libra examinis**. *Examen* (root *ex-*

²⁰⁰⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.3 (SChr 423, 78, l. 14-16): Angelorum multorum: immo omnium, uniuersae electionis domino nostro gratulationem referentium eliberationis hominum de clade mortis. Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.5 (SChr 423, 122, l. 11-12): In hoc seruabitur creatio uniuersa et recondita in se bona iussu Dei eructabit.

²⁰⁰⁸ Act. 11.28 (VL; Cod. 50; p. 30 Belsheim): significauit per spiritum famem magnam futuram esse; et alia.

²⁰⁰⁹ Apoc. 9.4 (p. 648 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐταῖς ἵνα οἴτινες οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 73 Belsheim): Et dictum est illis ut non nocerent faenum terrae neque omne uiride neque omnem arborem, nisi homines, qui non habent signum dei in frontibus; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 106 Buchanan): et mandatum / praeceptum est eis ne laederent faenum terrae nequae quidquam uiride nequae ullam arbore nisi homines qui non habebant signum di in frontib; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 142 Buchanan): ET PRAECEPTUM EST ILLIS NE LEDERENT fenum terrae. Neque omnem arborem nisi tantū homines: que non habentes signum in frontibus.

²⁰¹⁰ MSS K and M have "homines": Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (R. H.; p. 71, n. 14 Haussleiter).

²⁰¹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (R. H.; p. 71, l. 14 Haussleiter).

²⁰¹² Apoc. 6.6 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῶων λέγουσαν, χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 88-91): Et audiui uocem in medio quattuor animalium dicentem: Bilibris tritici denario uno et tres bilibres hordei denario uno, uinum et oleum ne laeseris.

²⁰¹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (SChr 423, 80, l. 6-7).

²⁰¹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (R. H.; p. 71-73 Haussleiter).

agere = exigere) can mean the strap whereby one suspends and finds the centre of gravity of a spear. Thus it comes to mean *a weighing* or *examination*.²⁰¹⁷ The balance is an ancient symbol of judgement.²⁰¹⁸ **in qua singulorum merita ostenderet.** Cf. Iob 1.6: "ut ostenderet tibi secreta sapientiae...et intellegeres quod multo minora *exigaris* a deo quam *meretur* iniquitas tua".²⁰¹⁹

l. 6-7. **Ait enim uox.** Dulaey plausibly has *uox* correct the textual *dux*.²⁰²⁰ **uinum et oleum** Both oil and wine are of old identified with the Spirit *e.g.* Act. 2.2-4, where the *fire* of the Spirit might be construed as an expression of the spiritual *oil* that fuels it,²⁰²¹ and Act. 2.13, where speaking in diverse tongues (being "filled with the Holy Spirit" Act. 2.4) evokes being "full of wine".²⁰²² Tertullian mocks the Jews for having lost heavenly blessings by hoping only for (and losing?) earthly/territorial ones, through ignorance of "the bread promised from

²⁰¹⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *statera* II. A. 1751.

²⁰¹⁶ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *στατήρ* A. A *weight*, 1421.

²⁰¹⁷ Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, Com. in Pers., in Sat. 1.6.3 (p. 6 Clausen / Zetzel): *examen* autem est lingua uel lignum quod mediam hastam ad aequanda pondera tenet. Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *examen* II. B., 672.

²⁰¹⁸ DACL, s. v. *balance*, c. 133-135; Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 178.

²⁰¹⁹ Iob 11.6 (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. iin Iob X 6 (CC SL 143, l. 207(-7 (CC SL 143, l. 1; PL 75, 921C-926C): Vnde sophar, quid diceret sciens, sed cui diceret nesciens, postquam praemisit dicens: ut ostenderet tibi secreta sapientiae et quod multiplex sit lex eius; protinus adiungit...et intellegeres quod multo minora *exigaris* a deo quam *meretur* iniquitas tua.

²⁰²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.2 (R. H.; p. 71, l. 16 Haussleiter).

²⁰²¹ Act. 2.2-4 (p. 322-323 Nestle-Aland).

²⁰²² Act. 2.3-4 (p. 322-323 Nestle-Aland): *γλωσσαί ὡσεὶ πυρός, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέροις γλώσσαις καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδίδου ἀποφθέγγεσθαι καὶ ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμεναι αὐτοῖς;* (VL; Cod. 50; p. 9 Belsheim): *et apparuerunt eis diuisae linguae sicut ignis, sedit autem super unumquemque eorum: et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto, et coeperunt loqui aliis linguis sicut spiritus sanctus eis nuntiare;* (VL; Cod. 51; p. Belsheim): *et apparuerunt illis diuise lingue tamaquam ignis seditque supra singulos eorum: Et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto et ceperunt loqui aliis linguis prout spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis;* (VL; Cod. 54; p. 25 Berger): *Et apparuerunt illis diuise (2^e m. : dispersite) lingue (2^e m. : tamquam) ignis. sedit que supra singulos eorum: Et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto. et ceperunt loqui uariis linguis pro ut spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis;* (VL; Cod. 56; p. 251, l. 7): *et apparuerunt illis dispersite lingue tamquam ignis seditque supra singulos eorum: Et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto. et ceperunt loqui uariis linguis. pro ut spiritus dabat eloqui eis;* (VL; Cod. 57; p. 454 Morin): *Et apparuerunt illis diuisae linguae: tamquam ignes sedetque supra unum quem eorum: et repleti sunt omnes spu sco. Et ceperunt loqui uariis linguis: prout sps dabat aeloquiis;* 2.13 (p. 323 Nestle-Aland): *ἕτεροι δὲ διαχλευάζοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν;* (VL; Cod. 5; p. 331 Scrivener): *alii uero deridebant dicentes quia musto isti repleti sunt;* (VL; Cod. 50; p. 10 Belsheim): *Alii uero inridentes dicebant quia musto repleti sunt;* (VL; Cod. 51; p. 3 Belsheim): *alii autem deridentes dicebant: quia musto repleti sunt;* (VL; Cod. 54; p. 25 Berger): *Alii autem deridentes dicebant, quia musto repleti sunt isti;* (VL; Cod. 56; p. 251 Morin): *Alii autem inridentes dicebant. quia musto repleti sunt isti;* (VL; Cod. 57; p. 456 Morin): *Alii autem inridentes dicebant quia musto repleti sunt.*

heaven, the oil of divine unction, the water of the Spirit and the wine of the soul invigorated from the vine in Christ".²⁰²³ For Gregory of Elvira, *oleum = crisma*,²⁰²⁴ *uinum = sanguis Christi*,²⁰²⁵ while Didymus writes that oil designates both the conceptions and chrism of the Holy Spirit.²⁰²⁶ **ne laesaris, id est hominem spiritualem.** Irenaeus interprets the wine mixed in the eucharistic cup (*commixtionem uini caelestis*) as men's spiritual rebirth from "mere water of the world" (*sola aqua saecularis*).²⁰²⁷ For Tertullian, the biblical earthly oil and wine, *inter alia*, signify spiritual realities: "terrenas promissiones uini et olei et frumenti et

²⁰²³ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 26 (CC SL 2, l. 38-41): sic iudaei terrena solummodo sperando caelestia amittunt, ignorantes et panem de caelesti repromissum et oleum diuinae unctionis et aquam spiritus et uinum animae uigorantis ex uite christo.

Rather Christ's flesh, says, Tertullian, be interpreted as the holy land, in which Christians are clothed, which is the true Judea, by faith: Tertullianus, De res. mort. 26 (CC SL 2, l. 41-51): Sicut et ipsam terram sanctam iudaicum proprie solum reputant, carnem potius domini interpretandam, quae exinde et in omnibus christum indutis sancta sit terra, uere sancta per incolatum spiritus sancti, uere lac et mel manans per suauitatem spei ipsius, uere iudaea per fidei familiaritatem, - non enim qui in manifesto iudaeus, sed qui in occulto - ut et templum dei eadem sit et hierusalem, audiens ab esaia: exurge, exurge hierusalem, indue fortitudinem brachii tui, exurge, sicut in primordio diei, scilicet in illa integritate, *qua* fuerat ante delictum transgressionis.

²⁰²⁴ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 16 (CC SL 69, l. 217-224): Sed si uis animae uulneratae malagma conficere, que tumores eius conprimat et uitia curet, adsume tibi paenitentiam delictorum, *qua* malagma de bonorum operum pigmenta confectum ut elemosinam indigentibus praebeas, oleum quoque, id est pinguisimam crismatis gratiam diligenter infunde, alligaturas uero, id est euangelicae disciplinae uincula stringe.

²⁰²⁵ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 6 (CC SL 69, l. 393-397): Denique sanguinem suum uinum intellegi oportere ipse magister et dominus sic docuit dicens: bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est enim cruor sanguinis mei, et: nisi manducaueritis carnem meam [aut panem uitae] et biberitis sanguinem meum, non habebitis uitam aeternam.

²⁰²⁶ Didymus Caecus, Com. in Zacch I 284 (SChr 83, l. 4-8): Καὶ ὄρα εἰ ἡ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μελέτη ἔλαιόν ἐστι τρυγώμενον ἐκ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐλαίας, ἢ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ συστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς εὐωνύμου ἐλαίας πιέζεται. Cf. also Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth. 5.4 (SChr 254, 150, l. 6-8): Oleum enim fructum misericordiae esse caelestis et propheticus sermo est. Oleum enim fructum misericordiae esse caelestis et propheticus sermo est. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3.3, n. 37.

²⁰²⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 1.3 (SChr 153, l. 61-71): Vani autem et Ebionaei, unitionem Dei et hominis per fidem non recipientes in suam animam, sed in veteri generationis perseverantes fermento, neque intellegere volentes quoniam Spiritus sanctus aduenit in Mariam et virtus Altissimi obumbravit eam, quapropter quod generatum est sanctum est et filius Altissimi Dei Patris omnium, qui operatus est incarnationem ejus et novam ostendit generationem, uti, quemadmodum per priorem generationem mortem hereditauimus, sic per generationem hanc hereditaremus vitam. Reprobant itaque hi commixtionem uini caelestis et sola aqua saecularis uolunt esse, non recipientes Deum ad commixtionem suam, perseverantes autem in eo qui victus est Adam et projectus est de paradiso, non contemplantes quoniam, quemadmodum *ab initio* plasmationis nostrae in Adam ea | quae fuit a Deo aspiratio vitae unita plasmati animavit hominem et animal rationabile ostendit, sic in fine Verbum Patris et Spiritus Dei adunitus antiquae substantiae plasmationis Adae viventem et perfectum effecit hominem, capientem perfectum Patrem, ut, quemadmodum in animali omnes mortui sumus, sic in spiritali omnes vivificemur.

ipsius ciuitatis aeque in spiritalia figurari a creatore"²⁰²⁸ (the inclusion of crops and city of Jerusalem, not to mention Christ's flesh's being also the true holy land of Judaea,²⁰²⁹ could perhaps have suggested to Victorinus an inseparable complex of an earthly and heavenly Millennium, of signifier and signified). Spiritual oil and wine are spiritual men (even as (they are the crops/inhabitants of) the flesh of Christ-the heavenly holy *earth-land?*). **ne plagis percusseris**. Cf. Ex. 19.22,²⁰³⁰ for the only biblical instance of "lest the Lord strike": μήποτε ἀπαλλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν κύριος; Zach. 14.12,²⁰³¹ for the plagues with which the Lord strikes the nations that have fought against Jerusalem; 18,²⁰³² for the drought and ruin wherewith the Lord will strike all peoples that come not up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles; Apoc. 22.18,²⁰³³ for plagues added / cast upon (some VL: *adicere*) those who add/cast more on the book. Doubtless the plagues are no less spiritual than physical.²⁰³⁴

²⁰²⁸ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 529, l. 6-10): Interea qui cenae istius uocationem in caeleste conuiuuium interpretaris spiritalis saturitatis et iocunditatis, memento et terrenas promissiones uini et olei et frumenti et ipsius ciuitatis aeque in spiritalia figurari a creatore.

²⁰²⁹ Again mocking the Jews, Tertullians says Christ's flesh should be interpreted as the holy land, in which Christians are clothed, which is the true Judea, by faith: Tertullianus, De res. mort. 26 (CC SL 2, l. 41-51): Sicut et ipsam terram sanctam iudaicum proprie solum reputant, carnem potius domini interpretandam, quae exinde et in omnibus christum indutis sancta sit terra, uere sancta per incolatum spiritus sancti, uere lac et mel manans per suauitatem spei ipsius, uere iudaea per fidei familiaritatem, - non enim qui in manifesto iudaeus, sed qui in occulto - ut et templum dei eadem sit et hierusalem, audiens ab esaia: exurge, exurge hierusalem, indue fortitudinem brachii tui, exurge, sicut in primordio diei, scilicet in illa integritate, *qua* fuerat ante delictum transgressionis.

²⁰³⁰ Ex. 19.22 (p. 119 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐγγίζοντες κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἁγιασθήτωσαν μήποτε ἀπαλλάξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν κύριος.

²⁰³¹ Zach. 14.12 (p. 560 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ αὕτη ἔσται ἡ πτώσις ἣν κόψει κύριος πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς ὅσοι ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ τακίησονται αἱ σάρκες αὐτῶν ἐστηκότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ῥυήσονται ἐκ τῶν ὀπῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν τακίησεται ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min III 14 (Zach.; CC SL 76A, l. 460-462): et haec erit ruina *qua* percutiet dominus omnes populos qui militauerunt *contra* hierusalem.

²⁰³² Zach. 14.18 (p. 560 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἐὰν δὲ φυλὴ Αἰγύπτου μὴ ἀναβῆ μηδὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔσται ἡ πτώσις ἣν πατάξει κύριος πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα ἐὰν μὴ ἀναβῆ τοῦ ἑορτάσαι τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min III 14 (Zach.; CC SL 76A, l. 718-722): quod et si familiae aegypti non ascenderint, et non uenerint, nec super eos erit; sed erit ruina *qua* percutiet dominus omnes gentes, quae non ascenderint ad celebrandam sollemnitatem tabernaculorum.

²⁰³³ Apoc. 22.18 (p. 680 Nestle-Aland): μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πληγὰς τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 90 Belsheim): Contestor ego omni audienti uerba prophetie libri huius Si quis adiecerit supra illa adiciat deus supra illum plagas, quae scriptae sunt in libro hoc.

²⁰³⁴ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 180; 2, 3.3., n. 37, 38, 39.

1. 9-12. **Equus rufus et qui sedebat super illum habens gladium.** Cf. Apoc. 6.4,²⁰³⁵ whose τῶ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν... ἐδόθη αὐτῶ μάχαιρα Victorinus so renders τῶ, the paraphrasing suggesting his partly translating from memory, perhaps because checking from a scroll is awkward. **bella sunt, quae futura significat, ut legimus in euangelio.** Clearly Victorinus' commentary is intended for those who are literate, and have access to scripture, nor merely a sermon or lecture. **surget.** A slightly odd expression. The shift of present *sunt* to *futura significabat* transforms the metaphor of *gladium* for war to the future tense of Christ's *surget* of Luc. 21.10-11, reflecting the future perfect nature of Jewish prophecy *i.e.* the vision of what is to come as having already occurred. *Significabat* means here *prognosticate* or *foreshow*.²⁰³⁶

1. 11-12. **enim gens aduersus gentem et regnum aduersus regnum et erit terrae motus magnus.** Cf. Luc. 21.10-11.²⁰³⁷

²⁰³⁵ Apoc. 6.4 (p. 643 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός, καὶ τῶ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐδόθη αὐτῶ λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῶ μάχαιρα μεγάλη; (VL; Anonymus (aetatis patrum, saec. VI - VIII), Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (CC SL 107, 208, l. 6-7)): EQVVS RVFVS figuram martyrum tenet; QVI SEDEBAT SVPER EVM, Christus, GLADIVS MAGNVS uerbum dei; (VL; Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apo. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 75-78): Sequitur enim: Exiuit alius equus rufus, et sedenti super eum datum est ut tolleret pacem de terra, et ut inuicem se occiderent, et datus est ei gladius magnus.

²⁰³⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *significare* II. A., 1697.

²⁰³⁷ Luc. 21.10-11 (p. 229-230 Nestle-Aland): τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ἐγεθήσεται ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, σεισμοὶ τε μεγάλοι κατὰ τόπους καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ἔσονται, φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μέγала ἔσται; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 83 Belsheim): surget enim gens super gentem et regnum super regnum. terre motus quoquo magni per loca et fames et lues timores quoque a caelo et signa magna erunt; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 104 Belsheim): Surget enim gens super gentem, et regnum super regnum. terrimotus quoque magni per loca, et pestes, et fames erunt; formidinesquae de caelo, et signa magna erunt, et hiemes; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 246 Scrivener): exurget enim gens *contra* gentem et regnum *contra* regnu. terrae motus magni per loca et fames et morbi erunt timores autem de caelo et signa magna erunt; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 100 Belsheim): Tunc dicebat illis Nam surget gens super gentem et regnum aduersus regnum. et terrae motus magni erunt per loca et pestilenciae et fames erunt terroresque de caelo et signa magna erunt et tempestates; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 95 Belsheim): Nam surget gens cotra gentem et regnum aduersus regnum. et terri (!)motus magni erunt per loca et pestilenciae et fames terroresquae(!) de caelo et signa magna erunt et tempestates; (VL; Cod. 10; p. 452 Wordsworth / White): tunc dixit illis. exsurget gens aduersus gentem et regnum aduersus regnum. terraemotus autem magni erunt per loca. et pestilenciae et fames. terroresque de caelo et signa magna erunt; (VL; Cod. 11; p. 235 Haase): nam surgit gens *contra* gentem. et regnum aduersus regnum. et terrae motus, magni erunt per loca.

6.3.

1. 2. **nomen habebat mors.** Again Victorinus tends to explicate the terser Greek: ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ θάνατος (Apoc. 6.8; Vulgate: nomen illi Mors).

1. 3-4. **uenturas pestes et mortalitates.** Victorinus omits, *inter alia*, *fames*, likely because he attributed a spiritual *famine* to *equus niger* above. *Mortalitates* suggests Victorinus conceives of *physical* afflictions.

1. 4-5. **infernus sequitur illum, id est exspectat deuorationem.** Hell's following the pale horse in (figurative) space Victorinus takes as occurring on an axis of time, from past to future, a common exegetical technique. **deuorationem.** Tertullian had already used *deuorare* of *life's* swallowing up *death* (2 Cor. 5.4),²⁰³⁸ deriving it first, by inverse association, from Paul,²⁰³⁹ then from the great fish of Jonah (Jon. 2.1;²⁰⁴⁰ *via* Matth. 12.40-42; Marc. ; Luc.

et pestilentiae. et fames erunt terroresqu(a)e de caelo. et signa magna erunt et tesmpestate; (VL; Cod. 13; p. 105 White): Tunc dicebat illis surget gens *contra* gentem et regnum aduersus regnum. terra motus magnus erit per loca et pestilentias et fames. erunt terrores quae de celo. et surget magna erunt et tempestates; (VL; Cod. 14; p. 617 Abbott): exsurget gens *contra* gentem et regnum aduersus regnum; (VL; Cod. 17; p. 32 Belsheim): Nam surget gens *contra* gentem et regnum aduersus regnum. et terremotus magni erunt per locum et pestilentiae et fames erunt terroresque de caelo et signa magna erunt et tempestates; (VL; Cod. 21; p. 88 Cariani / White): [om.]. motus magnus circa loca et pestes et fames erunt et terrores de caelo et signa magna erunt et tempestates; (VL; Cod. 27; p. 253 Rettig): tunc dicebat illis surget gens in gentem & regnū in regnum. tremotus magni p loca & pestilentie & fames erunt trores & signa de celo magna erunt; (VL; Cod. 30; p. 135 Heer): tunc dicebat illis surget gens *contra* gentem & regnum aduersus regnu. & terre motus magni erunt perloca & pestilentis & fames terrores q;decaelo & signa magna erunt...

²⁰³⁸ Commenting upon 1 Cor. 15.54b (v.i.): Tertullianus, De res. mort. 54 (CC SL 2, l. 22-24): proinde et uita, mortis scilicet aemula, per contentionem deuorabit in salutem quod per contentionem [tuam] deuorauerat mors in interitum.

²⁰³⁹ 2 Cor. 5.4 (VL: Cod. 56; p. 35 Morin) Nam et qui sumus in hoc corpore. ingemescimus grabati eo quod nolumus expoliari sed superuestiri. ut absorbentur quod mortale est a bita; (VL; Cod. 64; p. 224 Morin): et(enim)qui sumus in hanc habitationem ing(eme)scimus grabati. in quo nolumus expo(liari)sed superuestiri. ut absor(beatu)r tale a uita: (VL; Cod. 65; p. 48 Buchanan): Nam et qui sumus tabernaculo. Ingemiscemus

grauati eo quod nolumus expoliari. sed superuestrie ut absorbeatur quod mortali est a uita; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 206 Tischendorf): nam et qui sumus in habitaculo isto ingemiscimus onerati in quo nolumus expoliari sed supervestiri ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 36 Belsheim): Nam et qui sumus in habitaculo isto ingemiscimus operati in quo nolumus expoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 44 Matthäi): et enim participium cum simus in habitaculo hoc ingemiscimus grauati eo quod volumus spoliari sed super vestiri ut absorbeatur absorbito mortale hoc a uita; (VL; Cod. 78; p. 112 Scrivener): Nam et qui sumus in tabernaculo hoc. In gemiscimus gravati. eo quod nolumus expoliari. sed super vestiri. Ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Ambrosius (pseudo), trin. 22; PL 17, 563B): Nolumus igitur spoliari; (PL, 563C): ut doveretur quod mortale est, a uita; (PL 17, 565A): Ut absorbeatur quod mortale est, a uita; (VL; In Matth. 25; PG 56, 763): De corpore nostro, in quo ingemiscimus onerati in quo nolumus spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut mortale hoc absorbeatur a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. 14.3; p. 5, l. 11 Hoffmann): Etenim qui sumus in hac habitatione, ingemiscimus grauati, in quo nolumus expoliari, sed superuestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 140.16; p. 167, l. 12 Goldbacher): expoliari sed superuestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (Epist. 143.6; p. 256, l. 7 Goldbacher): et ingemiscimus grauati; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 193.11; p. 174, l. 11): ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Adnot. in Iob 17; p. 544, l. 23 Zycha): ingemiscimus...grauati, in quo nolumus spoliari, sed superuestiri; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, De pec. 1.2; p. 4, l. 15 Urba / Zycha): etenim qui sumus in hac habitatione ingemiscimus grauati, in quo nolumus expoliari, sed superuestiri ut absorbeatur mortale a uita: (Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. 277.8; PL 38, 1261): Etenim in hoc habitaculo ingemiscimus gravati, (-)nolumus enim spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. 299.9; PL 38, 1374): Ingemiscimus gravati, in quo nolumus spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. 344.4; PL 39, 1514): In quo nolumus (-) expoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. 351.3; PL 39, 1538): Etenim qui sumus in hac habitatione, ingemiscimus gravati, in quo nolumus spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Serm. 362.22; PL 39, 1526): Absorbeatur mortale a uita; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis (pseudo), Spec. 7 (p. 430, l. 4 Wehrich): nam et qui sumus in habitaculo hoc, gemimus grauati in eo quod nolumus spoliari, sed superuestiri, cupientes, ut absorbeatur mortale hoc a uita; (VL; Gregorius Illiberitanus, Cant. 4; p. 163 Heine): mortale absorptum est a uita; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob 4.45; PL 75, 659C): Quamdiu sumus in hoc habitaculo, ingemiscimus gravati, eo quod nolumus expoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Gregorius Magnus, Mor. in Iob 31.70; PL 75, 611D): Qui sumus in hoc habitaculo, ingemiscimus gravati, eo quod nolumus expoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Hesychius Hierosolymitanus, Com. in Leu. 2; PG 93, 875A): Quamdiu enim sumus in hoc tabernaculo, ingemiscimus gravati, eo quod nolumus spoliare, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Hieronymus, Epist. 59.3; p. 544, l. 4 Hilberg): propter quod nolumus spoliari, sed superuestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale hoc a uita; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in Ez. 2; PG 25, 57A): Qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo, ingemiscimus aggravati; (VL; PG 25, 89A): Qui-ingemiscimus; (VL; Hilarius Pictaviensis, Tract. super Ps. 64.17; p. 248, l. 1): in quo nolumus despoliari, sed superindui, ut absorbeatur hoc mortale a uita; (VL; Iustus Urgeliensis, Com. in Cant. 80; PL 67, 977C): Donec (-) absorbeatur quod mortale est; (VL; PG 85, 959C): Nam et qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo ingemiscimus gravati :eo quod nolumus expoliari :sed supervestiri ;ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Sedulius Scotus, Col. in Apost., 2 Cor. 5; PL 103, 168C): gravati ingemiscimus, (-)ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a uita; (VL; Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 12; . 616, l. 21 Kroymann): deuretur mortale hoc a uita; (VL; Tertullianus, De res. mort. 42; p. 86, l. 23 Kroymann): grauati nos (-) qui simus in tabernaculo, quod nolumus exui sed potius superindui, ut deuretur mortale a uita; (VL; Tertullianus, De res. mort. 42; p. 27 Kroymann); (VL; Tertullianus, De res. mort. 54; p. 112, 22 Kroymann): deuretur mortale a uita.

1 Cor. 15.54b (p. 470 Nestle-Aland): κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῆκος. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νῆκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; (= 1 Cor. 15.55 VL; Cod. 32; p. 61): absorpta (') est mors in uictoria; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 43 Buchanan): absorpta est mors in uicturiam. Ubi est mors uictoria tua: ubi est mors stimulus tuus; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 180 Tischendorf): absorpta est mors in victoria ubi est mors stimvlvs ubi est mors victoria tua; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 32 Belsheim): Absorpta est mors in victoria. Ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus? ubi est, mors, victoria tua?; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 39b Matthäi): absorpta est mors in victoria ubi tuus mors uocatiuus aculeus ubi tua tua o mors victoria; (VL; Cod. 78; p. 99 Scrivener): absorpta est mors in uictoria. ubi est mors aculeus tuus: ubi est victoria.

Tertullianus, De res. mort. 54.1-5 (CC SL 2, l. 2-24): Nam quia et illud apud apostolum positum est: uti deuretur mortale a uita, caro scilicet, deurationem quoque ad perditionem scilicet carnis adripiunt, quasi non et bilem et dolorem deurare dicamur, id est abscondere et tegere et intra nosmetipsos continere. Denique cum et illud scriptum sit: oportet mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, ostenditur, quomodo mortale deuretur a uita, dum indutum immortalitate absconditur et tegitur et intus continetur, non dum absumitur et amittitur. ergo et mors, inquis, salua erit, cum fuerit deurata. Ideo discerne pro sensibus communionem uerborum, et integre

11.29-31),²⁰⁴¹ whose belly was anciently associated with the grave.²⁰⁴² Cf. also the Vg of Tob. 12.3, whose use of *deuoratio* echoes no other known tradition: a **deuoratione** piscis;²⁰⁴³ and Prou. 1.12: Deglutiamus eum sicut **infernus**, uiuentem.²⁰⁴⁴ **animarum multarum impiarum**. *Impius* of course originally mean *irreverent to the Roman pagan gods* and so *unpatriotic*,²⁰⁴⁵ and was used by the pagans of the Christians. At what point Christians reciprocally adopted it is not clear.

intelles. Aliud enim mors et aliud mortale: aliter itaque deuorabitur mors et aliter mortale. Mors non capit immortalitatem, mortale autem capit. Denique [et] scriptum est, quod necesse est mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Quomodo ergo capit? dum deuoratur a uita. Quomodo deuoratur a uita? dum recipitur et redigitur et includitur in ipsam. Ceterum mors merito in interitum deuoratur, quia et ipsa in hoc deuorat. Deuorauit, inquit, mors inualescendo, et ideo deuorata est in contentionem. Vbi est, mors, aculeus tuus? vbi est, mors, contentio tua? proinde et uita, mortis scilicet aemula, per contentionem deuorabit in salutem quod per contentionem [tuam] deuorauerat mors in interitum.

²⁰⁴⁰ Although only Jerome's VL employs the cognate *deuorare*: Ion. 2.1 (Cod. Weing.; p. 75 Ranke): Et praecepit dms .ceto magno ut *gluttiret* ionam. et erat ionas in uentre ceti tribus noctibus; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in Ion. 2 (CC SL 76, l. 2-3)): et praecepit dominus ceto magno, et deuorauit ionam; (2 (CC SL 76, l. 18): et erat ionas in uentre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus (PG 25, 1131A)); (VL; Missale Moz.; PG 85, 457A): Et praecepit Dominus piscem grandem: ut deglutiret Jonam. Et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus; (VL; Missale Moz.; PG 85, 490B): Secundum quam prefigurationem et Jonas ventre piscis tribus diebus detentus egreditur.

²⁰⁴¹ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 32.3 (CC SL 2, l. 11-17): puto autem huius quoque divinae potestatis documentum idoneum Ionam, cum incorruptus utramque substantiam, carnem atque animam, de alvo bestiae piscis evolvitur, et utique triduum concoquendae carni viscera ceti suffecissent quam capulum quam sepulchrum quam senium requietae atque conditae alicuius sepulturae.

²⁰⁴² Tertullianus, De res. mort. 58.8 (CC SL 2, l. 25): quod ionas deuoratus a belua maris, in cuius aluo naufragia de die digerebantur.

²⁰⁴³ Tob. 12.3 (Vg; p. 426 Hetzenauer): Me duxit et reduxit sanum, pecuniam a Gabelo ipse recepit, uxorem ipse me habere fecit, et daemionium ab ea ipse compescuit: gaudium parentibus ejus fecit, meipsum a deuoratione piscis eripuit, te quoque videre fecit lumen caeli, et bonis omnibus per eum repleti sumus. Quid illi ad haec poterimus dignum dare?; cf. (VL; Cod. 130; p. 46 Belsheim): me deduxit et reduxit sanum. et uxorem meam curavit. et pecuniam adtulit et curavit quanta illi ob haec merita dabo mercedem; (VL; Cod. 148 / 150; p. lxxxvi Sabatier / Naubauer): Duxit enim me sanum et reduxit, et uxorem meam curavit, et pecuniam mecum adtulit, et te curavit. Quantum illi dabo mercedem?

²⁰⁴⁴ Prou. 1.12 (VL; Cod. 32; p. 64 Dold): Deglutiamus (a)ut(em) i(l)lum tam(quam) in(fernus) (uinum) Et...; (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XVII 20 (CC SL 48, l. 51-56): tamen quod in prouerbiis legitur, uiros impios dicere: abscondamus in terra uirum iustum iniuste, absorbeamus uero eum tamquam infernus uiuentem et auferamus eius memoriam de terra, possessionem eius pretiosam adprehendamus, non ita obscurum est, ut de christo et possessione eius ecclesia sine laboriosa expositione non possit intellegi; (VL; Ps.Aug.spec.18; p. 383, l. 9 Wehrich): deuoremus autem eum sicut infernus uiuum, et tollamus memoriam eius a terra; (VL; Breuiar. Goth.; PG 86, 599D): deglutiamus eum sicut infernus uiuentem, et integrum quasi descendentem in lacum; (VL; Lucifer Calaritanus, De Athan. I 25 (CC SL 8, l. 31-35; p. 110, l. 8-10 Hartel)): uae tibi, quia cum illis esse inueniris, de quibus in prouerbiis lego: fili, noli te seducant uiri impii neque uelis, si te rogauerint dicentes: ueni, communica nobis cum sanguinem, abscondamus autem in terra uirum iustum iniuste, deglutiamus autem illum, uelut inferi uiuum. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 180; 2, 3.3, n. 40.

²⁰⁴⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *impius* I. *without reverence or respect* for God, one's parents, or one's country; *irreverent, ungodly, undutiful, unpatriotic; abandoned, wicked, impious*, 904.

6.4.

l. 1-2. **Animas autem occisorum uidisse sub ara, id est sub terra.** Cf. Apoc. 6.9: “Animas occisorum” is the normative rendition of the VL: it appears first in Cyprian.²⁰⁴⁶ **Animas...sub ara.** Inconsistently, Victorinus seems to envisage the sleeping souls of the saints in general, not only those of martyrs, awaiting the First Resurrection at Christ’s return.²⁰⁴⁷ “Sub ara” appears in Tertullian, Cyprian,²⁰⁴⁸ Hilary,²⁰⁴⁹ Maximus of Turin,²⁰⁵⁰ Jerome,²⁰⁵¹ Paulinus of

²⁰⁴⁶ Apoc. 6.9 (p. 644 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον; (VL; Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De bon. pat. 21 (CC SL 3A, l. 428-433; p. 413 Hartel): Et cum aperuisset, inquit, quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cf. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, Ad Quir. III 16 (CC SL 3, l. 44-49): De hoc ipso in apocalypsi: et cum aperuisset quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De laps. 18 (CC SL 3, l. 357): Sub ara dei animae occisorum martyrum clamant magna uoce dicentes: 'quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?' et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc iubentur. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, Ad Fort. 12 (CC SL 3, l. 49-50): Item in apocalypsi hoc idem loquitur, et uidi, inquit, animas occisorum propter nomen iesu et sermonem dei. Cyprianus Carthagenensis (pseudo), De bon. pat. 21 (CC SL 3A, l. 428-432): Et cum aperuisset, inquit, quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De laps. 18 (CC SL 3, l. 357-360): Sub ara dei animae occisorum martyrum clamant magna uoce dicentes: 'quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?' et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc iubentur; (VL; Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. IV 2.1 (p. 343, l. 16-17 Sanders)): Et quum aperuisset, inquit, quintum sigillum, uidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum propte; (VL; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 208A): Vidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum propter uerbum Dei et martyrium suum; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 595B); Aspexi et uidi animas interemptorem propter uerbum Dei; (VL; Missalis Mixti pars posterior; PL 85, 965C): Vidi sub ara Dei animae occisorum propter uerbum Dei: et martyrium suum; (VL; Primasius Hadrumentinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 168-172): Sequitur denique: Et cum aperuisset quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt uoce magna dicentes: Quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris habitant?

²⁰⁴⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 20-23): Sed quoniam in nouissimo tempore et sanctorum remuneratio perpetua et impiorum uentura est damnatio, dictum est eis exspectare; et pro corporis sui solatio acceperunt, inquit, stolas albas, id est donum Spiritus Sancti. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 180-181.

²⁰⁴⁸ Cyprianus Carthagenensis, Ad Quir. III 16 (CC SL 3, l. 44-49): De hoc ipso in apocalypsi: et cum aperuisset quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De laps. III 18 (CC SL 3, l. 357-361): Sub ara dei animae occisorum martyrum clamant magna uoce dicentes: 'quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?' et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc iubentur. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, De bon. pat. 21 (CC SL 3A, l. 428-433): Et cum aperuisset, inquit, quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?

Nola,²⁰⁵² Augustine²⁰⁵³ and Primasius.²⁰⁵⁴ *Gigas* and other western texts employ this

occasional translation of the VL,²⁰⁵⁵ while “sub altari” is the variant of Tertullian,²⁰⁵⁶

²⁰⁴⁹ Hilarius Pictaviensis, Tract. super Ps. 139.16 (CSEL 22, 788, l. 16-19): pauperes uero uindicantur, quorum sub ara occisorum sanguis clamat uindictam in impios postulans: qui cotidie in gloria martyrii manentes dei nomini confitentur. Hilarius Pictaviensis, Tract. super Ps. 140.1 (CSEL 22, 789, l. 12-15): sic et sub ara dei martyrum animae proclamare scribuntur magna uoce dicentes: quousque dominus sanctus et uerus non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de habitantibus in terra?

²⁰⁵⁰ Maximus Taurinensis, Sermo 16 (CC SL 23, l. 42-45): Legimus enim animas eorum de sub ara dei clamare uel dicere: quousque, sanctus et uerus, non uindicas sanguinem nostrum?

²⁰⁵¹ Hieronymus, Tract. in ps. 83 (CC SL 78, l. 76-77): sic enim dicit: 'uidi sub ara domini animas occisorum propter uerbum domini et testimonium iesu'.

²⁰⁵² Paulinus Nolanus, Epist. 32.6 (CSEL 29, 281, l. 20-25): Sed quia tu non hac, *qua* corpus, sede teneris, Qui meritis superis spiritus inuolitas, Siue patrum sinibus recubas domini ue sub ara Conderis aut sacro pascaris in nemore, Qualibet in regione poli situs aut paradisi, Clare, sub aeterna pace beatus agis.

²⁰⁵³ Augustinus Hipponensis, Epist. 36.10 (CSEL 34.2, 53, l. 15-21): iste autem, qui uetera transisse sic dicit, ut in christo cederet ara altari, gladius ieiunio, precibus ignis, pani pecus, poculo sanguis, nescit altaris nomen magis legis et prophetarum litteris frequentatum et altare deo prius in tabernaculo, quod per moysen factum est, conlocatum, aram quoque in apostolicis litteris inueniri, ubi martyres clamant sub ara dei. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 78.14 (CC SL 39, l. 1-7): et haec quidem, ut diximus, prophetatio est, non optatio; sed propter illud quod scriptum est in apocalypsi, sub ara dei martyres ad deum clamare et dicere: quousque, domine, non uindicas sanguinem nostrum, non est praetereundum quemadmodum accipi oporteat; ne propter exsaturandum odium credantur sancti desiderare uindictam, quod ab eorum perfectione longe abest. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 78.14 (CC SL 39, l. 20-21): inde est in ille sub ara dei martyrum clamor, ut dei iudicio uindicentur. Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Gaud. I 27.30 (CSEL 53, 228, l. 3-7): uerba epistolae: sed etsi persecutio conquiescat, inquit, unde martyrum numerus adimpletur, iohanne dicente: uidi, inquit, animas occisorum sub ara dei exclamantium et dicentium: quamdiu, domine, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de iis qui habitant super terram? 12 Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Gaud. I 27.30 (CSEL 53, l. 228, l. 11-13): ad haec responsio: si sub ara christi martyres esse uelletis, non uos ipsos incendendo sacrificium diabolo faceretis. Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Gaud. I 27.30 (CSEL 53, l. 228, l. 24-25): quid enim animae martyrum sub ara dei dicunt?

²⁰⁵⁴ Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 168-171): Sequitur denique: Et cum aperuisset quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt uoce magna dicentes: Quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris habitant? Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 172-179): De illis utique reliquis quas etiam inter aduersa deus secreto operationis suae reddit consilio tutiores, martyrum se dicit reliquias, id est animas perspexisse, non uili loco, nec qualicumque, sed sub ara dei, id est siue in ecclesiae unitate perseuerantes, siue sub testificatione nominis Christi tamquam sub ara dei usque ad mortem uiriliter dimicantes, sicut de Machabeis dictum est sub testamento dei: Beati autem mortui qui in domino mortui sunt. Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc., recap. (CC SL 92, l. 24-): Post Christi de morte triumphum in pugnationes futuras ecclesiae et humani generis plagas enumerat, quas per significationes equorum rufi, nigri, pallentis que dicit inrogandas, quibus nascituros sub ara dei memorat martyres. Primasius, Cap. ante lib. 'Commentarii in Apocalypsin' pos. II (CC SL 92, l. 6): Quinto signo sub ara Dei animas occisorum.

²⁰⁵⁵ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. III 16 (CC SL 3, l. 44-49): De hoc ipso in apocalypsi: et cum aperuisset quintum signum, uidi sub ara dei animas occisorum propter uerbum dei et martyrium suum, et clamauerunt magna uoce dicentes: quousque, domine sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant? Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De laps. 18 (CC SL 3, l. 357-361): Sub ara dei animae occisorum martyrum clamant magna uoce dicentes: 'quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?' et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc iubentur.

²⁰⁵⁶ Tertullianus, De anim. 9 (CC SL 2, cap. : 9, l. 69): Per has lines et animae martyrum sub altari intelleguntur. Tertullianus, De orat. 5 (CC SL 1, l. 12): Clamant ad dominum inuidia animae martyrum sub altari: quonam usque non ulcisceris, domine, sanguinem nostrum de incolis terrae? Tertullianus, De res. mort. 38.4-5 (CC SL 2, l. 12-18): Et tamen sciunt potuisse, si instrumentum iohannis norunt: qui enim animas adhuc solas martyrum sub altari quiescentes conspectui subdidit, posset utique et resurgentes oculis exhibere sine carne! at ego deum malo decipere non posse, de fallacia solummodo infirmum, ne aliter documenta praemisisset quam rem disposuisse uideatur. ; Tertullianus, De res. mort. 25.1 (CC SL 2, l. 1-9): Etiam in apocalypsi iohannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animae sub altari ultionem et iudicium flagitantes

Ambrose²⁰⁵⁷ and Jerome,²⁰⁵⁸ perhaps because *ara* had other meanings, such as *hearth* and *refuge*.²⁰⁵⁹

l. 2-4. **Ara...et caelum et terra dicuntur.** Isidorus interprets “caelum et terra” as signifying, respectively, “angels” and “the holy Church”.²⁰⁶⁰ **lex imaginaria ueritatis faciem meditata duas aras.** *Imaginarius* means *that which only exists in appearance*.²⁰⁶¹ Thus “lex imaginaria” likely means “the law as image of truth” or “as in the mind of God”. For

Tertullian, the Spirit cannot be seen but by *imaginaria forma* (though *imaginaria significatio*

sustinere didicerunt, ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa ciuitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia antichristus cum suo pseudopropheta certamen ecclesiae inferat, atque ita diabolo in abyssum interim relegato primae resurrectionis praerogatiua de solis ordinetur, dehinc et igni dato uniuersalis resurrectionis censura de libris iudicetur. Etiam in apocalypsi iohannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animae sub altari ultionem et iudicium flagitantes sustinere didicerunt, ut prius et orbis de pateris angelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa ciuitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia antichristus cum suo pseudopropheta certamen ecclesiae inferat, atque ita diabolo in abyssum interim relegato primae resurrectionis praerogatiua de solis ordinetur, dehinc et igni dato uniuersalis resurrectionis censura de libris iudicetur. Tertullianus, *Scorp.* (CC SL 2, 173, l. 25-): Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animae placidum quiescunt et fiducia ultionis patientiam pascunt et indutae stolis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illorum gloriae impleant.

²⁰⁵⁷ Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De apol. Dau. ad Theo. Aug.* 17.85 (CSEL 32.2, 354, l. 16-23): Vel certe ita: cum benedixeris ecclesiam ex gentibus adquisitam et spiritale sacrificium iustitiae coeperit frequentari, tunc et martyres sancti, qui suum pro Christo corpus optulerunt exarandum, tamquam uituli sacris altaribus offerentur, sicut in Apocalypsi Iohannis scriptum inuenimus quia sub altari erant animae eorum qui pro domini Iesu nomine corpora sua optulerunt martyrio, ut Christi sibi gratiam mercarentur. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Epist. X* 77.13 (CSEL 82.3, 134, l. 134): Sed ille super altare qui pro omnibus passus est, isti sub altari qui illius redempti sunt passion.

²⁰⁵⁸ Hieronymus, *Com. in Ez.* XI 35 (CC SL 75A, l. 465-475): est autem et aliud peccatum montis seir: ut, quoniam oderat sanguinem iustorum quem singulis per singulis persecutionibus cupiebat effundi, ab ipso sanguine sustineat persecutionem - unde et sub altari sanctorum animae clamitant et ultionem a domino sui sanguinis deprecantur -, et auferuntur de monte seir euntes et redeuntes, id est omnis habitator, siue homines et iumenta quae saluantur in ecclesia - de quibus scriptum est: homines et iumenta saluos facies, domine -; quod in monte seir utrumque deletur, ut et hi qui uidentur aliquid habere rationis, et illi qui simplici fide contenti sunt, deo iubente dispareant. Hieronymus, *Com. in Is.* IX 30.26 (CC SL 73, l. 34-37): quando subintrante plenitudine gentium, saluus fiet omnis israel; aut certe quando ultio eorum uenerit, quorum sub altari clamant animae: usquequo non ulcisceris sanguinem nostrum de his qui habitant in terra? Hieronymus, *Com. in Is.* VIII 26.20 (CC SL 73, l. 32-35): potest et hoc de martyribus intellegi, qui pro christo fuderunt sanguinem, et sub altari dei clamitant: usquequo, domine, non ulcisceris sanguinem nostrum de his qui habitant super terram? Hieronymus, *Com. in Ioel.* 3 (CC SL 76, l. 400-404): quicumque igitur dei populum persecutus est, et terrenis uacauerit operibus, ac multitudine delictorum cotidie fuderit sanguinem innocentem, eorum scilicet, quos decipit, erit in perditionem, ut animas quoque martyrum sub altari clamare cognouimus.

²⁰⁵⁹ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *ara* I., 149.

²⁰⁶⁰ Isidorus Hispalensis (pseudo), *Quaest. tam de Nou. quam de Uet. Test.* (CC SL 108B, l. 62-64): Dic mihi. Caelum, quid intellegitur? respondit. Angelos. Et terra, id est sancta ecclesia; et caelum, animas iustas; et terra, peccatores.

²⁰⁶¹ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *imaginarius*, II, 88. TLL, s. v. *imaginarius*, c. 402, 48-55.

signifies a *bogus* heretical allegorical interpretation).²⁰⁶² **meditata**. Victorinus is the first to use *meditari* typologically, likely influencing Commodian (assuming his late dating, *contra* Daniélou; else contrariwise), Hilary of Poitiers, the *Latin* Irenaeus and Gregory of Elvira. Victorinus is probably inspired by Heb. 9.23, which interprets Leu. 27 and 30 as *exemplaria caelestium*.²⁰⁶³ *Meditari* with a direct object can mean *to mediate upon*.²⁰⁶⁴ The Law is thus hypostatized as “*meditata*”, “having meditated upon”, “*ueritatis faciem*”, “the face of truth”. The semi-autonomous, living nature of the Law is a common theme in Victorinus. **ueritatis faciem**. Distinguishing *imago* from *ueritas* likely derives from Hebrews:²⁰⁶⁵ the Incarnation alone reveals the face of God;²⁰⁶⁶ and only wholly after the Resurrection, when Christ enters the true temple, “non... in manufactis sanctis”,²⁰⁶⁷ which is implicitly in heaven. It also conforms to 1 Corinthians’ “uidemus nunc per speculum in enigmate tunc autem facie **ad**

²⁰⁶² Tertullianus, De res. mort. 19.2 (CC SL 2, l. 5-9): Nacti enim quidam sollemnissimam eloquii prophetici formam, allegorici et figurati plerumque, non tamen semper, resurrectionem quoque mortuorum manifeste adnuntiatam in imaginariam significationem distorquent, adserentes ipsam etiam mortem spiritaliter intellegendam. Tertullianus, Adu. Prax. 14 (CC SL 2, l. 67-69): Aut numquid filius quidem uidebatur - etsi facie, sed ipsum hoc in uisione et somnio et speculo et aenigmate, quia sermo et spiritus nisi imaginaria forma uideri non potest -, faciem autem suam dicit inuisibilem patrem?

²⁰⁶³ Heb. 9.23-24 (p. 576 Nestle-Aland): ἀνάγκη οὖν τὰ μὲν ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τούτοις καθαρῖζεσθαι, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἐπουράνια κρείττοσιν θυσίαις παρὰ ταύτας. οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός, ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ’ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, νῦν ἐφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; (Vg; p. 1104 Hezzenauer): necesse est *ergo* exemplaria quidem caelestium his mundari ipsa autem caelestia melioribus hostiis quam istis non enim in manufactis sanctis Iesus introiit exemplaria uerorum sed in ipsum caelum ut appareat nunc vultui Dei pro nobis.

²⁰⁶⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *meditor* I., 1124.

²⁰⁶⁵ Heb. 9.24 (p. 576 Nestle-Aland): οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός, ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ’ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, νῦν ἐφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; (Vg; p. 1104 Hezzenauer): non enim in manufactis sanctis Iesus introiit exemplaria uerorum sed in ipsum caelum ut appareat nunc vultui Dei pro nobis; 10.1 (p. 576 Nestle-Aland): Σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων, κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς οὐδέποτε δύνανται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι; (Vg; p. 1104 Hezzenauer): umbram enim habens lex bonorum futurorum non ipsam imaginem rerum per singulos annos hisdem ipsis hostiis quas offerunt indesinenter numquam potest accedentes perfectos facere.

²⁰⁶⁶ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.3 (E. v. ; p. 20, l. 6-7 Haussleiter): facies illius apparitio illius fuit *qua* locutus est omnibus facie *contra* faciem.

²⁰⁶⁷ Heb. 9.24.

faciem".²⁰⁶⁸ For Victorinus, the Law comprised but "**obscura praedicata**".²⁰⁶⁹ A like oppositional, *imago-umbra*, occurs in Cyprian.²⁰⁷⁰ **auream intrinsecus et aeream extrinsecus, fecerat**. The brazen altar is called an "altar of earth" (θυσιαστήριον ἐκ γῆς, "altare de terra") in Ex. 20.21.²⁰⁷¹ It is not clear what role it plays for Victorinus in the life of the Christian other than in martyrdom. Following Irenaeus,²⁰⁷² Victorinus now equates the golden altar with heaven and prayer (also perhaps inferred from Heb. 9.2ff).²⁰⁷³

1. 4-6. **Nos autem intellegimus aram caelum dici a Domino nostro nobis testimonium**

perhibente. *Testimonium* tends to be Victorinus' technical term for a proof-text from scripture that has been handed down by tradition. It has a lively existence,²⁰⁷⁴ like an actual

²⁰⁶⁸ 1 Cor. 13.12 (VL; Cod. d; p. 159 Tischendorf): videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate tvnc autem faciem ad faciem nvnc scio ex parte tvnc avtem cognoscam sicut ego cognotus svm; (VL; Cod. z; p. 39 Buchanan): uidemus nunc per speculum in aenigmate. tunc autem faciem ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte. tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.

²⁰⁶⁹ Victorinus Poetouienensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (E. v.; p. 90, l. 7-8 Haussleiter): quaecumque in ueteri testamento erant obscura praedicata.

²⁰⁷⁰ E.g. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Fort. 7 (CC SL 3, l. 4-12): In exodo iudaicus populus ad umbram nostri et imaginem praefiguratus, cum deo tutore et uindice euasisset pharaonis adque aegypti id est diaboli et saeculi durissimam seruitutem, circa deum perfidus et ingratus aduersus moysen mussitat respiciens solitudinis et laboris incommoda et non intellegens libertatis ac salutis beneficia diuina, et reuerti quaerit ad aegypti hoc est ad saeculi seruitutem, unde fuerat exutus, cum magis fidere in deum deberet et credere, quoniam qui a diabolo et saeculo liberat populum suum protegit liberatum quid hoc nobis, inquit, fecisti in eiciendo nos de aegypto? Fahey, Cyprian and the Bible, 615.

²⁰⁷¹ Ex. 20.24 (p. 121 Rahlfs-Hanhart): θυσιαστήριον ἐκ γῆς ποιήσετε μοι καὶ θύσετε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια ὑμῶν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς μόσχους ὑμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ οὗ ἐὰν ἐπονομάσω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ καὶ ἦξω πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε; (Vg; p. 62 Hetzenauer): Altare de terra facietis mihi, et offeretis super eo holocausta et pacifica uestra, oues uestras et boues in omni loco in quo memoria fuerit nominis mei : ueniam ad te, et benedicam tibi.

²⁰⁷² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer IV 18.6 (SChr 100, 175, l. 135-143): Sicut igitur non his indigens, vult tamen a nobis propter nos fieri, ne simus infructuosi, ita id ipsum Verbum dedit populo praeceptum faciendarum oblationum, quamvis non indigeret eis, uti discerent Deo seruire, sicut et [ideo] | nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est *ergo* altare in caelis, illuc enim preces nostrae et oblationes diriguntur; et templum, quemadmodum Johannes in Apocalypsi ait: Et apertum est templum Dei; et tabernaculum: Ecce enim, inquit, tabernaculum Dei, in quo habitabit cum hominibus. Allo, L'Apocalypse, 103 and 120.

²⁰⁷³ Heb. 9.2 (p. 574 Nestle-Aland): σκηνὴ γὰρ κατεσκευάσθη ἡ πρώτη ἐν ἧ ἢ τε λυχνία καὶ ἡ τράπεζα καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν ἄρτων, ἣτις λέγεται ἅγια. Cf. Leu. 27.1-3 (p. 132 Rahlfs-Hanhart): the brazen altar; 30.1-3 (p. 138 Rahlfs-Hanhart): the golden altar.

²⁰⁷⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.5 (SChr 423, 70, l. 6-12): Sicut animal uolare non potest nisi pennas habeat, sic nec praedicatio noui testamenti fidem habet, nisi habeat ueteris testamenti testimonia praenuntiata, per quae tollitur a terra et uolat. Semper enim quod ante dictum est futurum <et> postea factum

witness, or prophet.²⁰⁷⁵ The choice of quotation doubtless derives from Irenaeus, as said above.²⁰⁷⁶

l. 6-9. **ait enim: “Cum offeres munus tuum” ad aram.** Cf. Matth. 5.24. The VL tends to have as the Vg has, “ante altare”.²⁰⁷⁷—**utique munera nostra orationes sunt quas efficere debemus.** That the prayers of the saints are their gift offerings is an interpretation likely derived from the angel’s offering their prayers as incense (Apoc. 8.3-4), *via* Irenaeus: “Incensa autem Johannes in Apocalypsi orationes ait esse sanctorum”.²⁰⁷⁸ “Nostra” likely distinguishes the *munera* of the Christians from those former ones of the Jews, according with Irenaeus,²⁰⁷⁹ rather than the pagans, *contra* Dulaey.²⁰⁸⁰ **“et ibi recordatus fueris habere aliquid fratrem tuum aduersus te, relinque ibi munus tuum”.** Cf. Matth. 5.24.

inuenitur, illud fidem facit indubitabilem. Rursus tamen et alae si non haereant in animalibus, uitam unde trahant non habent.

²⁰⁷⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16-20): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis prophetae.

²⁰⁷⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 18.1 (SChr 100, l. 5-11): Per munus enim erga Regem et honos et affectio ostenditur; quod in omni simplicitate et innocentia Dominus volens nos offerre praedicavit dicens: Cum igitur offeres munus tuum ad altare et recordatus fueris quoniam frater tuus habet aliquid aduersum te, dimitte munus tuum ad altare, et vade primum reconciliari fratri tuo, et tunc reversus offeres munus tuum.

²⁰⁷⁷ E.g. Matth. 5.24 (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Con. Faust. XVI 10 (CSEL 25, 448, l. 12-16): soluite, inquit, templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud et: cum offers munus tuum ad altare et: uade, ostende te sacerdoti et offer pro te sacrificium, quod praecepit moyses, in testimonium illis.

²⁰⁷⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 17.6 (SChr 100, l. 167)-18.1 (SChr 100, l. 5): Quoniam *ergo* nomen Filii proprium Patris est et in Deo omnipotente per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia, bene ait secundum utraque: Et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo et sacrificium purum. Igitur Ecclesiae oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum et acceptum est ei, non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium, sed quoniam is qui offert glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus eius.

²⁰⁷⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 18.2 (SChr 100, l. 17)-18.3 (SChr 100, l. 39): Et non genus oblationum reprobatur: oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic, sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in Ecclesia; sed species immutata est tantum, quippe cum iam non a servis, sed a liberis offeratur. Unus enim et idem Dominus, proprius autem character servilis oblationis et proprius liberorum, uti et per oblationes ostendatur indicium libertatis: nihil enim otiosum neque sine signo sive argumento apud eum. Et propter hoc illi quidem decimas suorum habebant consecratis; qui autem perceperunt libertatem omnia quae sunt ipsorum ad dominicos decernunt usus, hilariter et libere dantes ea [non] quae sunt minora, utpote majorum spem habentes, vidua illa et paupera hic totum victum suum mittente in gazophylacium Dei. Unus enim et idem Dominus, proprius autem character servilis oblationis et proprius liberorum, uti et per oblationes ostendatur indicium libertatis: nihil enim otiosum neque sine signo sive argumento apud eum.

²⁰⁸⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 18.2 (SChr 100, l. 31): Et non genus oblationum reprobatur: oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic, sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in Ecclesia; sed species

l. 9-10. **Sicut.** “Sicut” looks forward to “sic” on line 14. *ergo caelum intellegitur ara aurea, quae erat interior.* Origen interprets this as the private, heartfelt prayer of the individual, while the outer altar is public prayer that “builds up its hearers”.²⁰⁸¹ This interpretation contrasts strangely with Victorinus' confusing the inner with the outer court of the temple of Apoc. 11.1-2, excluding the former rather than the latter.

l. 11-13. **nam et sacerdos semel introibat in templum in anno.** Victorinus seems to situate the golden altar within the Holy of Holies, contrary to Ex. 30.6, but in accord, rather, with Heb. 9.4 (though not with Clement of Alexandria or Origen, except in the sense that he quotes Heb. 9.4).²⁰⁸² **qui habebat Christi mandatum.** For “Christi mandatum” Jerome has “chrisma”.²⁰⁸³ Origen interprets the high priest’s entering the Holy of Holies once a year as a

immutata est tantum, quippe cum iam non a servis, sed a liberis offeratur. Unus enim et idem Dominus, proprius autem character servilis oblationis et proprius liberorum, uti et per oblationes ostendatur indicium libertatis: nihil enim otiosum neque sine signo sive argumento apud eum. Et propter hoc illi quidem decimas suorum habebant consecratas; qui autem perceperunt libertatem omnia quae sunt ipsorum ad dominicos decernunt usus, hilariter et libere dantes ea [non] quae sunt minora, utpote majorum spem habentes, vidua illa et paupera hic totum victum suum mittente in gazophylacium Dei. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 179.

²⁰⁸¹ Origenes, Hom. in Num. 10.3 (CB 30, 73, l. 21-74): Altitudo vero duo, id est interius et exterius, quoniam altare orationis indicium est, illud puto significare, quod dicit Apostolus: "orabo spiritu, orabo et mente". Cum enim 'in corde oravero', ad altare interius ingredior, et hoc puto esse etiam quod Dominus in evangelio dicit: "tu autem cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum, et claude ostium tuum, et ora patrem tuum in abscondito". Qui *ergo* ita orat, ut dixi, ingreditur ad altare incensi, quod est interius. Cum autem quis clara voce et verbis cum sono prolatis, quasi ut aedificet audientes, orationem fundit ad Deum, hic 'spiritu orat' et offerre videtur hostiam in altari, quod foris est ad holocaustomata populi constitutum. Oportet *ergo* sacerdotes ea curare praecipue et custodire, quae intra velamen interius conteguntur, ne quid ibi pollutum, ne quid inveniatur immundum; hoc est interiorem hominem et cordis secreta curare, ut ibi immaculata permaneant.

Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 7.1 (GCS 29, 370, l. 21-24): Et ideo ex his quoque, quae nunc lecta sunt, quoniam cuncta non possumus, aliqua tamen, quae aedificent auditores, velut 'aegri pleni, quem benedixit Dominus', flosculos colligemus.

²⁰⁸² Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. V 6.33.1 (GCS 52, l. 1-3): ὥσπερ ὁ κόκκος τῷ πυρί. ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ καλύμματος καὶ τοῦ παραπετάσματος, ἔνθα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξῆν εἰσιέναι, θυμιατήριον [τε] ἔκειτο σύμβολον τῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κόσμῳ τῷδε κειμένης γῆς, ἐξ ἧς αἱ ἀναθυμιάσεις.

Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 9.9 (GCS 29, 435, l. 23-436, l. 1): In hanc aedem 'semel in anno' primus quicumque erat pontifex, oblatis prius hostiis propitiationis, de quibus supra exposuimus, ingrediebatur habens utramque manum repletam, unam 'batillo carbonum' et aliam 'compositionis incenso', ut, cum fuisset ingressus, statim superposito incenso carbonibus 'fumus' adscenderet totam que aedem repletet, ut ad spectum sanctorum, quem ingressus pontificis revelaverat, 'nubes' velaret incensi. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio, 110.

²⁰⁸³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (R. H.; p. 75, l. 7 Haussleiter).

figure of Christ's both entering heaven, to the Father, and, by his sacrifice, the Holy of Holies of his own flesh.²⁰⁸⁴ **sacerdos semel introibat...ad aram auream.** This flatly contradicts Ex. 30.7's prescribing daily offerings.²⁰⁸⁵

1. 13-14. **Significabat Spiritus Sanctus hoc esse facturum.** Recounts Heb. 9.8.²⁰⁸⁶

hoc...quod. "Quod" is the direct object of "est passus", and refers to the saving action of the Passion. **semel factum est.** Victorinus has conflated the uniqueness of the Passion, the daily offerings upon the golden altar, and the once-a-year, blood-atoned entry of the high priest into the Holy of Holies, under the influence, perhaps, of Origen (who does, not, however, situate the golden altar in the Holy of Holies) and Heb. 9.7-8.²⁰⁸⁷

1. 14-16. **Sic.** Refers to "Sicut *ergo* caelum intelligitur ara aurea", above. **terra.** Understand *esse.* **infernum.** Perhaps in its more classical sense of *the Lower Region*,²⁰⁸⁸ rather than the later sense of *Hell*, though Victorinus' geography is confusing. But it is neither equivalent to the biblical *Sheol* nor the pagan *Hades*: the martyrs lead a spiritual existence in expectant prayer. Yet it is a real, physical place. **remota a poenis et ignibus regio.** Deduced from Luc.

²⁰⁸⁴ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 9.5 (GCS 29, 426, l. 24-427, l. 11): 'In hac' sola 'die' pontifex induitur omnibus pontificalibus indumentis, tunc induitur 'manifestationem et veritatem', tunc ingreditur ad illa inaccessibilia, quo 'semel in anno' accedi tantummodo licet, id est in 'sancta sanctorum'. 'Semel' enim 'in anno' populum pontifex derelinquens ingreditur ad eum locum, ubi est 'propitiatorium' et super 'propitiatorium' 'Cherubim', ubi est et 'arca testimonii' et 'altare incensi', quo nulli introire fas est nisi pontifici soli. Si *ergo* considerem verum 'pontificem' meum Dominum 'Iesum' Christum, quomodo in carne quidem positus per totum annum erat cum populo, annum illum, de quo ipse dicit: "evangelizare pauperibus misit me et vocare annum Domini acceptum et diem remissionis", adverte quomodo 'semel in' isto 'anno', in die repropitiationis intrat in 'sancta sanctorum', hoc est cum impleta dispensatione 'penetrat coelos' et intrat ad patrem, ut eum propitium humano generi faciat et exoret pro omnibus credentibus in se. Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 9.1 (GCS 29, 235, l. 21-29): Repetit *ergo* rursum de tabernaculo et dicit: "non enim in sancta manu facta ingressus est Iesus, exemplaria verorum, sed in ipsum coelum, ut appareat nunc vultui Dei per velamen, id est per carnem suam". Qui *ergo* velamen interioris tabernaculi carnem Christi interpretatus est, sancta autem ipsa coelum vel coelos, Dominum vero Christum pontificem, eum que dicit introisse 'semel in sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa', ex his paucis sermonibus si quis intelligere novit Pauli sensum, potest advertere, quantum nobis intelligentiae pelagus patefecerit.

²⁰⁸⁵ Ex. 30.7 (p. 138 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ θυμιάσει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Ααρων θυμιάμα σύνθετον λεπτόν τὸ πρῶν.

²⁰⁸⁶ Heb. 9.8 (p. 575 Nestle-Aland): τοῦτο δηλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.

²⁰⁸⁷ Et v. Symonds, *The Heavenly Sacrifice in the Greek Fathers*, in: SP 8 (= TU 93), 280-285. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 179.

²⁰⁸⁸ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *infernus* II. *belonging to the Lower Regions*, 944.

16.23.²⁰⁸⁹ For Tertullian, beneath the altar is “Paradisi regio”, “the region of Paradise” *i.e.* none other than the *Garden of Eden*; whose angelic guard’s barring sword is bypassed only by (apparently) every Christians’s blood of martyrdom²⁰⁹⁰ (clearly figurative); which is itself the *key* to the gates of Paradise.²⁰⁹¹ Is “remota regio” located “in inferno” *i.e.* in the nether regions? Or is it coextensive with “terra/earth” itself, in which it is embedded, above the sphere of Hell? To Paradise Victorinus refers, *inter alia*, the still living Elijah and Jeremiah, either before their martyrdom at the hands of Antichrist or in some sense outside time.²⁰⁹² Victorinus does not explicitly make the same association as does Tertullian, but to those who “do works of love unto the last” *i.e.* (quite likely) unto martyrdom,²⁰⁹³ he may relate the reward of the tree of life in Paradise (Apoc.2, 2),²⁰⁹⁴ which most surely is Eden (Gen 2, 10).²⁰⁹⁵ **requies sanctorum.** Tertullian has “sub altari martyrum animae placidum quiescunt”.²⁰⁹⁶ *Requiescere* was already widely used of the dead *e.g.* in epitaphs: “Hic resquiescit in pace”.²⁰⁹⁷ Rabbinic tradition holds of souls protected under the *throne* of

²⁰⁸⁹ Luc. 16. 23 (p. 213 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδι ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, ὄρᾳ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ; (VL; Cod. e.; p. 76 Belsheim): leuans autem oculos suos cum esset in tormentis, uidet abraham de longinquo et eleazarum in sinus eius requiescentem.

²⁰⁹⁰ Tertullianus, De anim. 55 (CC SL 2, l. 29-35): Et quomodo iohanni in spiritu paradisi regio reuelata, quae subicitur altari, nullas alias animas apud se praeter martyrum ostendit? quomodo perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in reuelatione paradisi solos illic martyras uidit, nisi quia nullis romphaea paradisi ianitrix cedit nisi qui in christo decesserint, non in adam? noua mors pro deo et extraordinaria pro christo alio et priuato excipitur hospitio.

²⁰⁹¹ Tertullianus, De anim. 55 (CC SL 2, l. 36-40): Agnosce itaque differentiam ethnici et fidelis in morte, si pro deo occumbas, ut paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus et in lectulis, sed in martyriis, si crucem tuam tollas et sequaris dominum, ut ipse praecepit. Tota paradisi clauis tuus sanguis est.

²⁰⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 1-3): Hi sunt duae oliuae et duo candelabra qui in conspectu Domini terrae stant, id est in paradiso. Hos *ergo* oportet interfici ab Antichristo post multas plagas saeculo infixas, quem dicit ascendisse bestiam de abyssu.

²⁰⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.1 (SChr 423, 56, l. 11-12): Qui cadit, de alto cadit; et ideo ait unde, quia omnino usque ad nouissimum amoris opera exercenda sunt, quod est principale mandatum.

²⁰⁹⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.1 (SChr 423, 58, l. 19-20): Ideo collaudat illos ad quos scripsit, quibus talibus et tam magnis uiris promisit lignum uitae quod est in paradiso Dei sui.

²⁰⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.4 (SChr 423, 68, l. 35-37): <Hae> *ergo* praedicationes quamuis quattuor sint, una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore processit, sicut fluiuis in paradiso de uno fonte in quattuor partes diuisus est.

²⁰⁹⁶ Tertullianus, Scorp. 12 (CC SL 2, 173, l. 25-28): Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animae placidum quiescunt et fiducia ultionis patientiam pascunt et indutae stolis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illorum gloriae impleant.

²⁰⁹⁷ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *requiesco* A. 2. of the dead, *to find rest, repose*, 1574.

God.²⁰⁹⁸ Until at least the fourth century, Eden and the spiritual paradises of soul and Church were often confused with the ultimate heavenly one.²⁰⁹⁹

1. 16-18. **In qua quidem uidentur ab impiis et audiuntur iusti, sed neque illi ad illos transire possunt.** Cf. Luc. 16.19-31, especially verse 23.²¹⁰⁰ **uidentur ab impiis...iusti.**

Victorinus perhaps makes “iusti” the subject of the passives “uidentur” and “audiuntur” to emphasize the focus of the damned's tormented gaze. It likely inversely refers to Is. 66.24.²¹⁰¹ **sed neque illi ad illos transire possunt.** Cf. Luc. 16.26.²¹⁰²

1. 18-19. **Hos ergo tantos.** “Hos”, referring to the earlier “illos”, along with “tantos” probably means “Such are these great ones”. **animas occisorum:** some texts of the VL gloss with “martyrum”, as do Clement of Alexandria (“of the martyred”) and Tertullian (Origen has “of the beheaded”).²¹⁰³ **id est corporis sui.** Clearly a reference to literal death. Origen allows a

²⁰⁹⁸ Allo, L'Apocalypse, 103.

²⁰⁹⁹ Bockmuehl / Stroumsa, Paradise in antiquity: Jewish and Christian views, 212. Daniélou, Terre et paradis chez les Pères de l'Eglise, in: EJ 22 (1953), 433-472 (especially, 442 et seq.; 452-454). RLAC, s. v. Abraham Schloss, c. 27-28; DThC, s. v. Abraham (bosom of), c. 111-116. Stuibler, Refrigerium interim, Die Vorstellungen vom Zwischenzustand und die frühchristliche Grabeskunst, 43-74. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 181; 2, 3.3, n. 44.

²¹⁰⁰ Luc. 16. 23 (p. 213 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδη ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ; (VL; Cod. e.; p. 76 Belsheim): leuans autem oculos suos cum esset in tormentis, uidet abraham de longinquo et eleazarum in sinus eius requiescentem.

²¹⁰¹ Is. 66.24 (p. 656 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ ἐξελεύσονται καὶ ὄψονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἐν ἐμοί ὃ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάση σαρκί; (VL; P. 678 Hetzenauer): Et egredientur, et uidebunt cadauera uirorum, qui praeuuaricati sunt in me; uermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non extinguetur: et erunt usque ad satietatem uisionis omni carni.

²¹⁰² Luc. 16.26 (VL; Cod. e; p. 76 Belsheim): et super ista omnia inter uos et nos chaus magnus est ut qui uolunt transgredi ad uos non possu / int. Neque inde transire hoc.

²¹⁰³ e.g. Apoc. 6. 9 (V.L.; , Buch: Apocalypsis [Apc] Kapitel: 6 Vers: 9 Bildnummer: 81 / 147: Animae martyrum; Clem. A. paed. 2, 108, 3 : οἱ μεμαρτυρηκότες (exact citation) ; Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 10 bis (108.3 ; SChr 108, l. 1-4): Τοιαύτη χρώμενον στολῆ τὸν κύριον ἐν ὁράματι θεωρεῖ· καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις φησιν· «Εἶδον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μεμαρτυρηκῶτων ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἐδόθη ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή». Origenes, Exhort. ad mart. 30 (GSC 2, 27, l. 13) : Οὕτως Αἱ Ψυχὰι " Τῶν Πεπελεκισμένων" ἔνεκεν τῆς μαρτυρίας Ἰησοῦ. Cf. Origenes, Hom. in Iud. 7.2 (GCS 30, 508, l. 2-5): Ibi enim 'sub altare' Dei 'animae martyrum' positae dicuntur diebus ac noctibus 'proclamare' dicentes: quousque Domine, qui iustus et verus es, non vindicas sanguinem nostrum de his, qui habitant terram?; Tertullianus, De

burnt offering of denial of self at God's altar, alongside the death of martyrdom.²¹⁰⁴

exspectare uindictam sanguinis. That the saints are imploring the final judgment, both Cyprian ("the day of vengeance") and Tertullian understand ("their avenging is arranged by the end of the age"), the latter's stressing their impatience.²¹⁰⁵

l. 20-23. **remuneratio perpetua.** *Remuneratio, recompense,* is a Classical term, very materialist, rarely used in Christian Latin,²¹⁰⁶ but suiting chiliasm.

l. 24. **stolas albas.** Surely analogous to the white robes of the newly baptized;²¹⁰⁷ even as *Odes of Solomon*, Irenaeus and Hippolytus had already compared the gift of the Spirit to a garment.²¹⁰⁸ Tertullian considered even the Spirit to be corporeal,²¹⁰⁹ a philosophical view witnessed and confirmed by ecstatic prophetic vision.²¹¹⁰

anim. 8.4 (CC SL 2, l. 28-31): Sol enim corpus, siquidem ignis; sed quod aquila confiteatur, neget noctua, non tamen praeiudicans aquilae. Tantundem et animae corpus inuisibile carni, si forte, spiritui uero uisibile est. Sic iohannes in spiritu dei factus animas martyrum conspicit. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De laps. 18 (CC SL 3, l. 357-361): Sub ara dei animae occisorum martyrum clamant magna uoce dicentes: 'quousque, domine, sanctus et uerus, non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant?' et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc iubentur. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 181; 2, 3.3, n. 47.

²¹⁰⁴ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 9.9 (GCS 29, 436, l. 15-18): Ego si renuntiem omnibus, quae possideo et tollam crucem meam et sequar Christum, holocaustum obtuli ad altare Dei; aut 'si tradidero corpus meum, ut ardeam, habens caritatem' et gloriam martyrii consequar, holocaustum me ipsum obtuli ad altare Dei.

²¹⁰⁵ Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De bon. pat. 21 (CC SL 3A, 131, l. 409-426): Et quoniam plurimos scio, fratres dilectissimi, uel pondere iniuriarum angentium uel dolore de eis qui aduersum se grassantur et saeuunt uindicare uelociter cupere, nec illud in extrema parte reticendum est, ut in istis fluctuantis mundi turbinibus et iudeorum siue gentilium et haeticorum quoque persecutionibus constituti patienter exspectemus ultionis diem nec ad uindictam doloris nostri querula festinatione properemus, cum scriptum sit: exspecta me, dicit dominus, in diem resurrectionis meae in testimonium, quoniam iudicium meum ad congregationes gentium, ut excipiam reges et effundam super eos iram meam. Exspectare nos iubet dominus et futurae ultionis diem forti patientia sustinere, qui et in apocalypsi loquitur dicens: ne signaueris uerba prophetiae libri huius, quia iam tempus in proximo est: et hi qui perseuerant nocere, noceant, et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc, iustus autem adhuc iustiora faciat, similiter et sanctus sanctorum. Ecce uenio cito, et merces mea me cum est, reddere unicuique secundum facta sua. Vnde et clamantes martyres et ad uindictam suam dolore erumpente properantes exspectare adhuc iubentur et temporibus consummandis implendis que martyribus praebere patientiam. Tertullianus, De orat. 5 (CC SL 1, l. 12-14): Clamant ad dominum inuidia animae martyrum sub altari: quoniam usque non ulcisceris, domine, sanguinem nostrum de incolis terrae? nam utique ultio illorum a saeculi fine dirigitur. Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. (E. v.; p. 74, l. 18 Haussleiter).

²¹⁰⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *remuneratio* I. *recompense*, 1564.

²¹⁰⁷ Daniélou, Bible and Liturgy, 69-74.

²¹⁰⁸ Od. Sal. 25.8 (p. 61 Harris / Migana; p. 149-150 Schmidt): Textisti me sub umbra gratiae (l. Misericordiae) tuae et superauisti uestimenta pellicea; (p. 62 Harris / Migana): Textisti me sub umbra gratiae (l. Misericordiae) tuae et superauisti uestimenta pellicea. (p. 63 Harris / Migana): et obtexit (l. Obtexisti) me lumine tuae

ἀπορροίας. For Irenaeus Adam had lost by disobedience "eam quam habuit ab spiritu sanctitatis stolam": Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 23.5 (SChr 211, l. 19-20). Cf. Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 59.4 (SChr 14, l. 1-4): Οὗτος πόλιν Τυρίων πατάξας ἐρημώσει καὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου ἐκπολεμήσας καταστρώσει καὶ πᾶσαν χώραν Λιβύων κατασκάψει, τὸν τε βασιλέα Αἰθιοπῶν σὺν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ φόνῳ μαχαίρας διολέσει.

²¹⁰⁹ Tertullianus, De carn. Christ. 6 (CC SL 2, l. 56-60): Constat angelos carnem non propriam gestasse, utpote natura substantiae spiritalis, - etsi corporalibus alicuius, sui tamen generis, - in carnem autem humanam transfigurabilis ad tempus, ut uideri et congregari cum hominibus possent. Tertullianus, De carn. Christ. 11.4 (p. 15, l. 19-21 Evans): si habet aliquid per quod est, hoc erit corpus eius. omne quod est corpus est sui generis: nihil est incorporale nisi quod non est. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. V 15.8 (CC SL 1, 629, l.19-24): Etenim aliam substantiam in homine non uideo post spiritum et animam, cui uocabulum corporis accommodetur praeter carnem, hanc totiens in corporis nomine intellegens, quotiens non nominatur; multo magis hic, cum quae dicitur corpus suo nomine appellatur.

Tertullian adduces Soranus against the Platonist argument that the soul is incorporeal because only nourished by the incorporeal, since it obviously needs food: Tertullianus, De anim. 6.6 (CC SL 2, l. 41-48): De insignioribus argumentationibus erit etiam illa, quod omne corpus corporalibus ali iudicant, animam uero, ut incorporalem, incorporalibus, sapientiae scilicet studiis. Sed nec hic gradus stabit etiam Sorano methodicae medicinae instructissimo auctore respondente animam corporalibus quoque ali, denique deficientem a cibo plerumque fulciri. Quidni? quo adempto in totum dilabitur ex corpore; though Soranus denies the soul any immortality, with the Platonists generally: Tertullianus, De anim. 6.6 (CC SL 2, l. 48-51). His flaw is analogous to the Ebionites and Jews generally who deny Jesus literally divine sonship. Yet Tertullian can employ both as suits.

Cf. Tertullianus, De anim. 9.1 (CC SL 2, l. 33-40): Cum animae corpus adserimus propriae qualitatis et sui generis. For Tertullian Plato maintains, erroneously, that each soul, being immortal, was both incorporeal and figureless: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.2 (CC SL 2, l. 11-15): Quid nunc, quod et effigiem animae damus, Platone nolente, quasi periclitetur de animae immortalitate? Omne enim effigiatum compositum et structile affirmat; dissolubile autem omne compositum et structile; sed animam immortalem, igitur indissolubilem, qua immortalem, et ineffigiatam, qua indissolubilem, ceterum compositum et structilem, si effigiatam; or, paradoxically, figure/type/archetype only of itself), possessed of no bodily dimensions: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.2 (CC SL 2, l. 15-19): tamquam alio eam modo effigians intellectualibus formis, pulchram iustitia et disciplinis philosophiae, deformem uero contrariis artibus; whereas Tertullian insists it mimics the body: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.3 (CC SL 2, l. 19-22): Sed nos corporales quoque illi inscribimus lineas, non tantum ex fiducia corporalitatis per aestimationem, uerum et ex constantia gratiae per reuelationem; which fact, for the Carthaginian, is *de facto* proof and justification, it seems for prophetic and charismatic gifts: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.3 (CC SL 2, l. 22-24): Nam quia spiritalia charismata agnoscimus, post iohannem quoque prophetiam meruimus consequi. Tertullian arbitrarily confuses the axes of the literal-bodily and spiritual-figurative: the body, *via* the soul, proves-implies/entails the spiritual, including the prophetic, John the Baptist's being the border-starting point of human Christian prophesying, a kind of unity of Christian flesh and s/Spirit, to which the Montanists are heir.

But the soul has a tenuous materiality like to air: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.6 (CC SL 2, l. 50-54): sed quoniam omne tenue atque perlucidum aeris aemulum est, hoc erit anima, qua flatus et spiritus tradux, siquidem prae ipsa tenuitatis subtilitate de fide corporalitatis periclitatur; and ever since God infused Adam's body with his spirit, the soul bears imprint of the body's form: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.7-8 (CC SL 2, l. 54-65): Sic et effigiem de sensu iam tuo concipe non aliam animae humanae deputandam praeter humanam, et quidem eius corporis quod unaquaeque circumtulit. Hoc nos sapere interim primordii contemplatio inducat. Recogita enim, cum deus flasset in faciem homini flatum uitae, et factus esset homo in animam uiuam, totus utique, per faciem statim flatum illum in interiora transmissum et per uniuersa corporis spatia diffusum simul que diuina aspiratione densatum omni intus linea expressum esse, quam densatus impleuerat, et uelut in forma gelasse. Inde igitur et corpulentia animae ex densatione solidata est et effigies ex impressione formata; which thing constitutes Paul's "inner man" (Eph. 3.16; Rom. 7.22; and perhaps also "spiritual man": 1 Cor. 2.15), by vision and prophecy are received and conveyed, and in which form the slain martyrs beneath the Altar consist (Apoc. 6.9): Tertullianus, De anim. 9.8 (CC SL 2, l. 54--70): Hic erit homo interior, alius exterior, dupliciter unus, habens et ille oculos et aures suas, quibus populus dominum audire et uidere debuerat, habens et ceteros artus, per quos et in cogitationibus utitur et in somniis fungitur. Sic et diuiti apud inferos lingua est, et pauperi digitus, et sinus Abrahae. Per has lineas et animae martyrum sub altari intelleguntur; which process entails the seed/seed in Adam, which conveys the original, spiritual divine type from God to his descendants: Tertullianus, De anim. 9.8 (CC SL 2, l. 70-72): A primordio enim in Adam concreta et configurata corpori anima, ut totius substantiae, ita et condicionis istius semen effecit. Tertullian has his "missing link", how the spiritual becomes inextricably

The Great Tribulation which Elijah's return inaugurates:

6.5.

1. 2-3. **Sol fit ut saccus.** The VL of Apoc. 6.12 has "ut saccus cilicinus".²¹¹¹ **incredulis**
obscurabitur splendor doctrinae. Origen had made such an interpretation, albeit chiefly of
the Jews, rather than heretics,²¹¹² his *doctrina diuina's* contrasting with that of the Pharisees
and Saducees.²¹¹³

linked with the carnal in the original "incarnation" of Adam, the medium's being the fused creation of the soul.
Et v. Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, 215-216.

²¹¹⁰ Tertullianus, *De anim.* 9.4 (CC SL 2, l. 24-41).

²¹¹¹ Primasius Hadrumetinus, *Com. in Apoc.* II 6 (CC SL 92, l. 212-214): Et uidi, et cum aperuisset sextum
signum, et terraemotus magnus factus est, et ecce sol factus est niger ut saccus cilicinus.

²¹¹² Commenting upon Matth. 27.45, Origen explicates the darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour, *via* Zach.
14.6 (the darkness of the Day of the Lord), as solely over the land of the Jews/Judaea, even as the rest of the
world is illumined, an allegory of the Light's to the Church being Darkness to the Jews, particularly associated
with their orgiastic, blasphemous and murderous behaviour, manifested chiefly in the crucifixion: the literal
darkness in their day is also a figurative darkness of their mind: Origenes, *Schol. in Matth.* (PG 17, 308, l. 37n-
309, l. 33): Στίχ. με'. Ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης.
Περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐκλείψεως καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας εἰπών· Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, φησὶν, οὐκ
ἔσται φῶς. Καὶ ψῦχος καὶ πάγος ἔσται μίαν ἡμέραν. Καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη γνωστὴ τῷ Κυρίῳ. Καὶ
οὐχ ἡμέρα, καὶ οὐ νύξρ καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔσται φῶς. Εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐσκοτίσθαι τοὺς
βάλλοντας χεῖρας τῷ φωτί. Ὡς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίοις σκότος, καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ φῶς· οὕτως καὶ
νῦν τῇ μὲν Ἐκκλησίᾳ φῶς, τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις σκότος τριῶν ἡμερῶν, φωτὸς πατρικοῦ,
ἀπαυγάσματος Χριστοῦ, ἐκλάμ- ψεως ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γεγένηται ὁ
ἄνθρωπος, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐσφάλλαι· τάχα διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώ-
πων πάσχων ὥρᾳ ἕκτῃ ἐκρεμάσθη. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σημεῖον, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν αἰτιοῦσιν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν,
λέγων· Γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ ἐξῆς· καὶ, Ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ
ζητεῖ, καὶ ἐξῆς· καὶ, Ὅταν ὑψώσητε τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τότε γνώσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. Καὶ γὰρ
πολλῶ θαυμαστότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ προσηλουμένου ταῦτα γενέσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς βαδίζοντος. Οὐ
ταύτη δὲ μόνον τὸ παράδοξον ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν ὅπερ ἐζήτησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ
πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅπερ οὐδὲ πρότερον συνέβη, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον, ὅτε καὶ τὸ Πάσχα
ἔτελεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τύπος ἦν τούτων. Ἴνα γὰρ μὴ εἴπωσιν ἐκλειψιν εἶναι τὸ γεγεννημένον,
διὰ τοῦτο τῇ ιδ' γίνεται, ὅτε ἐκλειψιν συμβῆναι ἀμήχανον. Ἐν μέσῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ, ἵνα πάντες οἱ τὴν
γῆν οἰκοῦντες μάθωσιν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡμέρα ἦν. Καὶ Φλέγων δέ τις παρ' Ἑλλησι
φιλόσοφος μέμνηται τούτου τοῦ σκότους, ὡς παραδόξως γεγεννημένου ἐν τῇ ιδ' τῆς σελήνης· ὅτε
οὐ πέφυκεν ἐκλειψις γίνεσθαι, ὅτε πολὺ ἀπέχει τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ ἕως τέλους. Τότε γὰρ γίνονται ἐκλείψεις, ὅταν πλησιάσωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ δύο οὗτοι
φωστῆρες. Γίνεται γὰρ ἐκλειψις ἡλίου συνοδικῶς ὑποδραμούσης αὐτὸν σελήνης, οὐ πανσελήνῳ,
ὅτε διάμετρος ἐστὶ τῆ σελήνῃ. Τοῦτο δὲ γέγονεν, ὡς πενθούσης τῆς κτίσεως ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο δηλοῦσης, ὅτι, τῆς παροινίας ταύτηςπραχθείσης ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἐσκοτίσθη αὐτῶν ὁ
νοῦς, καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος. Εἴτε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζον τοῦτο πεποικέναι, ἔδει
πιστεῦσαι καὶ φοβηθῆναι· εἴτε οὐκ αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδει καταφυγεῖν.
Ὅργιζομένου γὰρ ἦν τὸ σκότος ἐκεῖνο, καὶ δεῖγμα τοῦ μέλλοντος λαβεῖν τοὺς θεομάχους τε καὶ
μιαφόνους. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῆς παροινίας τοῦτο γίτοῦτο γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῆς

1. 3. **Luna sanguinea.** The same translation as Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Prosperinus and *Quoduultdeus*.²¹¹⁴ Hippolytus and Origen had interpreted the moon as the Church, now spattered by Christ's, as well as their own, blood,²¹¹⁵ reflecting the doctrine-light of Christ-

παροινίας τούτο γίνεται, ὅτε κόρος ἔλαβε τῶν σκωμμάτων, καὶ πάντων ἐφθέγγξαντο ὅσα ἠθέλησαν.

Cf. Origenes, Com. in Matth. (22.41-46), Com. ser. 4.5.8 (GCS 38, 9, l. 27-10, l. 6): quoniam ergo multa proponentes Pharisei et Sadducaei aliquid dicere videbantur, et hoc facientes non quasi discipuli discere cupiebant sed temptabant Christum, et videbantur legis esse doctores cum non essent, ideo necessarium fuit et dominum interrogationem proponere eis, profitentibus legis scientiam se habere, ut coram populo argueret eos, cum responsum ad interrogata non dederint, ipse ad omnia respondens; quoniam ipse quidem idoneus erat secundum professionem doctoribus condecemtem manifestare et tradere doctrinam divinam, illi autem nec ipsum prophetam qui erat fastigium prophetarum sciebant.

Cf. Matth. 24.4-5; 23-24: Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.5 (R. H.; p. 77, l. 6-7 Haussleiter). On defending the *dogmata* of the Church against those hereses Victorinus has in mind, which render heretics to death even as the Church's believers to life, v. Origenes, Frag. in Tit. (PG 14, 1303A-1306D); Frag. in Matth. 90-91; Epist. ad Diog. 11.6 (SChr 33 bis, 165; p. 78 Otto): εἶτα φόβος νόμου ἄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γίνωσκεται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἵδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ; 5.3 (p. 104 Otto): οὐ μὴν ἐπινοίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον, οὐδὲ δό(γ)ματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι.

²¹¹³ Origenes, Com. in Matth. (22.41-46), Com. ser. 4.5 (GCS 38, 9, l. 27-10, l. 6): quoniam ergo multa proponentes Pharisei et Sadducaei aliquid dicere videbantur, et hoc facientes non quasi discipuli discere cupiebant sed temptabant Christum, et videbantur legis esse doctores cum non essent, ideo necessarium fuit et dominum interrogationem proponere eis, profitentibus legis scientiam se habere, ut coram populo argueret eos, cum responsum ad interrogata non dederint, ipse ad omnia respondens; quoniam ipse quidem idoneus erat secundum professionem doctoribus condecemtem manifestare et tradere doctrinam divinam, illi autem nec ipsum prophetam qui erat fastigium prophetarum sciebant.

²¹¹⁴ Cyprianus (pseudo), Ad Nouat. 17 (CC SL 4, l. 6-18): Iohannes autem manifestius et de die iudicii et de consummatione saeculi declarat dicens: et cum aperuisset, inquit, sigillum sextum, ecce terrae motus factus est magnus et sol factus est niger ut saccus cilicinus et luna tota sanguinea facta est et stellae ceciderunt in terram, quomodo ficus a uento magno agitata mittit grossos suos, et caelum recessit ut liber cum inuoluitur et omnis mons et insulae de locis suis motae sunt; et reges terrae et maximi quique et tribuni et diuites et fortes et omnis seruus et liber absconderunt se in speluncis petrarum et in cauernis montium dicentes montibus et petris: cadite super nos et abscondite nos a conspectu patris sedentis super thronum et ab ira agni, quoniam uenit dies magnus interitionis, et quis poterit stare? Prosper Aquitanus, Expos. ps. 135 (CC SL 68A, l. 69-77): Solem in potestatem diei, lunam et stellas in potestatem noctis. Splendor solis in die potens est, et lunae et stellarum in nocte. Sed haec praeter utilitatem quam mundo uicibus suis praebent, et praeter decorem quo totius mundi augetur ornatus, dant significationem spiritalium gratiarum. Nam praecipuum fidelium cordium lumen est, ueniens ab ipso iustitiae sole, sapientiae. Secundum autem lumen est scientia, quae inter saeculi huius obscura dat quodammodo lunare solacium; et v. Quoduultdeus, Sermo 12 (De temp. barb. 2).9 (CC SL 60, l. 16-21): Annon uox terret illa uox apostoli iohannis describentis in apocalypsis ruinam saeculi, et dicentis: septimus angelus, inquit, tuba cecinit: et factus est sol niger ut saccus cilicinus, et luna sanguinea facta est, et stellae ceciderunt eo modo quasi ficus uento magno agitata amittit acerbos fructus suos.

²¹¹⁵ Commenting on the verse behind Apoc. 6.12, Ioel 2.31, Hippolytus-Bar Salibi explains the unfaithful are those in darkness even as are the faithful in light, as it was for Egyptians and Hebrews, type for world events in the last days: Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 8.8 (CSCO 101.2, 8, l. 16-35): Hippolytus romanus refutavit eum et dixit: quemadmodum fecit Deus huiusmodi signa in Aegypto, ita et faciet, quando apparebit Christus. Et, quae in Aegypto (facta sunt), erant particularia, quia pars populi ibi in seruitutem subiecta erat; haec uero universalia erunt ante iudicium omni orbi terrarum. Igitur per revelationem dixit Iohannes plagas futuras esse ante iudicium in vindictam iustorum et retributionem infidelium, qui his involentur ne opprimerent fideles. Sic etiam Dominus dixit: «Erit in illa die tribulatio, cui non fuit similis»; et Ioel: «Dabo signa in caelo, et super

Sol. Tertullian sees the sun as Christ, the moon as Church, as do Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, for all of whom the moon is obscured: firstly by the persecution of the martyrs, whose blood darkens its face, deterring the weaker believers from confession; secondly by the confusion of heresies.²¹¹⁶ However, Tertullian also sees the stars as "the seed of

terram, sanguinem, et ignem, et fumum et vaporem fumosum. Sol convertetur in tenebras et luna in sanguinem, antequam veniat dies Domini...»: et Amos: «Ad quid erit vobis dies Domini, qui tenebrosus est et non lucidus». Et pariter: «Si fugias leonem, obviam cades in ursum »; et «ponet manus suas super parietem et 30 mordebit eum serpens».

«Haec dies Domini veniet uti fur» significat infideles qui sunt tenebrae, nam fideles «sunt filii lucis et non ambulant in tenebris». *ergo* in Aegypto adimpletus est hic typus cum Aegyptiis fuit obscuritas, Hebraeis autem lux.

Of all unbelievers, it especially designates the Jews, who in their blindness think they will occupy/possess their land in peace. Christ's having ambushed them: Dionysius Bar Salibi, Com. in Apoc. 8.8 (CSCO 101.2, 9, l. 22-31): Hoc testatur Ioel: «Ante ipsum turbabitur terra et commovetur caelum; et sol et luna obscurabuntur et stellarum lux deficiet»; et Dominus noster dixit in libro Lucae: «Et erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis, et in terra oppressio populorum. Et virtutes, quae in caelis sunt, concutientur». Et quod adduxit in exemplum, inadvertentiam infidelium demonstrat; et illud: «Dum loquuntur pacem, surget in eos perditio», Iudaeos designat qui putant fore ut possideant terram suam et fruantur vita in pace, et ex improvise orietur Christus et confundentur.

For Origen, the darkening of the Sun is also the devil's masquerading as an angel of light, the moon's giving (mere) moonlight constituting the church of evildoers, proven of doctrines subverted: Origenes, Com. ser. in Matth. A 49 (GCS 38.2, 103, l. 8-34): ἐν δὲ ἀναγωγῇ ἔρεϊς σκοτιζόμενον ἥλιον τὸν διάβολον ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν μετασχηματιζόμενον ὡς ἄγγελον φωτὸς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπατήσαντα ὡς ἥλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ συντελείας ἐλεγχθησόμενον σκότος καὶ ὑποκριτὴν ἀνατολῆς. σελήνην δὲ οὐ δώσουσαν «τὸ φέγγος» τὴν τῶν πονηρευομένων ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπαγγελλομένην μὲν διδόναι τὸ φῶς, τότε δὲ ἐλεγχθησομένην ἀνατραπέτων αὐτῆς τῶν δογμάτων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν ὑψώμασι λόγων ἐπαιρομένου ἀκατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς πεσομένους ἀστέρας ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου οὐρανοῦ; Hom. in Gen. 1.5 (GCS 29, 7, l. 16-19): Sicut enim luna de sole percipere dicitur lumen, ut per ipsam etiam nox possit illuminari, ita et ecclesia suscepto Christi lumine illuminat omnes, qui in ignorantiae nocte versantur; Com. in Io. VI 57 (287; SChr 157, l. 1-4): Οὗτος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ταπεινῶσας συκοφάντην διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν τεταπεινωκέναι, συμπαραμένει τῷ νοητῷ ἡλίῳ πρὸ τῆς λαμπροτάτης ἐκκλησίας, τροπικώτερον σελήνης λεγομένης, τυγχάνων γενεῶν γενεαίς. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 184.

²¹¹⁶ Ambrosius Mediolanus, Exam. 4.2.7 (CSEL 32.1, 114, l. 22-115, l. 24): Pulchre autem exposuit nobis propheta quid sit quod ipse ait quia fecit deus solem in potestatem diei et lunam in potestatem noctis. Nam in ipso psalmo centesimo tertio, de quo supra diximus, scripsit: Fecit lunam in tempora, sol agnoscit occasum suum. Cum enim dies horas suas completere coeperit, sol debitum sibi agnoscit occasum. Est *ergo* in potestate diei sol et luna in potestate noctis, quae temporum vicibus oboedire compellitur et nunc impletur lumine atque uacuatur. Licet plerique hunc locum mystice de Christo et ecclesia uideantur accipere, quod agnoscit Christus proprii corporis passionem, qui ait: Pater, uenit hora; clarifica filium tuum, ut illo occasu suo omnibus donaret uitam aeternam, qui perpetuae mortis urguebantur occasu, et ecclesia tempora sua habeat, persecutionis uidelicet et pacis. Nam uidetur sicut luna deficere, sed non deficit. Obumbrari potest, deficere non potest, quae aliquorum quidem in persecutionibus discessione minuitur, ut martyrum confessionibus impleatur et effusi pro Christo sanguinis clarificata uictoriis maius deuotionis et fidei suae toto orbe lumen effundat. Namque luna luminis inminutionem habet, non corporis, quando per uices menstruas deponere uidetur suum lumen, ut mutuetur a sole, quod facile puro aere atque perspicuo, quando nulla eam obducta nebula caligantem facit, colligi potest. Orbis enim integer manet lunae, etsi non similiter totus ut pars eius effulgeat, et qualis uideri solet, cum plenus est luminis, talis est magnitudine, sed per umbram quandam lumine suo uiduatus adparet. Et inde cornua eius refulgent, quia corpus eius in orbem diffunditur et uelut deficiente portionis luce insinuatur; 4.8.32 (CSEL 32.1, 137, l. 19-138, l. 21): Minuitur luna, ut elementa repleat. Hoc est *ergo* grande mysterium. Donauit hoc ei qui omnibus donauit gratiam. Exinaniuit eam, ut repleat, qui etiam se exinaniuit, ut omnis repletur; exinaniuit enim se, ut descenderet nobis, descendit nobis, ut ascenderet omnibus; ascendit enim inquit super caelos, ut impleret

Abraham";²¹¹⁷ the last subdivided among the heavenly and earthly, the Christian and the Jewish.²¹¹⁸ With this last Augustine vigorously disagrees,²¹¹⁹ rather with which error he

omnia. Itaque qui exinanitus aduenerat a plenitudine sua apostolos impleuit. Vnde unus ex his dicit: Nam de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus. *ergo* annuntiauit luna mysterium Christi. Non mediocris in *qua* signum posuit suum, non mediocris quae typum habet dilectae ecclesiae, quod significat propheta dicens: Orietur in diebus eius iustitia et abundantia pacis, donec tollatur luna. Et in Canticis dominus de sua sponsa ait: Quaenam est haec prospiciens tamquam diluculum, speciosa sicut luna, electa ut sol? Et merito sicut luna ecclesia, quae toto mundo refulsit et tenebras saeculi huius inluminans dicit: Nox praecessit, dies adpropinquauit. Hieronymus, Tract. in ps. 103 (CC SL 78, l. 127-133): fecit lunam in tempora. aiunt, quando crescit luna, crescere et fructus omnes, et quando minuitur, iterum fructus minui. *ergo* bene dixit, fecit lunam in tempore. aut aliter intellegamus lunam ecclesiam: in proficiendo enim ecclesiam, proficimus cum ipsa; et cum persecutionem patitur et minuitur, et nos cum illa minuiur et persecutionem patimur. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 10.4 (CC SL 38, l. 1. 1-31): Deinde quaerendum est quid in hoc psalmo accipiatur obscura luna, in *qua* peccatores sagittare parauerunt rectos corde. Non enim uno modo dici obscura luna potest: nam et cum finitur menstruis cursibus, et cum eius fulgor nubilo interpolatur, et cum plena deficit, dici potest obscura luna. Potest *ergo* et de persecutoribus martyrum intellegi, quod sagittare voluerint in obscura luna rectos corde: sive adhuc in Ecclesiae novitate, quia nondum terris maior effulserat, et gentilium superstitionum tenebras vicerat: sive linguis blasphemorum et christianum nomen male diffamantium, quasi nebulis cum terra obtegeretur, videri perspicua luna non poterat, id est Ecclesia: sive ipsorum martyrum caedibus et tanta effusione sanguinis, tamquam illo defectu et obscurate *qua* cruentam faciem luna videtur ostendere, a nomine christiano deterrebantur infirmi; in quo terrore verba dolosa et sacrilega iaculabantur peccatores, ut etiam rectos corde perverterent. Potest et de his peccatoribus intellegi, quos Ecclesia continet, quod tunc inventa occasione huius lunae obscurae, multa commiserint, quae nobis opprobria nunc obiciuntur ab haereticis, cum eorum auctores ea fecisse dicantur. Sed quoquo modo se habeat quod in obscura luna factum est, nunc catholico nomine toto orbe diffuso atque celebrato, quid mihi est incognitis perturbari? In Domino enim confido; nec audio dicentes animae meae: Transmigra in montes sicut passer. Quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde. Aut si et illis nunc luna videtur obscura, quia incertum volunt efficere quae sit catholica, et eam peccatis carnalium hominum, quos multos continet, conantur arguere; quid ad eum pertinet qui vere dicit: In Domino confido? *qua* voce se quisque et frumentum esse ostendit, et usque ad ventilationis tempus paleas tolerabiliter sustinet. Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 10.3 (CC SL 38, l. 1. 22-42): secundum hanc opinionem luna in allegoria significat ecclesiam, quod ex parte spiritali lucet ecclesia, ex parte autem carnali obscura est; et aliquando spiritalis pars in bonis operibus apparet hominibus; aliquando autem in conscientia latet ac deo tantummodo nota est, cum solo corpore apparet hominibus, sicut contingit, cum oramus in corde et quasi nihil agere uidemur, dum non ad terram, sed sursum corda habere iubemur ad dominum. alii autem dicunt non habere lunam lumen proprium, sed a sole illustrari; sed quando cum illo est, eam partem ad nos habere *qua* non illustratur, et ideo nihil in ea lucis uideri; cum autem incipit ab illo recedere, illustrari ab ea etiam parte quam habet ad terram, et necessario incipere a cornibus, donec fiat quinta decima *contra* solem. tunc enim sole occidente oritur, ut quisquis occidentem solem obseruauerit, cum eum coeperit non uidere, conuersus ad orientem, lunam surgere uideat; atque inde ex alia parte cum ei coeperit propinquare, illam partem ad nos conuertere, *qua* non illustratur, donec ad cornua redeat atque inde omnino non appareat, quia tunc pars illa quae illustratur, sursum est ad caelum, ad terram autem illa quam radiare sol non potest. Et v. Rahner, Mythes grecs at mystère chrétien, 170 et seq. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 180.

²¹¹⁷ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 52.13 (CC SL 2, l. 49-51): Sic et de supercaelestibus corporibus argumenta committit: alia gloria solis, id est christi, et alia lunae, id est ecclesiae, et alia stellarum, id est seminis abraham.

²¹¹⁸ Tertullianus, De res. mort. 52.13 (CC SL 2, l. 51-53): Et stella enim a stella differt in gloria, et corpora terrena et caelestia, iudaeus scilicet et christianus.

²¹¹⁹ Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 10.12 (CC SL 38, l. 1. 1-9): Si quis autem lunam synagogam vult intellegere, ad passionem Domini referat psalmum, et de Iudaeis dicat, Quoniam quae perfecisti destruxerunt; ac de ipso Domino, Iustus autem quid fecit? quem tamquam destructorem Legis arguebant: cuius praecepta, perverse vivendo, et ea contemnendo, ac sua statuendo, destruxerant, ut ipse Dominus secundum hominem loquatur, ut solet, dicens, In Domino confido; quomodo dicitis animae meae: Transmigra in montes sicut passer?

associates the weak who waned in faith with the Passion, but who waxed strong with the Resurrection.²¹²⁰

1. 5. **Stellas.** Origen likely derived the righteous as stars from Daniel.²¹²¹ John Chrysostom held the same.²¹²² **fideles turbari.** The *lapsi*, as in Origen.²¹²³

1. 5-6. **Agitata.** Winds represent diabolical attacks in Hippolytus and Origen.²¹²⁴ **ficus.**

Perhaps both the tree and the fruit.²¹²⁵ “Agitata ficus” is the translation of Pseudo-Cyprian,

²¹²⁰ Augustinus Hipponensis, Enarrat. in Ps. 10.12 (CC SL 38, l. 1. 9-27): propter terrores scilicet eorum, qui illum apprehendere et crucifigere cupiebant: cum peccatores sagittare volentes rectos corde, id est qui Christo crediderant, in obscura luna, id est repleta peccatoribus synagoga, non absurde intellegitur. Cui congruit et quod dicitur, Dominus in templo sancto suo, Dominus in coelo sedes eius? id est, Verbum in homine, vel ipse Filius hominis qui in coelis est. Oculi eius in pauperem respiciunt: aut quem suscepit secundum Deum, aut propter quem passus est secundum hominem. Palpebrae eius interrogant filios hominum. Opertionem atque adaptionem oculorum, quod nomine palpebrarum probabile est positum, mortem resurrectionemque eius accipere possumus, ubi probavit filios hominum discipulos suos, et territos sua passione, et resurrectione laetificatos. Dominus interrogat iustum et impium: iam de coelo gubernans Ecclesiam. Qui autem diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam: quare hoc ita sit, consequentia docent; Pluet enim super peccatores laqueos, secundum superiorem expositionem accipiendum, et omnia caetera usque ad finem psalmi.

²¹²¹ Dan. 12.3. Phil. 2.15.

²¹²² Cf. Chrysostom's commenting on Is. 34.4, the verse behind Apoc. 6.13, its vine's falling leaves being analogous to the universe's failing human beings: Ioannes Chrysostomus, Cat. ad illum. 3.3 (SChr 50, l. 1-7): Τί ἐστὶν «ὡς πίπτει φύλλα ἀπὸ ἀμπέλου οὕτως οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσοῦνται»; Καθάπερ ἡ ἄμπελος ἕως μὲν ἂν τρέφῃ τοὺς βότρυας χρεῖαν ἔχει καὶ τῆς σκέπης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποθῆται τὸν καρπὸν καὶ τὴν κόμην τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ἀποτίθεται, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας ἕως μὲν ἔχῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν φύσιν, κατέχει καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ὁ οὐρανός, καθάπερ ἡ ἄμπελος τὰ φύλλα. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 180.

²¹²³ Cf. Origenes, De princ. II 10.6 (GCS 2, 180, l. 6-11): Ut autem intellegamus quia ea ratione, qua medici adiutoria languentibus adhibent, ut per curas reparent sanitatem, etiam deus agit circa eos, qui lapsi sunt et deciderunt in peccata, indicio est illud, quod per Hieremiam prophetam iubetur 'calix furoris' dei 'propinari omnibus gentibus', ut 'bibant et insaniant et evomant'. Origenes, Hom. in Gen. 1.7 (GCS 29, 9, l. 28-10, l. 3): Si vero sicut Apostoli nusquam omnino moveamur ab eo, sed semper cum eo permaneamus in omnibus tribulationibus eius, tunc nobis secreto ea, quae ad turbas locutus fuerat, exponit atque 'dissolvit', et multo clarius illuminat nos. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 180.

²¹²⁴ For the sea is the world that buffets the Ship of the Church: Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 59 (GCS 1.2, 39, l. 1-5): ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἵτινες ἐλπίζοντες εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διωκόμεθα καταπατούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων. „πλοίων γὰρ πτέρυγες“ εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι. „θάλασσα“ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὡς ναῦς ἐν πελάγει χειμάζεται μὲν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται. ἔχει γὰρ μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἔμπειρον κυβερνήτην Χριστόν; cf. the Wind of the Spirit which safely propels her: De antichr. 59 (GCS 1.2, 39, l. 11-13): ὁθόνη δὲ ταύτη λαμπρὰ πάρεστιν ὡς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, δι' οὗ σφραγίζονται οἱ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ. Origenes, Hom. in Luc. 26.4 (PG 13, 1869A-D): existimo tentationes pro vento intellegi, quae confuso credentium accervo, alios paleas, alios triticum esse demonstrant. Cum enim anima tua fuerit et aliqua tentatione superata, non tentatio te vertit in paleas; sed cum esses palea, levis videlicet et incredulus, ostendit te esse tentatio quod latebas. Econtrario autem cum fortiter tentamenta toleras, non te facit fidelem tentatio, atque patientem, sed virtutem, quae in te erat, patientiae et fortitudinis, et latebat, profert in medium. Putas enim, ait Dominus, aliter me tibi locutum fuisse quam ut pareris justus? Et

Quoduultdeus and Primasius. **grossos**. *Grossus* can mean *unripe fig* as well as *thick*.²¹²⁶ For Origen, as for Christians generally, the barren fig tree cursed by Christ, was the Synagogue, while the Church was the good sort, as for his transmitter, Gregory of Elvira.²¹²⁷ This fig has

alibi: *Affixi te, et affeci penuria, ut manifesta fierent, quae erant in corde tuo*. In hunc modum et tempestas non facit super arena aedificium consistere, sed super terram. Quae cum fuerit exorta, id quod super terram fundatum est, non everiet: quod vero super arenam fluctuat, probat illico non bene fuisse fundatum. Quapropter antequam oriatur tempestas, antequam ventorum flabra consurgant, priusquam intumescant flumina, dum adhuc silent universa, omne studium nostrum ad aedificiorum fundamenta vertamus, aedificemus domum nostram variis firmisque lapidibus praeceptorum Dei, ut cum persecutio saevierit adversus Christianos, durusque turbo surrexit, ostendamus nos habere ad aedificium super petram Christum Jesum. Si quis autem (quod procul absit a nobis) negaverit, iste sciat non se illo tempore quo negasse visus est, Christum negasse; sed semina et radices habuisse negandi jam veteres, tunc vero fuisse agnitum quod habebat, et in medium esse productum. Oremus igitur Dominum, ut simus aedificium, quod tempestas nulla subvertat, fundatum supra petram, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, cui est gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

²¹²⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *figus*, 745. RLAC, s. v. *Feige*, c. 673-674.

²¹²⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *grossus*, 831.

²¹²⁷ Moreover, Origen has as the good sort of figs (e.g. 2 Reg. 20.7) the Christians, who cleanse the (Jews in) Jerusalem which saw the Passion, and who "remain" there, in the promises (to Israel), including (Palestinian) Origen ("to each of us"), to which those others (i.e. the Jews) do not come: Origenes, Com. in Matth. 22.19 (GCS 38.2, 119, l. 22; 121, l. 5-122, l. 27): τὰ σῦκα τὰ χρηστά, ὧν ἡ παλάθη ἐθεράπευσεν Ἐζεκιάν τὸν βασιλέα. οἱ μὲν πλείους ἀνοίσουσι τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἣν εἶδον οἱ καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰδόντες. λέγει οὖν ὅτι πάντως ἐκβήσεται τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ μενεῖ ἡ γενεὰ τῶν πιστῶν ...ἡ ἐπεὶ πολύσημος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἡ γενεὰ λέξις (δηλοῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐκ περιτομῆς λαὸν καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἔθνῶν) ἀκουστέον, ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ ἐν ὄψει τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γενεὰ οὐδὲ ἐλεύσεται ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἕως οὐ πάντα ἃ εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ γένηται. καὶ ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἡμῶν ταῦτα γενέσθαι μυστικῶς δεῖ, ἐὰν ἀπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἕως τέλους ἐν πᾶσι τις διαρκέσας μείνῃ ἀπαθῆς ἄχρι τῆς ἐνδόξου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας.

Origenes, Com. in Matth. XVI 26 (GCS 40.2, l. 67-73): τοῖς γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδον τὸ τῆς ξηρανθείσης συκῆς μυστήριον καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξηράνθαι αὐτήν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα ἐξηράνθαι, ἔβλεπον γὰρ ξηρὰν τὴν συκὴν, τὸν λαὸν τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκεῖνον. Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, hom. 39 (PG 56, 843-845): Ideo ergo mane revertens esuriit: quod mysterium intelligitur ex tempore resurrectionis ejus, quando relicta est synagoga, et suscepta est Ecclesia. *Et videns fici arborem unam secus viam, venit ad eam, et nihil invenit in ea, nisi folia tantum*. Arbor fici est synagoga. Nam synagoga propter multitudinem hominum fidelium habitantium in una domo, sicut scriptum est: *Deus qui inhabitare facit unanimes in una domo* (Ps. 67.7). Denique vide ipsa folia fici, quomodo secundum similitudinem manus formata sunt. Folia autem viriditatis sunt species tantummodo sanctitatis in homine, aut sine fructu operum verba religiosa. Quicumque ergo homo religiosus, id est, arbor rationalis, profitetur se esse Dei, et justitiam non operatur, arbor est tantummodo, folia sine fructu portans, quales sumus nos, de quibus prophetavit Apostolus: *Erunt, inquit, in novissimis diebus homines seipsos amantes, cupidi pecuniarum, elati, superbi, parentibus non obedientes, voluntatis suae amatores magis quam Dei, speciem quidem pietatis habentes, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes, quos in finem maledicturus est Dominus, ut numquam ex illis fructus nascatur, sicut maledixi Judaeis, at aruerunt* (2. Tim. 3.1-5). Secus autem viam est juxta mundum. Ideo ergo nullum in Judaeis fructum Christus potuit invenire, qui juxta mundum viventes erant, id est, secundum mundum. Mundus enim *via* est communis, per quam omnes transeunt qui nascuntur, sicut exposuimus in parabola seminantis. Quicumque ergo homo fidelis, id est, arbor rationalis, juxta mundum vivens, numquam potest in se fructum justitiae tenere. Unde Paulus dicebat ad Timotheum: *Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus, ut ei placeat, cui se probavit* (2 Tim. 2.4).

...*Et ait illi: Numquam ex te fructus nascatur in sempiternam*. Non quia maledixit arborem, ideo fructus non dedit, sed quia non dabat, ideo maledixit ei, ut nec folia ipsa proferret: id est, non ideo Judaei perdidit justitiam, quia Deus eos dereliquit, sed ideo eos Deus dereliquit, quia justitiam non afferebant, ut nec ipsa species pietatis esset in eis, aut sermo. RLAC, s. v. *Feige*, c. 673-674. Daniélou, Les symboles chrétiens primitifs, 33 et seq.

the *image* of the Law, even as the grape is the *figure* of Christ.²¹²⁸ Only the pomegranate has the honour of *unambiguously* representing the Church;²¹²⁹ of which the Jews were naturally unworthy,²¹³⁰ the Promised Land's consisting in, as for Terullian, the flesh of Christ, in which dwell the *true Israelites*.²¹³¹ Jerome represents Christians by both a fig and an olive tree.²¹³²

Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 11 (CC SL 69, l. 161-198): Nam et sicut ficus primitiuos fructus suos aridos et inutiles deicit in terram et sic denuo alterus renouat, quos pingui dulcedini procreatos ad maturitatem debitam profert, ita lex prisca, quam diximus imaginem ficus habere, primitiuum populum iudaeorum inutilem, id est peccatorem proiecit et exinde eiectis, ut uerbo graeco utar, sicofantis, id est primitiuo populo israhelis postea per xpistum pingues et uberes euangeliorum fructus dulcissimi saporis renouabit in nobis. Nam est genus ficus, quod et ipsos primitiuos fructus suos usque ad maturitatem adducit, quod bifera appellatur, sicut scriptum est: dilexit eos dominus sicut praecursores ficus. Sed praecursores patriarchae sunt et prophetae, qui et in ueteri testamento fructum iustitiae praetulerunt aduentum xpisti praedicantes et in nouo spem habentes euangeliorum dulcissimam gratiam perceperunt. Ceterum de populo israel, sed et de nostro hieremias ait: et ostendit mihi dominus duos cofinos ficus, unum optimorum, alterum pessimorum. Quod quidem, ut saepe dixi, duorum populorum iam tunc imaginem indicabat; duo etenim illi quofini sinagogae et ecclesiae ex gentibus figura erat. Vnde et ille cofinos pessimorum ficorum reprobam sinagogae plebem ostendit; qui uero obtimorum erat, suauissimum ac pinguisimum in fidem ac ueritate ecclesiae populum portendebat; qui licet ex unius arboris, id est ex unius legis radice nascantur, tamen in fidei fructibus distinguntur. Alia est enim ficus, quae prima cum folia nascitur, sed ad maturitatem non potest peruenire, quod contigit populo iudaeorum, qui cum ipsa folia ficus, id est cum prima ipsa uerba diuinae legis est generatus, sed ad perfectionem maturitatis euangelicae peruenire non meruit, alia uero, quae amissis primitiuis fructibus postea reparatur quaeque in scripturis diuinis optima deputatur, quod est populus xpistianorum, qui post offensionem iudaeorum diuinae dulcedinis gratiam consecutus est, sicut scriptum est: in tua dulcedine praeparasti populo tuo, et: gustate et uidete, quia suauis est dominus. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n. 74.

²¹²⁸ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 11 (CC SL 69, l. 198-205): Vnde iam planum uobis esse debet, dilectissimi fratres, ficum istam imaginem legis habuisse, sicut et botrus constit[ui]t <xpisti esse figura>, quia xpistus sine lege nec lex sine xpisto esse potest; testimonium enim euangelii lex est et euangelium complementum est legis.

²¹²⁹ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 11 (CC SL 69, l. 205-242).

²¹³⁰ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 11 (CC SL 69, l. 241-245): Et ideo haec omnia quia in figura diuinae legis, sed et xpisti ecclesiae populo israhel offerebantur et illi non solum indignos se huius gratiae accipiendae iudicarunt, uerum et ad aegyptum, id est ad saeculum redire uoluerunt, nec terram repromissionis fluentem lac et mel percipere meruerunt.

²¹³¹ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. 11 (CC SL 69, l. 245-258): Quae enim terra est, a qua lac et mel fluere scriptura testatur? si enim iudaeam dixeris, nemo adhuc umquam aut mel de petra aut lac de terra fluere meminit. Sed terra de qua lac et mel fluere dicitur, caro est xpisti, ex qua lac priscae legis fluens ad alimenta credentibus datur et mel, id est suauitas euangeliorum ex redun<dan>tia xpisti tribuitur, sicut et uinum nouum ex botro qui in falanga adlatus est et legis maturitas in ficum et malam punicam in ecclesiae unitate. Sed et omnia bona caelestis regni quae iudaeis repromissa erant nos per fidem xpisti consecuti sumus, qui ueri israhelitae a domino noncupamur. Praestabit nobis haec omnia deus pater omnipotens per domino nostro ihesu xpisto. Amen.

²¹³² Jerome explicates Is. 24.13-15, the rejoicing of the few Jews-gentiles left in the land-earth *i.e.* the few olive gleanings, as the few saints-Christians left after the persecution of Antichrist, employing the reference to the sea (Is. 24.14) as proving no reference to Judea is intended, rather the gentile churches of the world: Hieronymus, Com. in Is. VIII 24.14 (CC SL 73, l. 6-39): Quantum ab Hebraica ueritate in hoc loco LXX distet translatio, sequentia uerba monstrabunt. LXX: Quomodo si quis excutiat olivam, sic excutient eos: et si quiescat uindemia, isti clamore uociferabuntur. Qui autem relictis fuerint super terram, laetabuntur simul cum gloria Domini, conturbabitur aqua maris, propterea gloria Domini in insulis erit maris, nomen Domini gloriosum erit, Domini Dei Israel. Relictis hominibus paucis, quando maledictio vorauerit terram, et in urbe fuerit solitudo, et haec universa contigerint in medio terrae, in medio populorum et gentium, tanta erit sanctorum paucitas, de quibus Dominus loquitur in Evangelio: Multi uocati, et pauci electi (Matth. 20.16): et tam uehemens pressura iustorum, ut tententur, si fieri potest, etiam electi Dei: et paucitas eorum baccis olivarum rarissimis comparetur, quae cum

l. 6-7. **Caelum.** For Origen, the sky is the Church, abode of the believers-stars.²¹³³ **inuolui.**

Translates ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον. **ecclesia de medio fit.** A gloss on ὁ οὐρανὸς

ἀπεχωρίσθη.²¹³⁴ The sky's rolling up is thus the Woman-Church's flight into the wilderness:

excussae fuerint atque demessae, vix paucae remanent in ramorum cacumine; et quomodo cum fuerit finita vindemia, solent pauperes, egestate cogente, vacuas circuire vites, et pauca uvarum grana colligere. Hi igitur qui remanserint, et post vindemiam mundi atque pressuram, manus quiverint Antichristi persequentis effugere, sive poenae imminenti ardores, levabunt voces suas in sublime, Deumque laudabunt. Quando venerit Dominus in gloria Patris sui, cum Angelis sanctis, et eum viderint in majestate regnantem, tunc hinnient in equorum similitudinem, laetitiae magnitudine gestientes, et hinnient de mari hujus saeculi. Propterea qui nunc in Scripturis sanctis eruditi estis, et scitis vobis tantum gaudium tantaque praemia reservari, in doctrinis glorificate Dominum, audientes illud quod scriptum est: Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur (2 Cor. 10.17). Nequaquam in terra Judaeae, sed in insulis, id est, in Ecclesiis hujus maris et saeculi, in quibus benedicitur atque laudatur nomen Domini Dei quondam Israel, sive, hominis videntis Deum. Juxta LXX, omnia quae de sanctis intelleximus, referri possunt ad impios, quod cum fuerit finita vindemia, tunc illi clament in suppliciis constituti. Qui autem evaserint impiorum numerum laentur in gloria Domini, et conturbentur aquae populorum hujus saeculi.

Of course the fact that Jerome is making this claim in Judea (Judenrein, in Christian terms) is not one he might like to address: clearly a Holy Land already cleansed of Jews must occupy a special place among earthly churches.

Jerome also comments on Nah. 3.12, a verse behind Apoc. 6.13, which but refers it historically to the soldiers of Nineveh, but *via* a reference to Amon of Egypt (later Alexandria; Nah. 3.8: Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. 3 (In Nah. (CC SL 76A, l. 265-277), the Stridonian later (inevitably) succeeds it getting it to refer allegorically to the Jews, *via* Ez. 16.3, who are, of course, the bad, unripe figs par excellence: Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. 3 (In Nah. (CC SL 76A, l. 403-433): Et interpretabimur non esse finem fugae Ninive a Deo: quia semper profectum habeat in fugiendo, et numquam velit consistere, secundum illud quod supra diximus: Et ipsi fugientes non steterunt, et non erat qui respiceret. Et dicemus, ideo Scripturam sanctam his difficultatibus esse contextam, et maxime prophetas, qui aenigmatibus pleni sunt, ut difficultatem sensuum, difficultas quoque sermonis involvat: ut non facile pateat sanctum canibus, et margaritae porcis, et profanis sancta sanctorum. Quod si voluerimus Ammon interpretari super filiis Loth, dicamus Loth habuisse ex duabus filiabus duos filios, Moab et Ammon, quorum senior Moab interpretatur ex patre, sive aqua paterna: junior vero Ammon, vel filius generis mei, vel populus noster (Gen. 19). Et arbitror quemadmodum qui ex Juda natus fuerat propter peccatum dicitur ad eum: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda (Dan. 13.56). Et in Ezechiele ad Jerusalem peccatricem [Al. meretricem]: Radix tua et generatio tua de terra Chanaan, pater tuus Amorrhaeus [Al. Chananaeus], et mater tua Cethaea (Ez. 16.3): sic eos quicumque fuerunt de priori populo, hoc est, de Judaeis; et de juniore, id est, de nostris, Moabitas et Ammonitas figuraliter appellari. Et quia declinaverunt a patre suo (Loth quippe declinatio interpretatur), poenae subjiciendos et passuros omnia quae supra exposuimus. Si autem ab his qui sancti quondam fuerant, Dei severitas incipit, et illa quae habitabat inter flumina, gehennae igne purgabitur: quanto magis Ninive quae ante non habuit legem, nec recepit jugum praeceptorum Dei, propter superbiam suam ad extremum in os corruet devorantis! Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 184; 2, 3.3, n. 73, 75, 76, 80.

For Jerome, the foremost among plants, biblically speaking, are the fig, olive and vine: Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. II 3 (SL 76A, In Abacuc, l. 1232-1236): sed numquam super ligna siluarum, quae debentur incendio, regnat oliua, ficus et uinea, sed magis imperat eis rhamnus plena sentibus, et hericio similis, qui habitat in babylone, et semper uersatur in foueis.

²¹³³ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 184; Sur l'Apocalypse, 180.

²¹³⁴ Apoc. 6.14 (p. 644 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν.

“de medio fit” surely echoes ἐξέλθατε, ὁ λαός μου, ἐξ αὐτῆς.²¹³⁵ *Fieri de medio* is an unusual formula, perhaps reflecting Victorinus’ need to avoid expressions such as *excedere* or *abire e medio*, meaning *to die*; while *recedere de medio*, meaning *to withdraw*,²¹³⁶ may be insufficient. Cf. Irenaeus’ “hinc assumetur”.²¹³⁷ Victorinus glosses καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον. The use of *facere* may echo the spiritual nature of “factus sum in spiritu”.²¹³⁸

l. 7-9. **Et mons et insulae.** Apoc. 6.14 reads “every mountain and island”.²¹³⁹ Victorinus reads “a/the mountain and islands”. Perhaps he has in mind the Church as Mount Zion. Further, Theophilus’ of Antioch or Irenaeus’ view of the waves’ of the world battering the Church²¹⁴⁰ may induce Victorinus’ view of islands as believers or individual churches.

²¹³⁵ Apoc. 18.4 (p. 667-668 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἤκουσα ἄλλην φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν, ἐξέλθατε, ὁ λαός μου, ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ συγκοινωνήσητε ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῆς ἵνα μὴ λάβητε.

²¹³⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *medius* II. B. 1., 1126.

²¹³⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 29.1 (SChr 153, l. 17-22): Et propterea, *cum in fine repente hinc Ecclesia assumetur*, erit, inquit, tribulatio qualis non est facta *ab initio* neque fiet: novissimus enim agon hic justorum, in quo vincentes coronantur incorruptelam.

²¹³⁸ Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 19).

²¹³⁹ Apoc. 6.14 (p. 644 Nestle-Aland).

²¹⁴⁰ On the Sea of the world, perilous Winds-Heresies can wreck the unwary Christian's Ship: Theophilus Antiochenus, Ad Auto. II 14 (l. 22-31 Grant): καὶ ὡς περ αὐτῶν νῆσοί εἰσιν ἕτεραι πετρώδεις καὶ ἄνυδροι καὶ ἄκαρποι καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ ἀοίκητοι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν πλεόντων καὶ χειμαζομένων, ἐν αἷς περιπεύρεται τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐξαπόλλυνται ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ κατερχόμενοι, οὕτως εἰσιν αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῆς πλάνης, λέγω δὲ τῶν αἰρέσεων, αἱ ἐξαπολλύουσιν τοὺς προσιόντας αὐταῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὁδηγοῦνται ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ πειρᾶται, ἐπὶ πλῆρωσιν τὰς ναῦς, ἐπὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους περιπεύρουσιν ὅπως ἐξαπολέσωσιν αὐτάς, οὕτως συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς πλανωμένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πλάνης.

For Irenaeus, the gentile(s)-churches are particularly designated by "islands", which dwell in the midst of the World-Sea: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 34.3 (SChr 153, l. 63-72): Quoniam autem repromissiones non solum prophetis et patribus, sed Ecclesiis ex gentibus coadunatis annuntiabantur, quas et insulas nuncupat Spiritus, eo quod in medio turbulae sint constitutae et tempestatem blasphemiorum sufferant et salutaris portus periclitantibus exsistant et refugium sunt eorum qui altitudinem ament et Bythum, id est profundum, erroris conantur effugere, Jeremias ita ait: Audite verbum Domini, gentes, et annuntiate insulis quae longe sunt.

For Jerome the inlands-ships of Ez. 26.15-18 are the Christians-saints, to whom the fall of Tyre and the princes of the sea is a lesson in the penalty for (even Christian) hubris, which necessarily must "shake" them into humility: Hieronymus, In Ez. VIII 26 (CC SL 75, l. 619-644): et descendit de throno superbiae suae omnes qui in saeculi huius salsugine principes uidebantur, et, humilitate deiecti, auferent diademata de capitibus suis quae uidebantur bonis operibus possidere, et uestimenta uaria diuersitate uirtutum abicient, et induentur stupore siue timoris magnitudine quodammodo uidebuntur insani, sedebunt que humi, et stupentes super repentino casu eius admirabuntur, intantum ut omnes assumant planctum et lamentationem super eum qui corruit, et dicant: quomodo peristi, qui prius saluus eras; quomodo corruisti, qui tanto tempore steteras, qui in

nouissima persecutione omnes recessisse de suis locis. “Recessisse” is a form of the third person plural perfect subjunctive rare in Victorinus. It could refer to departure from *doctrine*, yet Victorinus clarifies it further: **id est boni mouebuntur persecutionem fugientes.** This makes clear he means a *temporal dispersion* of Christians, perhaps analogous to that of Jews.²¹⁴¹ The double clarification may mean that Victorinus would first give a tropological interpretation to his congregation in a time of peace, while the second would apply during persecution. This suggests that Victorinus is indeed writing in a relatively peaceful period, albeit in expectation of the great tribulation.

6.6.

1. 2-4. **gentes sunt quattuor, quia omni genti a Deo deputatus est angelus, sicut lex dicit:**

Statuit eos per numerum angelorum Dei. Cf. the LXX of Deut. 32.8, ἀγγέλων θεοῦ,

mari huius saeculi inter omnes inclutus putabaris, qui eras cunctorum opinione robustus; et habitatores tui, hoc est cogitationes fortissimae aduersum omnia ignita diaboli iacula resistentes, quae prius erant formidini omnibus aduersariis, uersae sunt in stuporem! sed et naues, omnes uidelicet sancti, qui huius saeculi fluctus transeunt, obstupescunt, cum te uiderint concidisse, in die pauoris et ruinae tuae, et turbabuntur insulae, ne et ipsae similia sustineant - aliorum enim ruinae exempla iustorum sunt, dum omnes infirmo et imbecillo statu fluctuanti que uestigio in isto saeculo commoramur, et numquam est nostra certa secunda que uictoria, quando egredientur ex te qui prius steterant, uel in exitu tuo, in fine et consummatione tua -. non enim ex praeteritis, sed ex praesentibus iudicamur; cauendum que est et semper timendum, ne ueterem gloriam et solidam firmitatem unius horae procella subuertat; Tract. in Ps. 96 (CC SL 78, l. 28-42; PL 26, 1116A-B): laetentur insulae multae bene dixit de animabus nostris sanctus presbyter, quae uariis cogitationibus quasi uariis hinc inde tunduntur fluctibus. nos autem dicamus et insulas ecclesias. denique dicitur et in alio loco: 'conuertentur ad me insulae multae'. uultis scire quoniam insulae dicantur ecclesiae? dictum est in propheta ex persona domini: 'loquere, inquit, habitatoribus insulae huius'. laetentur insulae multae. quomodo enim insulae in medio mari positae sunt, sic et ecclesiae quasi in medio mari saeculi istius positae sunt, et ita persecutionibus quasi diuersis tunduntur fluctibus. uerum istae insulae tunduntur cotidie, sed non subruuntur. in mari quidem sunt, sed habent fundamentum xpistum, qui moueri non potest.

So long as Christians are beset by temptations they live on a kind of island, their boats borne upon the waves: Hieronymus, Com. in Is. VII 23.1 (CC SL 73, l. 30-32): habitamus autem in insula, quamdiu temptationibus huius saeculi tundimur. et ex omni parte nostra insula atque nauicula maris feritur flucti. The venal and mercantile are on the island of Tyre, prone to the winds of heresy: Hieronymus, Com. in Is. VII 23.1 (CC SL 73, l. 27-30): nulli enim alii similes sunt qui habitant in insula ista, nisi negotiatoribus, siue translatoribus qui circumferuntur omni uento doctrinae, et de aliis ad alia uitia transeunt.. Cf. Daniélou, Théologie du Judéochristianisme, 124.

²¹⁴¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 184.

angels of God,²¹⁴² where the Hebrew has לַאֲנֹכִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, *sons of Israel*.²¹⁴³ Thus Victorinus deduces an angel for each nation and, from the four angels/winds four particular nations.²¹⁴⁴ Commodian, who may or may not have preceded Victorinus, specifies these as the Persians, Medes, Chaldeans and Babylonian, regardless of chronology.²¹⁴⁵

1. 4-6. **Donec sanctorum compleatur.** Presumably those who comprise the Church which *de medio fit*.²¹⁴⁶ **suos non egrediuntur terminos** *i.e.* the *angels/nations* will not transgress their borders. **cum Antichristo uenient.** A belief that Nero would return from beyond the Euphrates *accompanied by*, perhaps, the Persians, Medes, Chaldeans and Babylonians; and thence march on Rome, as found in Commodian.²¹⁴⁷ The belief that Nero survived and fled to Parthia, or the East, had appeared in the *Sibylline Oracles*, Tacitus, the *Ascension of Isaiah* (and would do so in the Babylonian Talmud, as a tradition that Nero converted to Judaism and begat, ultimately R. Meir!).²¹⁴⁸ Victorinus and Commodian believed Nero had truly died, however, and would rise from hell itself.

²¹⁴² Deut. 32. 8 (p. 347 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ὅτε διεμέρψιζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.

²¹⁴³ Deut. 32.8 (p. 345 Elliger-Rudolph).

²¹⁴⁴ RLAC, s. v. *Archonten*, c. 632. Bietenhard, *Die Himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 108-113. Daniélou, *Les anges et leur mission d'après les Péres*, 25-27. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 182; 2, 3.3, n. 54.

²¹⁴⁵ Commodianus, *Carm. de duob. pop.* (CC SL 128, l. 905-907): Siccatur fluius euphrates denique totus, ut uia paretur regi cum gentibus illis. Persae, medi simul caldae, babyloni uenibunt. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 311; 2, 6.1, n. 35.

²¹⁴⁶ Victorinus Poetouiensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 6.5 (SChr 423, 84, l. 7).

²¹⁴⁷ Commodianus, *Carm. de duob. pop.* (CC SL 128, l. 907-910): Siccatur fluius euphrates denique totus, ut uia paretur regi cum gentibus illis. Persae, medi simul caldae, babyloni uenibunt, inmites et agiles, qui nesciant ulli dolore hic ergo exoriens cum coeperit inde uenire, turbatur que nero et senatus proxime uisum. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 311; 2, 6.1, n. 34.

²¹⁴⁸ *Oracula Sibyllina* 4 119-124 (GCS 8, l. 119-224): καὶ τότε ἀπ' Ἰταλίας βασιλεὺς μέγας οἶά τε δράστης φεύξεται ἄφαντος ἄπυστος ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐφρήταο, ὁππότε δὴ μητρῶον ἄγος στυγεροῖο φόνιοι τλήσεται ἄλλα τε πολλά, κακῇ σὺν χειρὶ πιθήσας. πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφὶ θρόνον Ἰώμης πέδον αἰμάξουσιν κείνου ἀποδρήσαντος ὑπὲρ Παρθήδα γαῖαν; 138-139 (GCS 8, 138-139): ἤξει καὶ Ἰώμης ὁ φυγᾶς, μέγα ἔγχος αἰείρας, Εὐφρήτην διαβὰς πολλαῖς ἅμα μυριάδεσσιν. P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Hist.* I 2.1 (p. 2, l. 6-13 Heubner): quattuor principes ferro interempti; trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta; prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res: turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et statim missa, coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio; II 8.1 (p. 55, l. 30-33 Heubner): Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eo que pluribus vivere

6.7.

l. 1-2. **turba multa ex omni tribu...numerum ostendit** *i.e.* the *sanctorum compleatur numerus*, above.²¹⁴⁹

l. 2-4. **Per sanguinem agni –baptismo purgati- suas stolas fecerunt candidas.** Victorinus seems to conflate Apoc. 7.14's distinguishing between the saints' having *washed their robes* and having *made them white in the blood of the Lamb*.²¹⁵⁰ "Per sanguinem agni" seems to intimate the latter, but is confused with "baptismo purgati", which seems to stand in for the former. Only Victorinus uses *purgare* over the usual Latin *lauare* (which is sometimes omitted: perhaps he was imitating *purgatus*' pagan use for *excused* or *exculpated*).²¹⁵¹

"Fecerunt eas candidas" is the translation of Cyprian, the *Gigas*, *Codex Bezae* and *Beatus* (W-W), and follows an older western tradition.²¹⁵² **seruantes gratiam quam acceperunt.**

Tertullian distinguishes between *washing by baptism* and *making white by martyrdom*.²¹⁵³

eum fingentibus credentibus que; 8.1-9.2 (p. 55, l. 33-56, l. 27 Heubner). Asc. Is. 4.2-4 (Aeth.: p. 95 Charles; p. 24-25 Charles (trans.)); Tract. Bab. Git. 56a 1.4 A-D (p. 240 Neusner (trans.)):

שדר עלוייהו לנירון קיסר כי קאתי שדא גירא למזרח אתא נפל בירושלים למערב אתא נפל בירושלים לארבע רוחות השמים אתא נפל בירושלים א"ל לינוקא פסוק לי פסוקיך אמר ליה (יחזקאל כה) ונתתי את נקמתי באדום ביד עמי ישראל וגו' אמר קודשא בריך הוא בעי לחרובי ביתיה ובעי לכפורי ידיה בההוא גברא ערק ואזל ואיגייר ונפק מיניה ר"מ

. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 165, n. 72.

²¹⁴⁹ Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com, in Apoc. 6.6, l. 5.

²¹⁵⁰ Apoc. 7.14: καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ, κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. καὶ εἶπέν μοι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἁρνίου.

²¹⁵¹ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *purgare* II. 2. B., 1493.

²¹⁵² Martine Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio* 1, 184; 2, 3.3, n. 68.

²¹⁵³ Tertullianus, *Scorp.* 12.10 (CC SL 2, 174, l. 1-7): Submit Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albat et palmis uictoriae insignes reuelantur, scilicet de antichristo triumphantes, sicut unus ex presbyteris, hi sunt, ait, qui ueniunt ex illa pressura magna et lauerunt uestimentum suum et candidauerunt ipsum in sanguine agni. Vestitus enim animae caro. Sordes quidem baptismate abluuntur, masculae uero martyrio candidantur.

Even as Victorinus glosses “stolas albas” by “pro corporis sui solatio”,²¹⁵⁴ Tertullian writes “uestitus...animae, caro”, *the clothing of the soul is flesh*. This strongly suggests “seruantes gratiam quam acceperunt” interprets “suas stolas fecerunt candidas” as martyrdom, though Dulaey prefers “persévérance dans la grâce baptismale”.²¹⁵⁵

l. 5-7. **semihora**. In Victorinus’ scheme, this is equivalent to the three and half years during which Elijah and Jeremiah preach repentance to Jews and gentiles. **initium est quietis aeternae**. *Quies aeternae* is the Sabbath of history, the seventh Millennium of Christ’s reign on earth, yet nevertheless only the *beginning of the rest (!) of eternity*. **partem intellexit i.e.** John understands “initium quietis aeternitatis” as only *a part of what is to come*. **interrupto silentium**. The silence is broken by the coming of Antichrist. **eadem per ordinem repetit**. Victorinus’ first formulation of the principle of *recapitulation*. What follows is not necessarily chronologically sequential after what has been narrated hitherto, but somehow occurs simultaneously. Both Irenaeus and Origen thought the Beginning *i.e.* Christ, his ministry, passion, resurrection and ascension had come at the End; and that an end is like a beginning.

l. 7-8. **Nam si esset iuge silentium, hic finis narrandi fieret**. Victorinus sums up the problem eternity poses for storytelling, analogous, perhaps, to infinity for theoretical physicists.

Chapter 7.1.

7.1.

²¹⁵⁴ Victorinus Poetouiensis, Com. in Apoc. 6.4 (SChr 423, 82, l. 23-25).

²¹⁵⁵ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 181.

l. 1-4. **Angelum autem descendentem.** Hausseleiter keeps this reading, despite “ascendentem” being the reading of Jerome’s tradition²¹⁵⁶ and all MSS of Revelation.²¹⁵⁷ **ab oriente sole. Heliam prophetam dicit.** Irenaeus had placed both Elijah and Enoch bodily in paradise *i.e.* in the garden of Eden, planted in the *east i.e. the rising of the sun.*²¹⁵⁸ The conflation of Paradise with heaven, in which the sun is located, may perhaps explain why Victorinus’ Elijah is apparently “descending” from it. Origen had addressed the name of “Eden”’s meaning “sweet”, and its in fact pre-existing the planting of the garden,²¹⁵⁹ echoing the rabbinic discussion as to whether the garden was in Eden or Eden in the garden.²¹⁶⁰ Thus, perhaps, for Victorinus, if the the garden was “in the east”, it might be perpetually in the rising sun itself. The Poetivian is also surely so deducing from the association in his eyes of *Ἡλίου, Elijah*, and the Greek of Apoc.7. 2: *ἡλίου*, “of the sun”. In any case, the matter typifies Victorinus’ nebulous geography and meteorology. For Origen, the seal of the angel of Apoc. 7.2 bears “the name of the Lamb”.²¹⁶¹ **qui anticipaturus est tempora Antichristi.** A Hellenistic Jewish author had already written that Elijah would return to stay the wrath of

²¹⁵⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 7.1 (R. H.; p. 81 Hausseleiter).

²¹⁵⁷ *E.g.* Apoc. 7.2 (VL; Caesarius Arelatensis, Expos. in Apoc. 6 (p. 226, l. 2 Morin): ET VIDI ALIUM ANGELUM ASCENDENTEM AB ORTU SOLIS Alium angelum, eandem ecclesiam catholicam dicit.

²¹⁵⁸ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 5.1 (SChr 153, l. 8-11): Quid autem de illis dicimus, quandoquidem Enoch placens Deo in quo placuit corpore translatus esto, translationem justorum praemonstrans, et Helias sicut erat in plasmatis substantia assumptus est, assumptionem patrum prophetans? ; V 5.1 (SChr 153, l. 18-20): Ubi ergo primus positus est homo? scilicet in paradiso, quemadmodum Scriptura dicit: Et plantavit Deus paradisum in Eden *contra* orientem et posuit ibi hominem quem plasmavit.

²¹⁵⁹ Origenes, Sel. in Gen. (PG 12, 100, l. 7-16): Οὐκοῦν παραδεδώκασιν Ἑβραῖοι, ὅτι ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐφύτευσεν τὸν παράδεισον ἢ τὸν κήπον Κύριος ὁ Θεός, Ἐδέμ καλεῖται· καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν μέσον εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ· διὸ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Φείσων, ἐρμηνεύεσθαι στόμα κόρης, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Ἐδέμ ἐκπορευομένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πρώτου. Ὁ δὲ παραδιδόασιν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· Ἐδέμ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται ἡδὺ, ἦν πρὶν τὸν κήπον γενέσθαι· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὁ κήπος ἐφυτεύθη.

²¹⁶⁰ de Lange, Origen and the Jews, 125.

²¹⁶¹ Origenes, Com. in Io. I (SChr 120, l. 1-5): Τίς <ἄν> οὖν ἄλλη εἶη ἡ σφραγὶς ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων ἢ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρνίου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς τόποις τῶν μετώπων λεγομένων ἔχειν πῆ μὲν τὴν σφραγίδα πῆ δὲ τὰ γράμματα περιέχοντα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρνίου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

the Day of the Lord, for the sake of the elect.²¹⁶² Hippolytus specifies Elijah is one of the two forerunners of the Lord's return,²¹⁶³ while Pseudo-Cyprian stipulates Elijah and Enoch must come before the great persecution.²¹⁶⁴ **ad restituendas ecclesias.** Echoes the language of the Matth. 17.11 in the VL;²¹⁶⁵ and suggests a Christian interpretation of Elijah's restoring the tribes of Israel in Ecclesiasticus.²¹⁶⁶ **ab intolerabili persecutione.** The Great Tribulation.

²¹⁶² Ecclus. 48.10 (p. 468 Rahlfs-Hanhart): qui in scriptis es indicium temporum et lenis iracundiam Domini conciliare cor patris ad filium et restituere tribus Iacob. Briere-Narbonne, Les prophéties messianiques de l'Ancien Testament dans la littérature juive, 75. RLAC, s. v. *Elias*, c. 1147. Dionysius bar Salibi, Com in Apoc. 11.3 (CSCO 101.2, 13, l. 27-14, l. 11 (trans.)): Et dabo duos testes meos et prophelabunt, et cetera; h. e. venient duo testes, prophetae Henoch et Elias. Et vocat eos duas olivas, sicut eos vocavit Zacharias Et de Elia dixit Dominus noster: «Eliam oportet venire ut stabiliat omnia». Illos dicit facturos esse miracula et signa et adducturos plagas super infideles ut sit requies fidelibus. Illi duo prophetae surgent adversus Antichristum, quemadmodum surrexerunt Moses et Aron adversus Pharaonem et Aegyptios. Fient autem haec «in dimidio hebdomadis», quando disperget Antichristus omnes, ita ut non possint duo vel tres congregari ad offerendum sacrificium Deo. Tunc adimplebitur illud: «Deficiet hostia». Dein, illis ibi occisis a pseudochristo, resurgent coram multis et «in nubibus rapientur, in occursum Domini nostri» «in dimidio hebdomadis». Dicit Iohannes: Accipieni potestatem Henoch et Elias et praedicabunt dies mille et ducentos et sexaginta, amicti saccis, et docentes poenitentiam populum et gentes. Illi dies sunt «dimidium hebdomadis». Et illae «duae olivae et duo candelabra» sunt, sicut dixit Zacharias, Henoch et Elias. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 184; 3.3, n. 69.

²¹⁶³ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 46 (GCS 1.2, l. 7-12): ἀναγκαίως δεῖ τοὺς προδρόμους αὐτοῦ πρώτους φανερωθῆναι, καθὼς διὰ Μαλαχία τοῦ ἀγγέλου φησὶν· „πέμψω ὑμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεοσβίτην πρὶν ἢ ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίας πατέρων πρὸς τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων, μήποτε ἔλθῶν πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.“

²¹⁶⁴ Cyprianus Carthagenensis (pseudo), De Pasc. comp. 14 (CSEL 3.3, 261, l. 24-262, l. 16): quam hebdomadam recognoscimus habere annos septem: in quibus oportet primo Enoch et Eliam venire, et per suam prophetiam magnae multitudini euangelium id est novum testamentum confirmare. sic etenim audiimus angelum Danielo dixisse: confirmabit testamentum multis hebdomas una. et in dimidio, inquit, hebdomadis auferetur meum sacrificium et libatio. dimidium autem hebdomadis tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis ostendit: quod est triennium et menses sex, qui sunt dies secundum Apocalypsin mille CCLX. in quibus diebus ille antichristus magnam faciet uastationem: et ideo tunc nemo Christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre, quoniam ipse antichristus incipiet in templo Dei consedere et ignorantibus se Deum affirmare: quem oportet Iesum Dominum et saluatorem nostrum spiritu oris sui interficere et praesentia aduentus sui euacuare et in ipso mundum consummare, sicut scriptum est: et super illud sanctum execratio uastationum, et usque ad consummationem temporis consummatio dabitur super hanc uastationem.

²¹⁶⁵ E.g. Matth. 17.11 (VL; Cod. e; p. 6 Belsheim): Ille autem respondit et dixit helias quidem ueniet et disponet omnia; (VL; Cod. b; p. 23 Belsheim): Ad ipse respondens ait: Helias quidem uenturus est restituere omnia; (VL; Cod. d; p. 48 Scrivener): qui respondens ait: helias quidem uenit restituere omnia; (VL; Cod. c; p. Belsheim): At ipse respondens ait Helias quidem uenturus est et restituere omnia. Cf. Dionysius bar Salibi, Com in Apoc. 11.3 (CSCO 101.2, 13, l. 30 (trans.)): Et dabo duos testes meos et prophelabunt, et cetera; h. e. venient duo testes, prophetae Henoch et Elias. Et vocat eos duas olivas, sicut eos vocavit Zacharias Et de Elia dixit Dominus noster: «Eliam oportet venire ut stabiliat omnia».

²¹⁶⁶ Ecclus. 48.10 (p. 468 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2). Commodian redacts for Christian purposes a Jewish hope of the restoration of the lost nine and a half tribes, from beyond the Euphrates. It is these that in large part comprise the elect of Apoc. 7.3-8: ²¹⁶⁶ Commodianus, Carm. de duob. pop. (CC SL 128, l. 941-996). Charlesworth, Jesus and Archaeology, 431. Fuller, The restoration of Israel: Israel's re-gathering and the fate of the nations in early Jewish literature and Luke-Acts, 80-81; n. 251.

l. 6. **Thesbitem**. Though this appears not in Luc. 1.17, rather the LXX of Mal. 3.23,²¹⁶⁷

Victorinus may have knowledge of a punning derivation of תִּשְׁבִּי, *Tishbi, Tishbite*, from the

hebrew root, שׁוּב, *shuv*, a verb with multiple meanings, fundamentally *turn back, return*;²¹⁶⁸

thence הִשְׁבִּי, *hēshīv*, *bring back* (Mal. 4.6; of the heart), *restore* (not necessarily merely

figuratively);²¹⁶⁹ hence ἀποκαταστήσει (LXX: Mal. 3.24)²¹⁷⁰ / “conuertet” (VL: Mal.

4.6);²¹⁷¹ as also deduced by Jerome.²¹⁷² Such Hebraic knowledge, likely indirect, would

probably derive from a Jewish Christian source. Nor would a temporal sense of *restore*

necessarily deter Victorinus' chiasm. **corda**. The LXX and VL have the singular;²¹⁷³ Luke

²¹⁶⁷ Mal. 3.23 (p. 565 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἴδου ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν Ἡλιαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆς.

²¹⁶⁸ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, שׁוּב, 996.

²¹⁶⁹ Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, שׁוּב, *bring back* (of the heart), *restore* (but also with a suggestion of *physical* return or restoration: the concepts of repentance and consequent restoration are hardly separable, biblically), g, 2.a, 999.

²¹⁷⁰ Mal. 3.24 (p. 565 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.

²¹⁷¹ Mal. 3.23-24 (LXX; p. 565 Rahlfs 2): καὶ ἴδου ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν Ἡλιαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆς ἡ ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην. Mal. 4.6 (VL; Petrus Chrysologus, Sermo 91 (CC SL 24A, l. 84-88): Erit enim magnus coram domino, et uinum et siceram non bibet, et spiritu sancto replebitur adhuc in utero matris suae, et multos filiorum israel conuertet ad dominum deum ipsorum; et ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu et uirtute eliae, ut conuertat corda patrum in filios et incredulos ad prudentiam iustorum, parare domino plebem perfectam; et v. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 10.1 (SChr 211, l. 33-35): Et propter hoc conuertens eos ad Dominum eorum praeparabat Domino populum perfectum in Spiritu et uirtute Heliae.

Origen understands the verse by interpreting Ps. 45.16 (LXX: 44.17), concerning the sons the virgin bride of Israel will raise in place of her fathers: with standard Christian replacement-displacement Malachai's reconciling of fathers to sons becomes the sons-(largely gentile) Christians' replacing-displacing the fathers-Jews: Origenes, Frag. in Luc. 15 (GCS 49 (35), l. 1-9): Τὸ δέ· ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα· μετήλθε δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωάννην. ἀλλὰ μὴ <ὡς> ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς φύσεως βούλεται καρδίας τέκνων ἀκολουθεῖν μᾶλλον πατράσιν, οὐ πατέρας δουλεύειν υἱοῖς· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βούλεται τῷ νέῳ λαῷ δεῖν τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν, ὃς ἐν χώρᾳ ἦν πατέρων, ὃ δὲ δεύτερος καὶ νέος ἐν χώρᾳ υἱῶν—ἀντὶ γὰρ <τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγεννήθησαν υἱοὶ σοι—ἀντιστρέφει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἀποκαθιστᾷ τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐρμηνεύων δέ, τίνες οἱ πατέρες, τίνες δὲ τὰ τέκνα, ἐπιφέρει· <καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίωνᾶ. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς παλαιοὺς παρὰ Ἰουδαίους τῇ φρονήσει τῶν δικαίων ἀκολουθῆσαι.

²¹⁷² Hieronymus, Lib. interpr. Hebr. nom. (CC SL 72, 44, l. 1): thesbi captiuans siue conuertens.

²¹⁷³ Mal. 3.24 (MT; p. 1123 Ginsburg); (LXX; p. 565 Rahlfs-Hanhart): 4.6 (VL; Petrus Chrysologus, Sermo (CC SL 24A, sermo : 91, linea : 84-88).

and Hippolytus, the plural.²¹⁷⁴ **id est Christum**. This interpretation of “proximum suum”²¹⁷⁵ accords with that of Christ as “neighbour to everyman”. Irenaeus had pertinently but contrarily read the Judaeen fallen among thieves as “suum hominem” *i.e.* “Christ’s man”, and so, strictly, *the Paraclete* as *his* neighbour, the Good Samaritan.²¹⁷⁶ Clement explicates the Good Samaritan as Christ.²¹⁷⁷ For Origen the one fallen among thieves is Adam, while the Samaritan is also Christ.²¹⁷⁸ He interprets the wounds sustained by the Judaeen beneficiary of the Good Samaritan as *disobedience*, the inn and innkeeper as *the Church* and *its angels*, respectively; the two denarii as *knowledge of the Father and Son*.²¹⁷⁹ **per paenitentiam**. That Elijah would instigate repentance, especially among Jews, was a common Christian, as well

²¹⁷⁴ Luc. 1.17 (p. 151 Nestle-Aland): καὶ αὐτῶς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων ἐτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 50 Belsheim): et ipse prodiet ante faciem eius in spu et uirtute heliae conuertere corda patrum in filios et contumaces in sensum iustorum conparare dno populum compositum; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 71 Belsheim): et ipse praeibit in conspectu eius in spiritu, et uirtute Heliae: ad convertanda corda Patrum ad filios, et incredibiles ad prudentiam iustorum, parare Domino populum perfectum; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 77 Belsheim): et ipse praecedet ante illum in spiritu et uirtute Heliae, ut conuertat corda patrum in filios et incredibiles ad prudentiam iustorum, parare domino plebem perfectam; (VL; Cod. 5; p. Scrivener): et ipse antecedit in conspectu eius in spiritu et uirtute heliae conuertere corda patrum in filios et non consentientes in sapientia iustorum praeparare dmo plebem consummatam. Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 46 (GCS 1.2, 1. 11): καρδίας πατέρων.

²¹⁷⁵ Which only occurs in the LXX: Mal. 3.24 (LXX; p. 565 Rahfls): καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον.

²¹⁷⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 17.3 (SChr 211, 1. 64-73): Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei ut non comburamur neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi accusatorem habemus illic habeamus et Paraclitum, commendante Domino Spiritui sancto suum hominem qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est et ligauit uulnera eius, dans duo denaria regalia ut, per Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum Domino adnumerantes.

²¹⁷⁷ Clemens Alexandrinus, Quis diu. salu. 28.3 (GCS 17, 1. 1)-29.2 (GCS 17, 1. 1-2): ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἱεριχὼ καὶ τοῦτονδείκνυσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν συγκεκεντημένον, ἐρριμμένον ἡμιθνήτα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὑπὸ ἱερέως παροδεύομενον, ὑπὸ Λευίτου παρορώμενον, ὑπὸ δευτέρου Σαμαρείτου τοῦ ἐξωνειδισμένου καὶ ἀφωρισμένου κατελεούμενον, ὃς οὐχὶ κατὰ τύχην ὡς ἐκεῖνοι παρήλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἦκε συνσκευασμένους ὁ κινδυνεύων ἐδεῖτο, οἶνον, ἔλαιον, ἐπιδέσμους, κτήνος, μισθόντῳ πανδοχεῖ, τὸν μὲν ἤδη διδόμενον, τὸν δὲ προσυπισχνούμενον. «τίς», ἔφη, αὐτῶν γέγονε πλησίον τῷ τὰ δεινὰ παθόντι; ἢ τοῦδὲ ἀποκριναμένου ὅτι «ὁ τὸν ἔλεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιδειξάμενος· καὶ σὺ τοίνυν πορευθεὶς οὕτω ποίει», ὡς τῆς ἀγάπης βλαστανούσης εὐποιαν. Ἐν ἀμφοτέραις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ἀγάπην εἰσηγεῖται, τάξειδ’ αὐτὴν διήρηκε, καὶ ὅπου μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ, ὅπου δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα νέμει τῷ πλησίον. τίς δ’ ἂν ἄλλος οὗτος εἴη πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ;

²¹⁷⁸ Frag. in Luc. 168 (GCS 49, 1. 1-3): ἀνάγεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἢτοι εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς προηγουμένης αὐτοῦ ζωῆς καὶ τῆς διὰ παρακοῆς καθόδου λόγον; (GCS 49, 1. 11-12): ὁ Σαμαρείτης εἰς Χριστόν, τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας σάρκα φορέσαντα.

²¹⁷⁹ Origenes, Hom. in Luc. 34 (GCS 49, 191, 1. 1-5): τὰ τραύματα εἰς τὴν παρακοήν τὸ κτήνος εἰς τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸ πανδοχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ δύο δηνάρια εἰς τὴν περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ γνῶσιν. ὁ πανδοχεὺς εἰς τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστατοῦντας ἀγγέλους.

as Jewish, belief, appearing perhaps currently with Victorinus in Commodian,²¹⁸⁰ and perhaps Pseudo-Cyprian;²¹⁸¹ later in Jerome and Hilary.²¹⁸² **secundum tempus uocationis**. Likely means “the second time (of Elijah’s) calling to *etc*”. This perhaps refers to Elijah’s second appearance on earth; the second time Jews convert in above tiny numbers, the first’s having been during the time of the apostles; or both.²¹⁸³ Less likely it means “according to the (original) time of (Elijah’s) calling” *i.e.* its occurring in the book of Malachai *i.e. that it must refer to a future conversion of Jews*. “Tempus” likely echoes the Latin Ecclesiasticus’ describing Elijah as “qui inscriptus es indiciis temporum”.²¹⁸⁴ **uocationis Iudeos ad sequentis populi fidem reuocare**. “Vocationis...reuocare” is an awkward repetition, with “uocationis”’s taking an elided direct object (Elijah), “reuocare”’s “Iudeos”. The “following people” is the Christian one, with a likely allusion to 1) *Jacob’s following Esau* 2) *clutching his heel*; from Rebecca’s womb; thus signifying 3) *two peoples: Israel-the Church, Edom-*

²¹⁸⁰ Commodianus, *Carm. de duob. pop.* (CC SL 128, l. 839-844): *ergo cum helias in iudaea terra prophetat, et <signo> signat populum in nomine christi; de quibus quam multi quoniam illi credere nolunt, supplicat iratus altissimum, ne pluat inde: clausum erit caelum ex eo nec rore madescet, flumina quoque iratus in sanguine uertit.*

²¹⁸¹ Pseudo-Cyprian’s source has been dated to perhaps no later than the last half of the *second* century: Hartke, *Über Jahrespunkte und Feste insbesondere das Weihnachtsfest*, 8ff. Roll, *Towards the Origins of Christmas*, 81. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), *De Pasc. comp.* 14 (CSEL 3.3, 261, l. 24-26): *quam hebdomadam recognoscimus habere annos septem: in quibus oportet primo Enoch et Eliam uenire, et per suam prophetiam magnae multitudini euangelium id est nouum testamentum confirmare.*

²¹⁸² Hieronymus, *Com. in Matth.* III 17.3 (CC SL 77, l. 326-330): *traditio pharisaeorum est iuxta malachiam prophetam qui est nouissimus in duodecim quod helias ueniat ante aduentum saluatoris et reducat cor patrum ad filios et filiorum ad patres et restituat omnia in antiquum statum. Et cf. Hilarius Pictauiensis, Com. in Matth.* 17.4 (SChr 258, 64, l. 2-3): *Quibus respondet Eliam esse uenturum et restituere uniuersa, id est reliquum quod deprehenderit ex Israel ad cognitionem Dei reuocaturum.; 10.14 (SChr 254, 232, l. 10-14): Sed ut ostenderet gentes quidem apostolorum praedicationi credituras, uerum, ut reliquum Israel crederet, esse aduentui suo debitum, ait: Non consummabitis ciuitates Israel, donec ueniat filius hominis, post plenitudinem scilicet gentium, quod erit reliquum Israel ad implendum numerum sanctorum futuro claritatis suae aduentu in Ecclesia collocandum.; 26.5 (SChr 258, 198, l. 14-18): Sed quia pars Iudaeorum ut per apostolos credidit, ita per Eliam est creditura et iustificanda per fidem est, ideo una per eandem fidem boni operis adprehendetur, alia uero in infructuoso legis opere relinquetur, molens in cassum et non factura caelestis cibi panem.; Comm. *carm.* 839 s.; *Chrom. in Matth.* 47, 5; *Greg. E. tract.* 7, 19. On the person of Elijah: RLAC, s. v. *Elias*, c. 1141-1163 (Wessel); *praes.* c. 1146-7: Kittel, s. v. *Ηλ(ε)ίας*, c. 930-943 (Jeremias). *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. *Elijah*, c. 635-638. Stiasny, *Le Prophète Elie dans le Judaïsme*, in: *Elie le Prophète*, EC 2 (1956), 245-6. Stiasny, *Élie dans la tradition rabbinique*, in: *Le Monde de la Bible* 58 (1989), 36-37. Bonsirven, *Les Espérances Messianiques en Palestine au Temps de Jésus Christ*, 128-9.*

²¹⁸³ Hilarius Pictauiensis, *Com. in Matth.* 26.5 (SChr 258, 198, l. 14-18): *Sed quia pars Iudaeorum ut per apostolos credidit, ita per Eliam est creditura et iustificanda per fidem est, ideo una per eandem fidem boni operis adprehendetur, alia uero in infructuoso legis opere relinquetur, molens in cassum et non factura caelestis cibi panem.*

²¹⁸⁴ *Ecclus.* 48.10 (p. 468 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2).

the Jews, respectively.²¹⁸⁵ The interpretation is expounded lengthily by Jerome, possibly using Victorinus as his source.²¹⁸⁶

l. 10-12. **numerum ex Iudeis**. An identification of Christian Jews with the one hundred and forty four thousand of Apoc. 7, 4-8, later found in Chromatius (who specifically attributes the conversion to Elijah);²¹⁸⁷ and Jerome.²¹⁸⁸ Oecumenius (tenth century) distinguishes these hundred and forty four thousand converted Jews of Apoc. 7 from the hundred and forty four thousand Jewish virgins of Apoc. 14.1-4, on the grounds, *inter alia*, that Jews generally eschewed virginity, unlike the later gentiles.²¹⁸⁹ The sealing of the elect of Israel, which

²¹⁸⁵2185 Gen. 25.22-26, especially 25 (p. 37 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): καὶ εἶπεν κύριος αὐτῇ δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου εἰσὶν καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλήσονται καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξει καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.

²¹⁸⁶ Hieronymus, Com. in Mal. 4 (CC SL 76A, l. 76-115): ecce ego mittam uobis heliam prophetam antequam ueniat dies domini magnus et horribilis; et conuertet cor patrum ad filios, et cor filiorum ad patres eorum, ne forte ueniam et percutiam terram anathemate. lxx: ecce ego mittam uobis heliam thesbiten, antequam ueniat dies domini magna et illustris, qui conuertet cor patris ad filium, et cor hominis ad proximum suum, ne forte ueniens percutiam terram penitus. post moysen - cuius mandata spiritaliter docuimus esse seruanda -, heliam dicit esse mittendum; in moyse, legem, in heliam, prophetiam significans, dicente abraham ad quemdam diuitem purpuratum: habent moysen et prophetas, illos audiant. et dominus atque saluator transfiguratus in monte, loquentes se cum habebat moysen et heliam in candidis uestibus, qui et dicebant ei quae passurus esset in hierusalem. lex enim et omnis prophetarum chorus christi praedicat passionem. igitur antequam ueniat dies iudicii et percutiat dominus terram anathemate, siue omnino, uel subito, ut lxx transtulerunt - hoc enim significat ardên~g -, mittet dominus in helia - qui interpretatur, deus meus, et est de oppido thesbi, quod conuersionem et paenitentiam sonat -, omnem prophetarum chorum, qui conuertat cor patrum ad filios, abraham uidelicet, et isaac et iacob, et omnium patriarcharum, ut credant posterii eorum in dominum saluatorem, in quem et illi crediderunt: abraham enim uidit diem domini et laetatus est; siue cor patris ad filium, id est cor dei ad omnem, qui spiritum adoptionis acceperit. et cor filiorum ad patres eorum, ut et iudaei et christiani, qui nunc inter se discrepant, pari in christum religione consentiant. unde et christo in euangelio proponitur quaestio: quid quod pharisaei dicunt, quod helias uenturus est? quibus ille respondit: helias quidem ueniet, et si creditis, iam uenit, in helia iohannem intellegens.

²¹⁸⁷ Chromatius Aquileiensis, Tract. in Matth. 47 (CC SL 9A, l. 169-173): Quod impletum uel in his intellegimus, qui ex eadem synagoga sub apostolis crediderunt, uel in illis complendum qui in saeculi consummationem ex ipsa iudaica plebe sub helia sunt credituri, de quibus apocalypsis retulit centum quadraginta quattuor milia, ex singulis tribubus, esse creditura.

²¹⁸⁸ Hieronymus, Tract. (lix) in Ps. 80 (CC SL 78, l. 192-193): denique legimus et in apocalypsi iohannis, duodecim milia de singulis tribubus, hoc est, centum quadraginta quattuor milia creditura: et hoc dicitur uirginum esse.

²¹⁸⁹ Oecumenius, Com. in Apoc. (p. 160, l. 1-13 Hoskier): ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν ἑκατὸν τεσσαρακοντατέσσαρας χιλιάδας εἶναι ἔφη τὰς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ πεπιστευκυίας δώδεκα χιλιάδας κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην φυλὴν. ἄρα οὖν περὶ τούτων καὶ νῦν λέγει; οὐκ οἶμαι· οὔτε γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου ὠνόμακεν αὐτάς, οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν αἱ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες· μὴ ὅτι καὶ παρθενίαν αὐτοὺς κατωρθώκεναι μαρτυρεῖ. παρθενία γὰρ οὐ πάνυ παρὰ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσπουδάζετο, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει παρὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὕστερον· ὥστε ἀναμιξέει τε τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔκ τε τῶν ἐθνῶν εἶναι νομιστέον τοὺς ὠνομασμένους, καὶ τοὺς

Apoc. 7.3 derives from Ez. 9.4,²¹⁹⁰ appears in 4 Esdras (Vg).²¹⁹¹ Origen thinks the hundred and forty four thousand represent *all* believers, since Christian Jews *in toto* scarcely number so.²¹⁹² He suggests rather the paternity of such virginal Israelites is a heavenly, spiritual one.²¹⁹³ Tyconius holds similarly, as Augustine follows.²¹⁹⁴ Through the image of the sealing of the elect of Apoc. 7.3, his identification with John the Baptist and a general repentance, Elijah²¹⁹⁵ is associated with baptism by Heracleon (as well as with Christ and the prophets

πλείους γε ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν. τὸ δὲ ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον δηλοῖ θεία τινὶ δόξῃ τυγχάνειν αὐτοὺς κατεστεμμένους.

²¹⁹⁰ Ez. 9.4 (p. 782 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν δίελθε μέσην τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ δὸς τὸ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν καταστεναζόντων καὶ τῶν κατωδυνωμένων ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἀνομίαις ταῖς γινομέναις ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς.

²¹⁹¹ 4. Esdr. 2.38-42 (Vg; p. 12 Hetzenauer): surgite et state et uidete numerum signatorum in conuiuio Domini. u qui se de umbra saeculi transtulerunt, splendoras tunicas a Domino acceperunt. recipe, Sion, numerum tuum et conclude candidatos tuos, qui legem Domini compleuerunt. filiorum tuorum, quos optabas, plenus est numerus; roga imperium Domini, ut sanctificetur populus tuus, qui uocatus est *ab initio*. ego Ezra uidi in monte Sion turbam magnam, quam numerare non potui, et omnes canticis conlaudabant Dominum.

²¹⁹² Origenes, Com. in Io. I 7 (SChr 120, l. 2-7): σπάνιος δὲ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραὴλ πιστεύων, ὡς τάχα τολμῆσαι ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν μὴ συμπληροῦσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραὴλ πιστευόντων μηδὲ τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων χιλιάδων ἀριθμόν.

²¹⁹³ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 1.2 (GCS 29, 147, l. 13-32): Movet enim me in hac intentione et illud, quod Iohannes in Apocalypsi de populo hoc, qui Christo credidit, scribit. Dicit enim quia 'ex tribu Ruben duodecim milia' viri et 'ex tribu Simeon duodecim milia', similiter autem et ex singulis quibusque tribubus duodena milia; quos simul omnes dicit esse 'centum quadraginta quattuor milia', qui se cum mulieribus non coinquinaverint, sed virgines permanserint. Quod utique nec qualiscumque vel inepta potest esse suspicio ad istas tribus Iudaeorum Simeon, Levi et ceteras, quae de Iacob genus ducunt, posse revocari. Ad quos igitur patres iste numerus virginum referendus sit, tam aequalis, tam integer, tam que compositus, ita ut nullus altero superior aut inferior numeretur, ego quidem progredi ultra inquirendo non audeo, sed et hactenus paene cum aliquo discrimine incedo. Apostolus tamen quasdam suspiciones his, qui altius intueri possunt, subiecit, cum dicit: "propter quod flecto genua mea ad patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur". Et quidem de terrenis paternitatibus intellectus non videtur esse difficilis; patres etenim tribuum vel domorum, ad quos successio posteritatis refertur, simul omnis paternitas appellatur; in coelo vero quod dicit, quomodo aut qualiter sint patres, aut pro quibus posteritatibus coelestis.

²¹⁹⁴ Tyconius, Lib. reg. 5.4.2 (SChr 488, 288, l. 138-145): Et Danihel angelorum et caeli uel Ecclesiae innumerabilem multitudinem denario numero complexus est dicens: "Milies milia apparebant illi et decies milies decies milia circumsistebant". Et Dauid: "Currus, inquit, Dei decies milies tantum". Et de omni tempore Dauid: "In mille saecula". Item per duodenarium de omni Ecclesia dictum est C'X'L'IIII'. Et duodecim tribus omnes gentes, sicut: "Iudicabitur XII tribus Israhel". Augustinus Hipponensis, De doct. christ. III 55 (CC SL 32, l. 28-34): tantundem ualent et cum multiplicantur siue per denarium, sicut septuaginta et septingenti unde possunt et septuaginta anni hieremiae pro uniuerso tempore spiritualiter accipi, quo est apud alienos ecclesia siue *per se* ipsos, sicut decem per decem centum sunt et duodecim per duodecim centum quadraginta quattuor, quo numero significatur uniuersitas sanctorum in apocalypsi.

²¹⁹⁵ Prigent / Stehly, Les fragments du De Apocalypsi, in: ThZ 29 (1973), 320.

generally, albeit erroneously, says Origen), Comodian (who also sees repentance (especially of Jews)) and others.²¹⁹⁶ **multitudinem**. Echoes some texts of the VL.²¹⁹⁷

Chapter 8.1-3.

8.1.

1. 1-4. **Mitti autem de caelo orationes ecclesiae ab angelo et suscipi eas et contra effundi iram**. Victorinus compresses Apoc. 8.3-5. **de caelo**. "*Concerning*" rather than "*from* heaven". **ab angelo** *i.e.* who "stetit ante altare habens thuribulum auream" (Apoc. 8.3).²¹⁹⁸ **suscipi eas** *i.e.* by the "angelus... daret de orationibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum" (Apoc. 8.3). **contra effundi iram**. A compression of "Et accepit Angelus thuribulum, et impleuit illud de igne altaris, et misit in terram, et facta sunt tonitrua, et uoce, et fulgura, et terrae

²¹⁹⁶ Origenes, Com. in Io. VI 13 (125; SChr 157, l. 1-126; SChr 125, l. 6): Πόθεν δὲ ὑμῖν πεπίστευται Ἥλιαν βαπτίσειν τὸν ἐλευσόμενον, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ξύλα κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ἀχαάβ χρόνους δεόμενα λουτροῦ ἵνα ἐκκαυθῆ, ἐπιφανέντος ἐν πυρὶ τοῦ κυρίου, βαπτίσαντα; Ἐπικελεύεται γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι οὐ μόνον ἅπαξ, λέγει γάρ· «Δευτερώσατε· ὅτε καὶ ἐδευτέρωσαν ἡ, καὶ «Τρισσώσατε· ὅτε καὶ ἐτρίσσωσαν ἡ. Ὁ τοίνυν μὴ αὐτὸς βαπτίσας τότε, ἀλλ' ἑτέροις τοῦ ἔργου παραχωρήσας, πῶς κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλαχίου λεγόμενα ἐπιδημήσας βαπτίζειν ἔμελλεν; Χριστὸς οὖν ἐν ὕδατι οὐ βαπτίζει, ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· ἐαυτῷ δὲ τηρεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦματι βαπτίζειν καὶ πυρὶ. Παραδεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλέων τὸν τῶν φαρισαίων λόγον ὡς ὑγιῶς εἰρημένον περὶ τοῦ ὀφείλεσθαι τὸ βαπτίζειν Χριστῷ καὶ Ἥλιαν καὶ παντὶ προφήτῃ, αὐταῖς λέξεσιν φησιν, οἷς μόνοις ὀφείλεται τὸ βαπτίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων μὲν ἡμῖν ἔναγχος ἐλεγχομένου, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι κοινότερον τὸν προφήτην νενόηκεν. Commodianus, Instr. I 41 (CC SL 128, l. 7-8): Cum fuerit autem nero de inferno leuatus, helias ueniet prius signare dilectos; Carm. de duob. pop. (CC SL 128, l. 839-941): ergo cum helias in iudaea terra prophetat, et <signo> signat populum in nomine christi; de quibus quam multi quoniam illi credere nolunt. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 183; 3.3, n. 61, 62, 63. Concerning sealing as baptism, v. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, 105, 111, 246; et Hamman, La signification de σφραγίς dans le Pasteur d'Herma, in: SP 4 (1961), 287.

²¹⁹⁷ Apoc. 7.9 (VL; Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 111 (RB 57, 115, l. 97-98): audite, carissimi, audite scriptum: post haec uidi ex omni lingua et gente et tribu uenientes cum stolis albis et palmis, multitudinem quam nemo dinumerare poterat.

²¹⁹⁸ Apoc. 8.3 (p. 647 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 51; p. 72 Belsheim): et alter angelus uenit et stetit ante altare habens thuribulum aureum. Et data sunt illi incensa multa, ut det orationes sanctorum omnium super altare illud aureum quod est ante sedem.

motus magnus" (Apoc. 8.4).²¹⁹⁹ **et scotomari regnum Antichristi per angelos sanctos.**

Scotomare is a rare derivation from *σκότωμα*, *dizziness*, *vertigo* (with a root meaning *to darken i.e. lose consciousness*), and may be Victorinus' neologism to describe the intoxicification of the wine of the wrath of God (Apoc. 14.10; 17.2 and 6), but is closer to the LXX's *κατάνοξις*, *stupefaction* (Ps. 59.5).²²⁰⁰ **et in euangelio legimus.** Suggests Victorinus is writing for a readership literate in the Gospels. The *angeli sancti* are likely chiefly the seven angels of Apoc. 8.6-11.15.

l. 4. Orate ne incidatis in temptationem. Cf. Matth. 26.41.²²⁰¹ ne incidatis. The VL *almost always* has only "ut non intretis" or "ueniatis", and rarely with "ne".²²⁰²

²¹⁹⁹ Apoc. 8.4 (): ; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 72 Belsheim): Et ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus sanctorum de manu angeli conspectu dei; (VL; Cod. 65; p. 141 Buchanan): Et ascendit fumus Incensorum de orationibus scōrum de manu angeli coram do; (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De Is. uel an. 5.44 (CC SL 32.1, 669, l. 5-6)): ascendit fumus incensorum orationibus sanctorum; (VL; Missale Moz.; PL 85, 587A); Et ascendit fumus supplicationum de manu Angeli. In conspectu Dei; (VL; Tyconius, Com. in Apoc. III 1 (Spic. Casin., 286, l. 1): Et ascendit fumus odoramentorum, exorationes Sanctorum, de manu Angeli in conspectu Dei

²²⁰⁰ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *σκότωμα* A. dizziness, vertigo, 1362. Mohrmann, *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens*, 62. Cf. Ps. 59.5 (p. 61 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἔδειξας τῷ λαῷ σου σκληρὰ ἐπότισας ἡμᾶς οἶνον κατανύξεως; (VL; Psalt. Ambros.: p. 63 Magistretti): Ostendisti populo tuo dura: potasti nos uino compunctionis; (VL; Psalt. Anglosax.: p. 148 Thorpe): Ostendisti populo tuo dura, potasti nos uino compunctionis; (VL; Psalt. Aug.: p. 198 Dold): (Osten)disti populo tuo dura: potasti nos uino compunctionis; (VL; Cod. Casin.; p. 41 Amelli): Ostendisti populo tuo dura potasti nos uino transpunctionis; (VL; Psalt. Moz.; p. 34 Gilson): Ostendisti populo tuo dura. potasti nos uino compunctionis; (VL; Psalt. Moz.; PL 86, 778): Ostendisti populo tuo dura potasti nos uino compunctionis(VL; Cod. Veron.; p. 96 Bianchini): Ostendisti (g) plebi tuae dura: potasti nos uinum stimulationis. Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 182; Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n. 88.

²²⁰¹ Matth. 26.41 (VL; Cod. 3; p. 35 Belsheim): Vigilare, et orate ut non intretis in temptationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 38 Belsheim): Vigilare et orate, ut non ueniatis in temptationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 84 Scrivener): uigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptatione sps quidem promptus est: caro autem infirmis; (VL; Cod.7; p. 42 Wordsworth): Uigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptationem; Sps quidem prumptus est caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 24 Belsheim): Uigilate et orate ut non ueniatis in temptationem. sps quidem protus est caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 9; p. 54 Belsheim): Vigilare, et orate ut non intretis in temptationem. Spiritus quidem promptus, caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 10; p. 156 White-Wordswoth): uigilate et orate. ut non intretis in temptationem. spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 11; p. 77 Haase): uigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptationem sps quidem pro tus est. caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 43 Belsheim): uigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem. spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 13; p. 37 White): uigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptationem: sps quidem promptus caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod.

²²⁰² Matth. 26.41 (VL; Cod. 12; p. 43 Belsheim): uigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem. spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma; (VL; Cod. 30; p. 51 Heer): uigilate & orate ne intretis intemptationem...Sps quidem prumtus est caro h.imfirma.

1. 4-5. **Erit enim angustia magna qualis non fuit *ab initio* nec ab origine mundi, et nisi Dominus breuiasset dies illos, non esset salua ulla caro super terram.** Cf. Matth. 24.21-22.²²⁰³ **angustia magna.** The VL usually renders θλίψις by *tribulatio* or *praessura*. Jerome has both *angustia* and *tribulatio*.²²⁰⁴ **nisi Dominus breuiasset.** Victorinus makes active the passive *breuiati fuissent dies illi*, and adds *Dominus* as subject. **non fuit *ab initio* nec ab origine mundi.** Likely borrowed from Marc. 13.19: *quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae, quam condidit Deus usque nunc, neque fiet / ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται.*²²⁰⁵ **non esset salua ulla caro.** Clearly drawn from Marc. 13.20. Likely "ulla caro" would correct πᾶσα σὰρξ, or the VL variation, "omnis caro",²²⁰⁶

²²⁰³ Matth. 24.21-22 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 16 Belsheim): *erit enim tunc praessura magna quales non est facta ab initio mundi usque nunc sed neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 31 Belsheim): Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio saeculi usque modo, neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 33 Belsheim): Erit enim tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab initio saeculi usque modo, neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 73 Scrivener): Erit enim tunc tribulatio magna qualis non fuit. ab initio saeculi usque nunc. neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 32 Belsheim): Erit autem tunc tribulatio magna, qualis non fuit ab inicio saeculi usque modo neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 38 Wordsworth): Erit enim tribulatio magna qualis non fuit ab initio mundi usque modo neque fiet; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 20 Belsheim): Erit enim (tunc) tribulatio qualis non fuit ab initio saeculi usque modo neque fiet. / Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi.;*

²²⁰⁴ Hier. in *Eccl.* 12, 2, 1.98: *si de generali consummatione mundi accipimus, uerbis domini hoc capitulum congruit, in quibus ait: erit tribulatio et angustia qualis non fuit a principio creaturae, sed neque fiet.*

²²⁰⁵ Marc. 13.19 (p. 134-135 Nestle-Aland): *ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται;* (VL; Cod. 1; p. 15 Wordsworth): *erunt enim diebus illis tribulationes quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae usque nunc et non erit numquam;* (VL; Cod. 4; p. 129 Belsheim): *erunt enim diebus illis tribulationes tales, quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae, ex quo omnia condidit deus usque nunc, neque erunt.*

²²⁰⁶ Marc. 13.20 (p. 135 Nestle-Aland): *καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας;* (VL; Cod. 1; p. 15 Wordsworth): *et nisi breuiasset deus di dies numquam saluata esset omnis caro et propter electos breuiavit illos;* (VL; Cod. 1; p. 129 Belsheim): *Et nisi Dominus breuiasset dies propter electos suos, non fuisset salua ulla caro: sed propter electos, quos elegit, breuia...*

which sounds odd in Latin. It only appears here and the Latin translation of Origen.²²⁰⁷ **super terram.** A conflation with Luc. 21.23, *super terram* / ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.²²⁰⁸

1. 7-8. **Hos ergo archangelos magnos septem.** The "septem Angelos stantes in conspectu Dei" (Apoc. 8.2).²²⁰⁹ Seven archangels appear in Tobit and Enoch, and are an old Judeo-Christian tradition.²²¹⁰ Tertullian may first use the Latin term *archangelus*.²²¹¹ **ad**

percutiendum regnum Antichristi mittet. Cf. Irenaeus' Christ "sending his [Roman] armies

²²⁰⁷ Origenes, Hom. in Iud. 1.3 (GCS 30, 468, l. 22-469, l. 2): E contrario vero tunc, quando scandalis mundus replebitur, quando 'incremente iniquitate refrigescet caritas multorum' et quando 'veniens filius hominis difficile fidem inveniet super terram,' tunc non dicuntur futuri 'longi' dies, sed magis abbreviari dicuntur, sicut dixit Dominus quia: "nisi breviati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salva ulla caro".

²²⁰⁸ Luc. 21.23 (p. 233 Nestle-Aland): οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 83 Belsheim): Uae eis quae in uentre habent et quae mammant in illis diebus erit enim necessitas magna super terram et ira super populum istum; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 105 Belsheim): Vae praegnantibus, et lactantibus in illis diebus: erit enim necessitas magna super terram, et ira populo huic.

²²⁰⁹ Apoc. 8.2 (VL; Cod. 65; p. 141 Buchanan): Et uidi septem angelos stantes in conspectu di et date sunt illis septem tube; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 72 Belsheim): Et uidi septem angelos, qui coram deo stabant et date sunt illis septem tubae stantes in conspectu Dei: et datae sunt illis septem tubae. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n 92.

²²¹⁰ Tob. 12.15 (VL; Cod. 130; p. 47 Belsheim): ego enim sum raphael unus ex septem angelis sanctis. qui adsistimus et conuersamur ante claritatem dei; (VL; Cod. 148 / 150; p. lxxxvi Sabatier / Neubauer): Ego enim sum Raphael, unus de septem angelis sanctis, qui adsistimus et conuersamur ante claritatem Dei; (VL; Cod. ; Cassiodorus, Complex. in Apoc. 2 (1.4; CC SL 107, 113, l. 2-7; PL 70, 1405B): Unus sum ex septem angelis qui consistimus ante thronum claritatis Dei; (VL; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De mort. (CC SL 3A, l. 166-168): ego enim sum Raphael, unus ex septem angelis sanctis qui adsistimus et conuersamur ante claritatem Dei; (VL; Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De dom. orat. 33 (CC SL 3A, l. 611-613): Ego enim sum raphael, unus ex septem angelis iustis qui adsistimus et conuersamur ante claritatem dei.; ante Dominum. Hen. 71.3 (p. 184 Charles (trans.)); 81.5 (p. 214 Charles (trans.)). Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, 117, 121. Hermas holds there to be six (who risk excommunication unless they confess the Son): Past. Herm. 89.8 (GCS 48, l. 1-4): Ὁ ἔνδοξος, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ, κάκεῖνοι οἱ ἕξ οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄγγελοι εἰσι δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα συγκρατοῦντες αὐτόν. τούτων, φησί, τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐνδόξων οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄτερ αὐτοῦ· ὃς ἂν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ λάβῃ, οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; likewise Orac. Sibyl. 2 (GCS 8, l. 214-219): ἡνίκα δ' ἀθανάτου θεοῦ ἄφθιτοι ἀγγελτῆρες Βαρακιήλ Ῥαμιήλ Οὐριήλ Σαμιήλ Ἄζαήλ τε, αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅσα τις κακὰ πρόσθεν ἔρεξεν, ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς [τε] ἀπὸ ζόφου ἡερόεντος εἰς κρίσιν ἄξουσιν πάσας ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῦ ἀθανάτου μεγάλου.

²²¹¹ Tertullianus, De anim. 55.3 (CC SL 2, l. 19-23): quo *ergo* animam exhalabis in caelum christo illic adhuc sedente ad dexteram patris, nondum dei iussu per tubam archangelī audito, nondum illis quos domini aduentus in saeculo inuenerit, obuiam ei ereptis in aerem, cum his qui mortui in christo primi resurgent? Et v. Allo, L'Apocalypse, 119. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2; 3.3, n. 93.

(mittens suos exercitus)" to punish the Jews, burning Jerusalem, "once the city of the Great King" (Matth. 5.35; Ps. 48.2),²²¹² which action Victorinus is surely recapitulating here.

l. 9-11. Tunc filius hominis mittet nuntios suos et colligent electos eius de quattuor

uentis e finibus caeli usque ad fines eius. "Mittet nuntios suos et colligent electos eius"

matches some VL versions of Matth. 24.31²²¹³ while "e finibus caeli usque ad fines eius" far

more closely translates the Greek ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῶν.²²¹⁴ Cf.

also 1 Thess. 4.16-17.²²¹⁵ Victorinus later interprets this as prophesying the gathering of all

Christians to the land of Israel, even as Jews conceived of their eschatological ingathering.

l. 9-11. erit pax terrae, cum surrexerint in ea septem pastores et octo morsus

<hominum> et indagabunt Assur –id est Antichristum- in fossam Nebroth: in

damnatione diaboli. Cf. Mic. 5.4-6.²²¹⁶ Forms such as "morsus" (translating the δῆγματα of

²²¹² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 36.5 (SChr 100, 175-187): Manifeste enim et per haec verba sua ostendit Dominus omnia, et quoniam unus rex et Dominus omnium Pater, de quo et antea dixit: Neque in Hierosolyma iures, quoniam ciuitas est magni Regis; et quoniam *ab initio* nuptias praeparauit Filio suo, et propter immensam benignitatem per servos suos vocabat priores ad convivium nuptiarum, et ubi illi noluerunt obaudire, rursus alios servos misit convocans eos, neque sic obaudierunt ei, sed et eos qui vocationem annuntiabant lapidauerunt et occiderunt, illos quidem perdidit mittens exercitus suos et civitatem illorum succendit, ex omnibus autem viis, hoc est ex universis gentibus, ad convivium nuptiarum Filii sui convocavit.

²²¹³ Matth. 24.31 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 16 Belsheim): et mittet angelos suos cum tuba magna et colligent electos eius a quattuor uentis ab extremo caelorum usque ad extremum eorum; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 31 Belsheim): Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba, et uoce magna: et congregabunt...eius a qua...uentis, a summis caelorum usque ad ultimum eorum. Cf. Marc. 13.27 (VL; Cod. 3; p. 129 Belsheim): Et tunc mittet nuntios; et concolliget electos de quattuor uentis, ab angulis terrae; usque ad summum caeli; (VL; Cod. 1; p. 15 Wordsworth): et tunc mittet angelos suos. et congregabit electos suos a quattuor uentis, a summo terrae usque ad summum caeli. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.1, n. 142.

²²¹⁴ Matth. 24.31 (p. 69-70 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῶν.

²²¹⁵ 1 Thess. 4.15-18 (VL; Ambrosiaster, Com. in Thess. I 4.15-17 (CSEL 81.1, 226, l. 17-24): Hoc enim vobis dicimus in verbo domini quia nos qui vivimus, qui subrelictus sumus in adventu domini, non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt, quia ipse dominus in iussu, in voce archangeli et in tuba dei descendet de caelo et hi, qui mortui sunt in Christo, resurgent primi, deinde nos qui vivimus una cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam domino Christo in aera et sic semper cum domino erimus. Cf. 1 Thess. 4.17 (: nondum resurreximus ire obviam Christo et semper cum illo interius permanere (Matth. 15.21 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 52 Wordsworth).

²²¹⁶ Mic. 5.4-6 (p. 512 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ἔσται αὕτη εἰρήνη ὅταν Ἀσσύριος ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ὅταν ἐπιβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπεγεροθήσονται ἐξ{Π'} αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ ποιμένες καὶ ὀκτῶ

the LXX of Mic. 5.4. The Hebrew נְסִיכֵי, *nāsīkēy*, *princes of*,²²¹⁷ is like in sound to נֹשְׁקֵי, *nošqēy*, *biters of*: cf. Mic. 3.5 (MT).²²¹⁸ "Fossam" can be found in the VL,²²¹⁹ nor is there need to speculate Victorinus was directly translating the Greek. **et indagabunt Assur...in fossam Nebroth**. "Indagabunt" interprets "pascent assur in gladio...terram nebroth in fossa sua". *Indagare* means *to track, as with dogs*²²²⁰ and, an implicit meaning of *hunt* may reflect *Nebroth/Nimrod* in its proverbial meaning of *hunter* (Gen. 10.9).²²²¹ In Gen. 10.10 Nimrod founds Babel (Babylon) and Nineveh of Assyria, whose oppressions of biblical Israel Mic. 5.5-6 reverses. After 1 Chron. 1.10, Josephus holds Nimrod to have been a model tyrant, as well as systematically seducing men from worship of God by a cult embodied by the tower of Babel, as does Pseudo-Clementine.²²²² Pseudo-Philo and rabbinic tradition held him to have persecuted Abraham,²²²³ as well as having introduced mankind to, *inter alia*, hunting, meat-

δήγματα ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ποιμανοῦσιν τὸν Αἰσσοῦρ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Νεβρωδ ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ Αἰσσοῦρ ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ὅταν ἐπιβῇ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια ὑμῶν καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τοῦ Ιακωβ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν πολλῶν ὡς δρόσος παρὰ κυρίου πίπτουσα καὶ ὡς ἄρνες ἐπὶ ἄγρωσιν ὅπως μὴ συναχθῇ μηδεὶς μηδὲ ὑποστῇ ἐν υἰοῖς ἀνθρώπων. Mic. 5.4-5 (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Epist. VI 31.8 (CSEL 82.1, 220, l. 98-100): Et alibi habemus dicente domino per Micheam prophetam quia tunc pax erit in terra Istrahel, cum venerit Assyrius in terram eius, et insurrexerint in eum septem pastores et octo morsus hominum. Mic. 5.6 (VL; Cod. Weing.; p. 66 Ranke): et pascent assur in gladio et terram nebroth in fossa sua et eripiam te ab cum superuenerit in terram uestram et cum intrauerit super fines uestras.

²²¹⁷ Mic. 5.4 (MT; p. 1040 Elliger-Rudolph).

²²¹⁸ Mic. 3.5 (MT; p. 1037 Elliger-Rudolph): הַנֹּשְׁקִים.

²²¹⁹ Mic. 5.6 (VL; Cod. Weing.; p. 66 Ranke).

²²²⁰ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *indago*, I. *to trace out, track*, as dogs in hunting, 932.

²²²¹ Gen. 10.9 (p. 13 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1).

²²²² Iosephus. Ant. I 4.2 (113; l. 1 Niese)-3 (115; l. 5 Niese). Clemens Romanus (pseudo), Recog. IV 29.1 (GCS 51, 160, l. 15-161, l. 5): inter quos primus magica nihilominus arte quasi corusco ad eum delato rex appellatur quidam Nebroth, quem et ipsum Graeci Ninum vocaverunt, ex cuius nomine Ninive civitas vocabulum sumpsit. sic ergo diversae et erraticae superstitiones ab arte magica initium sumpsere. etenim quoniam difficile erat humanum genus ab amore dei abstrahi et ad surda atque exanima simulacra deduci, idcirco excelsioribus usi sunt magi molitionibus, ut astrorum signis ac motibus tamquam caelitus et voluntate dei delatis ad persuadendos cultus erraticos verterentur. et eius quem supra diximus indignatione daemonis cui nimis molestus fuerat conflagrasse, busti cineres tamquam fulminei ignis reliquias colligentes hi, qui erant primitus decepti, deferunt ad Persas, ut ab eis tamquam divinus et caelo lapsus ignis perpetuis conservaretur excubiis atque ut caelestis deus coleretur.

²²²³ Philo Iudaeus (pseudo), Lib. ant. bib. 6.13-18 (p. 10-11 Jacobson). Midr. Gen. Rab. 38.13 (p. 364 Albeck / Theodor).

eating and warfare, and is thus equivalent to Esau-Edom or *imperial Rome*.²²²⁴ For Origen he represents the devil.²²²⁵ Victorinus' use of the name *Nebroth* need not mean his using directly the LXX, since it appears in a relevant VL text.²²²⁶ **Assur –id est Antichristum.** *Assur* was identified with Antichrist by Hippolytus,²²²⁷ then Jerome, who also calls him "ultor", "avenger" (Ps. 8.2),²²²⁸ perhaps echoing Victorinus' characterizing him as "legis...uindicator", "avenger of the Law". Tertullian identifies him with the devil who seduces Christians into apostasy, as for Victorinus into Judaism, perhaps part deduced from Tertullian's specifically anti-*Jewish* polemic in which the assertion is made.²²²⁹ Origen expounds the earlier and later Assyrian and Babylonian exiles of, respectively, Israel and Judah as the the first and last manifestations of the devil, first as murderer, from the beginning (Io. 8.44, originally directed especially at the Jews, Christ's original persecutors), lastly as the Man of Sin (2 Thess. 2.3) *i.e.* Antichrist.²²³⁰ Jerome links Tyre *i.e.* Lucifer, once most exalted, now fallen as *Satan* (Luc. 10.18), and Assyria's synonymously *oppressing (opprimere)* both the nations,²²³¹ as in

²²²⁴ Midr. Gen. Rab. 37.2-3 (p. 396 Freedman (ed.) / Simon (trans.) 1).

²²²⁵ Strack / Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch 2, 666-667; 3, 34-35.

²²²⁶ Gen. 10.9 (VL; p. 35 Sabatier 1): hic erat gigas uenator *contra* Dominum Deum. Propter hoc dicunt: Sicut Nebroth gigas uenator *contra* Dominum.

²²²⁷ Hipp. De antichr. 57 (GCS 1.2, 38, l. 15-18): βασιλέα δὲ Ἀσσυρίων ἐν συμβόλῳ τὸν ἀντίχριστον λέγει, καθὼς καὶ ἕτερος προφήτης φησίν· „καὶ ἔσται αὕτη ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ εἰρήνη, ὅταν ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπιβῆ ἔπὶ τὰ ὄρια ὑμῶν.“

²²²⁸ Hieronymus. Com. in Ez. X 31 (CC SL 75A, l. 309-321): unde, quia assur: sublimatus est in altitudine, et dedit sublimitatem suam uirentem atque condensam (siue usque ad nubes cacumen erexit), et eleuatum est cor eius ut diceret: ero similis altissimo, propterea traditus est in manu fortissimi gentium - quam intellegamus aliam detestabilem potestatem, cui traditur ad puniendum: *ipse est enim inimicus et ultor; ut assur intellegatur antichristus*, et fortissimus gentium, cui traditus est, satanas, iuxta illud apostoli: quos tradidi satanae, ut discant non blasphemare -, qui: faciens faciet ei quaecumque ei a domino fuerint imperata: ista autem cyparissus eiecta est de paradiso dei propter impietatem suam.

²²²⁹ Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 9.1 (CC SL 2, l. 109-110): Aduersus regem autem assyriorum aduersus diabolum intellegitur, qui adhuc se regnare putat, si sanctos a religione dei deturbet.

²²³⁰ Origenes, Frag. in Ier. (GCS 6, l. 24-32): δύο δὲ νῦν λαμβάνει λέοντας γενικούς, τὸν τε Ἀσσύριον καὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον. κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Βασιλειῶν δύο εἰσίν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀσσύριος ἀπώκισε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ «εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ἕως τῆς σήμερον», ὁ δὲ Βαβυλώνιος τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰούδα «εἰς Βαβυλῶνα». πλὴν οὐκ ἔφη νῦν πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος. πρῶτος γὰρ λέων ὁ ἀντικείμενος διάβολος, αὐτὸς ὁ «ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἡ τελευταῖος δὲ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος «ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἐπαιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα».

²²³¹ Hieronymus. Com. in Ez. X 31.(3) (CC SL 75A, l. 129-144): cedri, inquit (et cyparissi), abietes (siue pinus) et platani (siue cyparissi) non fuerunt aequae ramis illius; et, ne singillatim de cunctis arboribus diceret: omnia, inquit, ligna paradisi dei non sunt assimilata illi et pulchritudini eius, per quae nonnulli intellegunt non de rege dici assyrio, sed de contraria fortitudine quae in sermone tyri inter cherubim dicitur esse generata et pretiosis

Victorinus (*deprimere*)²²³² and the enemies of God generally (Ps. 8.2).²²³³ Jerome effectively designates both Jews and Judaizing Christians under the type of *Tyre* or *Tyrians*, who caused Judaeans to desecrate the Sabbath and so lose Jerusalem (Neh. 13.16-18). For this reason *both* such, Jews and Judaizing Christians, long for the future (-past) delights of the Millennium and welcome Antichrist as their Christ.²²³⁴ This one's principate-empire *qua Assyria-the devil*²²³⁵ cannot yet resist an angry God, *vindicating his people (suum populum uindicans)*,²²³⁶ against their End Time persecutors.²²³⁷ **fossam.** בֹּרַחַת, *vōr* / λάκκος / *lacus*, *pit* is often equivalent to לִישָׁתַּיִם, *šeōl* / *infernus* in the Old Testament;²²³⁸ Origen interprets it

distincta lapidibus et postea ad terrena suo uitio concidisse, qui et in esaia 'cadens lucifer' appellatur, et in euangelio signatur a domino: uidebam satanam quasi fulgor de caelo cadentem; sed nos haec omnia, ut interim sequamur historiam, ὑπερβολικῶς dicta intellegamus, quod tantae assyrius fuerit potentiae et sic cunctas oppresserit nationes, ut se angelorum fortitudini compararit; omnia autem μεταφορικῶς sub altissima 'cedro' siue 'cyparisso' dicuntur ad assyrium, interfectio que illius appellatur 'succisio'.

²²³² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.4 (SChr 423, 96, l. 7-10): <"Assur", deprimens, "cypressus" excelsus ramosus, id est populus multus; "in monte Libano">: in regno regnorum; formosus in germinibus, id est fortis in exercitibus.

²²³³ Hieronymus, Com. in Naum 1 (CC SL 76A, l. 34-38): sed quia semel et historiam exponere proposuimus, inimicos et hostes dei intellegamus assyrios, in quos cum diu patiens fuerit, postea cum furore et iracundia ultor existet.

²²³⁴ Hieronymus, Com. in Is. V 23.18 (CC SL 73, l. 5-17): haec secundum historiam necdum facta comperimus, nisi forte putandum est, quod post aedificationem hierusalem et instaurationem tyri, amicae inter se fuerint ciuitates, et ad templum dei crebro tyri dona transmiserint. sicut et in ezra legimus, quod tyrios qui pisces uendebant, in sabbato abegerit, et introire urbem non permiserit; atque ex uno mercimonio, etiam de ceteris aestimandum sit. iudaei cassa in futurum uota differunt, post antichristum in mille annis haec explenda memorantes. nec mirum si ista confingant, qui sprete ueritate christi, organum diaboli antichristum recepturi sunt, cum etiam christiani iudaizantes, de mille annorum beatitudine haec dicta contendant.

²²³⁵ Hieronymus, Com. in Naum 3 (CC SL 76A, l. 732-742): debemus autem et iuxta hebraicum, antequam editionem septuaginta disseramus - in illis enim longe alius et diuersus est sensus -, paululum ab historia in sublime conscendere, et docere quod in ultima prophetia naum, ἀποστροφή ad diabolum fiat, sensum magnum, principem assyriorum, qui quondam gloriabundus dixerat: fortitudine faciam, et sapientia intellectus auferam terminos gentium, et uires earum depascar, et commouebo ciuitates quae habitantur, et dicatur ei: o lucifer, qui mane oriebaris, qui mittebas igniculos tuos ad cunctas gentes, quomodo cecidisti in terram, et contritus es?

²²³⁶ Hieronymus, Com. in Naum 1 (CC SL 76A, l. 167-176): *contra* assyrios autem sic sentiendum, quia cum uenerit dominus in tempestate et turbine, siccans babylonis imperium, quod interpretatur mare, et omnia eius regna subuertens, quae intelleguntur flumina, et potentiam, ubertatem que eius ad nihilum redigens, quae μεταφορικῶς basan et carmelus et flos libani, et montes colles que dicuntur, ac latitudinem imperii concutiens, quae orbis terrarum appellatur, tunc nulla potentia resistere poterit irascenti deo, et suum populum uindicanti.

²²³⁷ Hieronymus, Com. in Naum 1 (CC SL 76A, l. 223-231): at e contrario, inimicos eius assyrios, qui populum duxerunt in captiuitatem, tenebrae persequuntur. quod autem diximus de israel et assyriis, intellegi de consummatione mundi et de sanctis ac de persecutoribus, siue contrariis uirtutibus potest, quod sanctorum deus post iram misereatur; persecutores uero et inimicos eorum, qui elegerunt tenebras, et non lucem, ipsae, quas elegerunt, tenebrae comprehendant, mittentur enim in tenebras exteriores: ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.

²²³⁸ Especially Prou. 1.12 (VL; Cod. 32; p. 64 Dold): Deglutiamus (a)ut(em) i(l)lum tam(quam) in(fernus) (uinum) Et... Ps. 87 (88).4-5 (3-4; Cod. 136; p. 61 Amelli): Quoniam impleta est malitiarum anima mea et uita mea inferno peruenit. Estimatus sum cum descendentibus lacum factus sum ut homo sine auxilio. In mortuis securus. Ps. 27 (28).1 (VL; Cod. 136; p. 19 Amelli): Ad te domine exclamaui deus meus ne conticueris a me nequando conticeas a me et similabor his qui descendunt in lacum; (VL; Cod. 300; p. 38 Bianchini): (a) Ipsi

as *ignorance of God*.²²³⁹ **in damnatione diaboli**. For Victorinus "in fossam" surely signifies *the lake of fire*, into which the devil, beast-Antichrist and false prophet are cast (Apoc. 20.10).²²⁴⁰

1. 15-16. **Ecclesiastes similiter dixit: Cum commoti fuerint custodes domus**. The background of this citation is an eschatological interpretation of Eccl. 12.1-3,²²⁴¹ likely found in Victorinus' commentary on Ecclesiastes, possibly derived from Hippolytus.²²⁴² But the original source may be Judeo-Christian, since the Talmud also understands the *tempus afflictionis* as that presaging the days of the Messiah.²²⁴³ Gregory Thaumaturgus likewise expounds these verses eschatologically, perhaps after his teacher, Origen. The *custodes domus* are "the powers above, the angels who guard the world, [who] shall be moved in that storm and tumult of all things".²²⁴⁴ While Jerome has a similar "angeli qui huic mundo praesident", he interprets the *sun, moon, stars and guards* of Eccl. 12.2-3 as *the human members of man*,²²⁴⁵ according also with the Talmud.²²⁴⁶

Dauid. Ad te, Domine (b) clamaui: Deus meus ne sileas a me: ne quando sileas (c) a me; et ero similis (d) descendentibus in lacum.

²²³⁹ Origenes, Frag. in Ps. 27.1 [dub.] (ASSSP 1, l. 1-6): Μήποτε παρασιωπήσης ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ ὁμοιωθήσομαι τοῖς καταβαίνουσιν εἰς λάκκον. Τοῦ νοῦ λάκκος ἡ ἄγνοιά ἐστιν, εἰς ἣν ἐμπίπτει, παρασιωπήσεως αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας, καὶ μὴ λεγούσης τό· Ἴδὸν πάρεμι.

²²⁴⁰ Apoc. 20.10 (VL; Apringius Pacensis, Tract. in Apoc. VII 20.8+ (CC SL 107, 80, l. 107-112)): Quam hic 'dilectam' uocat [dicens: (20.8) CIRCUIERVNT CASTRA SANCTORVM ET CIVITATEM DILECTAM, (20.9) ET DESCENDIT IGNIS A DEO DE CAELO ET DEVORAVIT EOS, ET DIABOLVS, QVI SEDVCEBAT EOS, MISSVS EST IN STAGNVN IGNIS ET SVLPHVRIS, VBI BESTIA EST 20,10 ET PSEVDOPROPHETA, ET CRVCIABVNTVR DIE AC NOCTE IN SAECVLA SAECVLORVM.).

²²⁴¹ Eccl. 12. 1-3 (VL; Psalt. Moz.; p. 184 Gilson): Memento creatoris tui .in diebus iuventutis tuae. /Antequam ueniat tempus afflictionis. et adpropinquent (col. 2. anni de quibus d(i)cas non mihi placent. Antequam tenebrescat sol et lu(na) et lumen et stelle. et reuertantur nubes post plubiam. Quando commobebuntur custodes domus. et nutabuntur uiri fortissimi. et otiose erunt molentes in minuto numero. Et tenebrescent uidentes per foramina.

²²⁴² Leanza, Eccl 12,1-7: L'interpretazione escatologica dei Padri e degli. esegeti medievali, in: AUG 18 (1978): 193. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 182.

²²⁴³ Midr. Rab. Eccl. 12.1 (p. 376 Mancuso (trans.)). Briere-Narbonne, L'interprétation des prophéties messianiques selon le Talmud, 55.

²²⁴⁴ Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Met. in Eccl. Sal. 12.1-3 (PG 10, 1016, l. 34-35): κινηθή σονται δὲ αἱ ὑπέρτεραι δυνάμεις, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὄλων χειμῶνι καὶ ταραχῷ, οἱ κοσμοφύλακες ἄγγελοι. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 1.4. n. 85.

²²⁴⁵ Hieronymus, Com. in Eccl. (12.3; CC SL 72, l. 125-142): in die cum moti fuerint custodes domus et perierint uiri fortitudinis. custodes domus, aut sol intelleguntur et luna, et reliquus astrorum chorus, aut angeli qui huic mundo praesident. uiri uero fortitudinis, siue fortes, ut interpretatus est symmachus, qui peribunt, aut ut

l. 16-23. **Ipse enim Dominus sic ait: Cum uenissent ad eum operarii et dixerunt ei:**

Domine, nonne bonum semen seminasti in tuo agro? Vnde ergo ibi lolium? Respondit

eis: Inimicus hoc fecit. Qui dixerunt: Vis imus et eradicamus illud? Dicit eis: Non, sinite

utraque ut crescant usque ad messem. Et in tempore, inquit, dicam messoribus colligere

lolium et in ignem mitti, triticum autem in horrea recondere. Cf. Matth. 13.27-30.

operarii. Victorinus' substitute for the VL's "serui".²²⁴⁷ It recalls, perhaps, his earlier use of the cognates *operantium*, *operantur*, *operari*²²⁴⁸ as referring to those who do *Christian* works.

lolium. The VL all but once has *zizania*, not *lolium*,²²⁴⁹ perhaps narrowing down Victorinus'

sources. It also appears in Commodian.²²⁵⁰ **Vis imus.** The usual VL translation of the

aquila transtulit errabunt, daemones sentiuntur, a forti diabolo etiam ipsi fortium sortiti uocabulum. quem dominus superans, et ligans, iuxta euangelii parabolam, uastat domum eius. aliter: custodes domus, qui ad corpus hominis referunt cuncta quae scripta sunt, costas significari putant, quod ab ipsis intestina uallentur, et tota uentris mollitudo seruetur. uiros uero fortes, crura aestimant; solem, et lunam, et stellas, ad oculos, nares et aures, et totius capitis sensus coaptant. hoc autem ideo, quia inferius necessitate coguntur, non de angelis et daemonibus, sole, et luna, et stellis, sed de hominis membris intellegere quae sequuntur. et cessabunt molentes quoniam imminutae sunt; et contenebrescent quae uident in foraminibus.

²²⁴⁶ Midr. Rab. Eccl. 12.2-3 (p. 376-377 Mancuso (trans.)).

²²⁴⁷ E.g. Matth. 13.27 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 47 Wordsworth): accesserunt autem serui patris familias et dixerunt dom^o. non bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo unde ergo habet zizania.

²²⁴⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.1 (SChr 423, 46, l. 1-3); 1.8 (SChr 423, 54, l. 2); 2.1 (SChr 423, 56, l. 2-3); 2.1 (SChr 423, l. 12); 2.4 (SChr 423, 58, l. 2); 3.1 (SChr 423, 60, l. 9).

²²⁴⁹ Matth. 13.27-30 (VL; Cod. 27; p. 58 Rettig): accedentes aute serui patrisfamilias dixert ei dne nne bonu semen seminasti in tuo agro unde ergo habet lolia. at ille ait illis inimicus homo hoc fecit aute serui dixert ei uis tu abeuntes collegamus ea. ille h ait non ne forte colligentes lolia eracicetis cum eis triticon / sinite crescere ambo t utraq. usq. ad messem et in tempore messis dica messoribus colligete primum zizania et alligate ea fasciculos ad comburendu ea aute triticu conggate in horreum meu.

²²⁵⁰ Commodianus, Instr. II 10 (CC SL 128, l. 1-3): De semine lolii, qui stant in ecclesia mixti, expletis temporibus messis separatur a fructu. Lolium est natum, quod non <in>miserat dominus; omne lolium agricola collectum separat illud. Lex ager nobis est: qui fecerit bonum in illa, ipsam uti<que> nobis prestat requiem ueram ipse dominator, qua lolium igne crematur. Iuuencus, Euang. II, v. 799-805 (CSEL 24, 77): Ecce sed ad fructum culmis cum spiceus horror Processit, lolio messis maculata redundat. Tum domino famuli mirantes talia fantur: Nonne bonum terrae semen per terga dedisti? Unde igitur lolio turpi tua rura grauantur? Sed iam, si iubeas, messem purgabimus omnem, Triticeus que nitor selecta sorde resistet. Tum dominus miti *contra* sermone profatur: Hic dolus est, inimice, tuus, sed farra sinamus Crescere cum lolio. Pleno nam tempore messis Secretum lolium conexo fasce iubebo Ignibus exuri; at nostro de semine messor Horrea nostra dehinc purgata fruge replebit; III, v. 2-9 (CSEL 24, 79): Discipuli rogitant, lolii quid quaestio uellet Et segetis: clarus quibus haec depromit Iesus: 'Optima qui farris commendat semina glebis, Filius est hominis; mundum sub nomine ruris Accipite, atque homines puro pro semine iustos. At lolium infelix cooperti daemonis arte Sunt homines; inimicus erit, uis horrida, daemon; Extremus mundi finis pro tempore messis. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 183.

participle and subjunctive of the indirect question of the Greek²²⁵¹ (ἀπελθόντες συλλέξωμεν),²²⁵² though not the earliest²²⁵³ or invariable one.²²⁵⁴ **eradicamus**. A contamination from Matth. 13.29. **recondere**. Stands for the VL's usual "congregate"²²⁵⁵ or "colligite".²²⁵⁶

1.23-24. **Hos messorum et pastores et operarios**. While recalling good Christian workers (see above), this also refers both to the angels' bearing of the saints' prayers before the Throne and their assaulting the kingdom of Antichrist. **archangelos**. None of these texts from Matthew have much bearing on Apoc. 8, except for their alleged allusion to archangels. Moreover, their reference to the sparing or gathering of the elect relates more to Apoc. 7.3-9 and 9.4. While Victorinus deduces a role here for the archangels, Matthew merely has "angels".²²⁵⁷

8.2.

1. 1. **Tuba autem uerbum est potestatis**. Clement of Alexandria held this was *the gospel of Christ*;²²⁵⁸ and Tertullian, deducing so from 1 Thess. 4.16, *its preaching or the sounding of*

²²⁵¹ Matth. 13.28 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 34 Linke): Quibus ait: inimicus homo hoc fecit. Dicunt ei serui uis imus et colligimus illa?

²²⁵² Matth. 13.28 (p. 35 Nestle-Aland).

²²⁵³ Matth. 13.28 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 47 Wordsworth): ait illis homo inimicus hoc fecit. dicunt ad eum serui eius. uis eamus et colligamus ea.

²²⁵⁴ Matth. 13.28 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 34 Scrivener): qui autem dixit eis. inimicus homo hoc fecit. dicunt ei serui uis euntes colligimus ea.

²²⁵⁵ Matth. 13.30 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 47 Wordsworth): Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum: triticum autem congregate in horreum meum.

²²⁵⁶ Matth. 13.30 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 34 Linke): Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum: triticum autem congregate in horreum meum.

²²⁵⁷ Matth. 13.39 (VL; Cod. 1; p. 48 Wordsworth): inimicus autem qui ea seminat zibolus est messis autem consummatio saeculi est. messorum autem angeli sunt.

²²⁵⁸ Clemens Alexandrinus, Protr. II 116.3 (SChr 2, l. 1-2): Σάλπιγξ ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ὃ μὲν ἐσάλπισεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠκούσαμεν.

*the prophetic word.*²²⁵⁹ Origen had identified the trumpeter of the Jewish new year (Leu. 23.24) as *he who commits the prophetic, evangelical and apostolic scriptures to memory.*²²⁶⁰

l. 1-4. **licet repetat.** The *tuba-uerbum* is the object of the impersonal verb. Augustine uses *repetere* to characterize revelation: "multis modis repetit".²²⁶¹ **per fialas** *i.e.* the seven bowls of plagues of the seven angels of Apoc. 15-16. **non quasi bis factum esse dicat, sed quoniam semel quod futurum est, a Deo decretum est eis ut fiat, ideo bis dicitur.** *Cf. In Apoc. 1.4, 1.22-25 (on Ps. 61.12); also Gen. 41.32.*²²⁶² **a Deo.** Jerome's reading, over MS A's

²²⁵⁹ "euangelicus sermo": Tertullianus, De res. mort. 24.5-7 (CC SL 2, l. 14-22): Quoniam ipse dominus in iussu [et] in uoce archangeli et in tuba dei descendet de caelo; et mortui in christo primi resurgent, deinde nos, qui uiuimus, [qui] simul cum illis tollemur in nubibus obuiam domino [christo] in aerem et ita semper cum domino erimus. Quae uox archangeli quae tuba dei audita iam, nisi forte in cubiculis haereticorum? nam etsi tuba dei euangelicus sermo dici potest, qui illos iam uocarit, sed aut mortui erunt iam corporaliter, ut resurrexerint, et quomodo uiuunt?; "uerbis tuba...prophetae": Ad Marc. IV 29 14 (CC SL 1, l. 22-24): Denique: diuidetur, inquit, pater in filium et filius in patrem, et mater in filiam et filia in matrem, et nurus in socrum et socrus in nurum. Hoc proelium inter parentes si in ipsis uerbis tuba cecinit prophetae, uereor ne micheas christo marcionis praedicarit. Et ideo hypocritas pronuntiabat caeli quidem et terrae faciem probantes, tempus uero illud non dinoscentes, quo scilicet, adimplens omnia, quae super ipso fuerant praedicata, nec aliter docens debuerat agnosci.

²²⁶⁰ Origenes, Orig. Hom. in Num. 23.9 (CB 30, 222, l. 17-22): Sed quis est, qui festiuitatem gerat 'memoriae tubarum', nisi qui potest scripturas propheticas et euangelicas atque apostolicas, quae ueluti coelesti quadam personant tuba, mandare memoriae et intra 'thesaurum cordis sui' recondere; Adnot. in Ies. (PG 17, 37, l. 4-10): Τὴν οἰκειάν δὲ αὐ- τοῖς ἐπιδεικνὺς δύναμιν, τὴν πρώτην πόλιν δίχα ὄπλων καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐλεῖν παρεσκεύασε, καὶ μόνη κατέλυσε τῆ τῶν σαλπύγων ἡχη· ἴν' ὅταν ἡττηθῶσι παραταττόμενοι, γνῶσιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ παρέσχον τῆς ἡττης τὰς ἀφορμὰς, τῶν θείων νόμων καταφρονήσαντες; Sel. in Ies. (PG 12, 823, l. 55-824, l. 5): Πορευόμενοι καὶ σαλπίζοντες. Αὐταὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες, σύμβολόν εἰσι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. «Αὐτὸς γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ Κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου, καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.» Τὸ δὲ, ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας κυκλοῦν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἱερεῖς, σημεῖον ἂν εἴη τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἕξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος τοῦ ἀγίου ἀπαντας σαλπίζειν καὶ κηρύττειν ἄφεισιν ἀμαρτιῶν τοῖς μετανοεῖν βουλομένοις; Schol. in Matth. (A 51; PG 17, 304, l. 46-50): Μεσονύκτιον δὲ γίνεται ἡ φωνή ἐκεῖνη τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἣ ἐξῆλθον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Φωνή ἐστὶν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἣ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐγείρουσα, καὶ ἐξάγουσα ἐκ τῶν τάφων. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3. 3. n. 96.

²²⁶¹ Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XX 17 (CC SL 48, l. 48-53): et in hoc quidem libro, cuius nomen est apocalypsis, obscure multa dicuntur, ut mentem legentis exerceant, et pauca in eo sunt, ex quorum manifestatione indagantur cetera cum labore; maxime quia sic eadem multis modis repetit, ut alia atque alia dicere uideatur, cum aliter atque aliter haec ipsa dicere uestigetur. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 183.

²²⁶² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.4 (SChr 423, 50, l.22-25): Et Dauid similiter ait per Spiritum: Semel locutus est Deus, duo haec audiimus, quia semel decreuit *ab initio* Dominus, quod usque ad finem futurum est. Gen. 41.32 (p. 67 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτερωῶσαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον Φαραῶ δις ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταχυνεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτό. *Cf.* Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 114.1 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): Ἔσθ' ὅτε γὰρ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἐναργῶς πράττεσθαι τι, ὁ τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι ἦν, ἐποίει, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ λόγους ἐφθέγγετο περὶ τῶν ἀποβαίνειν μελλόντων, φθεγγόμενον αὐτοὺς ὡς τότε γινομένων ἢ καὶ γεγενημένων.

"ad eos decretum", according more with Victorinus' earlier "decreuit...Dominus" (v. i.).

Decernere usually takes the infinitive,²²⁶³ so the force of *ut* plus the subjunctive *fiat* is that whatever God decrees, it is *as though it had already come to pass*.²²⁶⁴ Thus had Justin and Irenaeus already observed;²²⁶⁵ as had Tertullian;²²⁶⁶ and would Gregory of Elvira, Jerome and Augustine.²²⁶⁷ **eis i.e. fialis. ideo bis dicitur.** This duality is the paradoxical perspective of the Christian God: he is both in history and outside of it. For Augustine *repetitio* was also the tool of divine as well as human pedagogy.²²⁶⁸ Tyconius would come to call this *recapitulatio*,²²⁶⁹ though Victorinus was likely first to formulate it.²²⁷⁰

²²⁶³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *decerno* I. A.; II., 518.

²²⁶⁴ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *ut* II. C. 2. c. (γ), 1943.

²²⁶⁵ Iustinus Martyrus, 1 Apol. 42.1 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-2 (l. 2 Goodspeed): Ὅταν δὲ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα λέγη, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις δοξάσαι ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀπολογίαν μὴ παράσχη τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, καὶ τοῦτο διασαφήσομεν. τὰ πάντως ἐγνωσμένα γενησόμενα προλέγει ὡς ἤδη γενόμενα; Dial. c. Tryph. 114.1 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): Ἔσθ' ὅτε γὰρ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἐναργῶς πράττεσθαί τι, ὃ τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι ἦν, ἐποίει, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ λόγους ἐφθέγγετο περὶ τῶν ἀποβαίνειν μελλόντων, φθεγγόμενον αὐτοῦς ὡς τότε γινομένων ἢ καὶ γεγενημένων. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. apost. praed. 67 (p. 93 Weber (trans.)): Id ipsum est, suscipiet et portabit, quoniam est alicubi, ut, quae futurum est ut eveniant, per prophetas Spiritus Dei (ut) facta narret. Nam apud Deum probata et mente concepta (et) decreta ut fiant, iam aestimata sunt (ut) facta. Et id respiciendo et videndo tempus Spiritus facit verba, in quo perficiuntur prophetiae exitus.

²²⁶⁶ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III 5.2 (CC SL 1, 381, l. 1-11): Duas itaque causas prophetici eloquii adlego agnoscendas abhinc adversariis nostris. Unam, *qua* futura interdum pro iam transactis enuntiantur. Nam et divinitati competit quaecunque decreverit ut perfecta reputare, quia non sit apud illam differentia temporis apud quam uniformem statum temporum dirigit aeternitas ipsa. Et divinationi propheticae magis familiare est id quod prospiciat, dum prospicit, iam visum atque ita iam expunctum, id est omni modo futurum, demonstrare, sicut per Esaiam, Dorsum meum posui in flagella, maxillas autem meas in palmas, faciem meam vero non averti a sputaminibus.

²²⁶⁷ Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script. (CC SL 69, Tract. 16 (CC SL 69, l. 16-19): Sed ante omnia requirendum nobis est, quur praetitulatio ista cum subsequenti sermone non congruet. Ait enim: visio quam uidit esaias in regno oziae, ioathan, achat, ezechiae, regum iuda. Cum utique una haec visio, quatuor regum temporibus ostensa non fuerit, quasi una visio est uno tempore uisa; non enim dicit uisionis quas uidit esaias quasi plures, sed visio inquit, ut unam uisionem hostenderet; quae si una est, uno, ut dixi, tempore uisa est, non tamen quatuor regum temporibus una et eadem visio ostensa est. Re Jerome v. Jay, L'exégèse de St Jérôme d'après son commentaire sur Isaïe, 359-360. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.3, n. 19-20.

²²⁶⁸ Et v. Augustinus Hipponensis, Enar. in Ps. 74.3 (CC SL 39, l. 22-26): una est, inquit, interpretatio eorum; sed quod rursus uidisti, ait, ad confirmationem ualet. haec dixi ut non putetis repetitionem in uerbis sanctae linguae, quasi loquacitatis esse appetitum. saepe ibi repetitio firmitati habet uim. Et cf. the anonymous author of *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*, for whom the physical end (*consummatio*) of Judaeans and destruction of Jerusalem prefigures that of the world and its peoples, albeit only spiritually for the Church: Op. imp. in. Matth. 48.3 (PG 56, c. 900): In consummatione enim gentis Iudaeae Ierusalem destructa est, quae tamen uidebatur esse Ierusalem, non autem uera erat. In consummatione autem mundi Ecclesia aut desolata, aut desolanda est: adhuc tame illa quae uidebatur Ecclesia, non autem quae uera erat, aut est: Dominus autem non separatim dixit, quae signa pertineant ad destructionem Ierusalem, et quae ad consummationem mundi, uidelicet ut eadem signa pertinere uideantur et ad manifestationem destructionis Ierusalem, et ad manifestationem consummationis mundi:

l. 5-8. **Nec aspiciendus ordo dictorum, quoniam septiformis Spiritus Sanctus, ubi ad nouissimum temporis finemque percurrit, redit rursus ad eadem tempora et supplet quae minus dixit. aspiciendus.** Victorinus' typically compressed style omits *est*. **dictorum**. *dictum* has a classical sense of *prediction* or *prophecy*, likely derived from its *poetic* sense.²²⁷¹ **septiformis Spiritus Sanctus.** The sevenfold nature of the Holy Spirit is invoked for its expression in the seven trumpets and bowls. **percurrit...redit.** Victorinus elucidates a *cyclical, retrospective/-jective* aspect to prophetic expression, a form of accelerated travel backwards and forwards *through* time.

l. 8-10. **Nec requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus requirendus; est enim et pseudopropheta. intellectus requirendus.** Jerome prefers the variation "sequendus",²²⁷² but "requirendus" suits Victorinus' elliptic contrast with "nec requirendus est ordo". **est...est pseudopropheta** *i.e.* "requirendus ordo in Apocalypsi est pseudopropheta".

l. 10-14. **Sunt igitur scripta quae sunt in tubis et in fialis aut plagarum orbi missarum clades aut ipsius Antichristi insania aut populorum detractio aut plagarum differentia aut spes in regno sanctorum aut ruina ciuitatum aut ruina Babylonis, id est ciuitatis Romanae. aut...aut.** Victorinus divides the contents of the seven trumpets and bowls into his own, seven categories, albeit, perhaps, ones somewhat arbitrary.²²⁷³ **plagarum orbi**

quia non quasi historiam per ordinem exposuit eis, quomodo res errant agenda, sed propheticum more praedixi eis quae intelligitur. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio, 100.

²²⁶⁹ Tyconius, Lib. reg. 6.1 (SChr 488, 310, l. 1-4): Inter regulas quibus Spiritus legem signauit quo luminis uia custodiretur, non nihil custodit recapitulationis sigillum ea subtilitate, ut continuatio magis narrationis quam recapitulatio uideatur.

²²⁷⁰ Haussleiter, Beiträge, 14-15. Bousset, Die Offenbarung, 54. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 103; 2, 2.3, n. 21.

²²⁷¹ Lewis and Short, *dico*, II. Transf. B. 4., 571.

²²⁷² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (R. H.; p. 87, l. 6 Haussleiter).

²²⁷³ Though Haussleiter sees here the seven trumpets and bowls: Victorini episcopi Petavionensis Opera, xliii. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n. 85.

missarum clades...plagarum differentia. *Seven* πληγαί/*plagae* are in fact specified.²²⁷⁴

ipsius Antichristi insania *i.e.* the fifth trumpet and bowl.²²⁷⁵ **populorum detractio.**

Detrectatio (or *detractio*)'s (rare) classical meaning is a *refusing* or *declining* e.g. of *military service* in Livy, or *faith* in Tertullian,²²⁷⁶ perhaps in a transposed military metaphor.

"Detractionem" renders τὴν βλασφημίαν in Apoc. 2.9:²²⁷⁷ here it is analogous to the thrice ἐβλασφήμησαν/"blasphemauerunt" in response to the pouring of the fourth, fifth and

seventh bowls.²²⁷⁸ **plagarum differentia.** Victorinus does not divide the plagues into *seven* different sorts, but likely has in mind the sevenfold curse of Leu. 26.28.²²⁷⁹ **res in regno**

sanctorum. Perhaps a reference to the exhortation to expect the Son of Man of Apoc. 16.15, inserted between the pouring of the sixth and seventh bowls.²²⁸⁰ For Victorinus this

constitutes the pivot of *what is written in the seven trumpets and bowls*, although it occurs after the sixth bowl, at which men do not blaspheme. **ruina ciuitatum** *i.e.* Apoc. 16.19.²²⁸¹

²²⁷⁴ Apoc. 15.1, 6, 8; 21.9.

²²⁷⁵ Apoc. 9.1-11; 16.10-11.

²²⁷⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *detrectatio* I., 563. *Detrectatio*=*detractio*, TLL, s. v. *detrectatio*, c. 834, 44; = *curse*: TLL, s. v. *detractio*, c. 821, 9 et seq.

²²⁷⁷ Apoc. 2.9 (p. 635 Nestle-Aland).

²²⁷⁸ Apoc. 16.9 (p. 664 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐκαυματίσθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 81 Belsheim): Et aestuauerunt aestu magno homines et blasphemauerunt nomen dei qui habet potestatem super has plagas, et non egerunt paenitentiam dare illi gloriam; 16.11 (p. 664 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν τῶν θεῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑλκῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 81 Belsheim): et blasphemabant deum celi de doloribus suis et ulneribus suis, et non egerunt penitentiam; 16.21 (p. 665 Nestle-Aland): καὶ χάλαζα μεγάλη ὡς ταλαντιαία καταβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν θεῶν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τῆς χαλάζης ὅτι μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς σφόδρα; (VL; Cod. 51; p. 82 Belsheim): Et grando magna sicut talentum descendit de caelo in homines: et blasphemauerunt homines deum a plaga grandinis, quia magna facta eius uehementer. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n. 84.

²²⁷⁹ Leu. 26.28 (VL; Cod. 100; p. 238 Robert): et ego ibo uobiscum prauae, et castigabo ego uos septies secundum peccata uestra. Dulaey speculates that some texts of the VL do indeed render שֶׁ־בָּא' / ἑπτάκις more literally by *septies*: (Cod. Lugd. (Robert 1881)): et ego ibo uobiscum prauae, et castigabo ego uos septies secundum peccata uestra. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 187; 2, 3.3, n. 98.

²²⁸⁰ Apoc. 16.15 (VL; 51; p. 82 Belsheim): Ecce uenio sicut fur beatus qui uigilat et custodit uestimenta sua, ne nudus ambulet et uideant turpitudinem eius. But Dulaey finds it spurious, since it occurs not in Apoc. 9.1-11 or 16.10-11: Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n. 85.

²²⁸¹ Apoc. 16.19 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 82 Belsheim): Et facta est ciuitas magna in tres partes, et ciuitates gencium ceciderunt. Et babilon magna memoriae fuit ante deum dare illi calicem uini indignacionis.

ruina Babylonis, id est ciuitatis Romanae. Cf. also Apoc. 16.19 et al. Both these last ones occur after the pouring of the seventh bowl (Apoc. 16.17).

8.3.

l. 1. **Aquila uolans medio caelo.** Cf. Apoc. 8.13.²²⁸²

l. 1-4. **in duobus prophetis** *i.e.* Elijah and Jeremiah, whom, for reasons given below, Victorinus identifies with each of the wings of the eagle. **contestans agnam plagarum iram imminere** *i.e.* warning of the three trumpets to come (Apoc. 9.1-13; 11.15), consisting in, *inter alia*, the three plagues of Apoc. 9.18.²²⁸³ **si quo modo, quamuis sit nouissimum tempus aliquis adhuc saluus esse possit.** Victorinus likely identifies the eagle's wings with the last mission of Elijah and Jeremiah via, *inter alia*, the angel of the eternal gospel, also *mid-heaven*, who proclaims *the hour of judgment* (of Apoc. 14.6-7;²²⁸⁴ perhaps also interrupted in Apoc. 8.1 to recapitulate the seven seals; whose half hour is the forty-two months, or half-week, of the two witnesses' preaching of Apoc. 11.3).

10.1

²²⁸² Apoc. 8.13 (VL; 51; p. 73 Belsheim): Et uidi, et audiui unius aquilae uolantis per medium caelum, uoce dicentis ue ue habitantibus super terram de ceteris uocibus trium angelorum, qui erant tuba canituri.

²²⁸³ Apoc. 9.18 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 74 Belsheim): Plagis tribus his occisa est tertia pars hominum de igne et de fumo et de sulphura, qui procedebat de ore ipsorum; VL; Cod. 12; p. 87 Férotin): Ab his tribus;...et fumo et sulphure qui procedebant.

²²⁸⁴ Apoc. 14.6-7 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 79 Belsheim): Et uidi alium angelum uolantem per caelum medium, habentem euangelium aeternum, ut euangelizaret sedentibus supra terram et supra omnem gentem et tribum et linguam et populum. dicens uoce magna Timete dominum et date illi honorem, quia uenit hora iudicii eius, et adorate deum qui fecit caelum et terram et mare et fontes aquarum.

l. 1-7. **Namque angelum fortem quem dicit descendisse de caelo, amictum nubem, et iris super caput eius et facies eius tamquam columna ignis, et habentem in manu sua librum apertum, et posuit pedes suos supra mare et terram.** Cf. Apoc. 10.1-2.²²⁸⁵ **amictum nubem.** The VL universally has “nube”, and so corrects Jerome. However, the accusative of relation “nubem” closely translates the Greek νεφέλην. **super caput** agrees with the Greek ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, Beatus’ paraphrase,²²⁸⁶ though not the VL’s “in capite”. **columna.** The VL generally also has the singular “columna” for the plural στῦλοι. **habentem in manu sua.** The VL always has “habebat”, while “habentem” translates ἔχων, but for its case. **librum apertum.** The oldest VL invariably so has it:²²⁸⁷ the Vulgate’s “libellum”²²⁸⁸ accords with a Greek variant βιβλίον.²²⁸⁹ **pedes meos.** Conflates the “pedem suum dextrum...sinistrum” of the VL, accurately translating the Greek. **supra mare et terram.** Distinguishes the ἐπὶ-plus-genitive of ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης...ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, from the “super”-plus-accusative translating ἐπὶ-plus-accusative in ἡ ἴρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

²²⁸⁵ Apoc. 10.1-2 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 74 Belsheim): Et uidi alium angelum fortem descendentem de caelo, amictum nube, et yris in capite eius, et uultus eius sicut sol, et pedes eius tamquam columnae ignis, et habebat in manu sua librum apertum. Et posuit pedem suum dextrum supra mare, sinistrum autem supra terram.

²²⁸⁶ Beatus Liebanensis, Commentarius in Apocalipsin V 10.1 (436, l. 17): Et uidi alium angelum fortem, descendentem de caelo, nube amictum, et iris super caput eius, et facies eius sicut sol, et pedes eius sicut columnae ignis.

²²⁸⁷ Apoc. 10.2 (VL; Cod. 51; p. 74 Belsheim); (VL; Cod. 65; p. 143 Buchanan).

²²⁸⁸ E.g. p. 1133. "Librum" accords with Papyrus 47, of the same family as *Sinaiticus*, differing from group A-C, according to De Césarée, / Schmid, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse Textes. 2. Einleitung, MTS 1.2, 109-122. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio1, 87; 2, 2.1, n. 185.

²²⁸⁹ Apoc. 10.2 (βιβλίον: $\mathfrak{P}^{47\text{vid}}$ \mathfrak{B}^K ; βιβλιδάριον: (\mathfrak{N}^1) C* 1006. 1611. 1841. 2053. 2344 \mathfrak{B}^A ; βιβλάριον: 2329 *pc txt* \mathfrak{N}^* A C P 1. 2351 *al*; p. Nestle-Aland).

1. 5-7. **Dominum nostrum significat.** Hippolytus had already so identified.²²⁹⁰ But, for Victorinus, Christ is as much the eternal Word as he is the Son of Man, *angelus*' having the literal sense of *nuntius*, if not the *euangelium*-*gospel* itself. **sicut superius enarrauimus de facie eius tamquam solis** *i.e.* *In Apoc.* 1.3.²²⁹¹ **tamquam solis.** For some reason Victorinus alters the nominative *sol* to its genitive, perhaps as an ellipsis of *gloria*, which appears in *In Apoc.* 1.3, l. 3.²²⁹²

1. 7-8. **super caput autem eius iris iudicium, quod factum est aut futurum est. Iris iudicium...est...futurum.** *Cf. In Apoc.* 4.2, 1.7-10:²²⁹³ the rainbow symbolizes the watery judgement passed and, by its “ardentem colorem”, the fiery one to come.

1. 8-9. **Liber autem apertus Apocalypsis est quam accepit Iohannes.** Victorinus is the first documented to *explicitly* identify this book with *Revelation* itself; Pseudo-Cyprian identifies it with “the Law” (and Victorinus' John with its very *angelus-messenger*).²²⁹⁴

1. 9-10. **Pedes eius et superius diximus conflatos esse apostolos.** *Cf. In Apoc.* 1.5, l. 4-7.²²⁹⁵

The anonymous commentary,²²⁹⁶ later compiled by Theodulphus Aurelianensis equates the

²²⁹⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, *Com.* in Dan. IV 34.1 (SChr 14, l. 1)-3 (SChr 14, l. 3). Prigent and Stehly, *Les Fragments du De Apocalypse d'Hippolyte*, in: *ThZ* 29 (1973), 321 (*cf.* GCS 1, 232, l. 1-2: Arabic fragment). Cited from Dulaey, *Sur l'Apocalypse*, 183.

²²⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com.* in Apoc. 1.3 (SChr 423, 48, l. 1-3): *In facie autem claritas solis. Facies eius apparitio illius fuit, qua locutus est hominibus facie contra faciem. Solis autem gloria minor est quam gloria Domini.*

²²⁹² *Ibid.*

²²⁹³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com.* in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 7-10): *Iris autem circum solium ardentem colorem habet; iris autem arcus dicitur, de quo etiam ad Noe et filios suos locutus est Deus, ne iam timerent inrigationem aquae.*

²²⁹⁴ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), *Sermo de cent.* 67 (PLS 1, col. 64, l. 61 –col. 65, l. 24): *lex enim domini dura est et amara, <sed> amaritudinem facit, ut dulcedinem ostendat. / nam et per Iohannem demonstravit, cum spiritus librum angelo sigilla soluenti traderet dicens: Accipe librum et deuora eum et amaritudinem faciet uentri tuo, sed in ore tuo erit dulce tamquam mel. / hoc est per os trium testium probari, id est per os patris et filii et spiritus sancti confiteri, quod mel tribus litteris constat scribi; nam et fel quidem legimus tribus litteris statui. / haec est amaritudo, quam uentri angelus sentiebat. Cf. Clement's identifying the Word with the angel of the Law: Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paed.* I 7.1 (p. 59, l. 2 ed. Dindorf)-2 (p. 59, l. 1 ed. Dindorf).*

right foot with the apostles who are mighty in preaching, the left with those who are weaker.²²⁹⁷

l. 10-11. **Nam calcari ab eo et mare et terram, omnia pedibus eius subdita significat.** Cf.

1 Cor. 15.27. **calcari.** Echoes “calcari” and “calcabunt” in *In Apoc.* 11.2.²²⁹⁸ VL readings of Luc. 10.19 use *calcare*,²²⁹⁹ and so also some versions of Gen. 3.15.²³⁰⁰ **subdita.** Chimes alone with “subdidit” in Pseudo-Ignatius,²³⁰¹ while the VL universally has forms of *subiecere*. Cf. 1 Cor. 15.27.

l. 11-12. **Angelum illum dicit esse, id est nuntium patris omnipotentis. Angelum illud dicit esse.** Novatian also retains the transliteration *angelus*, rather than the Latin *nuntius* in

²²⁹⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.5 (SChr 423, 52, l. 4-6): 1Pedes eius similes aurichalco tamquam in fornace conflato. Apostolos dicit, quia per passionem conflati praedicaerunt uerbum eius; per quos enim ambulat praedicatio, merito pedes nominantur.

²²⁹⁶ Commemorat. de Apoc. (CC SL 107, 216, l. 3-5): HABEBAT IN MANV SVA LIBELLVM APERTVM, id est sanctam scripturam; pedes dexter apostoli uel qui fortes sunt in praedicatione, pedes sinister, qui infirmiores sunt in ecclesia.

²²⁹⁷ Theodulphus Aurelianensis, Commemorat. de Apoc. Io. 10.2 (SL107, 322, l. 7-8): ET HABEBAT IN MANV SVA LIBELLVM APERTVM, et reliqua, "id est sanctam scripturam. Pes dexter apostoli uel qui fortes sunt in praedicatione, pes sinister, qui infirmiores sunt in ecclesia".

²²⁹⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11.2 (SChr 423, 94, l. 3-4): Quia data est, inquit, calcari a gentibus; Com. in Apoc. 11.2 (SChr 423, 94, l. 3-4): Et ciuitatem sanctam calcabunt mensibus quadraginta duobus.

²²⁹⁹ Luc. 10.19 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 18736, 94): Ecce dedi vobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes etc.

²³⁰⁰ Gen. 3.15 (p. 19 Sabatier 1). Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV (SChr 100, 40. 3, l. 54-57): Quemadmodum et Scriptura ait dixisse serpenti Deum: Et inimicitiam ponam inter te et inter mulierem, et inter semen tuum et inter semen mulieris; ipse tuum calcabit caput, et tu obseruabis ejus calcaneum. Tertullianus, De cult. fem. I 6 (CC SL 1, l. 18): Sic calcabit diaboli caput, dum de capite eius ceruicibus aut et ipsi capiti ornamentum struit?

²³⁰¹ On 1 Cor. 15.27-28: Pseudo-Ignatius Antiochenus, Epist. ad Tars. 5.2 (p. 137, l. 24 Mallet / Thibaut): *ergo* alius est ille, qui subiecit Filio omnia et qui est omnia in omnibus; et alius Filius, cui subiecta sunt omnia, qui et post haec omnia subiectus erit illi, qui ei subdidit omnia. Cf. Nouatianus, De trin. 20 (Dierks, l. 4-6): Nam si omnibus caelestibus, terrenis et infernis christo subditis etiam ipsi angeli cum omnibus ceteris quaecumque subiecta sunt christo dicuntur dii, iure et deus christus; and Origenes, Rufini, sec. trans., In Epist. ad Rom. VII 3 (AGLB 34, 572, l.59-61): Et ideo non ad iniuriam dicitur quia profetis subiecti sunt spiritus sed ad dispensationem, sicut et illud dictum accipimus de saluatore: 'quia tunc et ipse filius subiectus erit ei qui sibi subdidit omnia'.

his translation of Is. 9.5²³⁰² (as would Hilary).²³⁰³ He argues for its application, both as to its literal and supernatural sense,²³⁰⁴ to the Godhead, and maintains Christ manifested himself to Abraham as an angel proper.²³⁰⁵ Such angelic Christology is not uncommon before the fourth century, from which Justin and Hippolytus show influence.²³⁰⁶ **id est nuntium patris omnipotentis.** Tertulian also retains *angelus* but is very careful to interpret it as *nuntius*.²³⁰⁷ Justin, Clement of Alexandria,²³⁰⁸ Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian had all

²³⁰² Nouatianus, De trin. 28 (CC SL 4, 1.28): Et cum nondum sinum patris christus exposuisset, referebat: et uocabitur nomen eius magni consilii angelus.

²³⁰³ Hiliarius Pictaviensis, De trin. 4.23 (CC SL 62, 1. 24-23): Vt personarum distinctio absoluta esset, angelus Dei est nuncupatus. Qui enim est Deus ex Deo, ipse est et angelus Dei.

²³⁰⁴ Nouatianus, De trin. 31 (CC SL 4, 1.78): Est et angelus, sed ad annuntiandum magnum dei consilium ex patre suo angelus destinatus

²³⁰⁵ Nouatianus, De trin. 18 (CC SL 4, 1. 48-54): Quomodo *ergo* deus erit, si angelus fuit, cum non sit hoc nomen angelis umquam concessum? nisi quoniam ex utroque latere nos ueritas in istam concludit sententiam, *qua* intellegere debeamus dei filium fuisse qui, quoniam ex deo est, merito deus, quia dei filius dictus sit, quoniam patri subditus et annuntiator paternae uoluntatis est, magni consilii angelus pronuntiatu est. *ergo* si hic locus neque personae patris congruit, ne angelus dictus sit, neque personae angeli, ne deus pronuntiatu sit, personae autem christi conuenit, ut et deus sit, quia dei filius est, et angelus sit, quoniam paternae dispositionis annuntiator est, intellegere debent *contra* scripturas se agere haeretici, qui christum cum dicant se et angelum credere, nolint illum etiam deum pronuntiare, quem in ueteri testamento ad uisitationem generis humani legunt saepe uenisse; De trin. 18 (CC SL 4, 74-75): Si autem angelum, cum ex angelis tribus unus dominus nuncupatur, cur, quod non solet, angelus deus dicitur? nisi quoniam, ut deo patri inuisibilitas propria reddatur et angelo propria mediocritas remittatur, non nisi dei filius, qui et deus est, abrahamae uisus et hospitio receptus esse credetur; De trin. 31 (CC SL 4, 1.78): Est et angelus, sed ad annuntiandum magnum dei consilium ex patre suo angelus destinatus.

²³⁰⁶ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Trypho. 76.3 (Archambault, p. 8; 1. 1-7 Goodspeed): καὶ Ἡσαΐας δὲ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον αὐτὸν εἰπὼν, οὐχὶ τούτων ὄντων ἐδίδαξεν ἐλθὼν διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι προεκήρυσσεν; ἃ γὰρ μεγάλα ἐβεβούλευτο ὁ πατὴρ εἶς τε πάντας τοὺς εὐαρέστους γενο- μένους αὐτῷ καὶ γεννησομένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγγέλους, οὗτος μόνος ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐδίδαξεν, εἰπὼν; 1 Apol. 6.2 (Pautigny, p. 10-1; 1. 1-6): ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνευμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. II 32.6 (1. 1 Goodspeed)-7 (1. 2 Goodspeed): Περὶ τούτου Ἡσαΐας λέγει Τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καλεῖται μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος. Τοῦτον ἢ γραφῆ καὶ ἄγγελον θεοῦ ὠμολόγησεν ὃ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀναγγείλας ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μυστήρια. Cf. Nouatianus, De trin. 21 (CC SL 4, 1. 20-25): qui non uenit ut faceret suam uoluntatem, sed potius ut faciat patris uoluntatem, a quo missus ad hoc ipsum fuerat, ut magni consilii angelus factus arcanorum caelestium nobis iura reseraret. Cf. RLAC, s. v. *Engel*, IV (christlich), c. 148-149; Barbel, Christos Angelas, in: Theophaneia 3 (1941), 79-80. Daniélou, Théologie du Judéochristianisme, 169 et seq.

²³⁰⁷ Tertullianus, De carn. Christ. 14 (CC SL 2, 1. 13-22): idoneus enim non erat dei filius, qui solus hominem liberaret, a solo et singulari serpente deiectum? *ergo* iam non unus dominus nec unus saluficator, sed duo salutis artifices, et utique alter altero indigens. An uero ut per angelum liberaret hominem? cur *ergo* ipse descendit ad id, quod per angelum erat expediturus? si per angelum, quid et ipse? si *per se*, quid et angelus? dictus est quidem 'angelus magni cogitatus', id est nuntius, officii, non naturae uocabulo. Magnum enim cogitatum patris, super hominis scilicet restitutionem, adnuntiaturus saeculo erat. Non ideo tamen sic angelus intellegendus ut aliquid gabrihel aut michahel.

²³⁰⁸ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. I 5.1 (p. 24, 1. 4 Dindorf)-2 (p. 24, 1. 1 ed. Dindorf): καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος.

identified Christ as an angel, in at least the sense of *messenger*, through an application of Is.

9.6. Novatian and Gregory of Elvira are very careful to distinguish Christ-as-angel from God the Father, whose Son and Messenger he is.²³⁰⁹ This resembles Pseudo-Cyprian's designation of Christ as "angel and Lord".²³¹⁰

1. 12-13. **magni consilii nuntius**. Irenaeus had already conflated "great counsel" with "the Father": "magni consilii Patris nuntius".²³¹¹ While Victorinus faithfully translates the LXX's *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος*,²³¹² he also implicitly associates "magni consilii" with "patris omnipotentis". This may allude to the MT's *אֵל גִּבּוֹר, אֲבִי-עַד*, *ēl gibbōr, avīy-'ad*; for Jewish

²³⁰⁹ Nouatianus, De trin. 18 (CC SL 4, 71, l. 46-61): Sed absit deum patrem angelum dicere, ne alteri subditus sit, cuius angelus fuerit. Sed angelum dicent fuisse. Quomodo *ergo* deus erit, si angelus fuit, cum non sit hoc nomen angelis umquam concessum? nisi quoniam ex utroque latere nos ueritas in istam concludit sententiam, *qua* intellegere debeamus dei filium fuisse qui, quoniam ex deo est, merito deus, quia dei filius dictus sit, quoniam patri subditus et annuntiator paternae uoluntatis est, magni consilii angelus pronuntiatus est. *ergo* si hic locus neque personae patris congruit, ne angelus dictus sit, neque personae angeli, ne deus pronuntiatus sit, personae autem christi conuenit, ut et deus sit, quia dei filius est, et angelus sit, quoniam paternae dispositionis annuntiator est, intellegere debent *contra* scripturas se agere haeretici, qui christum cum dicant se et angelum credere, nolint illum etiam deum pronuntiare, quem in ueteri testamento ad uisitationem generis humani legunt saepe uenisse. Gregorius Illiberitanus, Tract. Orig. de lib. Sanct. Script. 3 (CC SL 69, l. 261-275f.): Sed si angelus erat, quomodo deus dicebatur? angelum enim deum dici non licet. Aut si deus erat, quomodo angelus uocabatur? sed ideo hoc, ut hostenderet scriptura diuina filium dei, non patrem ad agar fuisse locutum et ipsum ei hoc fuisse pollicitum, ut in gentem magnam faceret eum, quia per legem et prophetas semper ipse locutus est, sicut de eo scriptum est: ego qui loquebar ueni. Et ideo angelum scriptura dixit, ut eum magni consilii nuntium indicaret; ipse enim omnia archana paternae uoluntatis credentibus resserabat, ne quis ipsum patrem ipsum que dei filium, ut praxeas et sabellius adserunt, esse putaret, unde patripassiani heretici nuncupantur. Et ideo angelum nominauit, ut non patris, sed filii personam in hac pollicitatione monstraret. Verum deum eundem angelum dixit, ut dei filium uerum deum esse ostenderet. Non enim naturae non nominaturae componitur. Ac proinde et angelus propter obedientiam paternae uoluntatis dicitur et deus secundum naturam patris, quia uere deus est, nuncupatur; filius etenim dei, deus uerus de deo uero, unigenitus ab ingenito non potest alius esse quam deus.

²³¹⁰ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De sing. cleric. 26 (CSEL 3.3, 203, l. 21): nobis autem in spiritu et uirtute Heliae non alium quam Iohannem solum angelus et Dominus Christus insinuat. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. 67 (PLS 1, col. 64, l. 61 –col. 65, l. 24): v. s.

²³¹¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 16.3 (SChr 211, l. 98-104): Propter hoc et Marcus ait: Initium Euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis, unum et eundem sciens Filium Dei Iesum Christum, qui a prophetis adnuntiatus est, qui ex fructu uentris Dauid, Emmanuel, magni consilii Patris nuntius. Per quem oriri fecit Deus domui Dauid Orientem et iustum et erexit ei cornu salutis, et suscitauit testimonium in Iacob, quemadmodum Dauid causas generationis eius disserens ait, et legem posuit in Israel, ut cognoscat generatio altera, filii qui nascentur ex his, et ipsi exsurgentes enarrabunt filiis suis, uti ponant in Deum spem suam et praecepta eius exquirant Et rursus angelus euangelizans Mariae ait: Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi uocabitur, et dabit ei Dominus thronum Dauid patris sui, eum qui sit Filius Altissimi, hunc eundem et Dauid filium confitens.

²³¹² Cyprian has a variation: Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Ad Quir. II 21 (CC SL 3, l. 7): Item apud esaia: ecce natus est uobis puer, et datus est nobis filius, cuius imperium super humeros eius: et uocatum est nomen eius magnae cogitationis nuntius.

Christians undoubtedly meaning “mighty God, everlasting Father”.²³¹³ Victorinus may have been aware of an underlying Judeo-Christian interpretation of the text, but more likely consulted the translations of Clement of Alexandria (who elsewhere used the LXX) and Irenaeus, which are closer to the Hebrew anyway.²³¹⁴ Clemens first identifies the law of Moses with the angel of the Word, which angel then becomes incarnate in Christ.²³¹⁵

l. 13-16. **Clamasse uoce magna.** It is surprising, perhaps, that Victorinus does not comment on the angel-Christ’s *roaring*, but he surely would have interpreted the leonine simile as that of the Judah-Christ of Apoc. 5.5.²³¹⁶ Cf. Amos 1, 2.²³¹⁷ **Dei uerba hominibus nuntiare.** This surely refers mainly to the last mission of Elijah and Jeremiah. **post clausam paenitentiam.** The metaphor of *shutting* likely derives from the closing of the Bride Groom’s door to guests in Matth. 25.10 and Luc. 13.25 *i.e.* at Christ’s return.²³¹⁸ Dulaey sees an architectural metaphor resembling Hermas’ Tower-Church, within whose construction one may repent and *be included*. But, *contra* Dulaey, repentance *is* possible after its completion, but only during a

²³¹³ Is. 9.5 (p. 688 Elliger-Rudolph): -בִּישׁוֹן, אֶל אֲבוֹתָי, אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין אֲחֵרִים; אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין אֲחֵרִים, אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין אֲחֵרִים, אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין אֲחֵרִים.

²³¹⁴ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. I 5. 2 (p. 24, l. 10-11 ed. Dindorf): θαυμαστός σύμβουλος, θεὸς δυνάστης, πατὴρ αἰώνιος, ἄρχων εἰρήνης τῷ πληθύνειν τὴν παιδείαν.

²³¹⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. I 7.1 (p. 59, l. 2 ed. Dindorf)-2 (p. 59, l. 1 ed. Dindorf): Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ λαῶν πρεσβυτέρα διαθήκη ἦν καὶ νόμος ἐπαιδαγωγεῖ τὸν λαὸν μετὰ φόβου καὶ λόγος ἄγγελος ἦν, καινῶ δὲ καὶ νέῳ λαῶ καινὴ καὶ νέα διαθήκη δεδώρηται καὶ ὁ λόγος γεγέννηται ἡ καὶ ὁ φόβος εἰς ἀγάπην μετατέτραπται καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς ἐκεῖνος ἄγγελος Ἰησοῦς τίκεται.

²³¹⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 5.2 (SChr 423, 74, l. 5): Ad deincendam enim mortem leo dictus est.

²³¹⁷ Amos 1.2 (p. 502 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἐκ Σιων ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐξ Ἱερουσαλημ ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπένθησαν αἱ νομαὶ τῶν ποιμένων καὶ ἐξηράνθη ἡ κορυφή τοῦ Καρμήλου; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in Osee III 11 (CC SL 76, l. 335-336): de quo et amos propheta commemorat: dominus de sion rugiet et de hierusalem dabit uocem suam; (VL; Hieronymus, Com. in proph. min. I 1 (in Amos; CC SL 76, l. 97-99): et ait: dominus de sion effatus est, et de hierusalem dedit uocem suam; et luxerunt pascua pastorum, et arefactus est uertex carmeli; (VL; Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. III 3.20 (SChr 211, l. 106-107): Et rursus locum significans aduentus eius ait: Dominus ex Sion locutus est et ex Hierusalem dedit uocem suam.

²³¹⁸ Matth. 25.10 (Cod. 4; p. 35 Belsheim): Dum eunt emere, uenit sponsus, et quae paratae erant, intrauerunt cum eo in nuptias, et clausa est ianua. Luc. 13.25 (Cod. 5; p. 77 Belsheim): ex quo incipiet pater familias surgere et cludere ostium et incipietis foris stare et pulsare ostium dicentes dne aperi nobis et respondens dicet nobis non noui uos unde sitis.

period of purgatorial torment.²³¹⁹ Perhaps Victorinus thought this justified including within the kingdom those gentiles that survive the Lord's advent, albeit as slaves destined to revolt and be damned a thousand years hence anyway.²³²⁰

10. 2

1. 1. **Septem tonitrua locuta uoces suas. tonitrua...uoces.** Cf. Ps. 28.3: “uox

Domini...intonuit.”²³²¹ The Hebrew לִק, *qōl*, can mean *thunder*,²³²² and does so here.²³²³

1. 1. **Spiritus septiformis uirtutis.** *De fabrica mundi* specifies the fourth Spirit of Is. 11.2-3 as that of *uirtutis*.²³²⁴ Justin affirms that the seven Spirits of Isaiah were fulfilled in Christ, as well as πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος.²³²⁵ Pseudo-Cyprian has “consignantibus septem spiritibus teste moysae et helia”.²³²⁶ **per prophetas protestatus ...testimonium reddidit.** For Irenaeus, the Word, Son, Spirit and prophets announce each other.²³²⁷ **in saeculo**

²³¹⁹ Hermas, Vis. 3.7.5-6 (p. 45 Lake): Ἐχουσιν, φησίν, μετάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἀρμόσαιρ ἑτέρω δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσουσιν πολὺ ἐλάττονι, καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπληρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 183-184.

²³²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 19.0 (SChr 423, 112, l. 4-7): Ceterae autem, quae fuerint nobiliores, seruabuntur in seruitutem sanctorum, quas et ipsas quidem oportet in nouissimo tempore consummato regno sanctorum ante iudicium rursus dimisso diabolo interfici.

²³²¹ Ps. 28.3 (VL; Cod. 300; p. 40 Bianchini): Vox Domini super aquas: Deus majestatis intonuit: Dominus super aquas multas.

²³²² Brown / Driver / Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, לִק, 876-877.

²³²³ MT: Ps. 29.3 (p. 1101 Elliger-Rudolph): לִק, הַיְהוָה; עַל-מַיִם רַבִּים; לִק, הַיְהוָה: אֵל-רִבְבוֹת הַיְהוָה עִיִּים; עַל-מַיִם רַבִּים.

²³²⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Tract. de fabr. mund. 7 (SChr 423, 144, l. 8): Summum *ergo* caelum sapientiae, secundum intellectus, tertium consilii, quartum uirtutis, quintum scientiae, sextum pietatis, septimum timoris Dei.

²³²⁵ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Trypho. 76.3 (l. 1-7 ed. Goodspeed): καὶ Ἡσαίας δὲ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον αὐτὸν εἰπών, οὐχὶ τούτων ὄντων ἐδίδαξεν ἑλ- θῶν διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι προεκήρυσσεν; ἃ γὰρ μεγάλα ἐβεβούλευτο ὁ πατήρ εἰς τε πάντας τοὺς εὐαρέστους γενομένους αὐτῷ καὶ γενησομένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγγέλους, οὗτος μόνος ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐδίδαξεν.

²³²⁶ Cyprianus Carthagenensis (pseudo), Auct. Ignor. Adu. Iud. 5 (CC SL 4, l. 13): Ob hanc *ergo* causam coactus est dominus facere nouum testamentum consignantibus septem spiritibus teste moysae et helia in montem, ubi praecepit ne patefieret scripturae sacramentum, nisi filius hominis resurrexisset de mortuis.

²³²⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Dem. 5 (Armenian, trans. Smith; ACW 16, 51): So the Spirit manifests the Word, and therefore the prophets announced the Son of God, but the Word articulates the Spirit, and therefore it is

testimonium reddidit. Cf. Matth. 24.14, where the Gospel is preached “for a witness in the whole world”: ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον / “in uniuerso orbe in testimonium” (VL);²³²⁸ 1 Io. 5.36²³²⁹ and 32,²³³⁰ where the Son’s works themselves witness (μαρτυρεῖ / “testimonium perhibent”) to the witness (μαρτυρία/”testimonium”) of God the Father’s witnessing (μαρτυρῶν / “qui testimonium perhibet”). *Protestari* means “to declare in public”,²³³¹ but *testari* and its variants have not quite the same juridical force as those of μαρτυρεῖν;²³³² hence the need for combinations with *testimonium*. Cf. Heb. 2.4: συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ, and below. **illius** *i.e.* of the angel-Christ, who cried with a loud voice.

Himself who gives their message to the prophets, and takes up man and brings him to the Father. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 189; 2, 3.3, n. 107-108.

²³²⁸ Matth. 24.14 (p. 68 Nestle-Aland): καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἔξει τὸ τέλος; (VL; Cod. 2; p. 16 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni per totum orbem in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Cod. 3; p. 31 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur Euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe. in testimonio omnibus gentibus: et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 4; p. 33 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe terrarum in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 5; p. 73 Scrivener): Et praedicabitur euangelium hoc regni in toto mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Cod. 6; p. 32 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 7; p. 38 Wordsworth): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 8; p. 19 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 9; p. 48 Belsheim): Et praedicabitur hoc Euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus: et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 10; p. 142 White-Wordsworth): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni. in uniuerso orbe. in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet finis; (VL; Cod. 11; p. 68 Haase): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet consummatio; (VL; Cod. 12; p. 37 Belsheim): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc ueniet fines; (VL; Cod. 13; p. 32 White): et praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni. in uniuerso orbi. in testimonium omnibus gentibus. et tunc ueniet finis.

²³²⁹ Io. 5.36 (p. 262 Nestle-Aland): ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου· τὰ γὰρ ἔργα ἃ δέδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ ἵνα τελειώσω αὐτά, αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιῶ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ὁ πατήρ με ἀπέσταλκεν.

²³³⁰ Io. 5.32 (p. 236 Nestle-Aland): ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ μαρτυρία ἢ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

²³³¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *protestor* I., 1479.

²³³² Cf. Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, μαρτυρέω, 922.

l. 3-6. **dicit**. The subject is John. **quanta tonitrua locuta fuissent**. Dulaey observes that “quanta...locuta” translates ὄσα ἐλάλησαν, a variant of the usual ὅτε ἐλάλησαν.²³³³

obscure. Jerome has “obscure”,²³³⁴ but MS S of Monte Cassino confirms MS A.²³³⁵

Perhaps for Jerome “obscure” carried a perjorative sense.²³³⁶ **sed relinquere et signare**. MS A has “sed *requirere* et relinquere”, which for Dulaey is nonsense (but which Haussleiter retains), while Jerome has “sed relinquere ea signata”. Dulaey surmizes “signare” through the LXX of Dan. 9.24, which has τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν, and is closer to the Hebrew;²³³⁷ or perhaps *via* Hippolytus or Tertullian²³³⁸ (where, however, the Vg translates “*impleatur uisio*”,²³³⁹ a common Patristic subject);²³⁴⁰ or Dan. 12.9, which has ὅτι ἐμπεφραγμένοι καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι (“*quia clausi sunt signatique sermones*”).²³⁴¹

l. 6-8. **Quia erat apostolus, non oportebat gratiam sequentis gradus in primo uiro collocari, quia tempus iam prope est**. Cf. 1 Cor. 12.28, below. **sequentis gradus**.

Victorinus interprets Paul’s *hierarchy* of apostles, prophets and teachers *chronologically*.

²³³³ ὄσα occurs in Apoc. 10.4 of papyrus P 47, Codex Sinaiticus, Origen (Origenes, Com. in Io. XII 13.5 (p. 10 ed. Lommatzch)), and is translated in the Coptic. Primasius, Beatus and the Turin fragment have “*quae*” *i.e.* they translate the same text differently: Nestle-Aland, Apoc. 10.2, 651. Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 184; Victorin de Poetouio 2, 3.3, n. 184.

²³³⁴ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.1 (R. H.; p. 91, l. 9 Haussleiter).

²³³⁵ Haussleiter, Victorini episcopi Petavionensis Opera, 91, n. 8. Dulaey, Sur l’Apocalypse, 184.

²³³⁶ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *obscurus* II. Trop. B. Trop. 2. Of birth, *obscurely, ignobly, meanly* 3. *Covertly, closely, secretly*, 1242 o. Sed v. TLL, s. v. *obscure*, 173: *non euidenter*.

²³³⁷ Dan, 9.24 (p. 923 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ἐβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες συνεμήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν σου τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰς ἀνομίας καὶ τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην καὶ τοῦ χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων; (MT; p. 1404 Elliger-Rudolph):

חַבְעִים שְׁבַעִים חֲמֵשׁ-עָלְפִי עֵיר קְדֻשָּׁה, לְכָל אֲשֶׁר שָׁעַח לְחַתֵּם (וְהָלַח) תִּאֲסֹף וְלִכְפֹּר עָוֹן, וְהִלְבִּיא, קְדֻשָּׁה לְעַמִּים; חַתְּמֵי עִיר קְדֻשָּׁה וְהִלְבִּיא, וְהִלְבִּיא עִיר קְדֻשָּׁה וְהִלְבִּיא עִיר קְדֻשָּׁה

²³³⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 33.1 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-2): Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει. Καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην. Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 8 (CC SL 2, l. 23-27): ut et signentur uisio et prophetes.

²³³⁹ Dan. 9.24 (Vg; p. 799 Hetzenauer): Septuaginta hebdomadae abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam, ut consummetur prævaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur iustitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungetur Sanctus sanctorum.

²³⁴⁰ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 189; 2, 3.3, n. 111.

²³⁴¹ Dan. 12.9 (p. 919 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ εἶπεν δεῦρο Δανιηλ ὅτι ἐμπεφραγμένοι καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι ἕως καιροῦ πέρας; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 106, l. 30 Morin): Et ait. , Uade daniel quia clausi sunt signatique sermones. usque ad tempus præfinitum. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 189; 2, 3.3, n. 110.

l. 8-9. **Apostoli enim uirtutibus signis portentis magnalibus factis uicerunt**

incredulitatem. Cf. Act. 2.22: δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις, οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός;²³⁴² and Heb. 2.4: τοῦ θεοῦ σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν.²³⁴³ “Signis portentis” reverses τέρασι καὶ σημείοις, likely in accord with the “signs and wonder” of Matth. 24.24, Marc. 13.22 (as well as Dan. 4.2 and 6.27); Act. 4.30 (where these acts are performed *in the name of* Christ, by his Spirit, rather than by his person, as in Act. 2.22).²³⁴⁴ The same order, δυνάμεως δὲ διὰ τὰς τεραστίους δυνάμεις, occurs in Origen.²³⁴⁵ **uicerunt incredulitatem.** Origen stresses that such deeds were the witness rendered the Son by the Father.²³⁴⁶ Cf. Act. 4.4 and 20.

l. 10-12. **fide confirmatis ecclesiis.** Cf. Act. 15.41: “confirmans ecclesias”.²³⁴⁷ But the preceding allusion to Heb. 2.4 suggests one here to Heb. 2.3, “confirmatis” likely echoing

²³⁴² Act. 2.22 (p. 324 Nestle-Aland).

²³⁴³ Heb. 2.4 (p. 564 Nestle-Aland): συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν.

²³⁴⁴ Matth. 24. 24 (VL; Cod. 2; p. 16 Belsheim): surgent enim pseudoxpi et pseudoprofetae et dabunt signa magna et prodigia. ita ut errent si fieri potest electi. Io. 4. 48 (VL; Cod. 2, ; p. 23 Belsheim): Dixit autem ihs ad eum nisi signa et prodigia uideritis non credites. Act. 4.30 (VL; Cod. 5 ; p. 341 Scrivener): in eo cum manum extendas ad curatione et signa et portenta fiant per nomen santi pueri tui ihu. Act. 2. 22 (VL; Cod. 5; p. 332 Scrivener): uiri istrachelitae audite sermones hos ihm nazoraenum uirum a do probatum in nobis uirtutibus et prodigiis et signis quae fecit per eum ds in medio uestrum sicut ipsi scitis

²³⁴⁵ Origenes, Con. Cels. I 1.2 (SChr 132, l. 18-19).

²³⁴⁶ Origenes, De princ. II 6.1 (CB 22, 140, l. 13-17): His igitur tantis ac talibus de natura filii dei consideratis, cum summa ammiratione obstupescimus quod eminens omnium ista natura 'exinaniens' se de statu maiestatis suae homo factus sit et inter homines conversatus sit, sicut 'gratia labiis eius infusa' testatur, et sicut ei testimonium reddit pater caelestis, et ut signis quoque et prodigiis variis que ab eo gestis uirtutibus confirmatur. Cf. also Origenes, Con. Cels. I 1.2 (SChr 132, l. 15-22): Ταύτην δὲ τὴν θειοτέραν ὁ ἀπόστολος ὀνομάζει ἀπόδειξιν ἁπνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ἁπνεύματος μὲν διὰ τὰς προφητείας ἱκανὰς πιστοποιησα τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα μάλιστα εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἁδυνάμεως δὲ διὰ τὰς τεραστίους δυνάμεις, ἃς κατασκευαστέον γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἴχνη δὲ αὐτῶν εἶσι σώζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ λόγου βιοῦσι. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.3, n.113.

²³⁴⁷ Act. 15.14 (Cod. 5; p. 332 Scrivener): pergradiebatur autem syriam et cilicia confirmans ecclesias tradens autem mandatum presbyteroru.

ἐβεβαιώθη.²³⁴⁸ **post illos** *i.e.* the apostles. **datum solatium...interpretandarum**. For Origen the spiritual understanding of scripture was part of the *consolatio* of the Paraclete:²³⁴⁹ the gift of interpreting scripture is *solace* for the passing of apostolic *charismata*. **quos interpretes prophetas**. Diodorus of Tarsus explicitly says that interpreting the words of a prophet is itself prophecy.²³⁵⁰ Clement of Alexandria regards Christian understanding and teaching as equivalent to the healings, prophecies and signs of the Apostolic generation.²³⁵¹ Hippolytus and Origen both regarded spiritual understanding of scripture as an activity properly miraculous as well as intellectual,²³⁵² while Origen also holds that understanding the prophets is the very act of spiritually interpreting them.²³⁵³ Although *προφήτης/propheta* holds in profane and patristic usage the sense of foretelling the future, it nevertheless retains an

²³⁴⁸ Heb. 2.3 (p. 564 Nestle-Aland): πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευξόμεθα τηλικαύτης ἀμελήσαντες σωτηρίας; ἥτις, ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα λαλεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη.

²³⁴⁹ Origenes, De princ. II 7.4 (CB 22, 152, l. 5-9): De spiritu vero sancto 'paracletus' 'consolator' debet intellegi, pro eo quod consolationem praestat animabus, quibus aperit et revelat sensum scientiae spiritualis. (on Act. 9.31: τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος). Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 97.

²³⁵⁰ Diodorus Taurensis, Frag. in Rom. 12, 6-8 (p. 106, l. 10 Staab): λέγεται δὲ προφητεία καὶ ὅταν τις τὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἐρμηνεύῃ. Lossi, Poets, Prophets, Critics and Exegetes in Classical and Biblical Antiquity and Early Christianity, in "JCLARC 1 (2007), 8, n. 31.

²³⁵¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. VII 12.77 (GCS 52, 1-5): ὁ γνωστικὸς οὗτος συνελόντι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἀπουσίαν ἀνταναπληροῖ βιοῦς ὀρθῶς, γιγνώσκων ἀκριβῶς, ὠφελῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους, τὰ ὄρη μεθιστὰς τῶν πλησίον καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἀποβάλλων; Eclog. proph. 16.2 (GCS 17, l. 1-2): Ὡσπερ αἱ θεραπεῖαι καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα, οὕτως καὶ ἡ γνωστικὴ διδασκαλία δι' ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργούντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτελεῖται ὁ γὰρ θεὸς δι' ἀνθρώπων τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυται.). Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 99.

²³⁵² Hippolytus Romanus, Prol. Ben. Isaac. et. Jacob. (PO 27, 2, l. 2-6): τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἰκανὸς διηγῆσασθαι τὰ πνευματικῶς εἰρημένα, εἰ μὴ ἡ οὐράνιος σοφία συνεργεῖ τῷ λέγοντι; τίς δὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι δύναται τὰ διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν διὰ παραβολῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς εἰρημένα, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἑαυτοῦ ἐρμηνεύς γένηται. On Origen v. H. De Lubac, Histoire et Esprit chez Origène, 297-8. Cf. also Cothenet, Les prophètes chrétiens comme exégètes charismatiques de l'Écriture, in Panagopoulos (ed.), Prophetic Vocation in New Testament and Today, 77-107. DSp, s. v. *prophétisme*, c. 2439. Cited from Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 99. Commenting on Eph. 4, 11, Irenaeus says all offices in the Church are agencies of the Spirit (Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. IV 24.1 (p. 131-132 Harvey): In Ecclesia enim, inquit, posuit Deus apostolos, prophetas, doctores, et uniuersam reliquam operationem Spiritus, cuius non sunt participes omnes qui non concurrunt ad Ecclesiam, sed semetipsos fraudant a uita per sententiam malam et operationem pessimam.

²³⁵³ Origenes, Con. Cels. II 6 (SChr 132, l. 8-16): Καὶ γὰρ οἱ προφήται, ὡς μὴ καταπαύοντες τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἐν τῇ προφανεῖ ἱστορίᾳ μηδ' ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὸ γράμμα νομοθεσία, ὅπου μὲν φασιν ἱστορίας δῆθεν ἐκθῆσόμενοι τό Ἄνοιξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὅπου δὲ εὐχόμενοι περὶ τοῦ νόμου ὡς ἀσαφοῦς καὶ δεομένου θεοῦ, ἵνα νοηθῇ, λέγουσιν ἐν εὐχῇ Ἀποκάλυψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, καὶ κατανοήσω τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σου.

essential meaning of *one who expounds the divine will*.²³⁵⁴ Thus Origen holds “qui ecclesiastice docent uerbum, prophetae aunt Christi”,²³⁵⁵ while Augustine calls him an “enuntiatorem uerborum Dei hominibus”.²³⁵⁶ On the other hand, it is precisely for their mandatory foretelling of the future, “de officio praefandi”, that Tertullian calls biblical characters and apostles *prophetae*, though he not only calls them *praedicatores*, *preachers*, but also regards their powers as in some sense present in their very *writings*.²³⁵⁷ The Carthaginian also describes prophecy as an essentially ecstatic, albeit, spiritual, process,²³⁵⁸ adducing Peter’s not knowing what he said (Matth. 17.4) as evidence.²³⁵⁹ However, he also stipulates the necessity for three witnesses,²³⁶⁰ whereby the Old Testament testifies to the New,²³⁶¹ adducing scriptural prophecy as the Father’s testifying to the Son.²³⁶² Which may have suggested to Victorinus the same law (Deut. 17.6), that two or three (past) prophetic

²³⁵⁴ Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, *προφήτης*, I. A. 1-2; A.5; III. 2b, 1332. It is in this sense that Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the *pontifices*, in their duty as “expounders and interpreters of everything relating to the worship of the gods and genii”: Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Ant. Rom. II 73.2 (l. 10-12 Jacoby 1): τοῖς τε ἰδιώταις ὅποσοι μὴ ἴσασι τοὺς περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἢ δαιμόνια σεβασμούς, ἐξηγητὰὶ γίνονται καὶ προφητῆται. However, Philo seems to distinguish between prophecy and interpretation *per se*: Philo Iudaeus, De uit. Mos. 191 (23; p. 244-245 Cohn): ἐρμηνεία δὲ καὶ προφητεία διαφέρουσι.

²³⁵⁵ Origenes, Com. in Matth. Ser. 47 (p. 298 Lommatzch). Reiling, Hermas and Christian prophecy, 62.

²³⁵⁶ Augustinus Hipponensis, Quaest. hept. II 17 (CC SL 33, l. 214): hic insinuat nobis ea loqui prophetas dei quae audiunt ab eo *nihil que aliud esse prophetam dei nisi enuntiatorem uerborum dei hominibus*, qui deum uel non possunt uel non merentur audire. Irenaeus also implicitly associates right, Christian instruction with reception and action of the Spirit,

²³⁵⁷ Tertullianus, 1 Apol. 18.5 (p. 81-82 Leopold 1): Quos diximus praedicatores prophetae de officio praefandi uocantur. Voces eorum item que uirtutes, quas ad fidem diuinitatis edebant, in thesauris litterarum manent, nec istae latent.

²³⁵⁸ Tertullianus, De anim. 11 (CC SL 2, l. 33-40): Nam etsi adam statim prophetauit magnum illud sacramentum in christum et ecclesiam: hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea; propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et agglutinabit se mulieri suae, et erunt duo in unam carnem, accidentiam spiritus passus est: cecidit enim ecstasis super illum, sancti spiritus uis operatrix prophetiae. His defence of ecstatic prophecy, *De ecstasi*, is lost: Trevett, Montanism, 88.

²³⁵⁹ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (22; CC SL 1, 492, l. 21-26): Igitur et petrus, meritum contubernium christi sui agnoscens, <in> indiuiduitatem eius suggerit consilium: bonum est hic nos esse, - bonum plane, ubi moyses scilicet et helias - et faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi et moysi unum et heliae unum. Sed nesciens, quid diceret. Quomodo nesciens? vtrumne simplici errore an ratione, *qua* defendimus in causa nouae prophetiae gratiae exstasin, id est amentiam, conuenire?

²³⁶⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (22; CC SL 1, 493, l. 18-19): Tres de discentibus arbitros futurae uisionis et uocis adsumit. Et hoc creatoris est: in tribus, inquit, testibus stabit omne uerbum.

²³⁶¹ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (22; CC SL 1, 493, l. 23): Oportebat in eo suggestu consignari nouum testamentum, in quo conscriptum uetus fuerat, sub eodem etiam ambitu nubis, quem nemo dubitabit de aere creatoris conglobatum, - nisi <si> et nubes suas ille deduxerat - quia et ipse per caelum creatoris uiam ruperat.

²³⁶² Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (22; CC SL 1, 494, l. 2): itaque nec nunc muta nubes fuit, sed uox solita de caelo et patris nouum testimonium super filio, ad quem in secundo psalmo: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, de quo et per esaiaem: quis deum metuens?

witnesses must confirm any present exegesis-as-prophecy,²³⁶³ perhaps on the basis of 1 Cor. 14.23: “And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets”. However, the presbyter of Carthage also acknowledges that Catholic “psychic” Christians generally reject *amentia*.²³⁶⁴ Despite prophecy’s declining from the third century,²³⁶⁵ Victorinus testifies to a vestige’s remaining, albeit with its wings pinned, as it were, by strictly Catholic (hermeneutical!) scriptural regulation, likely in reaction against Montanist ecstasism.²³⁶⁶ **dixit**. The subject is Paul, as the following citation shows.

1. 12-14. **Ait enim apostolus: Et posuit quidem in ecclesia primum apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores et reliqua.** Cf. 1 Cor. 12.28.²³⁶⁷ **et reliqua.** The only time Victorinus uses this post-classical expression for *et cetera*.²³⁶⁸

1. 14-15. **Et alio loco ait: Prophetae duo uel tres dicant et ceteri aestiment.** Cf. 1 Cor. 14.29. **aestiment.** A unique translation of διακρινέτωσαν: the VL usually has “dijudicent” or “examinent”, sometimes “interrogent”. Victorinus transforms the meaning of 1 Cor. 14.29, so that its “two or three prophets”, to whose truth, or not, “the rest” witnesses, in effect, through discernment, are analogous now to the “two or three witnesses” of Deut. 17.6, and it is they (as, effectively, scriptural citations) who are witnesses (“testimonia”, below) to an act of exegesis-prophecy. “Ceteri” must, on this reading, be other, Catholic exegetes.

²³⁶³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 10.2 (SChr 423, 90, l. 16): Cum autem dicat: "Prophetae duo uel tres dicant, ceteri aestiment", non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata; "aestiment" autem utrumne interpretatio cum testimoniis congruat dictionis prophetae.

²³⁶⁴ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (22; CC SL 1, 493, l. 3): De quo cum inter nos et psychicos quaestio est, interim facile est amentiam petri probare.

²³⁶⁵ Trevett, Montanism, 88-89; 129-133.

²³⁶⁶ De Labriolle, La crise montaniste, 564. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3. 3, n. 119.

²³⁶⁷ 1 Cor. 12. 28 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 358 Morin): Et quosdam quidem posuit deus in ecclesia. Primum. apostolos. Secundo. profetas. Tertio. doctores. Deinde. uirtutes. Exinc. gratia curationum. Opitulationes. gubernationes. genera linguarum.

²³⁶⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *reliquus* II. Transf. (α)., and the like, and so forth, and so on, 1559.

l. 15-16. **Omnis mulier orans aut prophetans non uelato capite deturpat caput suum.** Cf.

1 Cor. 11.5.²³⁶⁹ Victorinus justifies his choice of text below.

l. 18-19. **non de catholica prophetia dicit inaudita et incognita, sed iam praedicata.** A difficult sentence. **Catholica prophetia...praedicata** *i.e.* prophecy that does not deviate from canonical scripture, if not constituting scripture itself. **prophetia...inaudita et incognita** *i.e.* prophecy that innovates upon scripture. “Inaudita et incognita” recalls Eusebius’ accusing New Prophets of falling into a state of *studied ignorance*, ἐξ ἔκουσίου ἀμαθίας, “ex imperitia”, alien to Testaments Old and New.²³⁷⁰ “Prophetia...praedicata” shows *prophetare* and *praedicare* are interchangeable.

l. 19-21. **interpretatio** *i.e.* *scriptural* interpretation. **dictionis.** *Dictio* can mean *an oracular response or prediction* in Classical Latin.²³⁷¹ But can Victorinus mean here an *oral*, that is, a *new* prophecy? “Cum testimoniis dictionis propheticae” could simply mean “with the witnesses of (written) prophetic scripture” *i.e.* “scriptural prophecy”. In which case, Victorinus could simply be insisting that scriptural interpretation chimes with the tenor of scripture generally. However, a *dictio prophetica* could be an orally uttered prophecy,²³⁷² say of the imminence of Antichrist, that must yet conform to the correct interpretation of scripture. This in turn may witness to the currency of such prophecies in the Poetovian

²³⁶⁹ 1 Cor. 11.5 (VL; Cod. 65; p. 37 Buchanan): Omnis autem mulier orans aut prophetans non uelato capite deturpat caput suum: Unum enim est adq; id ipsum si decaluetur.

²³⁷⁰ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. V 17.2 (SChr 41, l. 4-5)- V 17.3 (SChr 41, l. 3; p. 239 Heinichen): ἀλλ’ ὅ γε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐν παρεκστάσει, ᾧ ἔπεται ἄδεια καὶ ἀφοβία, ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐξ ἔκουσίου ἀμαθίας, καταστρέφοντος δὲ εἰς ἀκούσιον μανίαν ψυχῆς, ὡς προείρηται τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν οὔτε τῶν κατὰ τὴν καινὴν πνευματοφορηθέντα προφήτην δεῖξαι δυνήσονται; (CB 9.1, 471, l. 5-8): quod est proprie pseudoprophetarum; ubi enim quis amens efficitur, iusti recti que esse non potest tenax. qui sine dubio initium sumunt ex imperitia, ad finem vero devolvuntur amentiae, sicut supra diximus. hoc autem modo neque in veteri testamento quemquam neque in novo per dei spiritum extitisse prophetam poterunt demonstrare.

²³⁷¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *dictio* II. A. *An oracular response, prediction*, 572.

²³⁷² As in Lossl’s translation.

church, and the existence of a type of oral prophecy that was considered Catholic yet neither ecstatic nor Montanist. If so, Victorinus tells us no more of it, nor of its manifestation in his bishopric.

l. 21-23. **hoc...non fuisse necessarium** *i.e. interpreting scripture* was unnecessary. **superiori uirtute armato**. Cf. Eph. 6.17;²³⁷³ 6.11.²³⁷⁴ **corpus Christi sit ecclesia suis membris ornatum**. Victorinus employs a complex midrash. The Church is the B/body of Christ, adorned by its limbs/members *i.e.* apostles, prophets, doctors *etc* even as a woman is adorned by her glory, her hair, which should, then, be covered. The “cover” (1 Cor. 11.5) of the “glory” (1 Cor. 11.15) of the Woman-Church-Wife-Body of Christ (who is also her Head: 1 Cor. 11.3), is the *aestimatio* of the *interpretatio* or *dictio prophetica* (1 Cor. 14.29), as to whether it conforms to Catholic doctrine or not; thereby not disgracing the Head-Husband-Christ of the Body-Wife-Church. Victorinus may also allude to Montanist women’s openly prophesying.²³⁷⁵

10.3

l. 1. **Accipere autem libellum et comedere eum ostensionem sibi factam memoriae est mandare**. Cf. Apoc. 10.9. **libellum**. Occurs in MS A and the older Jerome tradition.²³⁷⁶ It

²³⁷³ Eph. 6.17 (p. 514 Nestle-Aland): καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ῥῆμα θεοῦ.

²³⁷⁴ Eph. 6.11 (p. 513 Nestle-Aland): ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στῆναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου.

²³⁷⁵ Cf. Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. V 16.12 (p. 235-236 Heinichen).
²³⁷⁶

translates βιβλαρίδιον²³⁷⁷ in Apoc. 10.9 (βιβλίδιον in the third century Chester Beatty Papyrus, P47, third century,²³⁷⁸ equivalent to βιβλίον, the reading of the Greek Orthodox and Byzantine text;²³⁷⁹ or βιβλαριον;²³⁸⁰ but is unparalleled in the VL. It is curiously *not* used by the Vg at Apoc. 10.9 and 10, which have “librum”;²³⁸¹ perhaps because at the opening of the chapter, βιβλαρίδιον was deemed to have had the functional sense of *public notice* or *memorandum* (*libellus*);²³⁸² the latter sense strongly suggested by the following “ostensionem sibi factam *memoriae* est mandare”. Origen similarly conflates κεφάλις (which can mean “chapter”/*capitulum* as well as “scroll”/*uolumen*) with βιβλίος.²³⁸³ Oecumenius opposes the “little scroll” of Apoc. 10.9 to the βίβλοι/“scrolls” of Dan. 7.10, as containing *merely* “the names of the exceedingly wicked”.²³⁸⁴ Ambrosiaster identifies it with the *Gospel* of John.²³⁸⁵ **ostensionem**. Echoes “ostensus est” in Scotus Anonymus.²³⁸⁶ **comedere**. The VL usually has “deuorare”.²³⁸⁷ **comedere...memoriae est**. Origen had written that to consume and ruminate

²³⁷⁷ Apoc. 10.9 (2053. 2329. \aleph^A ; p. 651 Nestle-Aland).

²³⁷⁸ Apoc. 10.9 (\aleph^{47c} pc; p. 651 Nestle-Aland).

²³⁷⁹ Apoc. 10.9 (\aleph^{47} \aleph 1006. 1841. 1854. 2053; p. 651 Nestle-Aland). Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, βιβλίον A. 2. = βιβλίδιον, *petition* to the Government, = Lat. *libellus*, 282.

²³⁸⁰ Apoc. 10.9 (A 2329; p. 651 Nestle-Aland).

²³⁸¹ Apoc. 10.9-10 (Vg; p. 1134 Hetzenauer).

²³⁸² Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *libellus* II. Transf. B. 1. *A memorandum* 5. *A public notification*, 1057.

²³⁸³ Origenes, Sel. in Ez. (frag. et cat.) 2 (PG 13, 772, l. 48).

²³⁸⁴ Oecumenius, Com. in Apoc. 6.5 (FC 112 (trans.), 96).

²³⁸⁵ Ambrosiaster, Quaest. Vet. et Nou. Test. 76. 2 (CSEL 50, 129, l. 22): Haec continentur in libro, quem accepit apostolus deuorandum. hic liber euangelium est quod CATA IOHANNEN titulatur, quod non solum male sentientibus amarum est, uerum etiam indisciplinatis, qui nolunt corripi, ut in peius proficiant.

²³⁸⁶ Scotus anonymus, Com. in epist. Jacob. (CC SL 108, l. 500-501): Non plures, si unam fidem et bap-tismum docent, quia unus liber ad iohannem ostensus est, et ad ezechielem ostensus est unus liber. Cf. the δῆλον of Origen: Origenes, Sel. in Ez. (frag. et cat.) 3 (PG 13, 773, l. 2-3): Καὶ ἐψώμισέ με τὴν κεφαλίδα. Ἐντεῦθεν μάλιστα δῆλον, ὅτι κτλ.

²³⁸⁷ The exceptional versions of Apoc. 10.9, perhaps Victorinus derived, are late: Caesarius Arelatensis, Expos. in Apoc. 8 (p. 238, l. 10 Morin): ET TUNC DIXIT MIHI: ACCIPE ET COMEDE ILLUM, id est, tuis visceribus pande, et describe in latitudine cordis. Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. Praef. 4.57 (p. 13, l. 19 ed. Sanders): et vocem audiui de caelo loquentem me cum et dicentem: vade accipe librum qui est in manu angeli et comede illum et erit tibi in ore dulcis sicut mel, et in ventre amarus sicut fel; V 10.9 (p. 437, l. 13 ed. Sanders): et dicit mihi: accipe et comede illum; et amaritudinem ventri tuo faciet, et in ore tuo erit dulce sicut mel; V 10.27 (p. 442, l. 3 Sanders): et dicit mihi: accipe et comede illum, id est, insere tuis visceribus et describe in latitudine cordis tui. Pseudo-Isidorus, Quaest. tam de Nou. quam de Vet. Test. (CC SL 108, l. 78): In apocalypsis, pro quid dicit<ur>: accipe librum et comede illum.

upon the Law is to assimilate and discern its divine sense.²³⁸⁸ **mandare**. Origen had also stressed that it is reception by God's *hand* (ὕπὸ τῆς χειρὸς, echoing Apoc. 10.9: ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ / "in manu sua") that enables the digestion-comprehension of the scroll (κεφάλις (βιβλίου) / *volumen* / מַגִּילָהּ, *maggillāh*) of prophecy, by John as well as Ezekiel.²³⁸⁹

1. 2-5. **Dulce esse in ore praedicationis est fructus loquenti et audientibus dulcissimus.**

Praedicatio i.e. the act of preaching the G/gospel, concerning the present as much as specifically *predicting the future*; which Origen conflated as one, in both the eating and ruminating upon the Law.²³⁹⁰ **fructus loquenti**. Enjoyment for the speaker, or the fruit which the preaching of the G/gospel inculcates in the listener.²³⁹¹ **sed praedicanti et perseuerantibus in mandatis per passiones amarissimus. perseuerantibus i.e.** to those persevering *in the faith to the end*.²³⁹² **passiones i.e.** the martyrdom of believers.

²³⁸⁸ Origenes, In Leu. hom. 7.6 (CB 29, 389, l. 3): Sed audi, quomodo dictum est: "qui diuidit" inquit "ungulam, et reuocat ruminacionem".

²³⁸⁹ Origenes, Sel. in Ez. (frag. et cat.) 2-3 (PG 13, 772, l. 48-773, l. 12): Καὶ ἄλλην δὲ κεφαλίδα βιβλίου γεγραμμένην εὐρήσεις ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει τὸν Ἰωάννην κατεσθίονταρ πλεῖον γὰρ κεφαλίδος οὐ χωρεῖ φαγεῖν ἢ ἀνθρώπεια φύσις. Καὶ ἐγγραπτο ἐν αὐτῇ θρῆνος καὶ μέλος. Μέλος μὲν τοῖς ἁγίοις, θρῆνος δὲ τοῖς οὐκ ἀπεγνωσμένοις τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς κολασθησομένοις. Καὶ ἐψάμισέ με τὴν κεφαλίδα. Ἐντεῦθεν μάλιστα δῆλον, ὅτι πλεῖον τῆς κεφαλίδος οὐ χωρεῖ φαγεῖν ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ψωμιζομένη. Ὁ μέντοιγε ἐσθίων ταύτην τὴν κεφαλίδα, ἀνειλούσης αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτεταμένης χειρὸς πρὸς τὸν ἐσθίοντα, φάγεται αὐτήν ἴνα διὰ τῆς ἀνειλήσεως τῆς κεφαλίδος ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἀντιλάβηται, καὶ, μασσησάμενος τὴν κεφαλίδα καὶ τὴν ἀνείλησιν αὐτῆς πάντα λάβη εἰς τὴν νοητὴν αὐτοῦ κοιλίαν τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα οὐ μόνον ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπισθεν.

²³⁹⁰ Origenes, Hom. in Leu. 7.6 (CB 29, 389, l. 6-12): Sed si mediteris legem divinam et ea, quae legis, ad subtilem et ad spiritalem intelligentiam reuoces, vita autem tua et actus tui non sint tales, ut habeant discretionem vitae praesentis et futurae, huius saeculi et 'saeculi superuenturi', si non ista competenti ratione discerneris et divides, camelus es tortuosus; qui cum intellectum acceperis ex meditatione legis divinae, non divides neque segregas praesentia et futura nec 'angustam viam' a 'via spatiosa' secernis.

²³⁹¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *fructus* I. A. Lit., 784. Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 3.1 (SChr 423, 55): 3, 1, 7-9: Non enim satis est arborem uiuere <et uirere> et fructum non habere; sic nec satis est christianum dici et se ipsum confiteri et christiani opera non habere.

²³⁹² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 1.8 (SChr 423, 55): aut ad eos qui locis crudelibus inhabitant inter persecutores et perseuerant esse fideles.

l. 5-6. **praedicare.** Translates προφητεύσειν, where the Vg and VL, including a fourth century African text, universally have “prophetare”: Beatus may have used the same tradition as, or followed, Victorinus.²³⁹³ It strongly suggests “praedicationis” above has the dual meaning *preaching- prophecy*. Victorinus use *prophetia* for *predicting the future*, though Tertullian uses *prophetia* of scripture generally.²³⁹⁴

l. 6-8. **hoc est.** How Victorinus often signals an *interpretation* follows. **in insula Pathmos.** MS A has “Partha”, *probably* a misreading, perhaps echoing the title of 1 John in some Latin manuscripts, *Ad Parthos*:²³⁹⁵ there is no *insula Partha*, albeit an Illyrian town *Parthus*,²³⁹⁶ capital of the *Parthini*, who dwelt near Damastium, known for its silver *mines*.²³⁹⁷ Possibly Victorinus thus deduced Patmos’ mining activity, otherwise unknown, though this is unlikely. In any case, Patmos occurs universally in the tradition for Apoc. 1.9, whence Victorinus drew the detail, and upon which the Fathers unanimously agree.²³⁹⁸ **in metallo damnatus a Caesare Domitiano.** A rare tradition. Only Primasius also has of John “metallo damnatus”,²³⁹⁹ likely *via* the Poetovian. Irenaeus merely derives the date of the Apocalypse to

²³⁹³ Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. V 10.11 (p. 437, l. 17 Sands): et dicit mihi: oportet te iterum praedicare in populis et linguis et gentibus et regibus multis; V 10.38 (p. 443, l. 14 Sands): et quia postea non in Africa tantum eodem genere sed in omne mundo praedicabit ecclesia, propterea adiecit: in populis et linguis et gentibus et regibus multis. una est ecclesia in toto orbe, quae praedicat in Africa; ipsa ubique similiter praedicabit, propterea velut Africanæ dixit: oportet te iterum praedicare. Et v. Turin Fr. 320 (p. 138, l. 5. Lo Bue): Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.2, n. 34.

²³⁹⁴ Tertullianus, De anim. 4 (CC SL 2, 786, l. 12): Igitur quantum ad fidem nostram factae natae ue animae, depulsa est philosophi opinio, auctoritate prophetiae quoque. Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.1, 3, n. 114.

²³⁹⁵ Augustinus Hipponensis, In Io. Epist. ad Parth. tract. (PL 35, 1377 f.). Cf. Zahn, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur 3, 100-101.

²³⁹⁶ Lewis and Short, s. v. *Parthus*. Perin, Onomasticon totius latinitatis, s. v. *Parthus*; et v. Polaschek, Parthini, in: PW 18 (1949), 2029 ff.

²³⁹⁷ Shepherd, Ancient Mining, 106.

²³⁹⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 36 (GCS 1.2, l. 1): οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὧν ὄρᾳ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίων φρικτῶν, ἅτινα διηγούμενος ἀφθόνως καὶ ἐτέρους διδάσκει. SDB, s. v. *Patmos*, c. 73 (Camps, 1966).

²³⁹⁹ Primasius Hadrumetinus, Com. in Apoc. I Praef. (CC SL 92, 6, l. 18-20): Haec autem eo tempore uidere promeruit quo in Pathmos insula pro Christo a Domitiano caesare exilio missus et metallo damnatus, terminis arcebatur inclusus. Cf. Ambrosius Autpertus, Com. in Apoc. Praef. (CCM 27, 9, l. 163).

Domitian's reign from the text itself;²⁴⁰⁰ the extant Hippolytus supplies John's banishment.²⁴⁰¹ Likewise Eusebius may transmit Hegesippus' second century report,²⁴⁰² of John's having been condemned to *dwell* on Patmos in exile: οἰκεῖν αταδικασθῆναι, φυγή.²⁴⁰³ Chromatius has that John "ligatus est compedibus",²⁴⁰⁴ but this scarcely supports Victorinus' assertion, except as witness to the harshness of at least John's initial condition (Pseudo-Prochorus has John early released from his bonds).²⁴⁰⁵ Jerome has only John's

²⁴⁰⁰ Since John does not name Antichrist, but does name the emperor of his own time, one should not speculate upon the name future mperor he *does* mean, e: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 30.3 (SChr 153, l. 88-97): Cum igitur tantam suasionem habeat hoc nomen Titan, tantam habeat | verisimilitudinem, ut ex multis colligamus ne forte Titan vocetur qui veniet, nos tamen non periclitabimur in eo nec asseveranter pronuntiabimus hoc eum nomen habiturum, scientes quoniam, si oporteret manifeste praesenti tempore praeconari nomen ejus, per ipsum utique dictum fuisset qui et apocalypsim viderat: neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro saeculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii.

²⁴⁰¹ Hippolytus Romanus, De XII Apost. (PG 10, 951-952).

²⁴⁰² Lawlor, Hegesippus and the Apocalypse, in: JTS 7 (Apr. 1907), 436-444. At the other pole, Price argues *Hegesippus* was in fact a garbled from of *Josephus*, and Eusebius' source derived from the work of the same, directly or indirectly: Price, *Diaspora Judaism, Christianity and Roman Crisis*, in: Avery-Peck / Neusner, *Judaism and Christianity: New Directions for Dialogue and Understanding*, BRLJ 28, 122, n. 36.

²⁴⁰³ Eusebius Caesarensis, Hist. Eccl. III 18.1 (SChr 55, l. 1): Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἔνεκεν μαρτυρίας Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον; Hist. Eccl. III 23.1 (SChr 55, l. 1): 3.23. (1.) Ἐπὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιλειπόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος δὴν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτῆν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. Cf. Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 46, l. 13-15 ed. Zahn): τούτους οὖν ἀτάκτως φερομένους κελεύσει θεία ἐπιτρέπομεν οἰκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ. Corssen, *Monarchianische Prologe zu den vier Evangelien: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kanons*, TU 15.1, 88 et seq.; 80-82.

²⁴⁰⁴ Chromatius Aquileiensis, Sermo 21 (CC SL 9A , l. 6): Hic, post domini passionem, ut legimus in apocalypsi, in insula pathmos propter nomen christi relegatus, ligatus est compedibus. Cf. Ambrosiaster, Quaest. Vet. et Nou. Test. 76. 2 (CSEL 50, 129, l. 25): ista reuelatio eo tempore facta est, quo apostolus Iohannes in insula erat Pathmos, relegatus a Domitiano imperatore fidei causa.

²⁴⁰⁵ Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 64 , l. 7-8 Zahn): καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ, ὅτι δυσὶν ἀλύσεσιν αὐτὸν δήσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς δεινοτάτην φυλακὴν; (p. 64 , l. 17-19 Zahn): καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκούφισεν τὰ σίδηρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐξήλαμεν ἔξω τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. Heiricus Autissiodorensis, Hom. per circ. Ann. pars hiem. 13 (CC CM 116, l. 9-103): Hoc autem dixit, non quo isdem discipulus sine labore certaminis uicturus esset in mundo; alioquin legimus eum in Actibus apostolorum cum caeteris flagellatum, et a Domitiano caesare in feruens oleum missum, ex quo tamen diuina se protegente gratia tam intactus exiit, quam a carnalis concupiscentiae corruptione extraneus fuerat; processu uero temporis ab eodem principe in Pathmos insula exsilio relegatur, ubi licet humano destitutus solatio diuinae tamen uisionis claritate perfruitur, apocalypsin reuelante Christo propria manu descriptis; Hom. per circ. Ann. pars hiem. 38 (CC CM 116, l. 133): Sed legimus in historiis ipsum quoque causa nominis Christi multa sustinuisse; nam et cum caeteris apostolis caesus in Actibus apostolorum inuenitur, et deinceps a Domitiano Caesare in feruentis olei dolium missus; item que ab eodem principe propter inuictam euangelizandi constantiam, in Pathmos insula exsilio narratur fuisse relegatus. Beda Uenerabilis, Hom. Euang. II 9 (CC SL 122, l. 125-132): Et a domitiano caesare in feruentis olei dolium missus in ecclesiastica narratur historia ex quo tamen diuina se protegente gratia tam intactus exierit quam fuerat a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis

being “relegatus”, also by Domitian, implying a *relegatio*.²⁴⁰⁶ Marble discovered on Patmos might have come from a native quarry,²⁴⁰⁷ and *metallum* can mean such.²⁴⁰⁸ However, at least some was imported,²⁴⁰⁹ and Ramsay reports no trace of ancient quarries,²⁴¹⁰ though such must have supplied the Hellenistic fortifications used by Roman administration²⁴¹¹ and a thriving community generally, replete with gymnasium and extensive cult of Artemis.²⁴¹²

Patmos was in essence a political extension of Miletus, whose municipal authority was likely

extraneus. Nec multo post ab eodem principe propter insuperabilem euangelizandi constantiam in phatmos insulam exilio religatur ubi humano licet destitutus solatio diuinae tamen uisionis et allocutionis meruit crebra consolatione releuari. Denique *Ibidem* apocalipsim quam ei dominus de statu ecclesiae praesenti uel futuro reuelauit manu sua conscripsit. Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 207, l. 5-11 Zahn): Et a Domitiano Caesare in feruentis olei dolium missus in ecclesiastica narratur historia, ex quo tamen diuina se protegente gratia tam intactus exierit, quam fuerit a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis extraneus. Nec multo post tempore ab eodem principe propter insuperabilem euangelizandi constantiam in Patmos insula exilio relegaretur (l. Relegatur). Ubi humano licet destitutus solatio, diuinae tamen uisionis meruit crebra consolatione releuari. Denique *Ibidem* apocalypsin, quam ei dominus de statu ecclesiae praesenti uel futuro reuelauit, manu sua conscripsit. Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 208, l. 4-15 ed. Zahn): At ubi a Domitiano, qui secundus post Neronem Christianorum persecutor exstiti, exilio missus est, irrumpentes in ecclesiam haeretici, quasi in destituta a pastore ouilia lupi, Marcion, Cerinthus et Ebion ceterique Antichristi, qui Christum fuisse ante Mariam negabant, simplicitatem fidei euangelicae peruersa maculauere doctrina. Sed cum ipse post occisionem Domitiani permittente pio principe Nerua rediret Eph.esum, compulsus ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus, de coaeterna patri diuinitate Christi altius sermonem facere, eo quod in trium aliorum euangelistarum scriptis de humanitate eius sufficientem (!) sibi uiderentur habere testimonia. Alcuinus, Com. in Io. (PL 100, col. 1005, l. 26): Nam et in Actibus apostolorum, cum caeteris apostolis flagellatus inuenitur, qui ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati; et a Domitiano Caesare in feruentis olei dolium missus in ecclesiastica narratur historia; ex quo tamen diuina se protegente gratia, tam intactus exierit, quam fuerat a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis extraneus. Nec multo post ab eodem principe, propter insuperabilem euangelizandi constantiam, in Pathmos insulam exsilio relegatur, ubi humano licet destitutus solatio, diuinae tamen uisionis et allocutionis meruit crebra consolatione releuari. Denique *Ibidem* Apocalypsin, quam ei Dominus de statu Ecclesiae praesenti, uel futuro reuelavit, manu sua conscripsit.

²⁴⁰⁶ Hieronymus, Adu. Iouin. I 26 (PL 23, 247, col. 259, l. 20): propheta: uidit enim in pathmos insula, in qua fuerat a domitiano principe ob domini martyrium relegatus, apocalypsim infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. Hieronymus, De uir. ill. 9 (p. 13, l. 25 Richardson): quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post neronem persecutionem mouente domitiano, in patmos insulam relegatus, scripsit apocalypsin, quam interpretantur iustinus martyr et irenaeus. Lewis and Short, s. v. *relegatio*, DBS, s. v. *Patmos*, c. 73.

²⁴⁰⁷ Geil, The Isle That is Called Patmos, 73. Greenhalg, Marble Past, Monumental Present, 245: citing Antoine Galland’s account of 1672-1673.

²⁴⁰⁸ Lewis and Short, s. v. *metallum*, II, B. TLL, s. v. *metallum*, c. 871, 70 sq; 871, 6; 872, 40: marble came from *metalla*. Re *in metallo damnare* v. Tertullianus, Apol 12.5 (CC SL 1, l. 20); Plinius minor (Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus), Epist. II 11.8 (p. 58, l. 29 Schuster); X 58.3 (p. 336, l. 9 Schuster). On Roman building on Patmos, v. Saffrey, “Relire l’Apocalypse à Patmos”, in: RB 82 (1975), 393-398.

²⁴⁰⁹ Greenhalg, Marble past, monumental present, 2: “marble from Iasos, called *cipollino rosso*”.

²⁴¹⁰ Ramsay, Letters to the Seven Churches, 85: “There were no mines in Patmos. Whether any quarries were worked there might be determined by careful exploration of the islet.”

²⁴¹¹ Stone, Patmos, 5. Cited from Boxall, Reading the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos, in SB 50.1, 25.

²⁴¹² Known of by a second century inscription: Boxall, Reading the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos, in SB 50.1, 25; 26; and perhaps of Apollo too, given the witness of Pseudo-Prochorus: . Patmos was political extension of Miletus: Saffrey, Relire l’Apocalypse à Patmos, in: RB 82 (1975), 392. Boxall, Reading the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos, in: SB 50.1, 26.

responsible for John's local punishment.²⁴¹³ Ramsay and Biguzzi maintain John had neither the birth nor property to be a *peregrinus*, still less a *πολίτης/ciues*; more likely a *πλάνης/uagus*:²⁴¹⁴ too lowly for mere *deportatio in insulam*, and his *relegatio*'s therefore likely incurring penal labour.²⁴¹⁵ The tradition of Pseudo-Prochorus that John was released from bonds by the governor, Apollonides, to stay with his father-in-law, Myro, and range free on Patmos, for fifteen years, is thought no earlier than the fifth century, though redacted together with the originally prior, late second century *Acts of John*.²⁴¹⁶ Twelfth century Dionysius bar Salibi attributes John's banishment to Domitian,²⁴¹⁷ and dates composition of the *Revelation* to late in his reign.²⁴¹⁸ He is surely informed by Eusebius, to whose traditions on John he specifically refers,²⁴¹⁹ rather than other Syriac traditions that have John banished by Nero.²⁴²⁰ These last are likely influenced by Palestinian Epiphanius, who has Revelation's

²⁴¹³ Saffrey, *Relire l'Apocalypse à Patmos*, in: RB 82 (1975), 385-417.

²⁴¹⁴ Biguzzi, *John on Patmos and the 'Persecution' in the Apocalypse*, in: EstBib 56 (1998), 209-211.

²⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹⁶ Pseudo-Prochorus, *Act. Ioan.* (p. 64, l. 7-8 Zahn): *καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ, ὅτι δυσὶν ἀλύσεσιν αὐτὸν δῆσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς δεινοτάτην φυλακὴν*; (p. 64, l. 17-19 ed. Zahn): *καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκούφισεν τὰ σίδηρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐξήλαμεν ἔξω τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου*; (p. 162, l. 5-6 ed. Zahn): *ἐποιήσαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ἔτη δεκαπέντε, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐξορίας τὸ πρὶν ἐν ᾧ Ἐφέσῳ ἔτη ἑννέα*. Schneermelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 430; 166-167.

²⁴¹⁷ Dionysius bar Salibi, *Com. in Apoc. 10.11* (CSCO 101.2, 11, l. 21-25): *Et dixit mihi: Oportet te adhuc prophetare super populos et gentes et reges; h. e. Hic praedicationem euangelii innuit, quae fiebat in Asia. Apocalypsim primum in Patmos insula, in quam eiectus est a Domitiano, et cum reuersus esset in Asiam composuit euangelium.*

²⁴¹⁸ v. Dionysius bar Salibi, *Com. in Act. Apost. 6.8* (CSCO 101.2 (Latin trans.), 42, 1, l. 12-29): *Initio sermonis dicimus multos magistros dubitavisse de Apocalypsi Iohannis et dixisse eam ipsius non esse. Et hoc exponit Eusebius Caesaraeensis in libro eqliasiatiqi seu Historiarum ecciesiasticarum. Dicit enim Dionysius, episcopus Alexandriae: Apocalypsis non est Iohannis apostoli, sed Iohannis alius, presbyteri, qui habitabat in Asia; nam non est similis typus, id est species sermonis, Evangelii et Apocalypsis. Et Iohannes nullibi in Evangelio commemoravit suum nomen; hic vero, initio et fine Apocalypsis posuit nomen suum. Et a Domino nostro accepisse revelationem eum, qui eam scripsit, profiteamur. Irenaeus episcopus et Hippolytus Bosrae dicunt Apocalypsim Iohannis evangelistae esse et sub finem regni Domitiani ipsi revelatam esse. Etiam Eusebius Caesaraeensis his assentit at statim dicit: Si quis non admittit Apocalypsim esse Iohannis apostoli, evangelistae, dicimus: ergo est Iohannis presbyteri, qui tempore Iohannis apostoli extitit. Et duo sunt sepulcra in Asia, unum evangelistae et alterum Iohannis presbyteri.*

²⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴²⁰ Thus the Murdock and Etheridge mss. (fifth century). The latter has the island of "Pathamon". From the subscription to the end of John's gospel that prefaces its Revelation (p. 310 ed. Gwynn): *tub ktbiln galina d hwa al qadisha Iuchanan ewanglista kad eituhi hawa bPathamon garta. Dashtdi leh min Neron Kesar: "This is the revelation which was made for John when he (John) was banished to Pathamon, whither he was cast by Nero Caesar". Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 2.1, n. 54.*

composition under Claudius.²⁴²¹ Neither Clement of Alexandria nor Origen knew the name of the emperor of John's banishment, merely of, respectively, a τύραννος or ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, ὡς ἡ παραδόσις διδάσκει.²⁴²² However, Origen, conflating John the seer with John the brother of James, slain by Herod, closely contrasts one brother's persecution with the other's, perhaps implying John's *relegatio* under a Caesar close in time, either Claudius or Nero (who also bore the former title).²⁴²³ By contrast, Pseudo-Prochorus blames Trajan.²⁴²⁴

Chapter 13.1 and 3.

13.1.

²⁴²¹ Eriphanius, Pan. II (GCS 25, 263, l. 18-264, l.2): σασθαι δι'εὐλάβειαν καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην, ἐπὶ τῇ γηραλέᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ, μετὰ ἕτη ἐνενήκοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ἱκανὰ ἕτη τοῦ διατρίψαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, [ἀναγκάζεται] ἐκθέσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ χρεῖα περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παροῦ; Pan. II (GCS 25, 308, l. 14-16): καὶ Κυϊντίλλας, ὧν ἡ ἀπάτη οὐ λέληθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ προεθέσπισε ροφητικῶς ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου, πρὸ κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπῆρχεν ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐν Θυατείροις ταῦτα πεπληρωσθαι. ἄρα γοῦν κατὰ προφητείαν.

²⁴²² Clemens Alexandrinus, Quis diu. salu. ? 42.2 (GCS 17, 188, l. 1-2): ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον. Origenes, Com. in Matth. XVI 6 (GCS 40.2, 486, l. 130; PG 13, 1385): ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς (ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει) κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον.

²⁴²³ Origenes, Com. in Matth. XVI 6 (GCS 40.2, l. 128-145; PG 13, 1385): ἐπεὶ περὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν <ἀδελφὸν> Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς (ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει) κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον. διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἑαυτοῦ Ἰωάννης, μὴ λέγων τίς αὐτὸν κατεδίκασε, φάσκων ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα ἄεγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ ἔοικε τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεθεωρηκέναι. Glasgow, The Apocalypse translated and expounded, 40. Nero's full title was "Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus" and some inscriptions refer to "Nero Claudius Caesar".

²⁴²⁴ Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 46 Zahn).

1. 1-2. Capita septem septem montes, super quos mulier sedet, id est ciuitas Romana.

First century or earlier Jewish apocalyptic had already assimilated the fourth beast of Dan.

7.7, clearly the Hellenistic, Macedonian empire, to the Roman; as had subsequent rabbinic

literature.²⁴²⁵ But Victorinus is first in the extant record to so write this interpretation, which,

though surely commonplace, Christians may have feared to write publicly. That Victorinus

did so in a garrison colony like Poetovio is striking. “Super quos mulier sedet” is the earliest

Old Latin translation of Apoc. 17.9 extant, and is close to the Vulgate. That of ninth century

Codex Boernerianus follows the Greek pedantically: “ubi mulier sedet supra illos”.²⁴²⁶

Jerome merely alters to “in quibus *etc*”.²⁴²⁷ For one so unlearned as Jerome insinuates,

Victorinus’ translation is remarkably close to the Stridonian’s.

1. 2-5. Et reges septem sunt: quinque ceciderunt, unus est, et alius nondum uenit; et cum

uenerit, breui tempore erit. Et bestia quam uidisti de septem est et octaua est. Jerome

does not correct Victorinus’ lemma, which Beatus also follows, save for “modico tempore

oportet eum perseuerare”.²⁴²⁸

1. 5-6. Intellegi igitur oportet <tempus>, quo scribitur Apocalypsis, quoniam tunc erat

Caesar Domitianus. A rare application of *narrationes* by Victorinus, the historical

circumstances of composition, to a matter of interpretation. The other concerns the

²⁴²⁵ Bonsirven, *Eschatologie rabbinique*, 237-246.

²⁴²⁶ Apoc. 17.9 (p. 666 Nestle-Aland): ὡδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν. αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ἑπτὰ ὄρη εἰσὶν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ’ αὐτῶν. καὶ βασιλεὺς ἑπτὰ εἰσιν; (VL; Cod. g; p. 83 Belsheim): Hic est sensus qui habet sapientiam. Septem capita VII montes sunt, ubi mulier sedet supra illos. (10) Et reges VII sunt; (Vg; p. 1138 Hetzenauer): Et hic est sensus, qui habet sapientiam. Septem capita, septem montes sunt, super quos mulier sedet, et reges septem sunt.

²⁴²⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, *Com. in Apoc.* 13.2 (R. H.; p. 119 Haussleiter).

²⁴²⁸ Beatus Liebanensis, *Com. in Apoc.* VI 4.83 (p. 495, l. 13-15 Sanders): quinque ceciderunt, unus est. alius nondum uenit, et dum uenerit, modico tempore oportet eum perseuerare, et bestia, quae erat et non est, et ipsa octava est. Apoc. 17.10 (p. 666 Nestle-Aland): οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν, ὁ εἷς ἔστιν, ὁ ἄλλος οὐπω ἦλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μένειν; (VL; Cod. g; p. 83 Belsheim): quinque ceciderunt, unus est, et alter nondum uenit. Et cum uenerit, modicum oportet illum manere; (Vg; p. 1138 Hetzenauer): Quinque ceciderunt, unus est, et alius nondum uenit : et cum uenerit, oportet illum breue tempus manere.

composition of John's Gospel, crucially *anterior* to the Apocalypse.²⁴²⁹ Most authors attribute John's relegation to Domitian, though not all: neither Clement nor Origen seem to know his name,²⁴³⁰ while Pseudo-Prochorus holds Trajan responsible.²⁴³¹

l. 6-8. Ante illum autem fuerat Titus frater ipsius et Vespasianus pater ipsorum, Otho, Vitellius et Galba. That this is Victorinus' original order of emperors is affirmed by manuscripts A and S.²⁴³² Of Jerome's version, most texts give Vitellius, Otho, Galba; only codices C, B and G give the correct historical order, surely as *posterior* corrections.²⁴³³ In any event, it suggests how difficult it was for ancient Christian authors to acquire precise historical information, even for one as erudite as Jerome. Since elsewhere Victorinus adduces information about Nero's death found only in Suetonius,²⁴³⁴ he is likely have used a Christian digest at least indirectly dependent on the historian, if not the very lost commentary of Hippolytus.

l. 8-10. Hi sunt quinque qui ceciderunt; unus est, ait, sub quo scripta Apocalypsis dicitur, scilicet Domitianus. Again, Victorinus is the first to explicitly so say, though Clement may have intimated of it by referring to "the tyrant",²⁴³⁵ as Eusebius deduces.²⁴³⁶

²⁴²⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 11, 1 (SChr 423, 92): Cum essent enim Valentinus et Cerinthus et Ebion et cetera scola <Satanæ> sparsa per orbem, conuenerunt ad illum de finitimis ciuitatibus episcopi et compulerunt eum, ut ipse testimonium conscriberet in Dominum.

²⁴³⁰ Clemens Alexandrinus, Quis diu. salu. ? 42.2 (GCS 17, 188, l. 1-2): ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον. Origenes, Com. in Matth. XVI 6 (GCS 40.2, 486, l. 130; PG 13, 1385): ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς (ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει) κατεδίκησε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον.

²⁴³¹ Pseudo-Prochorus, Act. Ioan. (p. 46 Zahn).

²⁴³² Dulaey, Victorin de Poetouio 1, 98; 2, 3.4, n. 76.

²⁴³³ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (R. H.; p. 119, n. 9 Haussleiter).

²⁴³⁴ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero 57.2 (p. 259, l. 30-34 Ihm): denique cum post uiginti annos adulescente me extitisset condicionis incertae qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam fauorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut uehementer adiutus et uix redditus sit.

²⁴³⁵ Clemens Alexandrinus, Quis diu. salu. ? 42.1 (GCS 17, l. 1)-42.2 (GCS 17, l. 5): Ἴνα δὲ ἐπιθαρρήσης, οὕτω μετανοήσας ἀληθῶς, ὅτι σοὶ μένει σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἀξιόχρεως, ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῆει

l. 10-12. **Qui cum uenerit, breui tempore erit: biennium enim non impleuit.** Sixteen months and ten days, according Aurelius Victor.²⁴³⁷ Eusebius employs the phrase Μικρῶ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ, “post annum plus minus”, “little more than a year”.²⁴³⁸ Though likely from a Christian digest, this remains one of Victorinus’ few points of contact with secular history.

l. 12-13. **Et bestia quam uidisti, inquit, de septem est.** One of Victorinus’ more extraordinary exegeses. He translates the ἐκ, *ek*, in ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ, *ek tōn hepta*, as the prefix *de-* in the verb *desum*; in the (alleged) vulgar sense of “outside” or “apart from”, rather than the more usual “from” or “of” *i.e.* in a sense almost exactly opposite to the one normally inferred.²⁴³⁹ **quoniam ante istos reges Nero regnauit.** Nero cannot be “of” the seven, but must be “outside” them, since the seven, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian and Nerva, followed him. Thus Nero must be eighth in *another* set of seven kings, deduced below.

παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληρον ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων.

(3.) τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σηματομενῶν.

²⁴³⁶ Eusebius Caesarensis, Hist. Eccl. III 23.5 (SChr 31, l. 1)-III 23.6 (SChr 31, l. 7): ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοῦ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνάμενος, καὶ ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελεῖ φίλον ἀκούειν, προστίθεισιν ἐν ᾧ Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι· λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγνωθι ὧδέ πως ἔχουσιν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφήν· ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληρον ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σηματομενῶν.

²⁴³⁷ S. Aurelius Victor, Hist. abbrev. 12.2 (uulg.: Lib. de Caes.; p. 90, l. 25-30 Pilchmayer): qui cum extrema aetate apud Sequanos, quo tyranni decessit metu, imperium arbitrio legionum cepisset, ubi perspexit nisi a superioribus robustioribus que corpore animo que geri non posse, mense sexto ac decimo semet eo abdicavit, dedicato prius foro, quod appellatur Pervium, quo aedes Minervae eminentior consurgit et magnificentior.

²⁴³⁸ Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. Eccl. III 21.1 (SChr 31, 236, l. 1-2): Μικρῶ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα Νερούαν διαδέχεται Τραϊανός. Eusebius Caesariensis, Hist. eccl. III 21.9 (SChr 31, 237, l. 6-21): Nerva vero post annum plus minus defuncto Traianus succedit imperio.

²⁴³⁹ Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *de* I. 5. of Position, *outside of, beyond*, chiefly in early writers, 513.

l. 13-14. **Et octaua est, ait, modo illa cum aduenerit computans loco octauo.** The reason for calculating Antichrist's place as eighth only becomes apparent by reading the rest of the section. But, by his ingenious explication of "de", Victorinus ensures the eighth Caesar, *Nero Rediuius*, is no longer directly attached purely sequentially to the preceding seven. This is an especially ingenious act of hermeneutical violence, constituting an act of allegoresis that might echo Origen's. It suggests how urgent it was to lever approximately 200 years into the text, to ensure continuity between the first century and the time in which Victorinus wrote. Even so, Victorinus' justifies John's calling *Nero Rediuius* the *eighth* Caesar after *Nero mortuus* on the grounds that he comes "modo", "soon"²⁴⁴⁰ (though the tense, future perfect, "when he shall have come" is highly problematical) *i.e.* he yet maintains the imminence of Antichrist. The Poetovian thus addresses the problem of reconciling the first century expectation of the impending return of Christ with the continued status quo; while attempting to retain the considerable body of tradition that depicted the saints' earthly reign from Jerusalem, preparatory to the day of judgment.

According to Apoc. 13.11, Antichrist-the beast must be the eighth king, while in Daniel (Dan. 7.8 and 24 are a principal source, while Victorinus inserts his interpretation of Apoc. 17 into that of Apoc. 13.2-3) he is the horn who raises himself eleventh among the other ten (Victorinus gives twice, "*bestiam quam uidisti*" for Apoc. 17.11, inserting here the precision given in Apoc. 17.8). This is not the first time one finds the Poetovian practising recapitulation in the biblical text itself.²⁴⁴¹

In "De septem est" Dulaey maintains that Victorinus gives the *de* the contemporary vulgar sense of *outside*:²⁴⁴² an Old Latin version of Luc. 2.48 also translates ἐξεπλάγησαν

²⁴⁴⁰ Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *mox*, 1169. TLL, s. v. *modus*, c. 1308, 21 sq.

²⁴⁴¹ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 2, 3.4, n. 77.

²⁴⁴² TLL, s. v. *de*, c. 80, 7.

by "uidentes eum *de mente facti sunt*",²⁴⁴³ though *de* clearly still carries here a sense of **deposing from place**. Thus Nero is apparently *outside the seven* (merely) because he rules *before* them, while Antichrist is then the eighth. The reasons Victorinus gives are twofold. To assign Antichrist eighth place when one lives under the sixth emperor is to say that his time is near ("modo" has the sense of *mox*,²⁴⁴⁴ though the use of the future perfect tense remains problematical – "modo illa cum *aduenerit*"). But there is another explanation, announced by a "nam". Apoc. 17 speaks of two sets of kings: the seven heads, and the ten horns. According to Dan. 7.24, the ten horns are ten kings, and the majority of Victorinus' predecessors, including Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus (and later Lactantius), interpreting Daniel's fourth beast as the Roman empire (an extension of the Hellenistic, Macedonian empire, according with a rabbinic, Jewish view), see the ten kings as ruling *contemporaneously* in an empire fallen into anarchy. Victorinus' ingenuity is to leave it ambiguous in which set Antichrist is eighth. He is eighth in both sets, but in two different senses.²⁴⁴⁵

1. 14-15. **Et quoniam in illo fiet consummatio, adiecit: Et in interitum uadit.**

"Consummatio" can have an ambiguous meaning since, as equivalent to the "summing up" of human history,²⁴⁴⁶ it can point either to eternal bliss or judgment, thus "interitus", "destruction".²⁴⁴⁷

²⁴⁴³ Luc. 2.48 (p. 149 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. 5; p. 170 Scrivener): et uidentes eum de mente facti sunt et dixit ed eum mater eius fili quid fecisti nobis sic ecce pater tuus et ego dolentes quaerebamus te.

²⁴⁴⁴ TLL, s. v. *modus*, c. 1308, 21 et seq.

²⁴⁴⁵ Dulaey, Victorin du Poetouio 1, 200.

²⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.2 (SChr 423, 64, l. 1-6): Significanter solium positum, quod est sedes iudicii et regis; super quem solium uidisse se ait similitudinem iaspidis et sardi, quia iaspis aquae color est et sardius ignis, haec duo testamenta posita esse usque ad consummationem orbis super tribunal Dei exinde manifestabatur; quorum iudiciorum duum unum iam consummatum est in cataclismo per aquam, aliud autem per ignem consummabitur. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 14.3 (SChr 423, 110, l. 1-4): Quod autem ait: Mitte falcem acutam et uindemia botros uuae, de gentibus perituris in aduentum Domini dicit; et quidem pluribus speciebus hic illud ostendit, <sicut in messe arida>, sed semel in aduentum Domini, consummationem regni Antichristi et adaptionem regni sanctorum <futurum est>. Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *consummatio* I. *summing up*, 443.

²⁴⁴⁷ As equivalent to *Hell*, cf. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), De sing. cler. 28 (CSEL 3.3, 205, l. 6-11): ille autem commotionem sui uisus non meretur euadere qui apud se scandali materiam tenet, qui uult intentionis affectibus frui, qui affectat habere quod offensionem oculis ingerit, quorum auditas inexplebilis inter

l. 15-18. **Nam decem reges accepisse regalem potestatem: cum ille mouerit ab Oriente, mittentur ab urbe Romana cum exercitibus suis.** “Nam” introduces an explanation for why Nero is both eight and “outside” the seven. Nero’s new, oriental origin owes much to contemporary discourse. Suetonius recounts that the emperor had contemplated escaping Rome to his Parthian admirers;²⁴⁴⁸ or of those posing as Nero, since it was rumoured by some he was yet alive.²⁴⁴⁹ The Sibylline Oracle prophesies Nero’s return from the east, wreaking death and destruction,²⁴⁵⁰ albeit on Jerusalem rather than Rome.²⁴⁵¹ **mittentur.** All manuscripts of the *Editio Victorini* have “mittetur”,²⁴⁵² which scarcely makes sense. Why the ten kings are sent from Rome, whether to meet Antichrist in friendship or enmity, is not clear, probably the latter given his subsequently purging them. **ab urbe Romana.** Dan. 7.24 specifies the ten horns-kings are “of the same (fourth) kingdom” (καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ δέκα βασιλεῖς, “cornua decem ipsius regni”),²⁴⁵³ and for Irenaeus, there was to be a

offendicula continua nullo modo potest omnino conpesci, quod Salomon adprobat dicens: infernus et interitus non satiatur, similiter oculi hominum insatiabiles sunt. Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *interitus, destruction*, 981.

²⁴⁴⁸ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero 47.2 (p. 255, l. 2-5 Ihm): uarie agitauit, Parthos ne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum pro que rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione ueniam praeteritorum precaretur, ac ni flexisset animos, uel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret.

²⁴⁴⁹ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero 57.2 (p. 259, l. 30-34 Ihm): denique cum post uiginti annos adulescente me extitisset condicionis incertae qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam fauorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut uehementer adiutus et uix redditus sit.

²⁴⁵⁰ Orac. Sibyl. V (GCS 8, l. 147-149): ἤξει δ’ εἰς Μήδους καὶ Περσῶν πρὸς βασιλῆας, πρώτους οὖς ἐπόθησε καὶ οἷς κλέος ἐγκατέθηκεν φωλεύων μετὰ τῶνδε κακῶν εἰς ἔθνος ἀληθές.

²⁴⁵¹ Orac. Sibyl. V (GCS 8, l. 150-154): ὃς ναὸν θεότευκτον ἔλεν καὶ ἔφλεξε πολίτας λαοὺς εἰσανιόντας, ὅσους ὕμνησα δικαίως· τούτου γὰρ *φανέντος* <ὄλ>η κτίσις ἐξετινάχθη καὶ βασιλεῖς ὄλοντο, καὶ ἐν τοῖσιν μένεν ἀρχή, ἐξόλεσαν μεγάλην τε πόλιν λαὸν τε δίκαιον. Bartlett, Jews in the Hellenistic world: Josephus, Aristeas, the Sibylline oracles, Eupolemus, 54.

²⁴⁵² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (E. v.; p. 118, n. 17 Haussleiter; R. H.; p. 119, n. 18 Haussleiter).

²⁴⁵³ Dan. 7.24 (p. 916 Nestle-Aland): καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεται ἕτερος ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει; (VL; Ambrosius Autpertus, Expos. in Apoc. VII 17.3b (CM 27A, l. 55): Porro decem cornua ipsius regni decem reges erunt. Ambrosius Autpertus, Expos. in Apoc. VIII 17 (CM 27A, l. 27-33): Porro cornua decem ipsius regni, decem reges erunt, et alius consurget post eos, uidelicet antichristus, et ipse potentior erit prioribus, et tres reges humiliabit, subaudis omnes sibi adiacentes, et sermones *contra* Excelsum loquetur, et sanctos Altissimi conteret. Quid enim per quartum regnum, nisi Romanorum imperium designauit, in quo uidelicet isti decem reges esse memorantur, post quos utique antichristus dicitur surrecturus?

ten-part division of “the last kingdom”, clearly the Roman empire, though this is not actually specified, probably through caution.²⁴⁵⁴ Hippolytus seems first to have specified that the “fourth kingdom” of Dan. 7.23 constituted “the Romans”;²⁴⁵⁵ adding that the ten kingdoms are “democracies” into which the Roman empire disintegrates.²⁴⁵⁶

1. 18. **Haec cornua decem dicit ex X decem zademata.** Cf. Apoc. 13.1, which Victorinus interprets by Apoc. 17.12.

1. 18-20. **Et Danihel ostendit: Tria eradicabuntur de pioribus, hoc est, tres duces primarios ab Antichristo interfici.** Irenaeus had already made the association with Dan. 7.7-8 and 20-24, where the eleventh horn-king uproots three of the ten before him.²⁴⁵⁷ Thus Victorinus calculates Antichrist as the eighth king of Apoc. 17.11, for

10 (horns-kings) – 3 = 7; 7 + 1 (Nero) = 8.

²⁴⁵⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 25.3 (SChr 153, l. 43-47): Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, hoc est novissimos decem reges in quos dividitur regnum illorum super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem nasci bestiae, et alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicari a facie ejus.

²⁴⁵⁵ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 25 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-3): ἔπειτα, φησίν, „θηρίον τέταρτον φοβερὸν καὶ ἑκθαμβόν· οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροῖ καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ.“ τίνες οὗτοι ἀλλ’ ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σίδηρος, ἡ νῦν ἐνεστῶσα βασιλεία.

²⁴⁵⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 25 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-3):

²⁴⁵⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 25.3 (SChr 153, l. 43-53): Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, hoc est novissimos decem reges in quos dividitur regnum illorum super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem nasci bestiae, et alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicari a facie ejus. Et ecce, inquit, oculi quasi oculi hominis in | cornu hoc et os loquens magna, et aspectus eius maior reliquis. Videbam, et cornu illud faciebat bellum adversus sanctos et valebat adversus eos, quoadusque venit Vetustus Dierum et iudicium dedit sanctis altissimi Dei, et tempus pervenit et regnum obtinuerunt sancti.

Apoc. 17.11-12 depicts two sets of kings: seven heads and ten horns. Victorinus ingeniously equivocates in which set Antichrist is eighth. He is eighth *both in* and “de” *i.e.* “outside” and “of”, both sets,²⁴⁵⁸ *de*’s paradoxically comprising both senses.

1. 20-23. **Ceteros septem dare illi gloriam et honorem et solium et potestatem. De quibus ait: Hi odient meretricem –urbem scilicet dicit-, et carnes eius comburentur igni.** Again, Victorinus is the first Christian extant to openly interpret the Whore of Babylon as Rome, destined to be burnt, perhaps because professing such a sentiment could prove dangerous. In the *Sibylline Oracles* Rome and Italy are destroyed by a falling star, to avenge Nero’s destruction of Jerusalem,²⁴⁵⁹ a theme possibly echoed in Apoc. 8.8.²⁴⁶⁰ If Rome originally despatched her kings against Antichrist, they are now converted to his cause. There is a curious symmetry between Jewish and Christian eschatology, involving similar actors and events, but interpreted in contrary ways.

13.3.

1. 1-2. **Vnum autem de capitibus occisum in mortem et plaga mortis eius curata est: Neronem dicit.** Commodian, a Christian poet contemporary with Victorinus, who appears to have drunk from a common source, also holds that *Nero Rediuius* will return from the

²⁴⁵⁸ Dulaey, Victorin de Poetovio 1, 200.

²⁴⁵⁹ Orac. Sibyl. V (GCS 8, l. 158-161): ἤξει δ’ οὐρανόθεν ἀστὴρ μέγας εἰς ἅλα δῖαν καὶ φλέξει πόντον βαθὺν αὐτὴν τε Βαβυλῶνα Ἰταλίας γαῖάν θ’, ἧς εἶνεκα πολλοὶ ὄλοντο Ἑβραίων ἅγιοι πιστοὶ καὶ λαὸς ἀληθής.

²⁴⁶⁰ Apoc. 8.8 (p. 647 Nestle-Aland): Καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν καὶ ὡς ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καϊόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἶμα.

dead.²⁴⁶¹ Dio Chrysostom and Augustine both record the contemporary belief that Nero was still alive, even of the same age at which he died, and would return to inherit his kingdom.²⁴⁶²

l. 2-4. **Constat enim, cum eundem insequeretur equitatus missus a senatu, ipsum sibi gulam succidisse.** The details of cavalry sent by the Senate and a throat slit are likely derived indirectly from Suetonius.²⁴⁶³ In fact, when the centurion despatched arrived, Nero was not quite dead,²⁴⁶⁴ likely further fueling rumours of his survival.²⁴⁶⁵

l. 4-6. **Hunc ergo Deus suscitatum mittere.** An awkward conflation of direct and indirect statement, typical of Victorinus. *Suscitare, lift* or *raise*, only comes to have the sense *revive from the dead* in the Christian period.²⁴⁶⁶ Augustine testifies to such a belief

²⁴⁶¹ Commodianus, Carm. de duob. pop. v. 791-796 (CC SL 128, l. 791-796): Sex milibus annis prouenient ista repletis, quo tempore nos ipsos spero iam in litore portus. Tunc homo resurget solis in agone reductus et gaudet in deo reminiscens, quid fuit ante; qui, sicut audiuit fragilis in pristina carne, cum sit incorruptus, recognoscit ante promissa. Commodianus, Carm. de duob. pop. v. 823-837 (CC SL 128, l. 823-837): Exsurgit interea sub ipso tempore syrus, qui terreat hostes et liberet inde senatum. Ex infero redit, qui fuerat regno praeceptus et diu seruatus cum pristino corpore notus. Dicimus hunc autem neronem esse uetustum, qui petrum et paulum prius puniuit in urbem. Ipse redit iterum sub ipso saeculi fine[m] ex locis apocryphis, qui fuit reseruatus in ista. Hunc ipse <se>natus inuisum esse mirantur; qui cum apparuerit, quasi deum esse putabunt. Sed priusquam ille ueniat, prophetabit helias tempore partito, medio ebdomadis axe[m]. Completo spatio succedit ille nefandus, quem et iudaei simul tunc cum romanis adorant. Quamquam erit alius, quem expectent ab oriente, in nostra caede tamen saeuient cum rege nerone. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth*, ZNW 59, 103-105.

²⁴⁶² Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XX 19 (CC SL 48, l. 53-62): quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse romano, et propterea paulum apostolum non id aperte scribere uoluisse, ne calumniam uidelicet incurreret, quod romano imperio male optauerit, cum speraretur aeternum; ut hoc quod dixit: iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur, neronem uoluerit intellegi, cuius iam facta uelut antichristi uidebantur. unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum et futurum antichristum suspicantur; alii uero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus, et uiuum occultari in uigore ipsius aetatis, in *qua* fuit, cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reueletur et restituatur in regnum.

²⁴⁶³ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero, 49.3 (p. 257, l. 5 Ihm): iam que equites appropinquabant, quibus praeceptum erat ut uiuum eum adtraherent. C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero, 49.3 (p. 257, l. 7-9): quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus: hippôn~g m'~g ôkupodôn~g amphi~g ktupos~g ouata~g ballei~g ferrum iugulo adegit iuuante Epaphrodito a libellis.

²⁴⁶⁴ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero, 49.4 (p. 257, l. 10-12 Ihm): semianimis que adhuc irrumpenti centurioni et paenula ad uulnus adposita in auxilium se uenisse simulanti non aliud respondit quam: sero et: haec est fides.

²⁴⁶⁵ Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XX 19 (CC SL 48, l. 58-62): unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum et futurum antichristum suspicantur; alii uero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus, et uiuum occultari in uigore ipsius aetatis, in *qua* fuit, cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reueletur et restituatur in regnum.

²⁴⁶⁶ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary, suscito I, lift, raise, elevate II. B. resuscitate*, 1819: Augustinus Hipponensis, Sermo 26 (CC SL 41, l. 241-242): itaque in isto typo christi propheticè expresso suscitatus est mortuus, tamquam iustificatus est impius.

(“resurrecturum”), even in the fifth century.²⁴⁶⁷ **regem dignum dignis, Iudeis et persecutoribus Christi <et Christum> talem qualem meruerunt persecutores et Iudei.** A rare example of chiasmus in Victorinus, stressing the importance, perhaps, he attached to the formula. The *persecutores* must be broadly equivalent to gentile pagans, placed in the same category as unbelieving Jews: an Antichrist is the means whereby Christian exegetes equate both groups, even though the former have directly dispossessed the latter. **regem...Iudeis et perseuctoribus.** Justin does not seem to have known such a tradition,²⁴⁶⁸ though stipulating that it is Antoninus Pius’ (*quasi*-Christian?) duty to continue to ban Jews from Jerusalem.²⁴⁶⁹

Irenaeus had stressed slave-born Antichrist’s desire to be revered as a king;²⁴⁷⁰ and “earthly Jerusalem” *i.e.* the Jews’ accepting him instead of Jesus Christ,²⁴⁷¹ in order they “be avenged of her adversary”.²⁴⁷² Who the Jews’ “adversary” is is not clear. If Rome, why was her emperor now their ally and restorer? If the Christians, whom Antichrist persecutes,²⁴⁷³ for what were Jews precisely avenging themselves? Irenaeus almost implies a kind of Roman

²⁴⁶⁷ Augustinus Hipponensis, De ciu. Dei XX 19 (CC SL 48, l. 58): unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum et futurum antichristum suspicantur

²⁴⁶⁸ Justin merely intimates that Jews who convert may share in the Christian inheritance of mount Zion: Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 25.6 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-26.1 (l. 6 Goodspeed): Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων· Τί οὖν ἔστιν ὃ λέγεις, ὅτι οὐδείς ἡμῶν κληρονομήσει ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδέν; Κἀγώ· Οὐ τοῦτο φημι, ἀλλ’ οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν διώξαντες καὶ διώκοντες καὶ μὴ μετανοοῦντες οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὰ πιστεύσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ μετανοήσαντα ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμαρτον, αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ γεγέννηται.

²⁴⁶⁹

²⁴⁷⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.1 (SChr 153, l. 1-13): Et non tantum autem per ea quae dicta sunt, sed et per ea quae erunt sub Antichristo, ostenditur quoniam existens apostata et latro quasi Deus vult adorari et, cum sit servus, regem se vult praeconari. Ille enim omnem suscipiens diaboli virtutem veniet non quasi rex justus nec quasi in subjectione Dei legitimus, sed impius et injustus et sine lege, quasi apostata et iniquus et | homicida, quasi latro, diabolicam apostasiam in se recapitulans, et idola quidem deponens ad suadendum quod ipse sit Deus, se autem extollens unum idolum, habens in semetipso reliquorum idolorum varium errorem, ut hi qui per multas abominaciones adorant diabolum, hi per hoc unum idolum serviant ipsi.

²⁴⁷¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. 25.4 (SChr 153, l. 76-79): Et Dominus autem hoc idem non credentibus sibi dicebat: Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non recipitis me: cum alius venerit in nomine suo, illum recipietis, alium dicens Antichristum, quoniam est alienus a Deo.

²⁴⁷² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.4 (SChr 153, l. 80-82): Et ipse est iniquus | iudex, qui a Domino dictus est, qui Deum non timebat neque hominem reverebatur, ad quem fugit vidua oblita Dei, hoc est terrena Hierusalem, ad ulciscendum de inimico.

²⁴⁷³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.4 (SChr 153, l. 89-96): Et Gabriel angelus exsolvens eius visiones de hoc ipso dicebat: Et in novissimo regni ipsorum exsurget rex improbus facie valde et intellegens quaestiones, et valida virtus ejus et admirabilis, et corruptet et diriget et faciet, et exterminabit fortes et populum sanctum; et jugum torquis ejus dirigetur; dolus in manu ejus, et in corde suo exaltabitur et dolo disperdet multos et ad perditionem multorum stabit et quomodo ova manu conteret.

pagan-Christian connivance in the Jews' loss of temple, city and kingdom, at least in (his construct of) Jews' eyes, which in a sense Justin makes explicit.²⁴⁷⁴ Antichrist is also guilty of *apostasia*,²⁴⁷⁵ though it is by no means clear in what way. From whom, precisely, is he defecting? From Rome? For his reversing Jewish dispossession? From Christianity? For his Judaizing? From Judaism? For his (technical) blasphemy? The innovations of Hippolytus and Victorinus should be seen as attempts to answer these questions. Further, Antichrist moves the seat of his kingdom, presumably from Rome, to Jerusalem and temple (both presumably restored);²⁴⁷⁶ in which he will sit and be worshipped as God.²⁴⁷⁷ Hippolytus makes clear that Antichrist would rebuild Jerusalem;²⁴⁷⁸ “raise the kingdom of the Jews”, indeed names it as his first activity,²⁴⁷⁹ doubtless reflecting Christian anxieties and concerns, including by making non-Christian Jews and pagan gentiles fit into the same category of outsider. Hippolytus even has Antichrist *born* a Jew, of the tribe of Dan;²⁴⁸⁰ which he may deduce from Irenaeus' Antichrist's *servile* birth.²⁴⁸¹

²⁴⁷⁴ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. c. Tryph. 139.2 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-5 (l. 5 Goodspeed).

²⁴⁷⁵ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.3 (SChr 153, l. 105-108): Ex quibus omnibus non tantum quae sunt apostasiae manifestantur et quae sunt ejus qui in se recapitulatur omnem diabolicum errorem, sed etiam quoniam unus et idem Deus Pater, qui a prophetis annuntiatus, a Christo autem manifestatus.

²⁴⁷⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.4 (SChr 153, l. 83-86): Quod et faciet in tempore regni sui: transferet regnum in eam, et in templo Dei sedebit, seducens eos qui adorant eum quasi ipse sit Christus.

²⁴⁷⁷ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.1 (SChr 153, l. 14-18): De quo Apostolus in epistola quae est ad Thessalonicensis secunda sic ait: Quoniam nisi venerit abscessio primum et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius perditionis, qui adversatur et extollit se super omne quod dicitur Deus aut colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat, ostendens semetipsum tamquam sit Deus.

²⁴⁷⁸ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 49.5 (GCS 1.2, 312, l. 19).

²⁴⁷⁹ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 25 (GCS 1.2, l. 11-13): ὅπερ δέδεικται οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ' ἡ ὁ ἀντίχριστος ὁ ἐγειρόμενος, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων βασιλείαν ἀναστήσει.

²⁴⁸⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 15 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-4): ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὄντως ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δὰν μέλλει γεννᾶσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι τύραννος, βασιλεὺς, κριτῆς δεινός, υἱὸς τοῦ διαβόλου, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης „Δὰν κρινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν, ὡσεὶ καὶ μίαν φυλὴν ἐν Ἰσραήλ.“

²⁴⁸¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 25.1 (SChr 153, l. 1-4): Et non tantum autem per ea quae dicta sunt, sed et per ea quae erunt sub Antichristo, ostenditur quoniam exsistens apostata et latro quasi Deus vult adorari et, cum sit servus, regem se vult praeconari.

1. 7-8. **Et quoniam alium nomen allaturus est.** The name is “other” than that of *Nero*. Irenaeus stresses the impossibility of knowing Antichrist’s name in advance;²⁴⁸² explaining the reason for its suppression as its being unworthy for the Holy Spirit to proclaim it, lest Antichrist abide longer than is strictly necessary.²⁴⁸³ While Hippolytus also says Antichrist’s exact name may be unknown, it must in some sense comprise the sense of the term *Λατεῖνος* (of the gematric value 666), *Lateinos*, “Latin”, since the current (fourth) empire was a Latin one.²⁴⁸⁴ Only Victorinus specifies that the change of title is for the purpose of deception. *Allaturus*, the future active participle of *affere*,²⁴⁸⁵ proliferates in patristic use, likely reflecting a vernacular use. **aliam etiam uitam institurus est.** *Instituere uitam* merely meant *to regulate* or *administer one’s life*.²⁴⁸⁶ This strongly suggests that, for Victorinus, Nero had not *properly* died, rather receives a new life.²⁴⁸⁷ It is perhaps a diabolical echo of Christ’s power to dispose of his life as he pleases (Io. 10.18). **et sic eundem tamquam Christum excipiant.** Unlike his predecessors, the Poetovian deduces Antichrist’s new identity is to deceive Jews and gentiles into receiving him as “Christ”. “Tamquam Christum” *i.e.* in objective fact, naturally not to his followers.

1. 9-11. **Ait enim Danihel: Desiderium mulierum non cognoscet –cum sit ipse**

spurcissimus. *Cf.* the Septuagint of Dan. 11.37,²⁴⁸⁸ for the Old Latin generally translates the

²⁴⁸² Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 30.3 (SChr 153, l. 59-64): Certius *ergo* et sine periculo est sustinere adimpletionem prophetiae quam suspicari et divinare nomina quaelibet, quando multa nomina inveniri possunt habentia praedictum numerum, et nihilominus quidem erit haec eadem quaestio: si enim multa sunt quae | inveniuntur nomina habentia numerum hunc, quod ex ipsis portabit qui venit quaeretur.

²⁴⁸³ Though its number is published, that Christians may avoid him: Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 30.4 (SChr 153, l. 98-101): Nunc autem numerum nominis ostendit, ut caveamus illum venientem, scientes quis est; nomen autem ejus tacuit, quoniam dignum non est praeconari a sancto Spiritu. Si enim praeconatum ab eo fuisset, fortassis et in multum permaneret.

²⁴⁸⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, *De antichr.* 50 (GCS 1.2, l. 11-13).

²⁴⁸⁵ Lewis and Scott, *Latin Dictionary*, *auffero* II. A. *bear*, 66.

²⁴⁸⁶ Lewis and Scott, *Latin Dictionary*, *instiuo* I. H., 969. For *uitam instituere*, v. P. Terentius Afer, *Andr.* v. 67-68 (p. 5 Fleckeisen): SO. Sapienter uitam instituit: namque hoc tempore obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit.

²⁴⁸⁷ ²⁴⁸⁸ Dan. 11.37 (p. 933 Rahlfs-Hanhart): καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας θεοὺς τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ οὐ συνήσει καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπιθυμίαν γυναικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν θεὸν οὐ συνήσει ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας μεγαλυνθήσεται; (VL; Cod. Sang.;

text of Theodotion in the *opposite* sense: the fourth beast *does* desire women.²⁴⁸⁹ Hippolytus applies Theodotion's text to Antichrist,²⁴⁹⁰ though probably in a homosexual sense, whereas Victorinus translates the Septuagint, as does Beatus.²⁴⁹¹ The Vulgate translates Theodotian's text also to produce an opposite sense: "he shall *follow* the lust for women".²⁴⁹² Report of Nero's homosexuality²⁴⁹³ *may* have influenced Victorinus' choice of text and translation. *Spurcus* was Classically used of sexual immorality.²⁴⁹⁴ **et nullum deum patrum suorum cognoscet.** In Dan. 11.37, this refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' worshipping the god of מִצְרַיִם, *mā'uzīm*, *fortresses*, in their stead (Dan. 11.38).²⁴⁹⁵ Here it must refer to the ancestral gods of *Nero Rediuius*. Although citing this verse,²⁴⁹⁶ Hippolytus does not comment on it, for his ascribing to Antichrist a *Jewish* birth,²⁴⁹⁷ would have problematized the reading of this very verse. Victorinus' solution is to dispense first with Irenaeus' servile birth for Antichrist, then with Hippolytus' Israelitish one. Instead he deduces that Antichrist actually *is* Nero *i.e.* of noble Roman stock. Thus the ancestral gods he eschews are those of pagan Rome.

p. 262 Dold): et in omni do patrum suorum non intellegit. Et in cupiditate mulierum. Et aduersum omnem dm non intellegit. Qm aduersum multos magnificabitur; (VL; Cod. Weing.; p. 28 Ranke): et in omnes deos patrum suorum non intellegit et in cupiditate delicias feminarum. Et aduersum omnem dm. non intellegit quoniam aduersus multis. magnificauit.

²⁴⁸⁹ Dan. 11.37 (VL; Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. VI 4.102 (p. 499, l. 1-2 Sanders): Deinde ait Daniel: desideria mulierum non cognoscet, cum prius fuerit impurissimus, et nullum Deum patrum suorum cognoscet. Et deum patrum suorum nescibit, neque desideria mulierum cognoscet.

²⁴⁹⁰ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 48.2 (SChr 14, l. 5-8): Καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸν τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ οὐ συνήσει καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸν οὐ συνήσει, ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας μεγαλυνθήσεται.

²⁴⁹¹ Dan. 11.37 (VL; Beatus Liebanensis, Com. in Apoc. VI 4.102 (p. 499, l. 1-2 Sanders): Deinde ait Daniel: desideria mulierum non cognoscet, cum prius fuerit impurissimus, et nullum Deum patrum suorum cognoscet. Et deum patrum suorum nescibit, neque desideria mulierum cognoscet.

²⁴⁹² Dan. 11.37 (Vg; p. 801 Hezzenauer): Et Deum patrum suorum non reputabit: et erit in concupiscentiis feminarum, nec quemquam deorum curabit, quia aduersum uniuersa consurget.

²⁴⁹³ C. Suetonius Tranquillus, De uit. Caes., Nero 28.1 (p. 238, l. 26-32 Ihm): puerum Sporum exectis testibus etiam in muliebrem naturam transfigurare conatus cum dote et flammeo per sollempni<a> nuptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se pro uxore habuit; extat que cuiusdam non inscitus iocus bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius pater talem habuisset uxorem.

²⁴⁹⁴ Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *spurcus* II. 2. *dirty, impurely*, 1748. M. Tullius Cicero, Phil. 2.99 (p. 49, l. 17-20 Fedeli): quis interpretari potest, impudentior ne qui in senatu, an improbior qui in Dolabellam, an impurior qui patre audiente, an crudelior qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris?

²⁴⁹⁵ Dan. 11.38 (p. 1409 Elliger-Rudolph).

²⁴⁹⁶ Hippolytus Romanus, Com. in Dan. IV 48.2 (SChr 14, l. 5-6).

²⁴⁹⁷ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 15 (GCS 1.2, l. 1-4).

l. 11-12. **Non enim poterit seducere populum circumcisionis, nisi legis sit uindictor.**

“Enim” introduces the way in which Antichrist rejects the gods of his fathers *i.e.* by his own Judaizing, for the purpose of “winning Jewish hearts and minds”. “Legis...uindicator”, “avenger of the Law”, implies vengeance for a perceived wrong *to* the Law. Surely, for the Poetovian, this is the Jews’ loss of temple (and likely Jerusalem and kingdom or state, if Irenaeus and Hippolytus influenced Victorinus here). *Vindictor* is a very rare compression of *uindicator*, itself a rare, late vernacularism for *uindex*, neither of which seem Classical.²⁴⁹⁸ Justin had written of the Roman state as that which held at bay the Jewish desire to persecute Christians;²⁴⁹⁹ most savage of peoples to the Church.²⁵⁰⁰ Ironically, it is with regard to the destruction of the temple that Victorinus is allied to the very Roman state he would Christ destroy. In may be, in that sense, that Victorinus sees the Jews’ vengeance as upon the very Christians who sanctify their shrine’s obliteration, post and *ante factum*.

l. 12-14. **Denique sanctos non ad aliud compellet.** Jerome feels it necessary to gloss this with “would not recall the saints to worship idols”.²⁵⁰¹ It is part of Antichrist’s especial seductiveness that he does not try to tempt gentile Christians to backslide into an obvious polytheism. Rather he persuades them into the heresy of Judaizing, albeit with the blasphemy of worshiping Antichrist’s statue as God himself!²⁵⁰² Which act of idol worship Jerome seems to overlook. **nisi ad circumcisionem accipiendam** *i.e.* observe the Law, instead. **si**

²⁴⁹⁸ Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *uindex* II. *an avenger, punisher, revenger*, 1992; *vindicator, an avenger*, 1993.

²⁴⁹⁹ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 16.4 (l. 5-7 Goodspeed): οὐ γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετε αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι ἡμῶν διὰ τοὺς νῦν ἐπικρατοῦντας ῥόσάκις δὲ ἂν ἐδυνήθητε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπράξατε.

²⁵⁰⁰ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 17.1 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed): Οὐχ οὕτως γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀδικίαν τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνέχονται, ὅσον ὑμεῖς, οἱ κάκεινοις τῆς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου κακῆς προλήψεως αἴτιοι ὑπάρχετε.

²⁵⁰¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.2 (R. H.; p. 121, l. 15-p. 123, l. 1 Haussleiter): non enim seducere poterit sanctos non ad idola colenda reuocaturus sed ad circumcisionem colendam, si quos potuerit seducere, ita demum fidem faciet sibi, ut Christus ab eis appelletur.

²⁵⁰² Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.4 (SChr 423, 108, l. 7-11): Et ignis de caelo descendet, sed in conspectu hominum > - namque in conspectu hominum haec etiam magi faciunt per angelos refugas -, et hoc etiam faciet ut imago aurea Antichristi in templo Hierosolymis ponatur et intret ibi angelus refuga; et deinde uoces et sortes reddet.

quos poterit seducere. “Seducere” alludes to *πλανᾶ* / “seducit” of Apoc. 13.18;²⁵⁰³ and *cf.* 2 Thess. 2.10: *ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας*, “in omni seductione iniquitatis”.²⁵⁰⁴ For the seduction of the elect, *cf.* Matth. 24.24; Marc. 13.21.²⁵⁰⁵ Given that Antichrist’s sole demand is that Christians circumcise, Victorinus seems to imply that the mark (*χάραγμα*, *charagma*, *character*; Victorinus: *nota*)²⁵⁰⁶ of the beast (Apoc. 13.16-17) is nothing less than Judaizing, though he does not *explicitly* say so. Justin Martyr had said that circumcision was the mark (*σημεῖον*) whereby Jews were distinguished for the just punishment of their crimes: loss of Jerusalem and land,²⁵⁰⁷ which Christians are apparently to inherit in their stead.²⁵⁰⁸ Justin is

²⁵⁰³ Apoc. 13.14 (p. 658 Nestle-Aland): *καὶ πλανᾶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν;* ; (VL; Cod. h; p. 88 Férotin): *Et seducit habitantes...ut facerent imaginem;* (VL; Cod. z; p. 145 Buchanan): *Et seducit habitantes terram ppt signum que date sunt ille facere in conspectu bestiae dicentes habitantibus in terram. Ut faciant imaginem bestie. Que habebat plagam gladii. Et uixit.* VL; Cod. h; p. 88 Férotin): *Et seduxit habitantes in terra propter signa, quæ data sunt illi facere in conspectu bestiae, dicens habitantibus in terra, ut faciant imaginem bestiae, quæ habet plagam gladii, et vixit..*

²⁵⁰⁴ 2 Thess.. 2.10 (p. 540 Nestle-Aland): *καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἀνθ’ ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτούς;* (VL; Primasius Hadrumentinus, Com. in Apoc. III 9 (CC SL 92, l. 180-181): *Idcirco apostolus dicit tradi eos in omni seductione iniquitatis, eo quod caritatem ueritatis non receperunt, ut salui fierent;* Com. in Apoc. IV 17 (CC SL 92, l. 105-111): *Hanc omnifariam persecutionem in potentatu uel astu futuram apostolus quoque denuntiat dicens: Tunc reuelabitur ille iniquus, quem dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet inlustratione aduentus sui eum, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem Satanae in omni uirtute et signis et prodigiis mendacibus, et in omni seductione iniquitatis in his qui pereunt; uirtute potentiam seductione hypocrisin mendacii significat.*

²⁵⁰⁵ Matth. 24.24 (p. 69 Nestle-Aland): *ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται, καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς;* (VL; Cod. e; p. 16 Belsheim): *Surgent enim pseudoxri, et pseudoprofetae et dabunt signa magna et prodigia. ita ut errent si fieri potest electi;* (VL; Cod. a; p. 31 Belsheim): *Exurgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprofetae: et dabunt signa et prod...ut in...ndu...etiam;* (VL; Cod. b; p. 33 Belsheim): *Surgent enim pseudochristi, et pseudoprophetae, et dabunt signa magna et prodigia, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi.* Marc. 13.22 (p. 135 Nestle-Aland): *ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς;* (VL; Cod. k; p. 15 Wordsworth): *surgent enim pseudoprofetae et dabunt signa et potenta ad errorem faciendum si fieri possit et electis;* (VL; Cod. a; p. 129 Belsheim): *surgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophaetae; et facient signa et prodigia, ad seducendum. si fieri posset, etiam electos;* (VL; Cod. b; p. 139 Belsheim): *Exsurgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae, et dabunt signa et ostenta ad seducendos homines, si fieri potest, etiam electos;* (VL; Cod. d; p. 312 Scrivener): *exsurgent enim pseudoprophetae et facient signa et prodigia ad se ducendos homines. si potest fieri etiam electos;* (VL; Cod. c; p. 59 Belsheim): *Exsurgent enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae et dabunt signa et prodigia ad seducendum, si potest, etiam electos.*

²⁵⁰⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.4 (SChr 423, 108, l. 12-13): *Faciet etiam ipse, ut serui et liberi accipiant notam in frontibus aut in manu dextera - numerum nominis eius -, ne quis emat uel uendat, nisi qui notam habuerit.*

²⁵⁰⁷ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 16.2 (l. 1-7 Goodspeed): *ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα περιτομὴ εἰς σημεῖον ἐδόθη, ἵνα ᾗτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφορισμένοι, καὶ ἵνα μόνοι πάθητε ἃ*

likely echoing Paul’s stipulating that the Mosaic law had been given “for the sake of (curbing Israelitish/Jewish) transgressions” (Gal. 3.19).²⁵⁰⁹ the Law, of which circumcision is emblematic recapitulation, is for the purpose of both curbing and signifying Jewish savagery, in a sense as its own punishment. It is equivalent to having slain Christ and persecuted the prophets,²⁵¹⁰ while the Jews are the most savage of all peoples towards Christians.²⁵¹¹ Tertullian holds similarly, carnal circumcision's being a *sign* signifying a “contumacious people”, also that they may be distinguished for punishment of their crimes. Tertullian does not then say gentile Christians inherit Israel’s *estate* in Jews’ place. But he curiously contrasts the “sword” and “war making” of literal observation of the Law with the “plow” that “tills” (presumably the land, carnal or spiritual, of which Jews are dispossessed) of spiritual interpretation.²⁵¹²

νῦν ἐν δίκη πάσχετε, καὶ ἵνα γένωνται αἱ χῶραι ὑμῶν ἔρημοι καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυρίκαυστοι, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν κατεσθίωσιν ἀλλότριοι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπιβαίνη εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

²⁵⁰⁸ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 25.6 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-26.1 (l. 6 Goodspeed).

²⁵⁰⁹ Gal. 3.19 (p. 497 Nestle-Aland): τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγεὶς δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου; (VL; Cod. ; p.): .

²⁵¹⁰ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 16.3 (l. 1 Goodspeed)-16.4 (l. 1 Goodspeed): οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς γνωρίζεσθε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ὑμῶν περιτομῆς. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑμῶν, ὡς νομίζω, τολμήσει εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ καὶ προγνώστης τῶν γίνεσθαι μελλόντων ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰ ἄξια ἐκάστῳ προετοιμάζων. καὶ ὑμῖν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως γέγονεν. ἀπεκτείνετε γὰρ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ.

²⁵¹¹ Iustinus Martyrus, Dial. cum Tryph. 17.1 (l. 1-4 Goodspeed).

²⁵¹² Tertullianus, Adu. Iud. 18 (CC SL 2, l. 18-47): Nam prouidens deus, quod hanc circumcisionem in signum, non in salutem, esset daturus populo israel, idcirco filium moysi, ducis futuri, instigat circumcidi, ut, cum coepisset per eum populo dare praeceptum circumcisionis, non aspernaretur populus, uidens exemplum istud in ducis filio iam celebratum. Dari enim habebat circumcisio, sed in signum, unde israel in nouissimo tempore dinosci haberet, quando secundum sua merita in sanctam ciuitatem ingredi prohiberetur secundum uerbum prophetarum dicentium: terra uestra deserta, ciuitates uestrae igni exustae, regionem uestram in conspectu uestro extranei comedent, et deserta et subuersa a populis extraneis derelinquetur filia sion, sicut casa in uinea et sicut custodiarium in cucumerario et quasi ciuitas quae expugnatur. Cur ita? quoniam subsequens sermo prophetae exprobrat eis dicens: filios genui et exaltaui, ipsi autem reprobauerunt me. Et iterum: et si extenderitis manus uestras, auertam faciem meam a uobis; et si multiplicaueritis preces, non exaudiam uos; manus enim uestrae sanguine plenae sunt.

Et iterum: vae gens peccatrix, populus plenus peccatis, filii scelesti, dereliquistis dominum, et ad indignationem prouocastis sanctum israel.

Haec igitur dei prouidentia fuit, dandi circumcisionem israel in signum, unde dinosci possent, cum adueniret tempus, cum pro meritis suis supradictis in hierusalem admitti prohiberentur; quod et quia futurum erat, nuntiabatur, et quia factum uidemus, recognoscimus. Sic *ergo* circumcisio carnalis, quae temporalis erat, imbuta est in signum populo contumaci, ut spiritalis data est in salutem populo obaudienti, dicente hieremia: innouate uobis nouitatem et ne seminaueritis in spinis: circumcidimini deo et circumcidite praeputium cordis uestri.

1. 14-15. **Ita demum fidem faciet sibi.** The New Testament phrase is “fidem in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum” (Act. 20.21).²⁵¹³ “Fidem...sibi” is analogous to worshipping Antichrist. The idea of *faith solely* in specifically Christ / the Messiah is a Christian one, unevincing in contemporary Judaism. Victorinus probably projects onto his Jewish constructs a relationship with their Messiah analogous to the Christian, necessarily entailing his being worshipped as divine. **ut ab eis Christus esse appelletur.** “Eis” here must refer to the Jews.²⁵¹⁴ “Appelletur” stresses an insincere or counterfeit belief: a Christian *genuinely* holds Jesus is Christ (1 Io. 5.1).²⁵¹⁵

1. 15-17. **De inferno autem illum resurgere.** Victorinus suggests Nero is raised whole from hell, as does Commodian’s “de inferno leuatus”; from “hidden places”.²⁵¹⁶ **et supra diximus uerbis Esaiæ: Aqua, inquit, nutriuit illum et abyssus auxit illum.** Actually Ezekiel, from Ez. 31.4,²⁵¹⁷ of which Victorinus is the earliest Latin translator.²⁵¹⁸ *Augere uocem* can mean

²⁵¹³ Act. 20.21 (p. 383-384 Nestle-Aland): διαμαρτυρόμενος Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλησιν τὴν εἰς θεὸν μετάνοιαν καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν; (VL; Cod. d; p. 405 Scrivener): testifican do iudaeisque et graecis quae in do paenitentiam agent et fidem in dnm nostrum ihm xpm; (VL; Cod. c; p. 47 Belsheim): fidem quem in dominum Hiesum Christum; (VL; Cod. g; p. 44 Belsheim): fidem in dominum nostrum ihesum.

²⁵¹⁴ Cf. Act. 20.21 (p. 383-384 Nestle-Aland).

²⁵¹⁵ 1 Io. 5.1 (p. 623 Nestle-Aland): Πᾶς ὁ πιστευῶν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν γεννήσαντα ἀγαπᾷ τὸν γεγεννημένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ; (VL; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Epist. IX 66.7 (CSEL 82.2, 162, l. 54-60): Quo modo et illud: Si habeat aliquis omnia mysteria et omnem scientiam, quomodo non habeat caritatem, cum dicat Iohannes quia omnis qui credit quia Iesus Christus est, de deo natus est, et supra ipse dixerit quoniam qui de deo natus est non peccat? Unde colligitur: Si is qui credit quia Iesus Christus est, de deo natus est, et qui de deo natus est non peccat, utique is qui credit quia Iesus Christus est non peccat..

²⁵¹⁶ Commodianus, Instruct. I 41 (CC SL 128, v. 7-9): Cum fuerit autem nero de inferno leuatus, helias ueniet prius signare dilectos, rex quam sub fine regis et artatio tota. Commodianus, Carm. de duob. pop. (CC SL 128, v. 829-830): Ipse redit iterum sub ipso saeculi fine[m] ex locis apocryphis, qui fuit reseruatus in ista.

²⁵¹⁷ Ez. 31.4 (p. 825 Rahlfs-Hanhart): ὕδωρ ἐξέθρηψεν αὐτόν ἢ ἄβυσσος ὕψωσεν αὐτόν τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτῆς ἤγαγεν κύκλω τῶν φυτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ συστήματα αὐτῆς ἐξάπεστειλεν εἰς πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου.

²⁵¹⁸ 2 Thess.. 2.10 (p. 540 Nestle-Aland): καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἔδέξαντο εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτούς; (VL; Primasius Hadrumentinus, Com. in Apoc. III 9 (CC SL 92, l. 180-181): Idcirco apostolus dicit tradi eos in omni seductione iniquitatis, eo quod caritatem ueritatis non receperunt, ut salui fierent; Com. in Apoc. IV 17 (CC SL 92, l. 105-111): Hanc omnifariam persecutionem in potentatu uel astu futuram apostolus quoque denuntiat dicens: Tunc reuelabitur ille iniquus, quem dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet inlustratione aduentus sui eum, cuius est aduentus secundum operationem Satanae in omni uirtute et signis et prodigiis mendacibus, et in omni seductione iniquitatis in his qui pereunt; uirtute potentiam seductione hypocrisis mendacii significat.

to raise one's voice,²⁵¹⁹ though Victorinus' using "auxit" to translate ὑψωσεν seems less fit for purpose than Jerome's "exaltauit".²⁵²⁰ One envisages a tiny Nero, in hell, who swells into one human-sized, to walk on earth, rather like C. S. Lewis' dream of rising-growing from hell in *The Great Divorce*.²⁵²¹ Perhaps Victorinus deliberately chose to imply such a strange change in dimensions, his having a less literal understanding of where and what hell is.

l. 17-10. **Qui tamen licet nomine mutato <et actu immutato> ueniat** *i.e.* the purpose of Nero's new name (Apoc. 13.18) is to dissemble and deceive: *cf.* 2 Thess. 2.3-8, full of the language of the concealment (and ultimate revelation) of Antichrist's mischief.²⁵²² **Ait**

Spiritus Sanctus: Numerus illius est <DCLXVI>; ad literam grecam hunc numerum

explebit. Victorinus elucidates no further, likely because he had nothing to add to the

gematria of Irenaeus²⁵²³ and Hippolytus (Antichrist's name and number in some sense's

²⁵¹⁹ Lewis and Scott, Latin Dictionary, *augeo* I. A. 1. *strengthen, raise*, 204.

²⁵²⁰ Ez. 31.4 (Vg; p. 768 Hezzenauer): quae nutrierunt illum; abyssus exaltauit illum : flumina eius manabant in circuitu radicum eius, et riuos suos emisit ad uniuersa ligna regionis.

²⁵²¹ Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, 137.

²⁵²² 2 Thess.. 2.3-8 (p. 539-540 Nestle-Aland): μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον· ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσει, ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός. 5 Οὐ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ἔτι ὦν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν; 6 καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε, εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ. 7 τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας· μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται. 8 καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταργήσῃ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ.

²⁵²³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Adu. haer.* V 30.3 (SChr 153, l. 59-97): Certius *ergo* et sine periculo est sustinere adimpletionem prophetiae quam suspicari et divinare nomina quaelibet, quando multa nomina inueniri possunt habentia praedictum numerum, et nihilominus quidem erit haec eadem quaestio: si enim multa sunt quae | inueniuntur nomina habentia numerum hunc, quod ex ipsis portabit qui veniet quaeretur.

Quoniam autem non propter inopiam nominum habentium numerum nominis eius dicimus haec, sed propter timorem erga Deum et zelum veritatis: EUANTHAS~g enim nomen habet numerum de quo quaeritur, sed nihil de eo affirmamus. Sed et GLATEINOS~ nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum, et valde verisimile est, quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum: Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant; sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur. Sed et TEITAN~g, prima syllaba per duas Graecas vocales e~g et i~g scripta, omnium nominum quae apud nos inueniuntur magis fide dignum est. Etenim praedictum numerum habet in se, et litterarum est sex, singulis syllabis ex ternis litteris constantibus, et vetus et adomantur neque enim eorum regum qui secundum nos sunt aliquis vocatus est Titan, neque eorum quae publice adorantur idolorum apud Graecos et barbaros habet vocabulum hoc; et diuinum putatur apud multos esse hoc nomen, ut etiam sol Titan vocetur ab his qui nunc tenent; et ostentationem quandam continet ultionis et vindictam inferentis, quod ille simulat se male tractatos vindicare; et alias autem et antiquum, et fide dignum, et regale, magis autem et tyrannicum nomen. Cum igitur tantam suasionem habeat hoc nomen Titan, tantam habeat | verisimilitudinem, ut ex multis colligamus ne forte Titan vocetur qui veniet, nos tamen non periclitabimur in eo nec asseveranter pronuntiabimus hoc eum nomen

comprising “the Latins”)²⁵²⁴ before him. From Irenaeus Jerome selects the solution “Teitan”, on the grounds that Antichrist masquerades as an angel of solar power, and adds it to the Poetovian’s text²⁵²⁵ (as well as the names of contemporary Gothic invaders, “Antemos” and “Genserikos”).²⁵²⁶ Yet it is curious, and perhaps significant, that, unlike his predecessors (and indeed Jerome), Victorinus does not so speculate.

Chapter 21.5-6.

21.5.

1-5. **In hoc regno promisit.** Tertullian has "regnum repromissum".²⁵²⁷ Ante-Nicea, oddly, his is the only extant use of "promisit" of "the creator's earthly promises".²⁵²⁸ **seruis suis**

dicendo: Quisquis reliquerit patrem aut matrem uel fratrem et sororem mei nominis

causa: a conflation of Matth. 19.29;²⁵²⁹ Marc. 10.30.²⁵³⁰ **centum partibus multiplicatam:**

habiturum, scientes quoniam, si oporteret manifeste praesenti tempore praeconari nomen ejus, per ipsum utique dictum fuisset qui et apocalypsim viderat: neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro saeculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii.

²⁵²⁴ Hippolytus Romanus, De antichr. 50 (GCS 1.2, l. 13-23): ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ προέφημεν λέγοντες, ὅτι ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ποιήσει λαλεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα, τουτέστιν ἴσχυσε, φανερόν δὲ πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ὅτι οἱ κρατοῦντες ἔτι νῦν εἰσι Λατεῖνοι, εἰς ἐνὸς οὖν ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα μεταγόμενον γίνεται Λατεῖνος, ὥστε οὔτε προκηρύσσειν δεῖ, ὡς ὄντως τοῦτον ὄν, οὔτε πάλιν ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι μὴ ἄλλως δύναται λέγεσθαι, „ἔχοντας δὲ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ“ μετὰ φόβου φυλάσσειν πιστῶς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν προειρημένα, ἵνα γινομένων αὐτῶν προειδότες μὴ σφαλλώμεθα.

²⁵²⁵ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (R. H.; p. 123-124 Haussleiter).

²⁵²⁶ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 13.3 (R. H.; p. 125-127 Haussleiter).

²⁵²⁷ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. III (CC SL 1, p. 419, l. 18-22): Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum promissum, sed ante caelum, sed alio statu, utpote post resurrectionem in mille annos in ciuitate diuini operis hierusalem caelo delatum, quam et apostolus matrem nostram sursum designat.

²⁵²⁸ Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 460, l. 27-461, l. 2): Nam et si putas creatoris quidem terrenas promissiones fuisse, christi uero caelestes, bene, quod caelum nullius alterius usque adhuc dei apparet, nisi cuius et terra, bene, quod creator uel minora promisit, ut facilius illi et de maioribus credam quam qui numquam de minoribus prius fidem liberalitatis suae struxit.

²⁵²⁹ Matth. 19.29 (VL; Cod. e; p. 9 Belsheim): et omnis quicumque dimiserint domos et agros aut fatres aut sorores aut filios. aut parentes causa nomini mei. et hic centuplum accipiet et in futuro uitam aeternam consequetur; Cod. a; p. 25 Belsheim): Et omnis qui reliquerit domum, uel fatres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut filios aut agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et uitam aeternam possidebit; (VL; Cod. b; p. 26 Belsheim): Et omnis qui rediquerit domum, uel fatrem, aut sorores, aut matrem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et uitam aeternam possidebit; (VL; Cod. d; p. 56 Scrivener): Et omnis

the Vetus Latin uses *centuplex* or *centies/centiens*. **recipiet mercedem**. *Merces* is likely imported from Matth. 5.12.²⁵³¹ Though the formula *recipere mercedem* only occurs in Rom. 1.27;²⁵³² or in the Old Testament;²⁵³³ while Matth. 10.41 has *accipere mercedem*.²⁵³⁴ Additionally, Pseudo-Cyprian speaks of the *sexagesima merces* (Matth. 13.8 and 23)²⁵³⁵ **et**

quicumque reliquit domum aut fratres. aut sorores. aut matrem aut filios. aut agros. propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam hereditabit.

²⁵³⁰ Marc. 10.30 (VL; Cod. k; p. 8 Wordsworth): et non relinquet centumplicia cum persecutionibus in isto saeculo. in saeculi autem uenturo uitam aeternam consequetur; (VL; Cod. a; p. 124 Belsheim): qui non accipiet centies tantum in tempore hoc: qui autem reliquerit domum, et fratres, et sorores, et matrem, et filios, et agros cum persecutionibus...in saeculo uenturo uitam aeternam accipiet; (VL; Cod. b; p. 134 Belsheim): qui non accipiat centies tantum nunc in tempore; qui autem reliquerit domum, aut parentes et sorores et fratres et matrem et filios et agros in persecutionibus, in aeuo uenturo uitam aeternam accipiet; (VL; Cod. d; p. 299 Scrivener): qui non accipiet centiens tantum. nunc in hoc tempore qui autem reliquerit domum et sorores et fatres. et matrem et filios et agros cum persecutionibus. in aeuo uenturo uitam aeternam accipiet.

²⁵³¹ Matth. 5.12 (VL; Cod. k; p. 29 Wordsworth): gaudete et exultate quoniam merces uestra multa est in caelo sic enim persecuti sunt profetas qui ante uos fuerunt. fratres eorum; (VL; Cod. a; p. 5 Belsheim): gaudete, et exultate, quoniam merces uestra copiosa est in caelo. Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas, qui erant ante uos; Cod. b; p. 4 Belsheim): Gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces uestra copiosa est in caelo. Sic enim persecuti sunt et prophetas eop, qui fuerant ante uos patres eorum; (VL; Cod. d; p. 10 Scrivener): gaudete et exultate quia merces uestra multa in caelo. ita enim persecuti sunt prophetas. qui ante uos fuerunt; (VL; Cod. c; p. 5 Belsheim): Gaudete et exultate quia merces uestra copiosa est in caelis: sic enim persecuti sunt et prophetas qui erant ante uos patres eorum. Tertullianus, Apol. (CC SL 1, cap. : 8, linea : 1-3 Vt fidem naturae ipsius appellem aduersus eos, qui talia credenda esse praesumunt, ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercedem: uitam aeternam repromittunt! credite interim.

²⁵³² Rom. 1.27 (VL; Cod. z; p. 8 Buchanan): Et mercedem quem oportuit erroris sui. in semetipsis recipientis; (VL; Cod. d; p. 6 Tischendorf): et mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui in semetipsos recipientes; (VL; Cod. e; p. 2 Belsheim): et mercedem oportuit erroris sui in semet ipsos recipientes.

²⁵³³ Ruth 2.12 (VL; Cod. Complut. / 109; p. 10 Berger): Retribuat tibi dns scdm opera tua. et fiat merces tua plena a dno deo srhl ad quem uenisti confidere sub alas eius. Tob. 5.4 (VL; Cod. Monac.; p. 38 Belsheim): itaque fili inquire aliquem hominem fidelem qui eat tecum et dabimus illi mercedem. et dum adhuc uiuo recipe pecuniam ab illo; (VL; Cod. Vat. / 143; p. CCCLIV Bianchini): Nunc fili, quaere tibi hominem fidelem, qui eat tecum; et dabimus illi mercedem. Vade fili; dum uiuo, accipe pecuniam illam; (VL; Cod. Reg. et Germ.; p. lxxv Sabatier / Nebauer): Nunc itaque, fili, inquire aliquem hominem fidelem, qui eat tecum accepta mercede; et dum adhuc uiuo, recipe pecuniam ab illo. Est. 16.23 (VL; Cod. Monac.; p. 92 Belsheim): et nunc et postea salutem quidem beneficientium persis. qui autem his insidiati sunt memoriam perditionis.

²⁵³⁴ Matth. 10.41 (VL; Cod. k; p. 41 Wordsworth): qui recipit profetam in nomine profetae mercedem profetae accipiet. et qui receperit iustum in nomine iusti mercedem iusti accipiet; (VL; Cod. a; p. 13 Belsheim): Qui recipit...phetam in...mine pro...tae. mercedem prophetae, accipiet: et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mer...dem ius...cipiet; (VL; Cod. b; p. 13 Belsheim): Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae, mercedem prophetae accipiet, et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet; (VL; Cod. d) p. 24 Scrivener): qui recipit prophetam. in nomine prophetae mercedem prophetae accipiet; (VL; Cod. c; p. 13 Belsheim): Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae mercedem prophetae accipiet, et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti mercedem iusti accipiet.

²⁵³⁵ Matth. 13.8 (VL; Cod. b; p. 17 Belsheim): Alia uero ceciderunt in terram bonam et dabant fructum: quaedam centensimum, aliud sexagesimum, aliud uero tricensimum; (VL; Cod. c; p. 16 Belsheim): Alia uero ceciderunt in terram bonam et dabant fructum: quaedam centesimum, aliud sexagesimum aliud tricessimum; 13.23 (VL; Cod. e; p. 33 Liake): In terram autem bonam qui seminatus est hic est qui audit uerbum et intellegit tunc facit (aliut centesimum aliut sexagesimum aliut tricensimum; (VL; Cod. a; p. 16 Belsheim): Qui uero in terram bonam seminatus est, hic est qui audit uerbum, et intelligit, tunc fructum adferet, et facit aliud quidem C. et aliut sexagesimum, aliud XXX; (VL; Cod. b; p. 17 Belsheim): Qui uero in terram bonam seminatus est, hic est, qui audit uerbum, et intellegit, tunc fructum adferet et facit alium quidem centensimum, aliut sexagesimum, aliud tricensimum. Qui habet aures audiat. Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), Sermo de cent. sex. tric. (CSEL

nunc, et in futurum uitam aeternam possidebit. Irenaeus holds Matth. 19.29 will only be fulfilled in the Millennial kingdom.²⁵³⁶

l. 5-9. In hoc regno, qui fraudati sunt in bonis propter nomen Domini. Cf. Matth.

10.39;²⁵³⁷ 16.25;²⁵³⁸ Luc. 9.24.²⁵³⁹ Victorinus' using *fraudare* of believers' deprivation of earthly goods is very biblical,²⁵⁴⁰ if uncommon ante-Nicene. It and its cognates are usually used of cheating believers of heavenly goods with earthly ones,²⁵⁴¹ not contrariwise. For Cyprian, every *fraudator* is banned from the heavenly Jerusalem (after Apoc. 21.8), their crimes' being equivalent to idolatry.²⁵⁴² **etiam omnibus sceleribus.** *Scelus* is rare in the Vetus Latina e.g. has *impietas* in *Amos* where the Vulgate furnishes most instances, especially

3.3, col. : 61, l. 5-8): cum sit corporalis homo, spiritalem se esse profitetur, qui ab operibus carnis priuatur et ideo sexagesimam sibi nuncupat tenere mercedem.

²⁵³⁶ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.2 (SChr 153, l. 22-39): Et propter hoc dicebat Dominus: Cum facis prandium, vel cenam, noli vocare divites neque amicos et vicinos et cognatos, ne et ipsi invicem vocent te et fiat retributio ab eis, sed voca claudos, caecos, mendicos, et beatus eris, quoniam non habent retribuere tibi: retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione justorum. Et iterum ait: Quicumque dimiserit agros aut domos aut parentes aut fratres aut filios propter me centuplum accipiet in hoc saeculo, et in futuro vitam aeternam hereditabit. Quae enim sunt in hoc saeculo centupla et prandia exhibita pauperibus et cenae quae redduntur? Haec sunt in regni temporibus, hoc est in septima die quae est sanctificata, in qua requievit Deus ab omnibus operibus quae fecit, quae est verum justorum sabbatum in qua non facient omne terrenum opus, sed adiacentem habebunt paratam mensam a Deo, pascentem eos epulis omnibus.

²⁵³⁷ Matth. 10.39 (VL; Cod. k; p. 41 Wordsworth): qui inuenerit animam suam. perdit illam. et qui perdidit animam suam propter me inueniet illam.

²⁵³⁸ Matth. 16.25 (VL; Cod. e; p. 5 Belsheim): qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluare perdet illam qui autem perdidit illam causa mei inueniet illam.

²⁵³⁹ Luc. 9.24 (VL; Cod. e; p. 64 Belsheim): qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluare perdet illam. qui autem perdidit illam propter me hic saluauit illam.

²⁵⁴⁰ 1 Cor. 6.8 (VL; Cod. 75; p. 115 Tischendorf): sed uos fraudatis et iniuriam facitis et hoc fratribus.

Conversely the disobedient *failing* to deprive themselves: Ps. 77(78).30 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 85 Magistretti): Non sunt fraudati a desiderio suo: adhuc esca eorum erat in ore ipsorum.

²⁵⁴¹ E.g. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. I (CC SL 1, 330, l. 17-18): quid fraudat mercedem operis, non rependens carni salutem?

Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, Epist. 52.1.3 (CC SL 3B, l. 29-30): Aut quomodo adsumit sibi regendae aut gubernandae ecclesiae curam qui spoliauit et fraudauit ecclesiam Christi? Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, De zel. et liu. 2 (CC SL 3A, l. 27-34): Vt fraudatorem faciat lucra opponit iniusta: ut animam pecunia capiat ingerit perniciose compendia: honores terrenos promittit ut caelestes adimat: ostentat falsa ut uera subripiat, et cum latenter non potest fallere, exerte adque aperte minatur, terrorem turbidae persecutionis intentans, ad debellandos seruos dei inquietus semper et semper infestus, in pace subdolos, in persecutione uiolentus.

²⁵⁴² Cyprianus Carthaginiensis, Epist. 55.27.1 (CC SL 3B, l. 480-485): Nec sibi in hoc noui haeretici blandiantur quod se dicant idolatris non communicare, quando sint apud illos et adulteri et fraudatores qui teneantur idolatriae crimine secundum apostolum dicentem: hoc enim scitote intellegentes quia omnis fornicator aut immundus aut fraudator, quod est idolatria, non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et dei.

chapters 1-2,²⁵⁴³ where it renders ἀσέβεια.²⁵⁴⁴ Scarcely any form appears in the New Testament.²⁵⁴⁵ **et carceribus**. An element in a list of sufferings echoing 2 Cor. 6.5;²⁵⁴⁶ 11.23.²⁵⁴⁷ It is very unusual for *carcer* to serve as the direct agent of death. **necati**. The passive participle of *necare* is both post-classical and unusual, perhaps vernacular.²⁵⁴⁸ **multi - sed ante aduentum Domini**. Victorinus places all those in Heb. 11.35-40²⁵⁴⁹ in pre-New Testament times. **prophetas sanctos lapidati necati secati sunt**. The earliest Latin rendering of Heb. 11.36-37.²⁵⁵⁰ **accipient solatium suum**. Cf. Tertullian's use of *solatium* (a late variant of *solacium*)²⁵⁵¹ for the *consoling* of mourners, in the kingdom (Matth. 5.5).²⁵⁵² It is equivalent to *consolatio* in Ambrosiaster's Phil. 2.1,²⁵⁵³ though much the rarer and almost wholly confined to Tertullian before Victorinus. The Vulgate Gen. 37.35 uses *accipere solationem* where the Old Latin has *consolari*,²⁵⁵⁴ suggesting Victorinus' usage was

²⁵⁴³ Amos 1.3-2.6 (p. 919-921 Sabatier 2).

²⁵⁴⁴ Amos 1.3-2.14 (p. 502-505 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2). Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, ἀσέβεια A. *ungodliness, impiety*, 230.

²⁵⁴⁵

²⁵⁴⁶ 2 Cor. 6.5 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 57, l. 23 Morin): Yn plagiis., Yn carceribus., Yn lacerationibus., Yn uigiliis., Yn ieiuniis.

²⁵⁴⁷ 2 Cor. 11.23 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 49, l. 16 Morin): Ministri xpi sunt. et ego., Vt minus sapiens dico. plus ego., In laboribus. plurimis., In carceribus. abundantius., In plagiis. supra modum., In mortibus. frequenter.,

²⁵⁴⁸ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *neco, to kill, slay, put to death, destroy*, 1196.

²⁵⁴⁹ Heb. 11.35-40 (p. 582 Nestle-Aland).

²⁵⁵⁰ Heb. 11.36-37 (p. 582 Nestle-Aland): ἕτεροι δὲ ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαστίγων πεῖραν ἔλαβον, ἔτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς· ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν ἐπίσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρης ἀπέθανον, περιήλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι. Cf. Tertullianus, Scorp. (CC SL 2, 161, l. 1-4): Dauid exagitur, helias fugatur, hieremias lapidatur, eseias secatur, zacharias inter altare et aedem trucidatur perennes cruoris sui maculas silicibus assignans. Daniélou, The Origins of Latin Christianity, 108.

²⁵⁵¹ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, *solacium (solat-), a comfort, relief, consolation, solace*, 1718.

²⁵⁵² Matth. 5.5 (VL; Cod. k; p. 28 Wordsworth): beati plangentes quia ipsi consolabuntur; (VL; Cod. a; p. 4 Belsheim): Beati, qui lugent quoniam ipsi consolabuntur; (VL; Cod. b; p. 4 Belsheim): Beati qui lugent. quoniam ipsi consolabuntur; (VL; Cod. d; p. 9 Scrivener): beati qui lugunt quoniam ipsi consolabuntur. Tertullianus, Adu. Marc. IV (CC SL 1, 456, l. 5-10): Ita nec christus omnino sabbatum rescindit, cuius legem tenuit, et supra in causa discipulorum pro anima operatus - esurientibus enim solatium cibi indulsit - et nunc manum aridam curans, factis ubique ingerens: non ueni dissoluere legem, sed adimplere, si marcion hac uoce * os ei obstruxit.

²⁵⁵³ Phil. 2.1 (VL; Ambrosiaster, Com. in Ad Philip. 2.1 (CSEL 81.3, 138, l. 3-11): Si *qua ergo* exhortatio in Christo, si quod solatium caritatis, si *qua* societas spiritus, si *qua* sunt viscera et miserationes, implete gaudium meum, ut idem sapiatis eandem caritatem habentes unianimes, unum sentientes, nihil secundum irritationes neque secundum inanem gloriam, sed in humilitate mentis alius alium existimantes superiorem sibi, non quae sua {sunt} unusquisque contemplantes, sed quae aliorum sunt.

²⁵⁵⁴ Gen. 37.35 (VL; p. 101 Sabatier 1): Congregati sunt autem omnes filii eius et filiae, et uenerunt consolari eum, et noluit consolari; (Vg; p. 101 Sabatier 1): Congregatus autem cunctis liberis eius ut lenirent dolorem patris, noluit consolationem accipere.

vernacular. *Suscipere consolationem* occurs once in Cyprian:²⁵⁵⁵ a less common formula. **id est coronas ac diuitias caelestes**. The *heavenly* quality of said riches may lend an ambiguity to their nature, both material and spiritual, the latter ridiculed by Origen.²⁵⁵⁶

l. 9-11. **In hoc regno promisit se Dominus redditurum pro annis, quibus comedit locusta et bruchus**. Cf. Joel 2.25.²⁵⁵⁷ **et corruptela**. Occurs in Tertullian's 1 Cor. 15.42;²⁵⁵⁸ equivalent to *corruptio* in Ambrosiaster's 1 Cor. 15.50,²⁵⁵⁹ which Victorinus surely echoes in his compression of the rest of the verse from Joel.

²⁵⁵⁵ Cyprianus Carthaginensis (pseudo), *De sing. cler.* 17 (CSEL 3.3, p. 192, l. 6-8): seueritas non desit quae sub clerico feminam possit adstringere, ut ipsam consolationem nostram suscipiat cum tremore et ita sentiat uisitacionis affectum, ut clericum ueneretur.

²⁵⁵⁶ Origenes, *De princ.* II 11.2 (GCS 22, p. 184, l. 5-185, l. 2): Quidam *ergo* laborem quodammodo intellegentiae recusantes et superficiem quandam legis litterae consecrantes et magis delectationi suae quodammodo ac *Ibidini* indulgentes, litterae solius discipuli, arbitrantur repromissiones futuras in voluptate et luxuria corporis exspectandas; et propter hoc praecipue carnes iterum desiderant post resurrectionem tales, quibus manducandi et bibendi et omnia, quae carnis et sanguinis sunt, agendi nusquam desit facultas, apostoli Pauli de resurrectione 'spiritalis corporis' sententiam non sequentes. Quibus consequenter addunt etiam nuptiarum conventiones et filiorum procreationes etiam post resurrectionem futuras, fingentes sibimet ipsis Hierusalem urbem terrenam reaedificandam lapidibus pretiosis in fundamenta eius iaciendis, et de 'lapide iaspide' muros eius erigendos, et propugnacula eius exornanda ex 'lapide crystallo'; 'peribolum' quoque habituram ex 'lapidibus electis et variis', id est 'iaspide et sapphiro et chalcedonio et smaragdo et sardio et onyce et chrysolito et chrysoprasso et hyacintho et amethysto'.

²⁵⁵⁷ Io. 2.25 (VL; Cod. 56; p. 250, l. 14 Morin): Et reddam uobis annos quos, comedit locusta. et brucus. et subigo. et eruca. fortitudo mea magna. quam misi in uos.

²⁵⁵⁸ Tertullianus, *De res. mort.* 52 (CC SL 2, l. 59-64): Rursus enim resurrectionem ad eandem substantiam reuocans et ad granum denuo spectans: seminatur, inquit, in corruptela, resurgit in incorruptela: seminatur in dedecoratione, resurgit in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, resurgit in uirtute; seminatur corpus animale, resurgit spiritale.

²⁵⁵⁹ 1 Cor. 15.50 (VL; Cod. 65; p. 42 Buchanan): Hoc autem dico fratres quod caro et sanguis regnum di. possidere non possunt. Neq;corruptio.incorruptilem possidebit; (VL; Cod. 75; p. 178 Tischendorf): hoc enim dico fratres quia caro et sanguis regnum di possidere non possunt neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit; (VL; Cod. 76; p. 32 Belsheim): Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei possidere non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit; (VL; Cod. 77; p. 39a Matthāi): hoc enim dico fratres quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non haereditabunt possidebunt neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit; (VL; Cod. 78; p. 98 Scrivener): Hoc autem dico frs quia caro et sanguis di non possidebunt neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit; (VL; Cod. ; p.): Hoc autem dico, fratres: quia caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt: neque corruptio incorruptelam possidebit... Ambrosiaster, (CSEL 81, 183, l. 3; l. 11): hoc enim / autem dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt neque corruptio / corruptela incorruptelam possidebit

1. 11-12. **In hoc seruabitur creatio uniuersa et recondita.** Cf. the *laying up* ("condere") of celestial treasures in the earliest Old Latin of Matth. 6.19.²⁵⁶⁰ But *recondere* has the sense of *hiding*: Rufinus uses it for the hidden wisdom behind creation in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions;²⁵⁶¹ and for that of 1 Cor. 2.6 (τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην; Vetus Latina: "quae abscondita")²⁵⁶² as rendered by Origen ("recondita").²⁵⁶³ Cf. also the renewal of creation in Irenaeus;²⁵⁶⁴ and of the earth/land in Origen;²⁵⁶⁵ after Ps. 104 (103).30.²⁵⁶⁶ **in se bona iussu Dei.** According to Rufinus' Clement of Rome and Origen, the first creation came to be by God's command;²⁵⁶⁷ cf. Ps. 33 (32).6.²⁵⁶⁸ **eructabit.** Cf. Ps. 44.2 (45.1a);²⁵⁶⁹ Tertullian

²⁵⁶⁰ Matth. 6.19 (VL; Cod. k; p. 32 Wordsworth): nolite uobis condere thesauros. super terram ubi tinia et comestura exterminant. et ubi fures effodiunt et furatur.

²⁵⁶¹ Clemens Romanus (pseudo), Recog. VIII 34.5 (GCS 51, 238, l. 21-28): est apud illum profecto certa ratio, sunt evidentes causae, cur et quando et qualiter fecerit mundum, quas hominibus, quibus haec quae ante oculos posita sunt et de eius providentia contestantur, inquirere et intellegere pigrum fuit, aperiri utique non oportuit; 6 quae enim in occulto habentur et intra sapientiae sensus velut intra regios thesauros recondita sunt, nemini patent nisi his qui ab illo didicerint, apud quem signata sunt haec et reposita.

²⁵⁶² 1 Cor. 2.7 (p. 443 Nestle-Aland); (VL; Cod. z; p. 28 Buchanan): Sed loquimur di sapientia in mynisterio. quae abscondita est. quam pdestinavit ds ante saecula. in gloria nostra.

²⁵⁶³ Origenes, Com. in Cant. IV (GCS 33, 229, l. 28-30): Nulli tunc in divinis litteris studiorum 'flores' apud eam nec profundioris sapientiae secreta et recondita mysteria quasi per 'vocem turturis' resonant.

²⁵⁶⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 61-66): Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 35.2 (SChr 153, l. 53-59): Haec autem talia universa non in supercaelestibus possunt intellegi - Deus enim, ait, demonstrabit ei quae sub caelo est universae tuum fulgorem -, sed in regni temporibus, renovata terra a Christo et reaedificata Hierusalem secundum characterem quae sursum est Hierusalem.

²⁵⁶⁵ Origenes, De princ. I 3.7 (GCS 22, 58, l. 17-20): Et ideo competenter de eo dicitur quia non in omnibus neque in his, qui 'caro sunt', sed in his, quorum 'terra renovata' fuerit, spiritus sanctus habitabit.

²⁵⁶⁶ Ps. 103 (104).30 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 115 Magistretti): Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur: et renouabis fatiem terrae.

²⁵⁶⁷ Cf. Clemens Romanus (pseudo), Recog. VI 7.3 (GCS 51, 191, l. 6-8): qui spiritus iussu dei quasi ipsa conditoris manus lucem separavit a tenebris, et post illud invisibile caelum istud visibile produxit, ut superiora quidem habitaculum faceret angelis, inferiora vero hominibus. Also Origenes, Hom. in Gen. 1.11 (GCS 29, 13, l. 18-23): Cum ergo haec omnia fierent, quae videntur, iussu Dei per Verbum eius et praepararetur immensus iste visibilis mundus, simul autem et per allegoriae figuram ostenderetur, quae essent, quae exornare possent minorem mundum, id est hominem, tunc iam ipse homo creatur secundum ea, quae in consequentibus declarantur.

²⁵⁶⁸ Ps. 33(32).6 (VL; Cod. Casin. / 136; p. 23 Amelli): In uerbo domini caeli formati sunt et in spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum; (VL; Cod. Veron. / 300; p. 46 Bianchini): uerbo Domini coeli firmati sunt: et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum.

²⁵⁶⁹ Ps. 44, 2 (VL; Cod. Casin. / 136; p. 32 Amelli): Eructauit cor meum uerbum dicam ego operas meas ipso regi lingua mea stilus scriptoris uelocissimus; (VL; Cod. Veron. / 300; p. 72 Bianchini): ERuctauit (b) cor meum uerbum bonum: dico ego opera mea Regi. Lingua mea, calamus scribae uelociter scribentis. mg. Cod. calamu scribae.

employs *eructare* of the Incarnation analogously to *creatio ex nihilo*.²⁵⁷⁰ Cf. the renewal of creation in Irenaeus,²⁵⁷¹ and of the earth/land in Origen,²⁵⁷² after Ps. 104 (103). 30.²⁵⁷³

l. 12-15. **Hic accipient.** Cf. Ex. 28.5.²⁵⁷⁴ **sancti pro aramento aurum et pro ferro argentum et lapides pretiosos.** Cf. Is. 60.17.²⁵⁷⁵

l. 15-16. **Hoc loco i.e. regno. transferet.** Cf. the Vetus Latina of Is. 60.5,²⁵⁷⁶ which also uses *transferre*. The subject is *the Lord. ad*. The Old Latin employs "in te"; the Vulgate "ad te".²⁵⁷⁷ **eos i.e. sanctos. diuitias maris.** Again closer to the Old Latin and Septuagint of Is. 60.5;²⁵⁷⁸ cf. also Deut. 33.19;²⁵⁷⁹ which produces a different result in the Old Latin.²⁵⁸⁰ **et uirtutes gentium.** A Latin translation of the Hebrew unparalleled in the Septuagint or Vetus Latina.²⁵⁸¹ Victorinus' source is lost. A similar expression, "fortitudinem gentium", occurs in

²⁵⁷⁰ Tertullianus, Adu. Herm. (CC SL 2, 146, l. 11-15): Proinde, si malum quidem <quod> innatum est, id est *** sermo dei, - eructauit enim, inquit, <cor meum> sermonem optimum, - non scio, an a bono malum possit abduci, ualidius ab infirmo, ut innatum a nato.

²⁵⁷¹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 61-66): Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renouata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 35.2 (SChr 153, l. 53-59): Haec autem talia universa non in supercaelestibus possunt intellegi - Deus enim, ait, demonstrabit ei quae sub caelo est universae tuum fulgorem -, sed in regni temporibus, renouata terra a Christo et reaedificata Hierusalem secundum characterem quae sursum est Hierusalem.

²⁵⁷² Origenes, De princ. I 3.7 (GCS 22, 58, l. 17-20): Et ideo competenter de eo dicitur quia non in omnibus neque in his, qui 'caro sunt', sed in his, quorum 'terra renouata' fuerit, spiritus sanctus habitabit.

²⁵⁷³ Ps. 103 (104).30 (VL; Psalt. Ambros.; p. 115 Magistretti): Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur: et renouabis fatiem terrae.

²⁵⁷⁴ Ex. 28.5 (VL; p. 191 Sabatier 1): Et hi accipient aurum, et hyacinthum, et coccum, et purpuram, et byssum.

²⁵⁷⁵ Is. 60.17 (VL; p. 624 Sabatier 2): Pro aere afferam tibi aurum, et pro ferro dabo tibi argentum; et pro lignis tribuam tibi aes, et pro lapidibus ferrum; et dabo principes tuos in pace, et episcopos tuos in iustitia.

²⁵⁷⁶ Is. 60.5 (VL; p. 623 Sabatier 2): Tunc uidebis, et gaudebis, et timebis, et stupebis corde: quoniam transferentur in te diuitiae maris, et gentium, et populorum.

²⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷⁸ Is. 60.5 (p. 647 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): ὅτε ὄψη καὶ φοβηθήσῃ καὶ ἐκστήσῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι μεταβαλεῖ εἰς σὲ πλοῦτος θαλάσσης καὶ ἔθνῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ ἤξουσίν σοι.

²⁵⁷⁹ Deut. 33.19 (p. 352 Rahlfs-Hanhart 1): ἔθνη ἐξολεθρεύσουσιν καὶ ἐπικαλέσεσθε ἐκεῖ καὶ θύσετε θυσίαν δικαιοσύνης ὅτι πλοῦτος θαλάσσης θηλάσει σε καὶ ἐμπόρια παράλιον κατοικοῦντων.

²⁵⁸⁰ Deut. 33.19 (VL; p. 394 Sabatier 1): ...merces circa mare inhabitantium.

²⁵⁸¹ Is. 60.5 (MT; p. 769 Elliger-Rudolph): מַיִם לְיַם, *chayil goyim*.

the Old Latin of Is. 61.6,²⁵⁸² which the Poetovian employs next, evincing the interwoven complex of his midrashic technique.

l. 15-16. **In hoc regno sacerdotes Domini dicentur ministri Dei.** Cf. Is. 61.6.²⁵⁸³ **quomodo dicuntur sacrilegi.** Tertullian relates that Christians were so regarded by pagans for eschewing sacrifices, the gods and imperial cult.²⁵⁸⁴

l. 16-17. **In hoc regno bibent uinum et unguentur unguento et tradentur in laetitiam.** Cf. Matth. 26.29, especially "illud bibam...in regno patris mei";²⁵⁸⁵ and Is. 25.6-7, Septuagint and Vetus Latina,²⁵⁸⁶ between both of which this is a reconciliation; perhaps after Origen's truncated version.²⁵⁸⁷

21.6.

²⁵⁸² Is. 61.6 (VL; p. 626 Sabatier 2): Vos autem Sacerdotes Domini uocabimini, Ministri Dei nostri; Fortitudinem gentium comedetis, et in diuitias earum eritis admirabiles.

²⁵⁸³ Is. 61.6 (VL; p. 626 Sabatier 2): Vos autem Sacerdotes Domini uocabimini, Ministri Dei nostri; Fortitudinem gentium comedetis, et in diuitias earum eritis admirabiles.

²⁵⁸⁴ Tertullianus, Apol. 10 (CC SL 1, l. 4): Itaque sacrilegii et maiestatis rei conuenimur.

²⁵⁸⁵ Matth. 26.29 (VL; Cod. a; p. 34 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam ex n...tura...usqu...illum diem, cum illum bibam uobiscum nouum in regno Patris mei; (VL; Cod. b; p. 37 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam amodo de hac creatura uitis huius usque in diem illum. cum illud bibam uobiscum nobis in regno patris mei; (VL; Cod. d; p. 83 Scrivener): dico autem uobis non uiuam amodo ab hac creatura uitis usque ad diem illum cum illum uiuam uobiscum nouum in regno patris mei.

²⁵⁸⁶ Is. 25.6 (p. 598 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2): καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο πίονται εὐφροσύνην πίονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον / ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ παράδος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἢ γὰρ βουλὴ αὕτη ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; 25.6-7 (VL; p. 556 Sabatier 2): Et faciet Dominus sabaoth omnibus gentibus: super montem istum bibent laetitiam, bibent uinum, / unguentur unguento in monte isto. Trade omnia haec gentibus: consilium enim hoc super omnes gentes.

²⁵⁸⁷ Origenes, Hom. in Ex. 7.8 (GCS 29, 215, l. 15-18): Praedixerat namque Esaias propheta hoc modo: "ascendent in montem, bibent uinum, unguentur unguento. Trade haec omnia gentibus; consilium enim Domini omnipotentis hoc est". Cf. Rufinus, Expos. symb. (CC SL 20, cap. : 17, linea : 20 Quod autem his, qui meditantur legem dei, a pueritia usque ad senectutem non credentibus, ad gentes esset omne mysterium transferendum, idem esaias hoc modo praedicit: et faciet - inquit - dominus sabaoth omnibus gentibus in monte isto: bibent laetitiam, bibent uinum, unguentur unguento in monte isto: trade haec omnia gentibus: hoc enim consilium domini omnipotentis super omnes gentes; also Hieronymus, Com. in Is. VIII 25.6+ (CC SL 73, l. 10-13): lxx: et faciet dominus sabaoth omnibus gentibus super montem istum, bibent laetitiam, bibent uinum. unguentur unguento in monte isto. trade omnia haec gentibus, consilium enim hoc super omnes gentes; deuorauit mors praeualens.

l. 1-5. **De hoc regno meminit.** Almost a technical term, which Victorinus reserves for remembrance of Christ's rule;²⁵⁸⁸ almost as though the Poetovian regards memory as properly the faculty of the Ultimate Observer alone, the Spirit as time travelling recapitulator;²⁵⁸⁹ the agent of recollection for the exegete.²⁵⁹⁰ **Dominus, priusquam pateretur** *i.e.* at the resurrection.²⁵⁹¹ **ad apostolos dicens: Non bibam de fructu uitis huius iam.** A unique translation of ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου,²⁵⁹² which the Old Latin usually renders "de hac creatura uitis huius";²⁵⁹³ perhaps after Irenaeus' expounding of this verse (in Rufinus' translation "creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit"; after Papias).²⁵⁹⁴ **nisi cum bibam uobis cum nouum** *i.e. uinum. in regno futuro* *i.e.* "the kingdom of my Father" of Matth. 26.29;²⁵⁹⁵ perhaps under influence of "the future age" of (some versions of) Marc. 10.30.²⁵⁹⁶ *Regnum futurum* is rare before Victorinus, perhaps

²⁵⁸⁸ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 20.1 (SChr 423, 114, l. 13-16): Ideo superius meminit maiores natu XXIII dixisse: Gratias agimus tibi, Domine Deus, qui regnasti; et gentes indignatae sunt. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 21.4 (SChr 423, 120, l. 1-3): Huius regni mentionem meminit et Paulus ad Corinthios dicendo: Oportet eum regnare, donec ponat inimicos suos sub pedibus sibi.

²⁵⁸⁹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 5-8): Nec aspiciendus ordo dictorum, quoniam septiformis Spiritus Sanctus, ubi ad nouissimum temporis finem que percurrit, redit rursus ad eadem tempora et supplet quae minus dixit.

²⁵⁹⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 13-16): Et nunc exinde recolit quae per legem in similitudinibus praenuntiata erant, et per hanc scripturam coniungit omnes priores prophetas et adaperit scripturas.

²⁵⁹¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 12.2 (SChr 423, 100, l. 7-9): Denique et priusquam pateretur eum temptare accesserat tamquam hominem; sed cum inuenisset non illum esse quem putabat, discessit ab eo, inquit, usque ad tempus.

²⁵⁹² Matth. 26.29 (p. 76 Nestle-Aland): λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

²⁵⁹³ Matth. 26.29 (VL; Cod. a; p. 34 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam ex n...tura...usqu...illum diem, cum illum bibam uobiscum nouum in regno Patris mei; (VL; Cod. b; p. 37 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam amodo de hac creatura uitis huius usque in diem illum. cum illud bibam uobiscum nobum in regno patris mei; (VL; Cod. d; p. 83 Scrivener): dico autem uobis non uiuam amodo ab hac creatura uitis usque ad diem illum cum illum uiuam uobiscum nouum in regno patris mei.

²⁵⁹⁴ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 61-66): Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae.

²⁵⁹⁵ Matth. 26.29 (VL; Cod. a; p. 34 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam ex n...tura...usqu...illum diem, cum illum bibam uobiscum nouum in regno Patris mei; (VL; Cod. b; p. 37 Belsheim): Dico autem uobis: non bibam amodo de hac creatura uitis huius usque in diem illum. cum illud bibam uobiscum nobum in regno patris mei; (VL; Cod. d; p. 83 Scrivener): dico autem uobis non uiuam amodo ab hac creatura uitis usque ad diem illum cum illum uiuam uobiscum nouum in regno patris mei.

²⁵⁹⁶ E.g. Marc. 10.30 (VL; Cod. c; p. 55 Belsheim): qui non accipiant centies tantum nunc in hoc saeculo, *in futuro autem saeculo* uitam aeternam accipiet.

derived from Origen.²⁵⁹⁷ **quod est centum partibus multiplicatum.** The *centuplex* of Marc. 10.30.²⁵⁹⁸ **decies millies ad maiora.** As recounted by Irenaeus, the tradition of John the Elder, according to Papias,²⁵⁹⁹ in association with the aforementioned verse.²⁶⁰⁰ It is also found in the Syriac 2 *Apocalypse of Baruch*.²⁶⁰¹ Rendel Harris suggests that the value of ten thousand is a mistaking, in the Hebrew **רֹב וְיִרְוֹשׁ הַתִּירוֹשׁ**, *rov dāgān tīrōš*, "an abundance of wheat and new wine", of **רֹב**, *rov*, "abundance", for **רִבּוֹ**, *ribbō*, "ten thousands / myriads".²⁶⁰² **et meliora.** Perhaps echoes Papias' grape that cries, Disney-like, "I am the *better* (Rufinus: *melior*), choose me, bless the Lord thereby!"²⁶⁰³

1. 6-8. **Nam quod dicit differentes lapides genere et colore exhibebuntur, <de>**

hominibus hoc dicit. Cf. 1 Pet. 2.25.²⁶⁰⁴ Similarly, the *Shepherd of Hermas* sees the stones comprising the mystical *tower* of the Church as her Christian members.²⁶⁰⁵ Though they

²⁵⁹⁷ Origenes, Com. in Rom. V 3 (AGLB 33, 404, l. 83-91): Praesens uero tempus non tam regni dixerim uideri quam belli, per quod bellum futurum regnum quaeratur; quamuis hoc ipso belli tempore, quia iam ex aliqua parte regnum mortis infringitur et paulatim destruitur quod prius in omnes homines fuerat dilatatum, Christus regnare dicatur secundum illud quod scriptum est: 'oportet enim eum regnare donec ponat omnes inimicos eius sub pedibus eius;' et item alibi dicit: 'nunc autem necdum uidemus ei subiecta esse omnia'.

²⁵⁹⁸ Marc. 10.30 (VL; Cod. k; p. 8 Wordsworth): et non relinquet centumplicia cum persecutionibus in isto saeculo. in saeculi autem uenturo uitam aeternam consequetur.

²⁵⁹⁹ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.4 (SChr 153, l. 86-89): Haec autem et Papias Johannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti.

²⁶⁰⁰ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.1 (SChr 153, l. 1-9): Propter hoc autem ad passionem ueniens, ut euangelizaret Abrahae et his qui cum eo apertionem hereditatis, cum gratias egisset super calicem et bibisset ab eo et dedisset discipulis, dicebat eis: Bibite ex eo omnes: hic est sanguis meus novi Testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico autem uobis, a modo non bibam de generatione ditis hujus usque in diem illum, quando illum bibam uobis cum nodum in regno Patris mei.

²⁶⁰¹ 2 Apoc. Bar. (Syr.) 29.8 (p. 55 Charles).

²⁶⁰² Rendel Harris, A New Patristic Fragment, The Expositor, 1895, 448-449. Charles, 55, n. 5. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, 95.

²⁶⁰³ Irenaeus Lugdunensis, Adu. haer. V 33.3 (SChr 153, l. 75-78): Et cum [eorum] apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botruum alius clamabit botrus: 'Ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic'.

²⁶⁰⁴ 1 Pet. 2.5 (quo Eph. 2.22: VL; A-SS Serenus; p. 547): Erat sicut lapsis proiectus ab aedificatione; nunc autem requiret me Dominus in aedificium suum.

²⁶⁰⁵ Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.), Vis. 3.5 (p. 18, l. 15-19, l. 14): audi nunc et de lapidibus, qui eunt in structura. lapides quidem illi quadrati et albi, convenientes in commissuris suis, hi sunt apostoli et episcopi et doctores et ministri, qui ingressi sunt in clementia dei et episcopatum gesserunt et docuerunt et ministraverunt sancte et modeste electis dei, qui dormierunt, qui que adhuc sunt. et semper cum illis convenerunt et in se pacem habuerunt et alterutrum audierunt. propter hoc et in structuram turris conveniunt commissurae eorum. qui vero de profundo trahuntur et imponuntur in structuram, et conveniunt commissurae eorum cum ceteris lapidibus, qui iam aedificati sunt, hi sunt qui iam dormierunt et passi sunt causa nominis domini". "Ceteri autem lapides, qui

begin varying in colour ("lapides coloribus uariis"),²⁶⁰⁶ once in the tower-Church they all shine *white or bright as the sun*;²⁶⁰⁷ by virtue of their faith, single and unifying.²⁶⁰⁸ **sed et uarietatem fidei pretiosissimam singulorum hominum significat.** For Clement of Alexandria, the colours of the stones comprising the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem are indeed *valuable* (τίμια) though he does not quite specify *why*;²⁶⁰⁹ though they may signify the saints.²⁶¹⁰ The *brilliance* of Jerusalem's precious stones signifies that of the Spirit.²⁶¹¹ For

apportabantur a terra, volo scire qui sunt, domina". ait: "Eos quidem, qui in turrim vadunt et non sunt politi, hos deus probavit, quia ingressi sunt in aequitatem domini et direxerunt se in mandatis eius.] Hermas, Past. (uers. Pal.), Vis. 3.5.1 (p. 39, l. 17-41, l. 11 Hilgenfeld): Audi nunc de lapidibus qui vadunt in aedificationem. et quidem lapides albi et pares in coniunctione sua, isti sunt apostoli et episcopi et magistri et ministri qui ambulaverunt in castitate et sanctitate dei, quidam dormientes et quidam adhuc viventes, et semper sibi consentientes et se cum pacem habentes et alterno audientes. propterea in aedificatione turris pares sunt in iuncturis suis. et dixi ei: Qui autem de profundo levati sunt et positi in aedificatione et conveniunt in iuncturis eorum cum aliis lapidibus qui ex aedificatione erunt, qui sunt? et illa dixit mihi: Isti sunt qui patiuntur propter nomen domini. et dixi ei: Alii autem lapides, qui de terra prolati sunt, volo scire qui sunt, domina. et illa ait mihi: Illi quidem qui in aedificatione vadunt non dolati, istos dominus probavit, quoniam ambulaverunt in sanctitate ante dominum et correxerunt in se mandata eius.

²⁶⁰⁶ Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.), Sim. 9.17 (p. 141, l. 11-142, l. 4 Hilgenfeld): "Prius", inquam, "domine, hoc mihi demonstra: cum sint tam varii hi montes, quemadmodum in structuram huius turris convenerunt, uno quoque rediguntur colore et non minus splendidi sunt quam qui ascenderunt de profundo"? "Quoniam", inquit, "universae nationes, quae sub coelo sunt, audierunt et crediderunt, uno nomine filii dei vocati sunt. accepto igitur eius sigillo, eandem omnes prudentiam eundem que sensum acceperunt, et una fides atque caritas eorum, et spiritus virginum harum cum eius nomine ferebant. ideo que structura turris huius concolor videbatur et fulgebat usque ad solis claritatem. at vero postquam inter se consenserunt, unum corpus eorum coepit esse omnium. Hermas, Past. (uers. Pal.), Sim. 9.17.3 (p. 235, l. 12-15 Hilgenfeld): et dixi ei: Domine, primo hoc mihi demonstra: cum sint tam varii hi montes, quando in structura positi <sunt> turris huius lapides eorum, quomodo uno colore sunt facti et splendidi, non minus quam hi lapides qui ascenderunt de profundo?

²⁶⁰⁷ Hermas, Past. (uers. Pal.), Sim. 9.4.5 (p. 205, l. 11-15 Hilgenfeld): transferebantur ergo ex omnibus montibus lapides coloribus variis, et dolati a viris illis porrigebantur virginibus; virgines autem transferebant illos per portam; transferebant autem eos in structuram turris. cum que structi fuissent illi lapides varii, candidi fiebant similes que, et priores mutabant colores.

²⁶⁰⁸ Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.), Sim. 9.17 (p. 141, l. 17-142, l. 2 Hilgenfeld): accepto igitur eius sigillo, eandem omnes prudentiam eundem que sensum acceperunt, et una fides atque caritas eorum, et spiritus virginum harum cum eius nomine ferebant. Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.) (p. Hilgenfeld)similitudo: 9, cap.: 17, pag.: 142, linea: 2 ideo que structura turris huius concolor videbatur et fulgebat usque ad solis claritatem. Hermas, Past. (uers. Pal.), Sim. 9.17.4 (p. 235, l. 16-237, l. 2 Hilgenfeld): et dixit mihi: Quoniam universae nationes quae sub caelo erant, cum audissent, crediderunt in nomen filii dei; accepto que eius sigillo unam omnes prudentiam unum que sensum receperunt; et <una> fides eorum atque caritas erat, spiritus que virginum harum cum eius nomine induebantur; ideo que et structura turris ut sol in uno colore erat.

²⁶⁰⁹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 12 (119).1 (SChr 70, l. 4-5): Ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυτελῶν αἱ χροαὶ τετάχεται, τίμια δὲ αὐταὶ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὕλη γεώδης καταλείπονται.

²⁶¹⁰ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 12 (119).2 (SChr 70, l. 1-3): Συμβολικῶς τούτοις εἰκότως τειχίζεται τῶν ἁγίων ἡ πόλις πνευματικῶς οἰκοδομουμένη.

²⁶¹¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, Paed. II 12 (119).1 (SChr 70, l. 1)-2 (SChr 70, l. 4): Λίθοις δὲ ἁγίοις τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ τετειχίσθαι παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ τὰς δώδεκα τῆς οὐρανοπόλεως πύλας τιμίους ἀπειασμένας λίθοις τὸ περίοπτον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς [φωνῆς] αἰνίττεσθαι χάριτος ἐκδεχόμεθα. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυτελῶν αἱ χροαὶ τετάχεται, τίμια δὲ αὐταὶ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὕλη γεώδης καταλείπονται. Συμβολικῶς τούτοις εἰκότως τειχίζεται τῶν ἁγίων ἡ πόλις πνευματικῶς

Hermas, the variety of coloured stones (admittedly not evidently precious) signifies the various nations ("universae nationes"), unified in Christ.²⁶¹²

l. 8-9. **Portas autem margaritas apostolos esse ostendit.** Cf. Apoc. 21.12,²⁶¹³ where the names of the twelve tribes are inscribed above them (those of the apostles in the foundations: Apoc. 21.14).²⁶¹⁴ Further, the gates of pearl (Apoc. 21.21)²⁶¹⁵ are ("esse"), in some sense, the very apostles themselves, a unique view; *perhaps* derived from interpreting the Latin of Apoc. 21.12 (ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα),²⁶¹⁶ "in portis angelos duodecim",²⁶¹⁷ as the apostle-angels' *inhabiting* their gates, as it were. In any case, this suggests that, for the Poetovian, the distinction between literal and figurative interpretation is sometimes hard to draw.

l. 9-11. **Non claudentur.** Cf. Apoc. 21.25,²⁶¹⁸ and Is. 60.11,²⁶¹⁹ where Victorinus interprets *claudere* as the opposite of *aperire* (in effect, *revelation*), as earlier.²⁶²⁰ **inquit: gratia per illos i.e.** by the apostles. **data est, numquam autem eadem.** Assume *porta*; the confusion arises likely because of *gratia*, but also because Victorinus likely has in mind a unity such as

οἰκοδομουμένη. Πρὸς τὸ ἄνθος τῶν λίθων τὸ ἀμίμητον τὸ ἄνθος τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἅγιον τῆς οὐσίας νεοσῆκασιν.

²⁶¹² Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.), Sim. 9.17 (p. 141, l. 11-142, l. 5 Hilgenfeld): "Prius", inquam, "domine, hoc mihi demonstra: cum sint tam varii hi montes, quemadmodum in structuram huius turris convenerunt, uno quoque rediguntur colore et non minus splendidi sunt quam qui ascenderunt de profundo"? "Quoniam", inquit, "universae nationes, quae sub coelo sunt, audierunt et crediderunt, uno nomine filii dei vocati sunt. Also Hermas, Past. (uers. uulg.), Sim. 9.17 (p. 142, l. 4-5 Hilgenfeld): at vero postquam inter se consenserunt, unum corpus eorum coepit esse omnium.

²⁶¹³ Apoc. 21.12 (p. 677 Nestle-Aland).

²⁶¹⁴ Apoc. 21.14 (p. 677 Nestle-Aland).

²⁶¹⁵ Apoc. 21.21 (p. 678 Nestle-Aland).

²⁶¹⁶ Apoc. 21.12 (p. 677 Nestle-Aland).

²⁶¹⁷ Apoc. 21.12 (VL; Cod. g / 51; p. 88 Belsheim): habens murum magnum et altum, habens portas XII, et in portas habens angelos XII. Et nomina scripta, quae sunt nomina XII tribuum filiorum israhel; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 224 Morin): et habebat murum magnum et altum. qui habebat portas duodecim. „Et in portis. angelis duodecim. „Et nomina scripta^ duodecim tribuum filiorum.

²⁶¹⁸ Apoc. 21.25 (VL; Cod. g; p. 89 Belsheim): et porte eius non claudentur per diem: nox enim non erit illic.

²⁶¹⁹ Is. 60.11 (VL; p. 624 Sabatier 2): Et aperientur portae tuae semper: die ac nocte non claudentur, ut introducant ad te fortitudinem gentium, et reges earum, qui adducendi sunt.

²⁶²⁰ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.1 (SChr 423, 64, l. 3-4): Quando apertum ostenditur, clausum fuisse ante hominibus manifestum est.

that of the *G/gospel/s*. **clauditur**. One might expect the future, *claudet*, in line with *claudentur*; but such inconsistency is usual in the Poetovian.

l. 11-12. **Hoc loco uidebunt faciem contra faciem**. Cf. 1 Cor. 13.12:²⁶²¹ the Old Latin has "faciem ad faciem", while *contra faciem* usually translates the prepositional *κατὰ πρόσωπόν*.²⁶²² **et unus alterum non requisivit**. Cf. Is. 34.16; as to precise expression, "nec quaesivit alterum" / "alter ad alterum non quaesivit", if not meaning.²⁶²³ But, if this verse is relevant, Victorinus seems to interpret it allegorically in the sense of Jer. 31.34; Heb. 8.11: Victorinus substitutes "seek another (to know)" for "teach his neighbour", but the sentiment, that none shall seek the Lord of his brother, for all shall know him, is surely similar. In which case, the perfect tense must be interpreted prophetically. His choice of verse may have to do with a Jewish and chiliast (Jerome's "plerique nostrorum") interpretation of what follows as prophesying Rome's destruction.²⁶²⁴ Indeed, "some of our own" may imply Victorinus so commented on both in his commentary on Isaiah.

l. 12-15. **Nomina autem esse et patrum et apostolorum et in fundamentis et super portas**.

A unique Old Latin translation of *ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν* (Apoc. 21.12; usually "in

²⁶²¹ 1 Cor 13.12 (VL; Cod. z / 65; p. 39 Belsheim): Vidimus nunc per speculum in aenigmate. tunc autem faciem ad faciem. Nunc cognusco ex parte. tunc autem cognosca sicut et cognitus sum; (VL; Cod. d / 75; p. 159 Tischendorf): uidemus nunc per speculum in aenigmate tunc autem faciem ad faciem nunc scio ex parte tunc autem cognoscam sicut ego cognotus sum; (VL; Cod. e; p. 29 Belsheim): Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate, tunc autem faciem ad faciem: nunc scio ex parte. tunc autem cognoscam sicut et ego cognitus sum.

²⁶²² E.g. Ps. 49.21 (LXX; p. 52 Rahlfs-Hanhart 2; VL; Psalt. Sangerm; p. 102 Sabatier 2): haec fecisti, et tacui. Existimasti iniquitatem, quod ero tibi similis: arguam te, et stauam illa *contra* faciem tuam.

²⁶²³ Is. 34.16 (VL; p. 572 Sabatier 2): numero transierunt; unus ex ipsis non periit, nec quaesivit alterum: Dominus enim praecepit eis, spiritus eius congregauit eos. Hieronymus, Com. in Is. X 34.8+ (CC SL 73, l. 20-24): requirite diligenter in libro domini, et legite, unum ex eis non defuit, alter ad alterum non quaesivit, quia quod ex ore meo procedit; ille mandauit, et spiritus eius, ipse congregauit ea. Dulaey, Sur l'Apocalypse, 206.

²⁶²⁴ Hieronymus, Com. in Is. X 34.8+ (CC SL 73, l. 24-31): et ipse misit eis sortem, et manus eis diuisit eam illis in mensura; usque in sempiternum possidebunt eam; in generatione et generationem habitabunt in ea. hebraei, ut supra diximus, haec de romano imperio prophetata contendunt, et in ultionem sion, uastitatem quondam regni potentissimi praedicari, quod iuxta litteram plerique nostrorum etiam in apocalypsi iohannis scriptum putant.

port<as/is>");²⁶²⁵ however, it echoes "supra eos [muros]" of an Old Latin of Apoc. 21.14;²⁶²⁶ of which two verses the lemma is a midrash. **iam de XXIII senioribus tractauimus** *i.e.* they are the twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles; the twenty four books of the Old Testament.²⁶²⁷ **et de his qui regnauerint**. A prophetic future perfect.²⁶²⁸ **in hoc regno, ipsi** *i.e.* the two special groups of saints, in *regnum sanctorum*,²⁶²⁹ the patriarchs-apostles, the rulers *among* the saints. **mundum iudicabunt**. Cf. 1 Cor. 6.2;²⁶³⁰ *i.e.* select saints will judge those other elect among the nations ("nationes...ceteros sanctos"²⁶³¹ = "mundum"); or, less likely, perhaps that they will participate in final judgment of *all humanity*.

²⁶²⁵ Apoc. 21.12 (VL; Cod. g / 51; p. 88 Belsheim): habens murum magnum et altum, habens portas XII, et in portas habens angelos XII. Et nomina scripta, quae sunt nomina XII tribuum filiorum israhel; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 224 Morin): et habebat murum magnum et altum. qui habebat postas duodecim. ,Et in portis. angelis duodecim. ,Et nomina scripta^ duodecim tribuum filiorum.

²⁶²⁶ Apoc. 21.14 (VL; Cod. g / 51; p. 88 Belsheim): Et murus ciuitatis habens fundamenta XII, et in ipso XII nomina XII apostolorum agni; (VL; Cod. 56; p. 225 Morin): Et muri ciuitatis. habent fundamenta duodecim. ,Et supra eos. duodecim nomina apostolorum agni.

²⁶²⁷ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 4.3 (SChr 423, 66, l. 7-10): Sedentes XXIII seniores habentes tribunalia XXIII: libri <sunt> prophetarum et legis referentes testimonia iudicii. Sunt autem uiginti quattuor patres duodecim apostoli et duodecim patriarchae.

²⁶²⁸ Cf. "regnauerunt": Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 20.1 (SChr 423, 114, l. 5-7): Ideo ait: Et uixerunt, inquit, mortui scripti in libro uitae et regnauerunt cum Christo mille annos.

²⁶²⁹ Cf. Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 8.2 (SChr 423, 88, l. 10-14): Sunt igitur scripta quae sunt in tubis et in fialis aut plagarum orbi missarum clades aut ipsius Antichristi insania aut populorum detrectatio aut plagarum differentia aut *spes in regno sanctorum* aut ruina ciuitatum aut ruina Babylonis, id est ciuitatis Romanae.

²⁶³⁰ 1 Cor. 6.2 (VL; Cod. Gig. / 51; p. 123 Belsheim): de hoc mundo; (VL; Cod. r / 64; p. 79 Ziegler): An nescitis quia sancti mundum iudicabunt et in nobis iudicatur mundus? Indigni sunt iudiciorum minimorum; (VL; Cod. z / 65; p. 31 Buchanan): An nescitis qm̄ sc̄i de mundo iudicabut. Et si in uobis iudicabitur mundus. Indigni estis qui de minimis iudicetis; (VL; Cod. d / 75; p. 114 Tischendorf): aut nescitis quia sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt et in uobis iudicabitur hic mundus indigni estis iudiciorum minimoru; (VL; Cod. e / 76; p. 21 Belsheim): Aut nescitis quia sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt? et in uobis iudicabitur hic mundus indigni estis iudiciorum minimorum?

²⁶³¹ Victorinus Poetouionensis, Com. in Apoc. 2.4 (SChr 423, 60, l. 9-11): Et qui uicerit dabo illi potestatem super nationes, id est iudicem illum constituam inter ceteros sanctos.

Bibliography

Abbreviationes et symboli

Abbreviationes Fontium primarum

Biblica

Vetus Testamentum

Genesis Gen.

Exodus Ex.

Leuiticus Leu.

Numeri Num.

Deuteronomium Deut.

Iosue Ios.

Iudices Iud.

Ruth Ruth

1 Samuelis 1 Sam.

2 Samuelis 2 Sam.

1 Regum 1 Reg.

2 Regum 2 Reg.

1 Paralipomenon 1 Para.

2 Paralipomenon 2 Para.

Esdrae Esdr.

Nehemiae Neh.

Tobiae Tob.

Iudith Iud.

Esther Esth.

Iob Iob.

Psalmi Ps.

Prouerbia Prou.

Ecclesiastes Eccl.

Canticum Canticorum Cant.

Sapientiae Sap.

Ecclesiasticus Ecclus.

Isaiae Is.

Ieremias Ier.

Lamentationes Lam.

Baruch Bar.

Ezechielis Ez.

Danielis Dan.

Osee Os.

Ioel Ioel

Amos Amos

Abdiae Ab.

Ionae Ion.

Michaeae Mich.

Nahum Nah.

Habacuc Hab.

Sophoniae Soph.

Aggaei Ag.

Zachariae Zach.

Malachiae Mal.

1 Machabaeorum 1 Mach.

2 Machabaeorum 1 Mach.

Apocrypha VT

4 Esrae 4 Esdr.

Ascensio Isaiae Asc.

2 Henoch 2 Hen.

Odae Salamonis Od. Sal.

Testamenta XII Patriarcharum Test. XII Patr.

Nouum Testamentum

secundum Matthaeum Matth.

secundum Marcum Marc.

secundum Lucam Luc.

secundum Ioannem Io.

Actus Act.

ad Romanos Rom.

1 ad Corinthios 1 Cor.

2 ad Corinthios 2 Cor.

ad Galatas Gal.

ad Ephesios Eph.

ad Philippenses Phil.

ad Colossenses Col.

1 ad Thessalonicenses 1 Thess.

2 ad Thessalonicenses 2 Thess.

1 ad Timotheum 1 Tim.

2 ad Timotheum 2 Tim.

ad Titum Tit.

ad Philemonem Phil.

ad Hebraeos Heb.

Iacobi Iac.

1 Petri 1 Pet.

2 Petri 2 Pet.

1 Ioannis 1 Io.

2 Ioannis 2 Io.

3 Ioannis 3 Io.

Iudae Iud.

Apocalypsis Apoc.

Apocrypha VT

Oratio Manassæ regis Orat. Man. reg.

3 Esdræ 3 Esdr.

4 Esdræ 4 Esdr.

Apocrypha NT

Didache XII apostolorum Didache XII apostolorum

Euangelium Thomae Euang. Thom.

Pastor Hermae Past. Herm.

Classica

ALBINUS

Epitome doctrinae Platonicae sive Διασκαλικός Epit. doct. Plat. sive Διασκ.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt Res. gest.

ANONYMOUS

Aurelianus (cuius uitam scripsisse fertur Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius), Scriptores Historiae Augustae
Script. hist. Aurel.

Clodius Albinus (cuius vitam scripsisse fertur Iulius Capitolinus), Scriptores Historiae Augustae
Script. hist. Clod. Alb.

Hadrianus (cuius vitam scripsisse fertur Aelius Spartianus), Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Script.
hist. Hadr.

APULEIUS

Metamorphoses Metam.

ARISTOTELES

Analytica priora et posteriora Anal. prior. et post.

De arte poetica De art. poet.

De mundo De mun.

Physica Phys.

Topica Top.

ARIUS DIDYMUS

Physica (fragmenta) Phys. (frag.)

AURELIUS VICTOR (SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR)

Historiae abbreviatae Hist. abbrev.

CAESAR (CAIUS IULIUS CAESAR)

Commentarii belli Gallici Com. bel. Gal.

CASSIUS DIO

Historiae Romanae Hist. Rom.

CHRYSIPPUS

Fragmenta logica et physica, Phys. (frag.).

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS

Brutus Brutus

De diuinatione De diuinat.

De natura deorum De nat. deor.

De oratore De orat.

Epistulae ad Atticum Epist. ad Attic.

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COELIUS ANTIPATER (LUCIUS COELIUS ANTIPATER)

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Vitae philosophorum Vit. phil.

EMPEDOCLES

Fragmenta Frag.

CORNUTUS, LUCIUS ANNAEUS

Commentum Cornuti in Persium Com. in Pers.

CURTIUS RUFUS (QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS)

Historia Alexandri Magni Hist. Alex. Magn.

EURIPIDES

Bacchae Bacch.

FURIUS DIONYSIUS FILOCALUS

Kalend. Ann. CCCLIV Conscr. Kalendarium Anno CCCLIV Conscriptum Kalend. Ann. CCCLIV
Conscr.

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Allegoriae (= Quaestiones Homericæ) Quaest. Hom.

Fragmenta Frag.

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Fabulae Fab.

IOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS

Antiquitates Judaicae Ant. Iud.

Contra Apionem (= De Judaeorum vetustate), Con. Ap.

De bello Judaico De bel. Iud..

IULIANUS, FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS, IMPERATOR

Epistulae Epist.

LUCRETIUS, TITUS CARUS

De Rerum Natura De re. nat.

PHILO IUDAEUS

De Abrahamo De Abr.

De aeternitate mundi De aet. mun.

De agricultura De agric.

De cherubim De cher.

De confusione linguarum De conf. ling.

De congressu eruditionis gratia De cong. erud. grat.

De decalogo De dec.

De ebrietate De ebr.

De Josepho De Ios.

De migratione Abrahami De migr. Abr.

De mutatione nominum De mut. nom.

De opificio mundi De opif. mun.

De plantatione De plant.

De praemiis et poenis De praem. et poen.

De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini De sacr. Ab. et Cain.

De somniis De somn.

De specialibus legibus De spec. leg.

De uirt. De virtutibus De uirt.

De vita Mosis De vit. Mos.

Legatio ad Gaium Leg. ad Gai.

Legum allegoriarum Leg. alleg.

Quaestiones in Genesim (fragmenta) Quaest. in Gen. (frag.)

Quis rerum divinarum heres sit Quis rer. diu. her. sit

Quod deus sit immutabilis Quod deus sit immut.

PHILO (PSEUDO)

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PLATO

Parmenides Parm.

Phaedrus Phaedr.

Philebus Phil.

Respublica Res.

Theaetetus Theaet.

Timaeus Tim.

Symposium Symp.

PLINIUS MAIOR (CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS)

Naturalis historia Nat. hist.

PLINIUS MINOR (CAIUS PLINIUS CAECILIUS SECUNDUS)

Epistulae Epist.

PLOTINUS

Enneades En.

PORPHYRIUS

De abstinentia De abstin.

Vita Plotini Vit. Plot.

POSIDONIUS

Fragmenta Frag.

QUINTILIANUS, MARCUS FABIVS

Institutio oratoria Inst. orat.

QUINTILIANVS (DUBIVM) (MARCUS FABIVS QVINTILIANVS [DUBIVM])

Declamationes minores Declam. min.

SERVIUS GRAMMATICUS (MAURUS SERVIUS HONORATUS) ('SERVIUS AUCTUS')

Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros ('Servius auctus') Com. in Verg. Aen.

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SEXTUS EMPIRICUS

Adversus mathematicos Adu. math.

Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes Pyrrh. hypotyp.

SOPHOCLES

Ajax Aiax

SIBYLLA

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TACITUS, PUBLIUS CORNELIUS

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Historiae Hist.

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS

Aeneis Aen.

Eclogae Eclog.

Georgica Georg.

ZENO

Testimonia et fragmenta Test. et frag.

Patristica

ADONIS VIENNENSIS

Martyrologium Martyrol.

JULIUS AFRICANUS, SEXTUS

Chronographiae (fragmenta) Chronogr. (frag.)

AMBROSIASTER

Commentarius in Pauli epistulam ad Romanos (recensio gamma) Com. in Rom.

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AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS

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De Apologia Daud ad Theodosium Augustum De apol. Dau. ad Theo. Aug.

De excessu fratris Satyri De excess.

De fid. De fide libri V (ad Gratianum Augustum) De fid..

De Noe De Noe

Exameron Exam.

Exhortatio virginitatis Exhort. uirg.

Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam Expos. euang. sec. Luc.

AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS (DUBIUM)

Apologia Daud altera Apol. Dau. alt.

Explanatio symboli Expl. symb.

ANASTASIUS SINAITA

Hexameron Hexaem.

ANONYMOUS

Acta et Martyrium Apollonii Act. et Mart. Apoll.

Martyrium Pionii Mart. Pion.

Missale Bobbiense Miss. Bobb.

Praefatio secundum Marcum Praef. sec. Marc.

Scripta Anonyma aduersus Iudaeos, Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae Dial. Tim. et Aquil.

Symboli Symb.

Testamentum Domini Test. Dom.

Tractatus anonymus in Apocalypsin Tract. anon. in Apoc.

ANONYMUS (AETATIS PATRUM, SAEC. VI - VIII)

Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Iohannis apostoli Com. de Apoc. Io. apost.

ANONYMUS (MEDII AEVII)

In Matthaëum In Matth.

Praefatio secundum Marcum Praef. sec. Marc.

APHRAATES

Demonstrationes Dem.

APRINGIUS PACENSIS

Tractatus in Apocalypsin fragmenta quae supersunt Tract. in Apoc.

ASTERIUS SOPHISTA

Commentarii in Psalmos (homiliae 31) Com. in Ps., Hom.

ATHANASIUS

De sabbatis et circumcissione De sabbat. et circum.

Epistula festalis xxxix (fragmentum in collectione canonum) Epist. fest.

AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS

Donat. Ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum Ad cath. de sect.

Adnotationes in Iob Adnot. in Iob

Contra Cresconium Con. Cresc.

Contra Faustum Con. Faust.

Contra Gaudentium Con. Gaud.

De catechizandis rudibus De catech. rud.

De civitate Dei De ciu.

De doctrina christiana De doct. christ.

De fide et operibus De fid. et op.

De fid. De fide De fid.

De Genesi *contra* Manichaeos De Gen. con. Man.

De haer. De haeresibus De haer.

Enarrationes in Psalmos Ennar. in Ps.

Epistulae Epist.

Retractationum Retract.

Sermones de Vetere Testamento Serm. de Vet. Test.

Sermones novissimi Serm. nou.

Speculum Spec.

BARNABAS

Epistula Epist.

BEATUS LIEBANENSIS

Commentarius in Apocalypsin Com. in Apoc.

CASSIODORUS

Complex. in Act. apost. Complexiones in Actus apostolorum Complex. in Act. apost.

Complexiones in Apocalypsin Complex. in Apoc.

Complexiones in Epistulas apostolorum Complex. in Epist. apost.

Institutiones Inst.

CHROMATIUS AQUILEIENSIS

Sermones Serm.

Tractatus in Matthaeum Tract. in Matth.

CHRONICA HISPANA SAECULI XII

Carmen Campidoctoris Carm. Camp.

Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris Chron. Adef. imp.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS

Eclogae prophetae Eclog. proph.

Paedagogus Paed.

Protrepticus Protr.

Quis dives salvetur Quis diu. salu.

Stromata Strom.

CLEMENS ROMANUS ET CLEMENTINA

Epistula ad Iacobum Epist. ad Iac.

Homiliae [Sp.] Hom.

Recognitiones Recog.

COMMODIANUS

Carmen de duobus populis (Carmen apologeticum) Carm. de duob. pop.

CONCILIA AFRICAE 345 - 525

Concilium Carthaginense a. 418 Conc. Carth. a. 418

CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLORUM

Constitutiones apostolorum (fort. compilatore Juliano Ariano) Const. apost.

CYPRIANUS CARTHAGINENSIS

Ad Fortunatum Ad Fort.

Ad Quirinum Ad Quir.

De bono patientiae De bon. pat.

De dominica oratione De dom. orat.

De lapsis De laps.

De mortalitate De mort.

De zelo et livore De zel. et liu.

Epistulae Epist.

CYPRIANUS CARTHAGINENSIS (PSEUDO)

Ad Nouatianum Ad Nou.

Auctoris ignoti Aduersus Iudaeos Auct. ignot. Adu. Iud.

De montibus Sina et Sion De mont. Sin. et Sion

De pascha computus De pasc. comp.

De rebaptismate De rebap.

De singularitate clericorum De sing. cler.

Epistula ad plebem Carthaginensem Epist. ad pleb. Carth.

Epistula ad Turasium Epist. ad Turas.

Orationes Orat.

Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima Serm. de cent. sex. tric.

CYPRIANUS CARTHAGINENSIS (PSEUDO) (= CELSUS QUIDAM)

Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate Ad Vig. episc. de Iud. incred.

CYPRIANUS CARTHAGINENSIS (PSEUDO, SAEC. III-V)

De pascha computus De pasc. comput.

DIDYMUS CAECUS

Commentarii in Zacchariam Com. in Zacch.

DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI

In Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas catholicas Com. in Apoc.

EPIPHANIUS SALAMINIS

Anacephalaeosis Anaceph.

Ancoratus Ancor.

Panarion Pan.

EUAGRIUS MONACHUS

Altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum Alt. leg. inter Sim. Iud. et
Theoph. Christ.

EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS

De martyribus Palaestinae De mart. Pal.

Demonstratio evangelica Dem. euang.

Historia Ecclesiastica Hist. Eccl.

Vita Constantini Vit. Const.

EUSTATHIUS ANTIOCHENUS

De engastrimytho *contra* Origenem De engast. con. Orig.

GREGORIUS ILLIBERITANUS

De arca Noe De arc. Noe

Tractatus Origenis de libris Sanctarum Scripturarum Tract. Orig. de libr. Sanct. Script.

GREGORIUS ILLIBERITANUS (DUBIUM)

Fides sancti Hieronymi Fid. sanct. Hieron.

GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS

In Origenem oratio panegyrica In Orig. orat. pan.

Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten Salamonis Metaph. in Eccl. Sal.

HILARIUS PICTAUIENSIS

Commentarius in Matthaem Com. in Matth.

Tractatus super psalmos Tract. super Ps.

HIERONYMUS

Aduersus Heluidium de Mariae uirginitate perpetua Adu. Helu.

Commentarii in Daniele Com. in Dan..

Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei Com. in Matth.

Commentarii in Ezechielem Com. in Ez.

Commentarii in Isaiam Com. in Is.

Commentarii in prophetas minores Com. in proph. min.

Commentarius in Ecclesiasten Com. in Eccl.

Contra Iohannem Con. Ioh.

De uiris inlustribus De uir. ill.

Epistulae Epist.

Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum Lib. interpr. Hebr. nom.

Liber tertius adversus libros Rufini (Epistula adversus Rufinum) Epist. adu. Ruf.

Praefatio in Origenis homiliis XXXIX in Lucam Praef. in Orig. XXXIX Hom. in Luc.

Victorini Poetovionensis Commentarii in Apocalypsim Iohannis capitula retractata (Apoc. 20-21)

Vict. Poet. Com. in Apoc. cap. retract. (Apoc. 20-21)

HIERONYMUS (PSEUDO)

(Opusculum) De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiae (seu Epistola 12) Tract. de sept. ordin. Eccl.

HIPPOLYTUS ROMANUS

De consummatione mundi De consum. mund.

Commentarium in Daniele Com. in Dan.

Commentarium in Daniele 1.18 Com. in Dan. 1.18

Contra haereses Noeti Con. haer. Noet.

Constitutio Apostolica Const. apost.

De antichristo De antichr.

De benedictionibus Isaaci et Jacobi De ben. Isaac. et Iac.

De benedictione Mosis (fragmenta) De ben. Mos. (frag.)

Fragmenta in Genesim [Sp.] Frag. in Gen.

Fragmenta in Psalmos Frag. in Ps.

Refutatio omnium haeresium (= Philosophumena) Refut. om. haer.

Traditio apostolica Trad. apost.

IRENAEUS LUGDUNENSIS

Aduersus haereses Adu. haer.

Demonstratio Apostolicae praedicationis (Armeniana) Dem. apost. praed.

Fragmenta deperditorum operum Frag. deperd. op.

ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS

Allegoriae quaedam sanctae Scripturae vel De nominibus legis et evangelii De nom. leg. et euang.

De fide catholica *contra* Iudaeos De fid. cath. con. Iud.

Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum (Sensus moralis totius scripturae) Quaest. in Vet. Test.

ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS (PSEUDO) (MEDII Aevi)

Quaestiones sancti Hysidori tam de Novo quam de Vetere Testamento Quaest. sanct. Hysid. tam de Nou. quam de Vet. Test.

IGNATIUS ANTIOCHIANUS

Epistulae Epist.

IULIUS AFRICANUS, SEXTUS

Cesti (fragmenta) Cest. (frag.)

Chronographiae (fragmenta) Chronogr. (frag.)

IUSTINUS MARTYR

Apologia prima 1 Apol.

Apologia secunda 2 Apol.

Dialogus cum Tryphone Dial. c. Tryph.

LACTANTIUS

Epitome divinarum institutionum Epit. diu. inst.

LEO MAGNUS

Tractatus septem et nonaginta Tract. sept. et non.

MARCELLUS ANCYRANUS

Fragmenta Frag.

MARTINUS DUMIENSIS/BRACARENSIS

De correctione rusticorum De correct. rustic.

Formula vitae honestae Form. uit. hon.

Opusc. Opuscula septem, ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 72. Paris: Migne, 1878: c. 21-76.

MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM

Martyrologium Romanum Martyrol. Rom.

MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS

Sermones Serm.

MELITO SARDIUM

De pascha De Pasc.

MINUCIUS FELIX OCTAVIUS

Octavius Oct.

NICETAS REMESIANUS

Te Deum Te De.

NOUATIANUS

Epistola ad Cyprianum Papam Epist. ad Cypr.

OECUMENIUS

Commentarius in Apocalypsin Com. in Apoc.

OPTATUS MILEUITANUS

Contra Parmenianum Donatistam Con. Parm. Donat.

ORIGENES

Adnotationes in Jesu filium Nave (fragmenta e catenis) Adnot. in Ies.

Com. in Matth. Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei (Mt. 22.34-27.63) Com. in Matth.,
com. ser.

Commentarii in epistolam ad Romanos Com. in Rom.

Commentarii in evangelium Joannis Com. in Io.

Commentarium in Canticum Canticorum Com. in Cant.

Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei Com. in Matth.

Contra Celsum Con. Cels.

De engastrimytho De engastr.

De pascha De Pasc.

De principiis (Periarchon) De princ.

Epistula ad Africanum Epist. ad Afr.

Epistula ad Gregorium Thaumaturgum Epist. ad Greg. Thaum.

Excerpta in Psalmos [Dub.] Excerpt. in Ps. [Dub.]

Exhortatio ad martyrium Exhort. ad mart.

Expositio in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis) Expos. in Prou. (frag. e caten.)

Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam ad Ephesios (in catenis) Frag. ex com. in Eph. (in caten.)

Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam i ad Corinthios (in catenis) Frag. ex com. in 1 Cor. (in caten.)

Fragmenta in Jeremiam (in catenis) Frag. in Ier. (in caten.)

Fragmenta in Lucam (in catenis) Frag. in Luc. (in caten.)

Fragmenta in Psalmos 1-150 [Dub.] Frag. in Ps. [Dub.]

Hexapla Hex.

Homiliae in Ezechielem Hom. in Ez.

Homiliae in Genesim Hom. in Gen.

Homiliae in Iesum Naue Hom. in Ies. Nau.

Homiliae in Jeremiam Hom. in Ier.

Homiliae in Leviticum Hom. in Leu.

Homiliae in Lucam Hom. in Luc.

Homiliae in Numeros Hom. in Num.

Homiliae in Psalmos 36-38 Hom. in Ps.

Philocalia sive Ecloga de operibus Origenis a Basilio et Gregorio Nazianzeno facta (cap. 1-27) Phil.

Scholia in Matthaicum Schol. in Matth.

Selecta in Exodum (fragmenta e catenis) Sel. in Ex. (frag. e caten.)

Selecta in Genesim (fragmenta e catenis) Sel. in Gen. (frag. e caten.)

Selecta in Jesu Nave (fragmenta e catenis) Sel. in Ies. Nau.

Selecta in Psalmos [Dub.] (fragmenta e catenis) Sel. in Ps. [Dub.]

OROSIUS

De errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum (Consultatio siue commonitorium Orosii ad Augustinum) De error. Prisc.

PACIANUS

De baptismo De bap.

PAULINUS NOLANUS

Epistulae Epist.

PROSPER AQUITANUS

Expositio psalmorum Expos. Ps.

De vocatione omnium gentium De uoc. omn. gen.

RUFINUS

Apologia Apol.

Expositio symboli Expos. Symb.

Praefationes in libros Origenis Periarchon Praef. in libr. Orig. Periarch.

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS

Historia ecclesiastica Hist. Eccl.

SOZOMENUS, SALAMINIUS HERMIAS

Historia Ecclesiastica Hist. Eccl.

TATIANUS

Oratio ad Graecos Orat. ad Graec.

TERTULLIANUS

Ad Scapulam Ad Scap.

Adversus Iudaeos Adu. Iud.

Adversus Marcionem Adu. Marc.

Adversus Praxean Adu. Prax.

Apologeticum Apol.

De corona militis De cor. mil.

De idololatria De idol.

De ieiunio adversus psychicos De ieiun. adu. psych.

De pallio De pal.

De resurrectione mortuorum De res. mort.

TERTULLIANUS (PSEUDO) (SAEC. III - V)

Adversus omnes haereses Adu. omn. haer.

Carmen adversus Marcionem Carm. adu. Marc.

THEODORUS MOPSUESTIENSIS

Contra allegoristas Con. alleg.

THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENSIS

Ad Autolyicum Ad Auto.

THOMAS AQUINATIS

Catena aurea in Matthaicum Cat. aur. in Matth.

TYCONIUS

Liber regularum Lib. reg.

USUARDUS

Vetus Romanum Martyrologium Vet. Rom. Martyrol.

VICTORINUS POETOUIONENSIS

Commentarii in Apocalypsim Iohannis (Victorini editio originalis) Com. in Apoc.

Fragmentum chronologicum Victorino ascriptum, secundum notitiam in codice Bobiensi saec. IX editum (cod. Bibl. Ambros. H 150 f, fol. 137v. - 138r) Frag. chron.

Tractatus de fabrica mundi Tract. de fabr. mun.

ZENO VERONENSIS

Tractatus Tract.

Rabbinica

Liber Iezira / Sēpher Yəṣîrâh Seph. Yetz.

Midrash Ecclesiastes / Kohelet Rabbah Midr. Eccl. Rab.

Midrash Genesis / B'reshith Rabbah Midr. Gen. Rab.

Tractatus Berachoth / Masekhet B'rakhoth Tract. Berakh.

Tractatus / Masekhet Gittin (Bavli) Tract. Bab. Git.

Abbreviationes fontium secundarum

AAAD Udine: Antichità Altoadriatiche

AANLM Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali e storiche

AAR American Academy of Religion

AASS Acta Sanctorum

AB Archaeologia Bulgarica

ABRL Anchor Bible Reference Library

ACS American Classical Studies

ACW Ancient Christian Writers

AES Acta Ecclesiastica Sloveniae

AFSJ Archives Françaises de la Société de Jésus
AGLB Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
AGAJU Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJT American Journal of Theology
AMSI Atti é Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria
ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ARID Analecta Romana Instituti Danici
ASSSP Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata
AB Analecta Bollandiana
AH Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi
ANCL Ante-Nicene Christian Library
APA American Philological Association
AV Arheološki Vestnik
ByZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift
BA Biblioteca Ambrosiana
BAug Bibliothèque Augustinienne, Paris
BALAC Bulletin d’Ancienne Littérature et d’Archéologie Chrétienne, Paris
BEATAJ Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BGBH Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik
BW Biblical World et al.
BZ Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CB Corpus Berolinense
CBET Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CC Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout
CCCM Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCS Cambridge Classical Studies
CFTL Clark's Foreign Theological Library

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CJ Classical Journal

CM Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis

CRJNT Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna

CSPC Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology

DAdW Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaften zu Berlin.

DACL Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Paris

DAGR Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Paris

DB Dictionnaire de la Bible, Paris

DBS Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, Paris

DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers

DRLAR Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion

DPHK Denkschriften der Philosophisch-Historische Klasse

DPAC Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiana, Casale Monferrato.

DSp Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Paris

DTC Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique

EAA Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité

EB Études Bibliques

EC Études Carmélitaines

ED Éditions du Cerf

EJ Eranos Jahrbuch

EPROER Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain

EQ Evangelical Quarterly

Flor. Patr. Florilegium Patristicum

FC Fathers of the Church

GCS Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller.

H Hypomnemata

HAW Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HCS Hellenistic Culture and Society
HLQ Huntington Library Quarterly
HSK Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft/Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science
HUC-JIR Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
HZAG Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
IEA Institut d'Études Augustiniennes
JbAC Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAZU Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti
JAAR Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
JECS Journal of Early Christian Studies
JPSA Jewish Publication Society of America
JPPSM Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods
JQRNS Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series
JR Journal of Religion
JSNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSJ Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSJS Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplement
JSNTS Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JThS Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
JTECL Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature
LCI Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
MB Le Monde de la Bible
MBT Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie
MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NHMS Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
MHUC Monographs of the Hebrew Union College

NRT Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Tournai
NT Novum Testamentum
NTS Novum Testamentum Supplements
ÖAW Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OHCAH Oxford Handbooks in Classics and Ancient History
OCM Oxford Classical Monographs
OECS Oxford Early Christian Studies
OIAS Opera Instituti Archeologici Sloveniae
PIAC Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia
PL Patrologia Latina
PLS Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum
PMS Patristic Monograph Series
PTA Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PTS Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
PAJHS Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society
PW Realencyclopädie der Classichen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RAC Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart
RB Revue Biblique
RE Realencyclopädie der Classichen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RdAC Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RechSR Recherches de Science Religieuse
RivAC Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RE Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche
REAug Revue des Études Augustiniennes, Paris
RGRW Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHT Revue d'Histoire des Textes, Paris

RLAC Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum
RSLR Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, Florence
RSR Revue des Sciences Religieuses, Strasbourg
SA Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum
SAEMO Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera
SBE Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica
SBEC Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBL Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSS Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SChr Sources Chrétiennes, Paris
SEA Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
SGL Scrittori Greci e Latini
SJLA Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT Scottish Journal of Theology
SKVHU Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala
SL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
SP Studia Patristica
SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SRM Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SS Scriptores
ST Studia Logica
STAC Studien und Texte zu Antike Christentum Series
TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TSAJ Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
ThSt Theological Studies, Woodstock
ThZ Theologische Zeitschrift, Bâle
TLL Thesaurus Linguae, Munich
TPAPA Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

TSMEJ Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism

TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur

TWNT Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart

TZ Theologische Zeitschrift

UCOP University of Cambridge Oriental Publications

VChr Vigiliae Christianae, Amsterdam

VChr.S Vigiliae Christianae, Supplement

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

YCS Yale Classical Studies

YJ Yale Judaica

ZAG Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte

ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZRC SAZU Znanstvenoraziskovalni Center Slovenske Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti

ZWT Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie

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